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FREEDOM IS MY BUSINESS: CARL MCINTIRE, CHRISTIAN
FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE RISE OF MODERN CONSERVATISM

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FREEDOM IS MY BUSINESS: CARL MCINTIRE, CHRISTIAN
FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE RISE OF MODERN CONSERVATISM

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR
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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Jennifer and Sammy Griffith.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation took too long to complete, but I do not believe I would change anything to have sped up the process. The reason is simple. I have evolved and grown as a person and this document represents that. I appreciate everyone who helped me along the way.

I first read *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* in 2008. It changed my life and drew me to the scholarship of Dr. David Chappell. It has been a privilege to learn from him. He is a consummate scholar, a giant in the field of history, and a good human being. He opened my eyes to intellectual history, Christopher Lasch, and Richard Hofstadter. He has made me a better writer, thinker, and historian. If you ever order for him at Coriander Café, remember – pork bahn mi, no cilantro. If he invites you to a party, go. You will not regret it.

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I grew up Fundamentalist and fairly conservative. My views have changed over time. Carl McIntire fascinated me when I first encountered his story in 2005 or so. At the time, there were a handful of journal articles and dissertations about him. Today, there are a couple academic books, more journal articles and a group of us who have written our dissertations about him in the past decade. He seems to explain a lot to those who grew up in the "old-time religion" that fused with modern conservatism. For me, he is like a song I cannot get out of my head. I

suppose taking nearly ten years to complete a doctoral degree that culminates in a dissertation covering his long career is appropriate.

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ABSTRACT

Carl McIntire (1906-2002), the fiery Fundamentalist minister played a key role in the rise of the modern Conservative movement that emerged following the Second World War. From his home base in the Philadelphia suburb of Collingswood, NJ, McIntire led a movement he called the Twentieth Century Reformation that was a fusion of Christian Fundamentalism and Conservative politics. Through this, and his organizations that sought to mobilize Fundamentalism, McIntire presented a baptized Conservatism from the Cold War through the culture wars of the 1960s with his last public stands taking place in support of the Vietnam War, and fight against the Sexual Revolution. In the pages that follow, I will argue that political Fundamentalism played an important role in the rise of Conservatism between 1943 and 1973 – much earlier than scholars have generally thought – as well as in the subsequent public reconciliation between Evangelicals and Fundamentalists in the conservative movement associated with Jerry Falwell and Ronald Reagan in the final years of the Carter Administration.

INTRODUCTION

“Freedom is my business” -- Carl McIntire, 1906-2002.

Carl McIntire’s work as a minister, Fundamentalist leader, author, publisher, and institution builder, sheds light on the rise of Christian conservatism in the United States. As Evangelical Christianity grew after the Second World War, a new political conservatism *grew alongside it*. Fundamentalists — and the Evangelicals who broke away from them-- played key roles in shaping conservative life.

Carl McIntire has received little scholarly attention. Other religious leaders like Charles Coughlin, J. Gresham Machen, Billy Graham, Bob Jones Sr., Fulton Sheen, and Jerry Falwell have overshadowed him. All of them did shape American conservatism during the Cold War. McIntire’s influence, however, is essential to understanding the relationship of evangelical Christianity to the rise of conservatism.

As a defiant fundamentalist, McIntire shaped Evangelicalism from the outside. He did that by cultivating relationships with political leaders and publicizing his controversial beliefs. His vehement anti-communism often made him sound more like Joseph McCarthy than the relatively moderate Billy Graham.

Like Bob Jones, he ridiculed and sought to weaken Evangelical leaders in general, and Billy Graham in particular. He organized rival institutions to counter their influence.

McIntire created, for example, the Bible Presbyterian Church denomination (1938), the American Council of Christian Churches (1941) and the International Council of Christian Churches (1948). He used these groups to promote Fundamentalist ideals like separation from mainstream culture and premillennialism, as well as political positions like racial segregation and libertarian economics. He also purchased a hotel during the 1960s that he used as a conference center and called The Christian Admiral Hotel. There he hosted Fundamentalist leaders and politicians, including the conservative Democrat Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who spoke at these events. Through these institutions and use of broadcast and print media, he built a national audience, and participated in important political, religious and cultural debates from the 1940s through his decline in the 1970s.

At the end of the Second World War, McIntire began publishing books that combined his Fundamentalist theology with conservative politics. His works *Twentieth Century Reformation* (1944), *The Rise of the Tyrant* (1945) and *The Author of Liberty* (1946) lay out a program to win the Cold War by aggressively rolling back Communism abroad and hunting down its dupes and fellow travelers at home. McIntire built upon this foundation over the next three decades.

McIntire's work attracted the friendship and support of other influential Cold Warriors. He courted donors like J. Howard Pew, who helped him finance

Faith Theological Seminary, Shelton College, Highland College, WXUR radio and Christian Beacon Publishing. Through these connections, he was able to become a founding board member of Young Americans for Freedom in 1960. McIntire spent the late 1950s and 1960s building a political movement that culminated in a last stand of opposition to the radical wave of civil rights decisions and legislation of those years and public support for the Presidential candidacy of conservative Republican Barry Goldwater in 1964.

After 1968, McIntire declined nearly as quickly as he rose. Subscriptions to his *Christian Beacon*, which reached over 100,000 subscriptions in the mid-1960s, waned. His pro-Vietnam War protests came under the scrutiny of the Federal Government. President Nixon's Chief of Staff sought to distance the administration from McIntire's meddling in international affairs with his trips to Vietnam and invitations to South Vietnamese officials to speak at his pro-war rallies. McIntire raised expectations of a decisive military defeat of the North Vietnamese Army. Those imperiled Nixon's balancing act as the moderate who sought "peace with honor." Furthermore, the FBI closely monitored his activities from the height of the civil rights era in 1964 through the early 1970s when he continually filed for permits to demonstrate in Washington DC. In 1973, after a six-year battle with the Federal Communications Commission, McIntire became the first, and only, person ever to lose a broadcast license under the Fairness Doctrine, which tasked broadcasters to grant time for opposing points of view during opinion-based broadcasts. Many of McIntire's allies perceived his Fundamentalist application of conservative politics too vitriolic. This caused him

to lose many high profile donors. His Fundamentalist empire went bankrupt in the late 1970s. He soldiered on until his own congregation fired him, after sixty-six years of service, in 1999. His final public statement came in 2001, when Princeton Theological Seminary welcomed back its former student and vocal critic, who had jeered the seminary for decades. The wheelchair-bound McIntire donated all his papers to the seminary in exchange for a “Carl McIntire Day” shortly before his death in 2002.

In the pages that follow, I will argue that political Fundamentalism played an important role in the rise of Conservatism between 1943 and 1973 – much earlier than scholars have generally thought – as well as in the subsequent public reconciliation between Evangelicals and Fundamentalists in the conservative movement associated with Jerry Falwell and Ronald Reagan in the final years of the Carter Administration. Between the New Deal and the 1980 Presidential election, business conservatives like J. Howard Pew, and, later, charitable foundations, worked to align their political desires with theologically conservative Christians. The activities of Carl McIntire between the 1944 and 1973 show how those relationships developed and demonstrate that Fundamentalist politics served as a bridge for the Evangelical-Republican Party alliance that emerged during the 1970s.¹

¹ The standard historiographical matter is in the Bibliographic Essay that follows the conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ATTEMPTED REVIVAL – AND POLITICIZATION – OF FUNDAMENTALISM

“America must come back to God, the God of our fathers, the God who gave us the hymn that we delight to sing, “sweet land of liberty.” – Carl McIntire, 1946²

During the Second World War, key religious leaders gathered to launch the new Evangelical movement. Harold Ockenga and Carl Henry, two popular anti-modernist theologians, surveyed the cultural landscape and determined that the United States stood at a crossroads. Ockenga, who grew up in Chicago, was a student at Princeton Seminary at the height of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. He left with other students to follow their professor J. Gresham Machen, who founded Westminster Theological Seminary in 1929, and continue their studies in the tradition of the old Princetonians, who dominated Presbyterian theology in the late nineteenth century. Machen promised to maintain the teachings promoted by B.B. Warfield and Charles Hodge, both who typified the old Princeton tradition, and build an institution faithful to their values.

Upon graduation in 1930, Ockenga enrolled in the University of Pittsburgh where he completed his Ph.D in Philosophy in 1939. Concerned with

² Carl McIntire, *The Author of Liberty*, (Collingswood: Christian Beacon Press, 1946), 231.

the problems of poverty and race relations, Ockenga's dissertation, "Poverty as a Theoretical and Practical Problem of Government in the Writings of Jeremy Bentham and the Marxian Alternative," gave him the framework to critique Marx's anti-religious philosophy and preach social issues to his conservative congregation, where he stated in a sermon on poverty and racism, "embrace Christ and the crux of the social question is removed."³

Henry, who grew up on Long Island, studied at Wheaton College in the Chicago suburbs, earned a Th.D from Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1942, and got his Ph.D in Sociology at Boston University in 1949. While at Boston, he wrote *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (1946) that issued a clarion call for evangelical Christians not only to focus on individual salvation, but also for the Christian community to address issues like racism and crime.⁴ "Divine redemption can be recognized as the best solution of our problems, individual and social," wrote Henry.⁵ Pressing further from his Fundamentalist roots, he claimed that Christianity was both a "life view" and "world view" that demanded social action.⁶

Ockenga and Henry saw with increasing alarm that Christianity's influence had waned. Reviving the declensionist narrative style of America's Puritan past, they tried to rally their Protestant colleagues around a new program. They sought to replenish their dwindling flocks and stir them more deeply than the warmed-over deism of modern "liberal" theology ever could.

³ Garth Rosell, *The Surprising Work of God: Harold John Ockenga, Billy Graham and the Rebirth of Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 170-171.

⁴ Ibid., 173.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

At the same time, they sought to avoid the traps that previous religious crusaders had fallen into. President Woodrow Wilson's disastrous war and peace, Prohibition, and most recently the Scopes trial of 1925, had gone very far to discredit the public ambitions of holy men and women. The mocking, skeptical literature of bestselling authors like H.L. Mencken & Sinclair Lewis had made the "Fundamentalism" that was on display in the Scopes trial particularly fresh and embarrassing. To make their new departure most decisive and distinctive, Ockenga, Henry, and other revivalists believed they had to turn against Fundamentalism. In the public mind, that discredited "ism" had come to be synonymous with old-time religion. Cranky old fossils like William Jennings Bryan appeared to be the only alternative to the privatized, nondescript "Sundays and holidays only" religion of the Federal Council of Churches. (The FCC became the NCC in 1950.) Modernists and liberals watered religion down to make it seem unthreatening to all the modern forces that were—in the eyes of Ockenga, Henry, and other revivalists—replacing true religion. Ockenga, Henry, and others KNEW what biblical tradition was up against: card playing, dancing, movies, jazz, recreational drinking, divorce, and pre-marital sex.

They had to fight fire with fire. They sought to harness the obvious spiritual power that religious leaders like Sister Aimee Semple McPherson and Father Charles Coughlin had found in amplified sound, radio, and moving pictures: such tools were too important to be controlled by seductive secular powers like Hollywood and Tin Pan Alley.

They sought to make religion real in the lives of men and women who were recovering from war and depression. They did not plan to lose another generation to modern entertainment —let alone to the temptations of godless communism, which the war and, soon enough, nuclear weapons, had only seemed to strengthen. To revive Christianity — as mass leaders like George Whitefield, Charles Grandison Finney, and Dwight Moody had done in the past – they needed to meet their potential recruits where they were and speak to them through the media they relied on for their daily contact with the larger world. They emphasized that they must guide Christians-- not withdraw from modern life, like Fundamentalists. They resolved that they had to engage modern life on every cultural and even political front, in a thoughtful and effective manner.. .

For Christianity to make a comeback in the face of all that, and to keep it out of the hands of the Fundamentalists, Ockenga, and Henry, believed they needed a large publishing, and fundraising organization. That organization was the National Association of Evangelicals—founded in 1943. The NAE served as the new “Evangelical” (capital E, to distinguish it from Fundamentalist) movement’s flagship organization, and as the conservative counter to the Federal (later National) Council of Churches. *Christianity Today* served as an alternative to the FCC’s *Christian Century*. Billy Graham acted as the spokesman for this growing cultural movement that sought to distance itself from Fundamentalism and to outdo secularism and the ecumenical liberal or “mainline” churches in cultural engagement. One Fundamentalist who kept getting in their way was Carl McIntire.

Understanding Carl McIntire

Carl McIntire (1906-2002) emerged in the Fundamentalist movement during the 1930s. He grew up in Oklahoma, the son of Presbyterian missionaries, who sought to convert Native Americans to Christianity. His father suffered a mental breakdown that led to his commitment in an asylum and the dissolution of his parents' marriage. Essentially, McIntire's mother raised him. That may help explain why a theme of spiritual motherhood flowed throughout his writings. He dedicated books to his mother and referred to her as the person who nourished his Christian faith.

After earning a teaching degree from Park College, in Parkville, Missouri, McIntire followed his father's footsteps to enter the Presbyterian ministry. He began training at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1928. There he found himself entwined in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy

Fundamentalism is based on belief in the "five Fundamentals" which are: the inspiration of the Bible by the Holy Spirit without error; the virgin birth of Jesus; substitutionary atonement (the doctrine that Jesus died to atone for the sins of humanity); the bodily resurrection of Jesus; and the reality of the miracles recorded in Christian Scripture.⁷ Fundamentalists came out of the millenarian movement in the late nineteenth century and became known for Bible conferences and institutes. Fundamentalists are dispensational: they believe history is divided into seven periods of time to harmonize the Old and New Testament and explain the end of time. They are separatist: they do not believe in holding communion

⁷ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 4-6.

with Christians who disagree with them on doctrine. And they believe in the inerrancy of Scripture: the Bible contains no errors.

Princeton Theological Seminary, the flagship institution of northern Presbyterians, became embroiled in the battle between Fundamentalists and Modernists between the 1880s and 1940s. Modernists readily embraced critical scholarship of biblical texts and supernatural claims, while Fundamentalists saw this shift as not simply heterodox, but anti-Christian. In his 1923 book *Christianity and Liberalism*, J. Gresham Machen, a Professor of New Testament, argued that Christianity and modernism were incompatible, and that liberal Christianity was not Christian at all, as it stripped Christianity from the supernatural realm and made faith subordinate to science.⁸ Machen actively sought to pull Princeton back toward the stalwart Presbyterianism of his mentor, B.B. Warfield, and other famed “Old Princetonians” of the nineteenth century, like Charles Hodge and A.A. Hodge.

At Princeton, McIntire became a disciple of Machen. He participated in the small exodus of theologians, students, and ministers who left the Presbyterian Church U.S. by choice or force. McIntire was defrocked for “Disturbing the Peace of the Church” in 1935. He admitted to the Presbytery of West Jersey that he had publically said, “if we must have a Presbyterian Mussolini, let him have the brains of Mussolini” in reference to his disdain for denominational leadership, who he believed overstepped their authority by allowing modernist views within the

⁸ D.G. Hart, *Defending the Faith: J. Gresham Machen and the Crisis of Conservative Protestantism in Modern America* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2003), 31.

denomination.⁹ The Presbytery did not take kindly to the pastor of a 1200-member congregation in the Philadelphia suburb of Collingswood, New Jersey, using his pulpit to stir up controversy and criticize the denomination.

This experience strengthened McIntire's Fundamentalist resolve and the drama played out in publications, like *The New York Times*. After he was defrocked, McIntire's congregation voted to leave the Presbyterian Church (US). The PCUS church court ruled that Collingswood Presbyterian Church had to return its \$250,000 property to the denomination.¹⁰ This decision led to civil lawsuits, which McIntire's group ultimately lost, leaving his 1200 parishioners without a building. They met in a large tent. McIntire blew the story up into biblical proportions, preaching "Why We Worship in a Tent." He cast the experience as parallel to Moses' leading the children of Israel through the wilderness. In the biblical story, Israel worshipped in a tent prior to the construction of the Temple. McIntire took this experience and used it to grow his Fundamentalist influence beyond Collingswood, NJ.

Organizing a Fundamentalist Movement

The Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy led McIntire to begin a movement within Fundamentalism he later called the Twentieth Century Reformation. He wanted to return America to a Christian country with limited government and a strong leadership role in global affairs. To accomplish this, he created organizations that extended beyond his Collingswood Bible Presbyterian Church.

⁹ "Clergyman Admits 'Violent' Speeches," *New York Times*, 21 July 1935: N1.

¹⁰ "Rev. Carl M'Intire is Ousted by Court," *New York Times*, 19 March 1938: 17.

The new organizations he created were the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) and International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC). through these he aimed to build a national and global consensus among Fundamentalist churches and social conservatives. He founded a new denomination of like-minded Presbyterian Fundamentalist churches called the Bible Presbyterian Church. McIntire wrote the denomination's mission:

The Bible Presbyterian Church believes in a militant Christianity and it has not hesitated to take an uncompromising stand on the great issues that concern the apostasy, modernism and various shade[s] of compromise that have manifested themselves.¹¹

From his tent in Collingswood, New Jersey, he became an organizer and leader of the worldwide fundamentalist movement.

McIntire opposed many organizations like the National Council of Churches (NCC), the World Council of Churches (WCC), National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), and the (southern) Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS), and the (northern) PCUSA. He also mounted protests against the World Council of Churches' efforts to support voter registration in Mississippi, called the Delta Ministry, during the civil rights movement. He organized counter-protests against anti-Vietnam War protesters. Though McIntire's publications and broadcasts played a role in publicizing these types of events to his readers and listeners, the events themselves were well organized.

The ACCC provided an organizational umbrella for American Fundamentalists and allowed McIntire to claim to be a national religious leader.

¹¹ *Carl McIntire's 50 Years 1933-1983 as Pastor of the Congregation of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood N.J.* (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press, 1983), 15.

The ACCC also served McIntire's goal to offer faithful Fundamentalists a public alternative to the FCC, whose Christianity he labeled false. McIntire made numerous attempts through the 1950s to gain free airtime on both national radio and television to take advantage of corporate generosity. He reasoned the ACCC would provide a Fundamentalist counter to the NCC's messages that major networks aired at no cost.

To increase the international reach of his Twentieth Century Reformation, McIntire began the International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) in 1948, as a Fundamentalist response to the WCC. The ICCC was a true international organization with member churches that hailed from Europe, Africa and Asia. McIntire believed he could weaken the WCC's influence through this organization. The ICCC helped McIntire demonstrate that Fundamentalism did not only exist in America, but also around the world. McIntire used the ICCC to protest WCC events.

The ICCC's first meeting was held in Amsterdam on 11 August 1948 with funding from J. Howard Pew. McIntire scheduled the event to coincide with WCC's meeting, and to take advantage of the press.¹² McIntire even scheduled meetings with denominational leaders from Scandinavian Lutheran churches, and Reformed Churches in America to convince them to join the ICCC instead of the WCC. He also met with members of the press to disparage the WCC and charge that the organization supported the advance of global communism.

¹² Markku Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist: Carl McIntire and the Politicization of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 93.

The ICCC often held meetings in the same cities as the WCC. This allowed McIntire to hold public demonstrations against the WCC with maximum press attendance as an ICCC meeting itself did not command media attention on its own. At its peak in 1964, the ICCC claimed to represent eighty-nine different Fundamentalist groups throughout the world, and purported to have a membership of over one million.¹³

Though McIntire followed J. Gresham Machen to his Westminster Theological Seminary, founded in 1929 in Glenside, PA, he soon fell out of sorts with his mentor. McIntire shared Machen's theological convictions, but Westminster did not advocate McIntire's social Fundamentalism, nor did it tolerate his premillennial dispensationalism. Because of this, McIntire created Faith Theological Seminary in 1937 to be a training ground for Fundamentalist ministers who would reflect the theology and militancy McIntire believed the Fundamentalist movement needed.

McIntire followed the pattern of D.L. Moody, who set up a proto-fundamentalist Bible college in Chicago, and Bob Jones Sr., who founded a college – “the world's most unusual university,” dedicated to opposing evolution. Both Moody and Jones were able to build a larger following and train ministers in their particular brand of Christianity. In the early 1940s, McIntire took the reigns of the National Bible Institute in New York City and made it the undergraduate institution, Shelton College, which moved to Cape May, New Jersey. It served the educational needs of fundamentalists until it closed in the 1992, a few years after

¹³ Robert Mulholland, Robert Mulholland, “Carl McIntire: The Early Radio Years: 1932-1955” (PhD diss., Bowling Green University, 1984), 24.

it lost its state accreditation. In 1937, he founded Faith Theological Seminary in Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. McIntire considered Faith Theological Seminary a rival to Princeton Seminary and Westminster Seminary. Faith Seminary served as the training ground for Bible Presbyterian ministers and still operates on the grounds of a small church in Baltimore, Maryland.

Operating educational institutions provided McIntire another basis of legitimacy. For many Fundamentalist leaders, a college or seminary served as a status symbol proving the founder to be a bona fide leader. This was the case with Bob Jones College, later University, which granted McIntire an honorary doctorate in 1951. The same can be said for Hyles-Anderson College, in Crown Point, Indiana and Jerry Falwell's Liberty University in Lynchburg, Virginia. They provided an authoritative voice for the Fundamentalist leader. The *Christian Beacon* continually advertised Shelton College and Faith Seminary, not as top institutions to receive an education, but as places where student could become equipped to advance McIntire's Twentieth Century Reformation.

The Twentieth Century Reformation could not only exist in Collingswood. To expand, the movement employed many new media ventures, especially McIntire's newspaper, the *Christian Beacon*, his publishing company, Christian Beacon Press, a radio station, WXUR, and a syndicated radio program, *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*. He used these platforms to address religious and political issues from a Fundamentalist perspective and promoted conservative politics. Most of McIntire's time was tied up in his mass media

ventures – and most of his national and international influence, and notoriety, grew out of those.

McIntire became a master of mass media. He also hosted a radio show, the *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*, which rebroadcast his sermons and socio-political commentary. He also operated a publishing company, the Christian Beacon Press, which published twelve of the books McIntire wrote and hundreds of pamphlets.

McIntire's *Christian Beacon* was a weekly tabloid-format newspaper that he used to promote his ideas and gain followers. Though McIntire promised the *Beacon* would not engage in politics "one whit," he soon broke that promise.¹⁴ From its first issue in 1936 through the last in the early 1990s, the *Beacon* discussed politics in terms Fundamentalists could imbibe and disseminate. The *Beacon* began publication with a few thousand readers in the 1930s and reached its peaks at nearly 80,000 at the height of the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s.¹⁵ For instance, in a 1945 editorial McIntire railed against the U.S.S.R. and declared, "[o]ur concept of freedom under God, a democracy based on His Ten Commandments, is one big stumbling block to Russia."¹⁶ A 1947 report accused the FCC of joining with the AFL-CIO "to crush American businessmen in drive to use Church to socialize our free economy," simply because FCC adopted a position that church members "consider the economic welfare" of others, and

¹⁴ *Christian Beacon*, 13 February 1936, 1. Hereafter, *Christian Beacon* will be abbreviated *CB*.

¹⁵ Arnold Forster and Daniel Epstein, *Danger on the Right: The Attitudes, Personnel and Influence of the Radical Right and Extreme Conservatives* (New York: Random House, 1964), 101, 105 & 111.

¹⁶ "The 'Holy War' Against Russia," *Christian Beacon*, 18 July 1946, 1.

offer support for Labor.¹⁷ In 1968, McIntire took aim at his old foe, Billy Graham, and claimed he supported a “liberal” for Richard Nixon’s Vice-Presidential running mate, when the famed evangelist endorsed Senator Mark Hatfield, a fellow Baptist.¹⁸

While McIntire’s allies viewed him as a serious leader, his enemies saw him as a bombastic agitator. In the 1930s he gained his initial following for opposition to theological liberalism, but his bravado led to his defrocking. In sermons, he railed against the New Deal, which he saw as a move toward socialism, but his comments led people to write the Federal Bureau of Investigation out of concern. He sounded the alarm against Europe’s growing fascist movements and the spread of Soviet Communism. McIntire said, “Freedom is everybody’s business. Your business, my business, the church’s business. And the man who will not use his freedom to defend his freedom...does not deserve his freedom.”¹⁹

After World War II, he viewed communism as the greatest threat to American liberty. He approached social movements associated with modern liberalism with great skepticism and fear because he believed they diminished American liberty as they necessitated larger, centralized government. For McIntire, society needed liberty to flourish. His definition liberty echoed the rising voices of Austrian political economist Friedrich von Hayek. Hayek and the burgeoning "free enterprise" movement campaign bankrolled by American

¹⁷ “F.C. Church Leaders Join CIO – AF of L Spokesmen in Pittsburgh Meeting to Crush American Businessmen in Drive to Use Church to Socialize Our Free Economy,” *CB*, 27 February 1947.

¹⁸ “Graham Promotes Liberal for V.P.,” *CB*, 15 August 1968, 1&5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

business leaders, associated with business conservatism, saw any form of economic centralization, or regulation, as a move toward a collective system of government.²⁰

Like many Fundamentalists, McIntire used radio to its fullest advantage. He began broadcasting his weekly sermons from Bible Presbyterian Church in Collingswood, New Jersey, in 1935. But moving beyond the typical sermon-driven program, he soon began conducting a daily talk show, designed to be a recorded version of the *Christian Beacon*.²¹ No Fundamentalist minister had done that before. McIntire called this program *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*. It expanded to some 600 radio stations at its peak in the mid-1960s.

“The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour” was the only Fundamentalist program to air every weekday and, at thirty minutes, was the longest running.²² It was broadcast in forty-seven states, with its highest concentration in the South, and several foreign markets.²³ It began in 1955 and aired until the early 1970s. At its peak, McIntire boasted several million listeners. It was McIntire’s greatest success in mass media.

The increased exposure led to much opposition. Because McIntire’s program blended Fundamentalist religious views with extreme right-wing politics, it raised the ire of many who did not share his views. The Anti-

²⁰ Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, *Selling Free Enterprise: The Business Assault on Labor and Liberalism, 1945-1960* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 38-41; Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Businessmen’s Crusade Against the New Deal* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009).

²¹ Mulholland, “Carl McIntire: The Early Radio Years,” 25.

²² Dale Leathers, “A Descriptive Study of Revolutionary Reaction of the 1960s: The Rhetoric of Salvation” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1965), 67-69.

²³ Ibid., 68-69. Leathers reported that *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* was on 27 stations in Texas, 24 in Florida, 24 in Pennsylvania, 23 in California, 20 in Alabama, 17 in South Carolina 19 in Mississippi and 19 in Georgia. Additionally, he noted that McIntire’s congregation had over 1,700 members.

Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), in books such as *Christian Fright Peddlers*, and *Danger on the Right*, warned their readers of the extreme views McIntire promulgated. In fact, the ADL published *Danger on the Right* in 1964 and devoted an entire chapter to McIntire. The authors called attention to McIntire's ties to radical groups like the John Birch Society and the Right Wing Church League of America as well as his anti-Roman Catholic speeches. They noted that despite McIntire's "inaccuracy, exaggeration, and what sometimes seems to be deliberate distortion, his followers fanatically support him."²⁴

Still, McIntire insisted he was right and pressed on, no matter the criticism. Reverend Brooks Walker, whose home was bombed during a lecture he delivered on the dangers of the far Right in 1962, declared that McIntire led a "group convinced that it not only has the answers to the questions of human meaning on this planet, but also an understanding of how best to counter threats to faith and to freedom."²⁵ In 1970, Erling Jorstad said that McIntire "more than any other individual would establish the ideology, the tone, and the momentum for fundamentalism of the far right."²⁶ Indeed, McIntire's brand of conservatism touted individualism as the basis for freedom, but his politics attracted people on the fringes of the right and not what represented a mainstream political movement.

McIntire dealt with his enemies in grand Fundamentalist style. Later called the "PT Barnum of Fundamentalism," he used his "oppression" to generate

²⁴ Forster and Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 112.

²⁵ Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers: The Radical Right and the Churches* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), 109.

²⁶ Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday: Fundamentalists of the Far Right* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 27.

publicity and to claim the existence of a conspiracy. In radio, print, and public appearances, McIntire lamented his persecution, but capitalized upon it to argue that it proved the correctness of his views. His attackers were “false accusers” who understood that his message was the truth. So they had to manufacture lies to dissuade others from listening to him.²⁷ Liberals who dared to attack McIntire found themselves connected to a broader movement to deceive the masses. For instance, when liberals pressed for fair housing, he said, “these are not moral issues,” but “the road to socialism and Communism.”²⁸ He added it all up to a wide conspiracy to destroy the biblical values upon which America was built and McIntire—sometimes single-handedly-- defended.²⁹ McIntire warned his followers of the communist assaults on American liberty and true Christianity: “Christian people must recognize what is taking place [communism in Sunday school publications],”³⁰ “Every conceivable approach and means are being used by the Reds in their world conquest. In the name of brotherhood, peace, understanding, equality, Communism wraps about itself, the robe of the church.”³¹ McIntire saw himself as someone appointed to lead God’s people to save America from Communism.

Though he was able to generate millions of dollars in support for the *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*, and reach over 600 stations worldwide, McIntire was not able to avoid the Fairness Doctrine, a broadcast rule that

²⁷ Leathers, “A Descriptive Study of Revolutionary Reaction of the 1960s,” 93.

²⁸ Carl McIntire, “The Destruction of Our Private Property System,” 1966, folder 31, box 304, CMCC.

²⁹ Leathers, “A Descriptive Study of Revolutionary Reaction of the 1960s,” 93-94.

³⁰ Carl McIntire, “The Communist Thesis,” 1963.

³¹ Cal McIntire, “The Red Clergy From Moscow,” Address, Los Angeles, California, 18 May 1954.

mandated entities holding a broadcast license to present controversial issues equitably with time given for differing views. In 1973, Federal Communication Commission closed WXUR in Collingswood, New Jersey. Always on the lookout to dramatize his oppression, McIntire dressed up as John Witherspoon, the 18th century Presbyterian theologian and American revolutionary—perhaps Princeton University’s greatest hero before Woodrow Wilson—and held a public funeral for freedom of speech. He then launched a pirate-radio station, dubbed “Radio Free America,” off the coast of Cape May, New Jersey, on a World War II surplus minesweeper. McIntire’s broadcast lasted ten hours, as the U.S. Coast Guard boarded and impounded the vessel, ending his pirate radio attempt. McIntire used this event to generate attention. He complained that his First Amendment rights were violated and Christianity was under attack. He was the first, and only person ever, to lose a radio license under the Fairness Doctrine. His cantankerous demeanor and inability to compromise with others created the Evangelical-Fundamentalist divide during the 1950s through the 1950s as he attacked the National Association of Evangelicals, Billy Graham, and politicized Fundamentalism.

CHAPTER TWO
FUNDAMENTALISM AND EVANGELICALISM:
THE DIVINE DIVIDE

Billy Graham, under the word “Christ,” seeks to enclose and include...different Christs. – Carl McIntire, 1957³²

The Evangelical movement that developed in the 1940s grew from Fundamentalism. Both groups shared essential views on Christian doctrine, particularly as espoused in *The Fundamentals*, the 19th century writings that captured conservative Protestant doctrine, including the inerrancy of Scripture. The two camps viewed the Bible as the authoritative, divinely inspired word of God, and embraced the view of inerrancy, an American doctrine that developed in the 18th and 19th centuries as a response to source critical readings. They employed similar outlooks concerning the so-called End Times. The divide came over the militancy employed by Fundamentalist leaders, particularly Carl McIntire.

Carl McIntire and other Fundamentalists pushed very hard for ecclesiastical separation from anyone Christian, or any Christian group,

³² Carl McIntire, “A Ministry of Disobedience: Christian Leaders Analyze the Billy Graham Crusade, 1957,” folder 20, box 562, Carl McIntire Manuscript Collection, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ. Carl McIntire Manuscript Collection will be CMMC hereafter.

associated with modernism or who associated with modernists. They did not believe Fundamental Christians should break bread, share funds, or cooperate in missions abroad with Christians who did not fully commit to Christian and social Fundamentalist ideas.³³ These deviant ideas often included support for organized labor, civil rights and any economic theory that deviated from the language and ethos of free enterprise. McIntire used his ACCC to drive a wedge between Fundamentalists and the emerging Evangelical movement of the 1940s.

Evangelicalism developed as a way to rehabilitate the Fundamentalist image. Instead of the rural caricatures of H.L. Menken, Evangelicals like Carl Henry and Harold Ockenga looked at American culture with a more open posture. Meanwhile, Fundamentalists emphasized the need for distinctiveness and separation from the world and its entrapments.

The key biblical text for Fundamentalists comes from the New Testament epistle, Second Corinthians, chapter six, verse twenty-one: “Come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.” Fundamentalists developed a doctrine they called separation to maintain both personal and ecclesial purity. Fundamentalists took the idea of separation to mean the Bible commanded them not to cooperate with leaders and groups who did not share their Fundamentalist views. Fundamentalists viewed calls for Christian unity, particularly in the post-World War II era, as invitations to compromise true doctrine, thereby diluting the effectiveness of Christianity.

³³ Ibid, 148.

J. Gresham Machen's *Christianity and Liberalism* became a key text for many fundamentalists. Machen argued that modernist Christianity could not call itself Christian as it denied basic tenets of the Christian faith, particularly supernatural teachings like miracles. Succeeding generations of Fundamentalists used Machen to argue that mainline Christianity compromised the religion to the point that it could no longer claim to be Christianity.

Fundamentalists refused to engage seriously with modern, secular culture and spurred moderate fundamentalists to create the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). The modern Evangelical movement sought to distance itself from Fundamentalism, while holding the same biblical doctrines, but with a willingness to work with groups who did not hold to inerrancy or the Five Fundamentals. This movement away from separation on the part of Evangelicals would lead to an antagonistic relationship between the two camps.

Carl McIntire and Bob Jones unsuccessfully attempted to shape the creation of the NAE in a Fundamentalist direction. Evangelicals wanted the freedom to participate in broader American life and engage social and academic issues for the purpose of cultural transformation. Fundamentalists believed that Christian holiness diminished once believers violated the Bible's admonishment to "touch not the unclean thing." Essentially, the Evangelical movement sought to create institutions for the purpose of participation in civic society, while Fundamentalists built institutions for the sake of preservation.

When the NAE formed in the early 1940s, Fundamentalists participated in the initial stages of its development. The inclusion of Fundamentalists

demonstrates the shared theological commitments of the two camps, though leaders like Ockenga and Bell wanted to keep McIntire at a distance. Finally, Fundamentalists and Evangelicals split, primarily over the issue of separation.

McIntire created the ACCC in 1941 to represent those who believed Christians should militantly oppose the NCC and modernism.³⁴ The leaders of the NAE, founded in 1943, refused to incorporate the ACCC because McIntire represented the type of Christianity they wanted to avoid.³⁵ As groups met to discuss the need for the NAE, McIntire still believed he could play a role.

Prior to the founding of the NAE, both McIntire and his friend, Bob Jones, believed they could unite with the growing Evangelical movement and the ACCC would act as the flagship organization. In October 1941, McIntire and other representatives of the ACCC traveled to Chicago and met with Elwin Wright and Ralph T. Davis, who represented the coalition that became the NAE, to discuss this union.³⁶ It soon became clear this was not possible.³⁷ McIntire insisted upon complete ecclesial separation from Mainline Christianity and any group associated with the NCC.³⁸ Though McIntire failed to merge the two groups, he remained undeterred.

Through the ACCC, McIntire waged a multi-front war. He used the organization to combat theological and political liberalism. He also rallied his fellow Fundamentalists against the new Evangelicalism and waged personal

³⁴ Statement of American Council of Christian Churches Concerning the St. Louis Conference, 1942, folder 57, box 154.

³⁵ Letter to Carl McIntire from the Temporary Committee for United Action Among Evangelicals, 2 March 1942. CMCC, Box 154, Folder 57.

³⁶ Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 145-146.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

battles against the southern Baptist Billy Graham, Graham's southern Presbyterian father-in-law Nelson Bell, their Presbyterian Patron, J. Howard Pew, and others. Furthermore, the ACCC became a platform to promote his personal ministry and causes. McIntire maintained control over the ACCC and subsequent associated organizations. His autocratic leadership and increasingly intemperate and suspicious demands for loyalty made life difficult for others who worked with him. Those habits also contributed to his decline in the public eye decades later, but also tapped into a longer history.

The growing conflict between Evangelicals and Fundamentalists during the 1940s had deep roots in American history. The First Great Awakening created Old Light and New Light groups, who distanced themselves from one another based upon new methods of Christian practice, like personal conversion narratives in place of institutional membership. Major denominations divided over abolitionism and the preservation of the Union in the 1850s and 1860s. From the late 19th Century through World War II, Protestant Christianity fractured further and created new groups: Campbellites, Holiness and Pentecostal movements, Modernists, and Fundamentalists.

In McIntire's era, Fundamentalists turned against their new rivals, the Evangelicals, who sought to displace Fundamentalists as the main alternative to the liberal, or "Mainline" churches of the Protestant establishment. Mainline churches flourished among older, educated, relatively affluent settlers in the northeast and Midwest. The Evangelicals were insurgents who captured many older, established, and affluent congregations, but drew on groups of younger,

poorer, less educated, and more recent arrivals to America that splintered away from older churches, or were formed out of whole cloth.³⁹

Fundamentalists viewed American culture as an enemy. Though they embraced new technology and adopted modern business methods of efficiency, they remained skeptical toward newer forms of entertainment like movies, jazz music, and professional sports. They believed participation in culture weakened faith and invited people to lapse into liberal Christianity, or unbelief. Fundamentalists used their institutions to create a buttress against cultural change. Radio programs, pamphlets, newsletters, and other media warned the faithful the dangers of movies, modern music styles, atheist university professors, and secular ideologies.

Fundamentalists' insistence on separating themselves from mainstream derived, in part, from belief that the return of Christ was imminent. As H. Richard Niebuhr observed, Christ Against Culture movements tend to represent themselves as apocalyptic or mystical.⁴⁰ A sense of apocalypticism flowed through the movement. Current events became fodder for eschatological interpretation, and further divided the Fundamentalists from American religious and secular culture.

Fundamentalists organized biblical and secular history into distinct “dispensations” which pulled them further away from mainstream culture. John Nelson Darby, one of the leaders of the British movement the Plymouth Brethren,

³⁹ Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 187-194.

⁴⁰ H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), 65.

created dispensationalism in 1834. This new theology rejected the longer Christian view of history, established by Augustine, which placed the Church in history as a triumphant institution. Darby, by contrast, divided history into seven cataclysmic “dispensations,” or epochs that ended with destruction that necessitated the direct intervention of God. For example, the Biblical story of Adam and Eve became the age of Innocence that concluded with the Fall of Humanity.⁴¹ Following Innocence, Conscience ended with Noah’s flood; Human Government fell at the Tower of Babel; Promise succumbed to Egyptian captivity; Law gave way to the rejection of Jesus Christ as Messiah; Grace—the current period of human history, allegedly foretold in the bible – will end at the Tribulation, the seven-year period before the end times, when Christian believers and others will suffer great plagues, wars, famines and other calamities as stated in Matthew 24:29 and 30. Finally, the literal 1,000-year reign of Christ on earth will conclude with an epic battle between Christ and Satan, who will have been “loosed for a little season.”⁴²

There was no room for human progress in the dispensationalist scheme. The Church’s mission was to interpret the signs pointing to Christ’s return, call sinners to heed warnings of judgment, and anticipate the thousand-year reign of a returned Christ on earth. Dispensationalism is the key to understanding Fundamentalists’ alienation from mainstream Protestants, run-of-the-mill Evangelicals, and “modernist” secular culture. These were aberrations to Fundamentalists, and confirmation that dispensationalism was true.

⁴¹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 64-66.

⁴² Ibid.

Seventy-nine years after Darby, C.I. Scofield's *Study Bible* (1909) popularized Darby's work and captivated thousands of new believers.⁴³ Scofield's work transmitted dispensationalism to a new group, who increasingly called themselves Fundamentalists in the early 20th century. "Fundamental" came from a book that was as important as the Scofield Bible, *The Fundamentals*, first published a year after the *Scofield Bible* by an anonymous committee of Protestants, many of whom were also dispensationalists. The *Scofield Bible* and *The Fundamentals* offered diagrams and charts by which any moderately curious Christian could interpret the so-called end times.⁴⁴

Dispensationalists believed that culture will decline and become more sinful. This will give rise to the anti-Christ and the secret rapture of the faithful. Following that, the anti-Christ will begin a seven-year persecution, at which time a new Jewish state will be established in Israel, culminating in the battle of Armageddon, which will be won by a conquering Christ who will establish a kingdom.⁴⁵ McIntire called dispensationalism a "truth of Scripture" and lauded C.I. Scofield for helping to promote this view in troubled times.⁴⁶

With this pessimistic view of the human narrative, it may seem contradictory that McIntire so readily embraced politics during his long career. However, to him, his message was holy and could not be tainted by contact with

⁴³ Ibid, 45.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 59-62.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 48-71. Marsden also notes that it is important to take into account the historical context in which the rise of dispensationalism occurred in America. It was in the post-Civil War era, a time which the United States underwent civil and social unrest. The pessimistic understanding of human history provided an important outlet for dispensationalists to make sense of their times. Additionally, these people believed it provided hope as dispensationalist teaching places a heavy emphasis on a divine plan for human history that is literally presented in Christian Scripture.

⁴⁶ Carl McIntire, "Premillennialism," *CB*, 1 October 1936, 4.

the cultures that it sought to overthrow. Therefore, he embraced radio and other tools of mass-communication. He used those to rail against a dying culture and the new Evangelical movement.

The new Evangelicals of the 1940s – in contrast to Fundamentalists – tended to believe, like their ancestors in antebellum reform movements from temperance to anti-slavery, that Christianity possessed the power to change what Alexis de Tocqueville called civil society: that realm of public life that is distinct from politics but probably necessary to the stable functioning of politics. These include the voluntary and religious associations that are larger than family, but generally smaller than political communities and more personalized than the marketplace or modern workplaces. Evangelicals’ efforts to convert masses to Christianity would –and should— make society more truly Christian, thus more morally restrained and orderly, less indulgent and criminal.

Neo-Evangelical leaders, in the early 1940s, viewed their mission with optimism because “the eschatological future has become...an eschatological present.”⁴⁷ The horrifying slaughter of civilians and soldiers on an unprecedented scale, almost everywhere but the Americas, made the end of this world seem a more immediate possibility. While many Evangelicals defined themselves by an intense belief in the dispensationalist scheme of ancient and future history, they did not arrive at a consensus in this matter. As they became more and more popular, winning millions of new souls in revivals all over the world, they quickly became less and less dispensationalist — and further and further from their fundamentalist roots in other ways.

⁴⁷ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 195.

In fact, much of early Evangelicalism shared a closer link to the broader Reformed tradition of culture transformation, particularly as espoused by the theologian-statesman, Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920). Kuyper's influential "Lectures on Calvinism" at Princeton Theological Seminary, in 1898, outlined a comprehensive vision for Christians to engage the civil society.⁴⁸ He envisioned a culturally engaged Christianity that promoted public virtue and morality to preserve liberty.⁴⁹ He called this idea "sphere sovereignty" and promoted Christianity as the only force for positive transformation of society's institutions including education, government, and the arts.⁵⁰ In contrast to the pessimism of dispensationalists, Kuyper said, "there is not one square inch in the domain of our human existence over which Christ, who is sovereign over all, does not say, 'Mine!'"⁵¹ This vision birthed a flurry of publishing from new Evangelical leaders like Carl Henry, who utilized William Eerdmans Publishing Company, affiliated with the Dutch Reformed tradition of Kuyper, to espouse their vision of Christianity's cultural power in contrast to Fundamentalism's pessimistic view of the relationship between Christianity and culture.⁵²

When Nelson Bell, Billy Graham, and Carl Henry launched *Christianity Today* in 1956, they believed the magazine provided a mechanism for Evangelicals to understand culture and apply Christianity to the current age.

⁴⁸ Abraham Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. Eerdmans, 1931).

⁴⁹ James D. Bratt, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2013), 135.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid, xx.

⁵² Mark Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Company, 1991), 217.

Evangelical leaders worked with non-Evangelical groups and organizations to evangelize and, later found a powerful voice in American culture.

Nothing illustrates the conflict between Fundamentalists and Evangelicals more than Fundamentalist hostility to Billy Graham. When a college-aged Graham decided to transfer from Bob Jones College in South Carolina because of its strict rules, Bob Jones Sr. derisively told him his choice would land him in obscurity. Instead, it would propel him to international fame and make him the Fundamentalists' greatest enemy as they viewed him as one who abandoned true Christianity.

Graham's career as the emblem of American Evangelicalism began in Fundamentalism. As a boy in rural North Carolina, he attended Fundamentalist tent revivals. He answered the call to become a Christian during a service led by Mordecai Ham, a protégé of Billy Sunday.⁵³ Shortly after this dramatic conversion experience, Graham felt a divine call to convert souls to Christianity. His mother persuaded him to attend Bob Jones College to prepare for the Christian ministry.⁵⁴

At the unaccredited Bob Jones College, Graham found himself out of place. Bob Jones took great interest in Graham's talents as an orator and recognized his potential as an evangelist, but Graham floundered under the rigid rules and demands for absolute loyalty to "Dr. Bob."⁵⁵ Constantly finding himself in trouble for breaking rules, Graham transferred to Florida Bible Institute after

⁵³ William Martin, *A Prophet with Honor: The Billy Graham Story* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1991), 62-64.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 66.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 69.

one year at Bob Jones College. His last meeting with Bob Jones ended with the older evangelist chastising him for wasting his potential.⁵⁶

In his three-and-a-half year stint at Florida Bible Institute, Graham began to prepare for full-time work as a traveling evangelist. Though he finished with an unaccredited “Worker’s Training Course Diploma,” Graham left FBI with a “nearly unshakable faith in the bible as the inspired and literal word of God.”⁵⁷

With the help of a benefactor, Graham enrolled at Wheaton College, the “intellectual and political center” of Fundamentalism at the time, to complete a degree in Anthropology.⁵⁸ The grandson of Confederate soldiers moved north to an institution founded by abolitionists. This decision helped propel Graham from Southern evangelist to “America’s Pastor.”⁵⁹

Graham was 22 when he entered Wheaton in 1940. The college did not accept his previous academic work because it was not accredited. Soon, he met Ruth Bell, who he married in 1943. Bell grew up in China, the daughter of Presbyterian medical missionary, Dr. Nelson Bell. This relationship opened Graham to world larger than Fundamentalism as the Bells were connected to the Presbyterian tradition and did not have the trappings of social or cultural fundamentalism. After Wheaton, the Grahams worked together to build Billy’s ministry. With the help of his father-in-law, Nelson Bell, wealthy industrialists, and others, Billy Graham transformed himself from country preacher to global evangelist.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 70.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 79.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Grant Wacker, *America’s Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014).

Carl McIntire constantly berated Graham. He produced books and pamphlets that declared Graham's unfaithfulness to Christianity. In *A Ministry of Disobedience*, McIntire and other Fundamentalist authors made the case that Graham compromised true Christianity because he partnered with non-Fundamentalist organizations and churches in his crusades and ministry.⁶⁰ They attacked Graham for meeting with students from Union Theological Seminary, a hotbed of liberalism, though it was also the home of an American version of neo-orthodoxy, and charged him with embracing modernist Christianity through this association.⁶¹ McIntire and other Fundamentalists argued that Evangelicals engaged in syncretism, mixing modernist and Fundamentalist theologies under the guise of ecumenism.⁶²

When those arguments failed, McIntire accused Graham of denying basic tenets of fundamental Christianity like sin, separation from unbelievers, and the refusal to excoriate apostasy or criticize modernism.⁶³ Nelson Bell, a very active southern conservative Presbyterian layman and elder, defended Graham in fierce letters to McIntire on numerous occasions. Bell took issue with how Fundamentalists depicted Graham. He accused McIntire of "picking at flaws" and of effectively allying with non-Christians in their opposition of his son-in-law's ministry.⁶⁴ McIntire used his radio program and publications to attack Graham for promoting the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, and for making

⁶⁰ Carl McIntire, ed., *A Ministry of Disobedience: Christian Leaders Analyze the Billy Graham New York Crusade* (Collingswood: Christian Beacon Press, 1957).

⁶¹ Ibid, 19.

⁶² Carl McIntire, *What is the Difference Between Fundamentalism and New Evangelicalism?* (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press [Date Unknown]), folder 34, box 554, CMCC.

⁶³ McIntire, *A Ministry of Disobedience*, 34-36.

⁶⁴ Nelson Bell to Carl McIntire, 29 October 1952, folder 24, box 201, CMMC.

friendships across denominational lines. By 1960, *Christianity Today* fielded letters from McIntire supporters who complained about Graham. McIntire encouraged his listeners to write to the magazine to express their disagreement. *Christianity Today* defended him and argued that McIntire “spread false rumors about fellow Christians.”⁶⁵

McIntire used Graham as an example of the type of person he believed led the Evangelical movement astray from true Christianity. McIntire’s book, *What is Happening to Evangelism* (circa 1957), depicts Graham as someone willing to sacrifice key biblical teachings in order to gain wider public influence. McIntire sometimes insinuated Graham was in it for the money, busily passing collection plates among heretics.⁶⁶ Prior to Graham’s now famous 1957 revival meeting at Madison Square Garden, McIntire complained that Graham abandoned fundamentalists to partner with “unbelievers” to gain fame and attention in New York City.⁶⁷ He said the famous evangelist “ignores and temporizes with the major sin of the hour in the house of God....apostasy, unbelief in the church, modernism; the sin of being unequally yoked with unbelievers.”⁶⁸ These unbelievers were not tied to secularist organizations, but to the World Council of Churches. McIntire decried this partnership as a “fundamental error” because, in his view, the Christ of the WCC differed from the Christ of the Bible.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Nelson Bell to J.B. Hollopeter, 11 January 1960. Nelson Bell to Rae Miller, 9 April 1960, folder 24, box 201, CMMC.

⁶⁶ *What is Happening to Evangelism*, (date unknown).

⁶⁷ Ibid, 36.

⁶⁸ McIntire, *A Ministry of Disobedience*, 35.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 38.

Graham stood as the representative for the new Evangelical movement. Because Graham did not openly criticize Roman Catholics or Mainline Christians, McIntire and other Fundamentalists imputed this lack of militancy to the entire movement.⁷⁰ The New Evangelicals seemed in lock step with mainline and liberal Christianity and Fundamentalists sought to make their opposition known.

In the late 1960s, when Graham accepted an honorary degree from Belmont Abbey College, a Roman Catholic Institution, Bob Jones Sr. declared Graham “completely without scruples” and Nelson Bell “a plain fool” for defending his son-in-law.⁷¹ The irony of this is that Bob Jones had no objection when Bob Jones Jr. accepted an interview on Graham’s popular *Hour of Decision* broadcast to promote Bob Jones University.⁷² Where Jones treated Graham with contempt, Graham responded with goodwill. At the same time, Jones accepted good publicity from one he so vehemently opposed in public.

Fundamentalists, like McIntire, consciously chose to promote ecclesiastical separation from Christian groups they did not deem like-minded. In doing this, they rejected the consensus-seeking spirit that animated Cold War liberals, with their push toward ecumenism and the generic belief in God, as espoused in Will Herberg’s *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*, or as president Eisenhower put it, “a deeply felt religious faith—and I don’t care what it is.” Fundamentalists acted as warning beacons: they believed that path was detrimental to true Christianity. Whether they were attacking Billy Graham and the NAE, the

⁷⁰ *What is Happening to Evangelism*, 3-5.

⁷¹ Letter from “Bob Jones to Carl McIntire” 3 January 1968, folder 25, box 162. CMMC.

⁷² Transcript “Hour of Decision Interview with Bob Jones Jr.” December, 1951, folder 6, box 251, CMMC.

Catholics, the godless communists, or the World Council of churches, Fundamentalists relied on a message of danger, rather than visible unity.⁷³

Fundamentalists and the initial leaders of Evangelicalism shared some essential theological and hermeneutical beliefs, but they differed in how they conveyed those views to the broader culture, including other Christian groups with whom they disagreed. Evangelicals, like Graham, used their public platforms to build consensus and to evangelize non-believers. Fundamentalists, like McIntire, made some evangelistic efforts. But they were far less devoted to evangelism, in the proper, small-e sense of the term, in that they demanded punctilious adherence to unpopular and extra-biblical doctrines. They did seek to win, but on their road to victory they emphasized the beliefs that divided them from other Christians. Their engagement with American culture focused increasingly on the political sphere of that culture, and did so in an often tribalistic manner.

Political fundamentalism

McIntire's Fundamentalist vision for America had a long, stubborn struggle in mind that longed for a Christian revival and political transformation, despite his pessimistic dispensationalism. Graham's revivals dwarfed the Fundamentalists' meager harvests of souls. But a historian looking back may detect an emphasis on intensity of commitment—which, whether McIntire or his

⁷³ J.C. Matis, "The Danger of the Ecumenical Movement." (date unknown), folder 40, box 555, CMCC.

popular Evangelical enemies anticipated it or not--may have been destined to pay off in the longer run.

McIntire's two-front agon with the massive Evangelical movement and with secular culture unfolded in the pages of his *Christian Beacon*. It is there where electoral politics emerge as a way out of his frustration with the massive popular appeal of Billy Graham's impure crusades and liberalism's deadening ambience. When he founded the newspaper in 1936, he chose the word "beacon" to harken back to the biblical text, "you are the light of the world. A city on a hill" and to stand as a warning light because civil and religious liberties were under attack.⁷⁴ His opening editorial, "Liberty," declared "those truly interested in protecting and maintaining liberty in this land are those who believe and defend and love the Bible as the Word of the living God."⁷⁵ He touched upon issues like alcohol and Blue Laws. A 1938 editorial alerted *Beacon* readers to a referendum on legalizing the sale of liquor in Haddon Township, New Jersey, next-door to his home base in Collingswood.⁷⁶ McIntire weighed in on this political issue, stating, "our interest in this battle is primarily a religious one." He said that a local saloon "generates an evil influence."⁷⁷

McIntire argued that Christians needed to engage the political process to effect change. He looked to Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, and fascist Italy and declared "a paralysis is sweeping over the nations" because "people and

⁷⁴ "Introduction," *Christian Beacon*, 11 February 1936, 1.

⁷⁵ "Liberty," *CB*, 11 February 1936, 6.

⁷⁶ "The Ballot," *CB*, 3 November 1938, 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

nations...are turning their back upon precious liberties.”⁷⁸ The only hope was indoctrination with the Bible and Fundamentalist Christianity – a combination that would limit some liberties like the right to operate a saloon something which McIntire never sought to reconcile. Still, he believed his scheme would liberate people to find true freedom in Christ and the teachings of the Bible. Because once a people “become[s] indifferent toward the Bible...that people slips into darkness and tyranny.”⁷⁹ This darkness and tyranny were any form of government that exerted centralized control or allowed for behaviors fundamentalist abhorred.

McIntire urged his readers not only to vote, but also to run for office, and to pass laws that fit the theological and political views that he and other Fundamentalists espoused. He referred to the New Deal as “a system that denies property and individual rights for a communistic order with different conceptions of ‘rights.’”⁸⁰ The *Beacon* railed against cigarettes, declaring them “a source of crime,” and “an evil threatening civilization.” He urged readers to take civic action.⁸¹ In comparing Nazism, communism, and capitalism, McIntire reasoned that all political ideologies have “a religious basis” and “if Capitalism fails and goes under, it will go under because people are getting away from the Bible.”⁸² Indeed, McIntire, departing from Fundamentalist heroes like William Jennings Bryan or Fundamentalist groups who participated in the Populist movement, saw Christianity and capitalism linked together, inseparable.

McIntire proposed his vision for an ideal society in a 1938 editorial,

⁷⁸ “Liberty,” 6.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ “July 4th,” *CB*, 1 July 1937, 1.

⁸¹ D.H. Kress, “Is the Cigarette Destroying Our Young People?” *CB*, 26 August 1937, 1, 8.

⁸² “Capitalism,” *CB*, 1 December 1938, 4.

“Collingswood,” where he called his readers to remember, “that we as Christians establish righteousness,” and hailed civic participation as the path forward.⁸³

According to McIntire, “one of the great tragedies of our day is that Christians have withdrawn from positions of influence and leadership...and are turning over the affairs of the State to men who are not motivated by high Christian principles.”⁸⁴ Essentially, McIntire issued a clarion call for a fundamentalist takeover of American society through the ballot. This stood in contrast to other fundamentalist leaders of his era who offered spiritual solutions. McIntire wanted to change America through a fundamentalist revival that spilled into the political arena.

In contrast to the state of national affairs, McIntire’s suburban Collingswood had a high “class Christian community” that created “civic pride and community spirit.” The reasons were plain to the fundamentalist pastor. Collingswood was a place where “no liquors or beers of any kind are sold,” and “everything is shut down but the churches” on Sunday. He said, “The streets are clean. The parks are attractive and easily accessible.” In fact, Collingswood was so serene that “squirrels may be seen across the lawn and running on the roofs of houses.”⁸⁵ The ideal community existed because Christians engaged in the civic arena. Because of this, Collingswood “appeals to a fine, conservative, upstanding citizenry.”⁸⁶ McIntire looked to his perception of Collingswood as the ideal for America and called upon Christians to press forward with his vision.

⁸³ “Collingswood,” *CB*, 29 September 1938, 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

McIntire believed America could become a society that resembled the idealized version of Collingswood. Yet, there was a contradiction between his fervent nationalism and fundamentalist theology. Thanks in large part to his preaching, the contradiction was widespread. Fundamentalists believed that God chose the United States for his purposes; McIntire represented an extreme of this heresy in the 1930s. But like other Fundamentalists – and indeed many other Christians – he believed his faith countered the more common heresy of belief in human perfectibility on earth. Again, McIntire took that view to an extreme. He frequently framed the course of current events in apocalyptic terms. “Satan,” McIntire said in 1956, “is working overtime in Washington D.C.”⁸⁷ For Fundamentalists, declension was progress. Babylon, the U.S., was also a City on a Hill.

In biblical imagery, Babylon was a metaphor for an evil, oppressive society that stood at odds with goodness and oppressed the faithful. In John’s Apocalypse, Babylon was a whore, “drunk on the blood of the saints.” Fundamentalists believed America, and the world, was heading in this direction. At the same time, they also viewed America as a “city on a hill.” McIntire alluded to this image when he called his newspaper the *Christian Beacon*. He also saw America’s founding as divinely orchestrated, particularly the implementation of the Bill of Rights. These two contradictions led American Fundamentalists to decry a culture they believed was slipping into hell, yet laud their country as an exceptional place with a divine mission to lead the world into freedom. Still, the only way for Christ to return, according to fundamentalist doctrine, was for life on

⁸⁷ Carl McIntire, “Communism is of the Devil,” 1956, folder 34, box 454, CMCC.

earth to become more like Babylon.

The Second World War had given great support to his declensionist view. In the years leading up to war, Fundamentalists saw the Axis powers as representatives of the Apocalypse. During a Sunday evening service in September 1938, Dr. J. Frank Norris thundered to his Ft. Worth congregation of over 10,000 that “the world stage is being rapidly set for the final conflict of the battle of Armageddon.” He told his listeners to put all hope in God alone in his dispensationalist sermon, “Hitler and the Earmarks of the Beast.”⁸⁸ Like Norris, McIntire interpreted Jewish persecution as a sign of that the end times were upon them. The *Christian Beacon* published dozens of articles a year that covered anti-Semitism and Jewish oppression in the years leading up to the Second World War. When talks of a new Jewish state in Israel surfaced in the late 1930s, the *Beacon* saw Jewish colonies in Palestine as confirmation of the Bible’s prophecies.⁸⁹

Predictions of the Second Coming of Christ permeated Fundamentalist literature, radio shows, and sermons. Fundamentalist evangelist John R. Rice preached to his Dallas congregation “Signs of the Soon Coming of Christ” in 1935 and said, “Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and the New Deal, [are] getting the world ready for the world dictator foretold in the Bible.”⁹⁰ J. Frank Norris preached “Bible Prophecies That Show One Man Will Rule All Europe” to his Detroit congregation with a map of Czechoslovakia that illustrated the recent invasion of Nazi Germany said, “the ultimate results are clearly

⁸⁸ J. Frank Norris, “Hitler and the Earmarks of the Beast,” *The Fundamentalist*, 7 October 1938, 3.

⁸⁹ “New Book on Fulfilled Prophecy,” *CB*, 25 November 1937, 1, 3, 7.

⁹⁰ “Signs of the Soon Coming of Christ,” *The Sword of the Lord*, 28 June 1935.

foretold.”⁹¹ War came. Yet Fundamentalists remained optimistic that Christian ideals would dominate U.S. politics and culture. Even so, at McIntire’s urging, they clung to their dispensational view that the world – including the U.S. government – was declining catastrophically.

Following the Second World War, McIntire devoted more energy to crafting a political agenda. He also began to develop a financial network of business sponsors. In 1944, his *Twentieth Century Reformation*, published by his Christian Beacon Press, laid out McIntire’s post-war vision for the United States. The world needed a reformation akin to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, he argued. McIntire sought to develop his plan that covered economic, social, and foreign policies.

McIntire believed that secular problems resulted from a lack of fundamentalist fervor. “[O]ur troubles are, at the bottom, religious,” McIntire wrote. “Our democracy and capitalism are rooted in the rich soil of the historic Christian faith.”⁹² He blamed the Depression and the war on the desiccated, humanistic husk of Christianity preached by the Federal Council of Churches. “[T]he presence of pagan forces inside” the FCC weakened it to the point of compromise with liberalism, modernism, and other denials of the Christian faith.⁹³

McIntire said, “[t]he military strength of a nation is its life” and the FCC’s

⁹¹ “Bible Prophecies That Show That One Man Will Rule All Europe,” *The Fundamentalist*, 7 March 1939, 2.

⁹² Carl McIntire, *The Twentieth Century Reformation*, (Collingswood: Christian Beacon Press, 1944), v..

⁹³ *Ibid*, 21-24.

post-war peace plan stripped that away.⁹⁴ He looked to the future and surmised, [f]ollowing the war, we are going to have the communist bloc versus the capitalist bloc.”⁹⁵ The FCC’s stress on cooperation and peace and world order threatened America. “Russia will overrun the small nations about her – deny their liberty and independence – in order to fix her own boundary.”⁹⁶ McIntire called his readers to be “the militant church in action,” and “join in this battle for the faith” with the ACCC’s plan to reject pacifism and global cooperation and support a strong military and independent foreign policy.

McIntire viewed the Second World War as a failure of modernism because of modernists, in his view, were anti-war and skeptical of capitalism. Liberal theology promoted pacifism and isolationism in the 1920s and 1930s. “[T]he war, however, has shown us the bankruptcy of the Federal Council’s pacifism,” McIntire wrote.⁹⁷ Liberal theology also allowed a proto-Communism to emerge. McIntire held the FCC’s Social Creed (1932), which supported “a planned economic system,” was partly responsible for the New Deal and for social democratic policies in Western Europe.⁹⁸ McIntire claimed that unregulated capitalism was the fruit of Christian faith. “[T]he ‘presuppositions of capitalism’ are Biblical and Christian.... [They] rest upon the solid structures of the moral law, the Ten Commandments.”⁹⁹ War had come because the FCC’s liberal theological positions had driven Western democracies to tamper with capitalism’s

⁹⁴ Ibid, 125.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 126.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 129.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 135.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 137.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 139.

biblical foundations and reject the moral law. In a post-war world, he argued, the Church's reformation must involve reformation of popular government. That was the only way to avoid World War III.

McIntire's reformation required a "militant church." His ACCC would lobby the federal government to oppose any future pacifism. "[M]en who love free America are going to do something about it," he wrote in 1944.¹⁰⁰ The ACCC established a Commission on Chaplains to provide credentials to fundamentalist ministers who wanted to become military chaplains because they would stand against the doctrine of pacifism.¹⁰¹ The militant church would also build coalitions of voters and activists to change society through the church and political action.¹⁰² McIntire believed this could happen through churches and denominations that affiliated with his ACCC.

McIntire believed that his reformation would reconcile traditional Christian theology with American patriotism. It would revive civic participation as a proper form of Christian works. "[W]e love America," he wrote. "We all do! We want to see our way of life and freedom maintained."¹⁰³ He claimed that his politicized Fundamentalism "made America, the church of Jesus Christ our Lord." Fundamentalism alone stood against Communism and other heresies that ate away at the foundations of Christian capitalism. Only through fundamentalism, according to McIntire, could the U.S. be saved from post-war calamity. *The Twentieth Century Reformation* was McIntire's call for "many soldiers" of Christ

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 188.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 191.

¹⁰² Ibid, 206-216.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 217.

and “much consecrated money” to reshape America.¹⁰⁴

Twentieth Century Reformation was the first Christian vision for a post-World War II America that entwined conservative Christianity with right-wing politics. Many of McIntire’s political values fell in step with the conservative movement. In broad strokes, he declared organized labor’s call for “industrial democracy” to be “communist propaganda.”¹⁰⁵ Federal housing was “a little bit of Russia that fell out of Washington one day.”¹⁰⁶ Any progress informed by modern liberalism McIntire painted as collectivist, Communistic, and anti-Christian. While no data exists to show the reach of this book, *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* began a movement to implement his agenda. This became evident with his second book, *Rise of the Tyrant*, and the method he employed to seek corporate connections to fund his vision.¹⁰⁷

Rise of the Tyrant and Business Connections

During the mid-1930s, business conservatives launched an assault on the New Deal.¹⁰⁸ The leaders of some major corporations believed New Deal relief and recovery measures interfered too much with their control of commerce and efforts to maximize profits. They began a long public relations campaign to disseminate the message that big business served the best interest of

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 213.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 143.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 145.

¹⁰⁷ Carl McIntire, *Rise of the Tyrant: Controlled Economy vs. Private Enterprise*, (Collingswood: Christian Beacon Press, 1945).

¹⁰⁸ Wendy Wall, *Inventing the “American Way”: The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 35-40.

Americans.¹⁰⁹

Following the Second World War, major corporations made tremendous efforts to sell Americans the idea that corporate profits benefitted all. The transition to a consumption-based economy went into full effect. Major corporations, like General Motors and General Electric, partnered with advertising firms to tell Americans that when business succeeded, all did.¹¹⁰ The National Association of Manufacturers, Heritage Foundation, and other interest groups worked in concert with government and business to promote the promises of free enterprise.¹¹¹

The term "free enterprise" first became an everyday term during World War II. Prior to 1937, "laissez-faire" was the typical term. In fact, the *New York Times* used the term "free enterprise" only thirty times from 1857 to 1934. In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt moved left and the *Times* used the term 25 times. After 1937, it was 114 times and by 1940, 220 times.¹¹² In 1941, the *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post* used "free enterprise" 473 times, and by 1946 it reached 702 mentions.

Free enterprise served as a vehicle to promote the benefits of capitalism. Friedrich von Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* served as the prophetic roadmap for a privately regulated economy.¹¹³ Hayek warned readers against the dangers of centralized economies under public control. He argued that the most efficient

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 50-54.

¹¹⁰ Phillips-Fein. *Invisible Hands* 11-25.

¹¹¹ Wall, *Inventing the "American Way,"* 172-200.

¹¹² Ibid, 48-49.

¹¹³ Ibid, 210.

economies had the least government interference and that workers in them embraced the individualism of 19th century liberals. Many American business leaders promoted *The Road to Serfdom* as the gospel of free enterprise.

McIntire joined these businessmen and tried to sanctify their ideas. He read Hayekian tracts printed by General Motors for shareholders, which explained the benefits of business from an anti-union perspective.¹¹⁴ McIntire's ACCC sent GM President Charles Erwin Wilson a letter of support in his fight against organized labor, and reassurances that the ACCC passed resolutions against the closed shop.¹¹⁵ He sent Wilson a copy of his own latest work, *The Rise of the Tyrant*.¹¹⁶

The Rise of the Tyrant tried to marry Hayek with Christianity. In it, McIntire argued that Americans had only two choices: private enterprise or collectivism.¹¹⁷ McIntire's brand of Christianity required Hayek's brand of private free enterprise: freedom from unions and government regulation of corporations. These were a threat to individuals just as much as they were to businesses. Unlike many prominent social critics, writers, and filmmakers of post-World War II America, he did not see business, corporations or, for that matter, large churches and privately owned media empires as threats to individualism. Free enterprise, according to McIntire, preserved political and individual liberty contained in his understanding of the Bible's command, "thou shalt not steal," something he complained labor, regulation, and taxes violated.

¹¹⁴ "General Motors Reply to UAW-CIO Brief," folder 14, box 100, CMMC.

¹¹⁵ "Letter from W.C.H. Garman to Chas. E. Wilson, "11 February 1947, folder 5, box 558, CMMC.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ McIntire, *Rise of the Tyrant: Controlled Economy vs. Private Enterprise*, xi.

For McIntire – unlike Hayek, a resolute agnostic – economic and political freedom require a Fundamentalist religious underpinning. McIntire insisted, “the Bible teaches private enterprise and the capitalistic system...as the very foundation and structure of society itself.”¹¹⁸ McIntire’s belief that the biblical foundation of capitalism was so intense, he turned the story of Moses and Exodus from Egypt into a capitalist teaching. He said “Moses was a real capitalist. When Moses was threatening Pharaoh in Egypt saying, ‘let my people go,’ one of the temptations Moses refused was the offer of Pharaoh to let the Children of Israel depart from Egypt if they would only leave their property. Moses replied they would not go if they could not take their property.”¹¹⁹ For McIntire, the ability to possess private property was a divine right that could not be taken away, even if it meant Moses must delay the Exodus. This novel interpretation, however, demonstrates McIntire’s firm belief in the biblical roots of capitalism.

McIntire claimed Jesus’ command in Matthew 5:23-24 “emphasizes the responsibility of private enterprise.” The text said “if thou bring thy first to the altar and there remember that thy brother have ought against thee; leave there thy gift...” and reconcile. Instead of the lesson of forgiveness, McIntire said, “He says, “*Thy* gift – private ownership.”¹²⁰ “The verse that supports private enterprise as decisively as we find in the New Testament, may be seen in Ephesians 4:48,” McIntire wrote.¹²¹ “Let him who stole steal no more: but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may give to him that

¹¹⁸ Ibid., xiii.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 16.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 17.

¹²¹ Ibid, 17-18.

needeth.” With this lynchpin, McIntire declared, “[t]hus, private property is protected.”¹²²

The Road to Serfdom, though its author was an infidel, did Christians a tremendous service, according to McIntire. He wrote: “Dr. Hayek, from the economic and intellectual standpoint, defends the position of the individual.”¹²³ He even brushed aside Hayek’s lack of Christian faith and absence using the Bible and said, “[h]e naturally would not be expected to do so.”¹²⁴ Because Hayek defended individualism and railed against “collectivist morals,” he mimicked the teachings of the Scriptures. In fact, McIntire praised Hayek for holding Christian morals because of his stance concerning individualism and free enterprise.¹²⁵ Hayek’s acute sensitivity to encroachments on individual freedom enabled modern Christians to see the importance of free enterprise for their own freedom to worship God and fight off the communist thread to the Christian way of life.¹²⁶

Organized labor played a central role in McIntire’s story of collectivist societies.¹²⁷ In his telling, unions violated the principle of the profit motive when they emphasized economic equality. McIntire strongly believed the desire for profit contained a biblical basis. “The desire to use our properties for gain, for the advancement of the interests of our families and the human race, is not of the same substance as covetousness.”¹²⁸ He said, “the profit motive, in other words, is

¹²² Ibid, 18.

¹²³ Ibid, 25.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 26.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 69-70.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 21.

controlled by the commands of God.”¹²⁹ And McIntire saw the modern labor movement moving “beyond the legitimate bounds to which it, within the structure of free enterprise, can safely go.”¹³⁰ McIntire believed these things because he saw the bible as a work that taught his values of competition and free enterprise. Any encroachment upon business’ opportunity for profit was anti-Christ. It was a movement toward collectivism that would destroy the fabric of what he wanted in society.

McIntire feared the closed shop and took aim at the Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act of 1935), which he said needed revising because it “encourages labor to move into the collectivistic sphere of activity.”¹³¹ He said “[o]ur American democracy has been built upon the individual, and what we call equal opportunity...[t]he one man, however, who is being deceived in this matter of liberty...is the laborer, the member of the union.”¹³² McIntire claimed that union members were “fed on propaganda that inflames class hatred in America, hatred of the capitalist, hatred of management, hatred of those who have money.”¹³³ Industrialists and business owners did not watch “the union clock,” but “struggled all hours of the day and night, sacrificing comforts and pleasures in order that they might get ahead.”¹³⁴ Unions with their demands for collective bargaining circumvented the industrialist’s hard work and success and fanned the flames of envy. After all, “America has never been a land of classes.”¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 69.

¹³¹ Ibid, 193.

¹³² Ibid, 188-189.

¹³³ Ibid, 189.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

In McIntire's Manichean conception of the Cold War, society would have no choice but to depend more and more upon the state. Collective bargaining by workers would lead to collective effort in regulation of business, and what he called a planned economy, meaning planned by government officials responsible to a collective interest. He thought that collective effort by private corporations, however, was consistent with individualism. He defended the National Association of Manufacturers, for example, against a 1929 resolution by the Federal Council of Churches, which called for business to develop a "social vision" for the betterment of all.¹³⁶ Free enterprise, which NAM touted, promoted competition and individualism, while the FCC's emphasis on brotherhood lurched America closer to the Soviets.

McIntire took issue with the language of "common good" and the term "brotherhood" as they emphasized the collective.¹³⁷ This put him at odds with many more Christians than the members of the FCC. For McIntire, again, the Cold Warrior's stark choice between collectivism and freedom undergirded every position. Without protection of individualism, the danger socialism got closer. This emphasis moved him further from the traditional emphasis on covenant and community, and closer to the individualistic revivalist tradition of the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century. Prior to the Second Great Awakening, Presbyterian theology did not deal with social issues in terms of religious conversion, but moral law. McIntire jettisoned tradition in favor of emphasizing an individual conversionist narrative to change society.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 70.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 155.

In many ways, McIntire's views of individual conversion placed him closer to the Presbyterian New School tradition that emerged during the Second Great Awakening. In 1837, the New School parted ways with the likes of Charles Hodge and the faculty of Princeton Divinity and embraced a message of individualist conversion narratives promoted by Charles Finney with his "new measures."¹³⁸ Staunch Calvinists, like Hodge, rejected revivalism and the emphasis on a personal soteriological experience because he believed revivalists left behind doctrine and orderly church government. Rebutting charges that his view reeked of "high churchism," Hodge declared, "it is Presbyterianism."¹³⁹

McIntire's brand of Presbyterianism hardly resembled the tradition for which Hodge longed. In fact, McIntire fell in line with the revivalist tradition that swept the nation following the Civil War. He stressed the role of the individual. He also departed from Hodge and other staunch Presbyterians, including his mentor J. Gresham Machen, with his participation in Bible conferences that were interdenominational and fundamentalist.¹⁴⁰ These conferences jettisoned the ecclesial shackles of denominationalism and embraced "the old time religion" espoused by the Second Great Awakening, millenarian movements following the Civil War, and the antics of Billy Sunday and other revivalists.

Like most Fundamentalists, McIntire emphasized that individual salvation builds "the church, the family of God." Unlike Hayek, McIntire saw the Church as necessary to building individuals' liberty. Indeed, he saw the Church as the

¹³⁸ Bradley J. Longfield, *Presbyterians and American Culture: A History* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2013), 94.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 93.

¹⁴⁰ John Fea, "Carl McIntire: From Fundamentalist Presbyterian to Presbyterian Fundamentalist," *American Presbyterians* 72.4, (Winter, 1994), 257.

only institution that could foster liberty.¹⁴¹

Despite his unacknowledged differences with Hayek and other radical individualists who shaped the “free enterprise” campaign, McIntire supported the cause with unparalleled enthusiasm. In *Rise of the Tyrant* and elsewhere, he spoke the language of individual choice, free enterprise, and anti-unionism. He told his religious followers that the Church needed to stand against attacks on free enterprise principles. “The church should be the guardian of liberty,” he wrote.¹⁴² Because of this, ministers needed to defend capitalism from the pulpit since people “are ready to listen to the message of the church and to accept it as the road to freedom and the more abundant life.”¹⁴³ Thus the message of the free enterprise campaign filtered down to the pew.¹⁴⁴ This militancy differed from Evangelicals, who supported free enterprise, but steered clear of the political claims McIntire so easily made.

Following the release of *Rise of the Tyrant*, McIntire made a bold move to expand his audience. He solicited help from men who owned manufacturing companies, sent them a copy of the book, and asked for capital to fund printing the book for distribution to churches and Christian leaders throughout the US. William Long of The Associated Industries thanked McIntire for “making a splendid contribution to the cause we both believe in.”¹⁴⁵ P.A. Redmond, president of Alabama Mills wrote enthusiastically and ordered twelve copies.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ McIntire, *Rise of the Tyrant*, 155-159.

¹⁴² Ibid., 6.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 4-7.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from William Long to Carl McIntire, 1 February 1946, folder 5, box 558, CMMC.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from P.A. Redmond to Carl McIntire 4 September 1946, folder 5, box 558, CMMC

George Ferguson, wrote on behalf of Watervliet Paper Company and sent a check for \$50 with instructions to mail copies to eight pastors in Michigan and Florida.¹⁴⁷ McIntire responded to Ferguson to thank and inform him he raised \$6,500 to distribute free copies of the book and needed \$53,500 more to send a total of 125,000 throughout the United States.¹⁴⁸

McIntire did not reach his funding goal, but he made the connections needed to spread his Twentieth Century Reformation movement. While he did not receive the support of Ford Motor Company, he landed support from the Worcester, Massachusetts Chamber of Commerce for a lot order to distribute to local clergy.¹⁴⁹ He also attracted the attention of multiple manufacturing executives in the South and upper Midwest. The anti-union, pro-big business message in *Rise of the Tyrant* struck an especially strong chord with Southern manufacturers who were fighting organized labor.

Partnerships with businessmen helped McIntire spread his Fundamentalist message and promote his notion that free enterprise developed from the Bible itself, “presupposed and established...in the Ten Commandments.”¹⁵⁰ McIntire called the Ten Commandments the eternal Bill of Rights that enshrined individualism and capitalism in divine law.¹⁵¹

McIntire looked to spread his influence even further than *Rise of the Tyrant* had taken it. He wrote his most blatant biblical defense of conservative politics, *The Author of Liberty*, in 1946, to “show the inseparable relation between

¹⁴⁷ Letter from George Ferguson to Carl McIntire 31 October 1946. Folder 5, box 558, CMMC

¹⁴⁸ Letter from Carl McIntire to George Ferguson, 4 November 1946. Folder 5, box 558, CMMC

¹⁴⁹ Letter from John Pierpont to Carl McIntire, 28 October 1946 Folder 5, box 558, CMMC

¹⁵⁰ McIntire, *Rise of the Tyrant*, 13.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 13-15.

Christianity and freedom.”¹⁵² This book drew McIntire to one of conservatism’s greatest benefactors, J. Howard Pew. McIntire sent Pew a copy of the manuscript of *The Author of Liberty* for review before publication. McIntire’s mail could not have come at a better time for Pew, who was on a quest to send “every minister in America” a copy of Hayek’s *Road to Serfdom*.¹⁵³ With *The Author of Liberty*, Pew now had a chance to spread the message of Hayek baptized in Christianity.

Pew responded enthusiastically and offered suggestions to help it reach a wider audience.¹⁵⁴ He asked McIntire to sound less eager for war with Russia, to stop calling for the U.S. to engage in atomic warfare, and to shift the focus to promote the positive good of liberty rather than attack collectivism.¹⁵⁵ McIntire took Pew’s criticisms to heart and made adaptations to the work.¹⁵⁶ Thus began a working relationship as McIntire helped Pew spread business conservatism and Pew helped McIntire spread his Reformation movement.

The Author of Liberty started with the contention that humanity derives innate liberty from God.¹⁵⁷ He distinguished the notion of divine liberty from state derived liberty and declared his belief that government regulation squashed human freedom.¹⁵⁸ He presented a theological justification for business conservatism. He railed against full employment and economic planning and declared, “we are evolving a government that will create a situation in which we

¹⁵² Carl McIntire, *The Author of Liberty* (Collingswood: Christian Beacon Press, 1946), vii.

¹⁵³ Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*.

¹⁵⁴ J. Howard Pew to Carl McIntire, 17 April 1946, folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Carl McIntire to J. Howard Pew 23 April 1946, folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

¹⁵⁷ McIntire, *The Author of Liberty*, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 6.

will be forced to trust it for our help, our food, our security, our all.”¹⁵⁹ He denounced New Deal liberalism, “economic democracy,” “full employment,” and FDR’s “economic Bill of Rights.”¹⁶⁰

McIntire repeated the biblical justifications for corporate power that he ventured in *Rise of the Tyrant* only in a more direct theological fashion. He organized this work in the style of systematic theology with three parts: Almighty God, God’s Creation, and God’s Enemies. His guiding theme was “the basic idea of freedom as our [Founding] fathers believed it and as they received it from Him [God].”¹⁶¹ In fact God’s “thoughts are the ideology of freedom and democracy.”¹⁶²

Organized Labor, with its insistence on the closed shop, “will destroy freedom in America” and stymie individualism, according to McIntire.¹⁶³ Because it was a “Bible doctrine,” he argued the state must protect individuals from “cheapened” work in a union shop where the worker’s “price is low.”¹⁶⁴ Instead, the free market would create the conditions for higher wages and the opportunity to create business and economic opportunities.

McIntire presented his views on government and said “[t]he State is related directly in the most specific manner to the Ten Commandments.”¹⁶⁵ Because of this, the state’s responsibility was to uphold the principles of the free market (thou shalt not steal) and “stay out of business, completely out of

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 18.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 6-8.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 14.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 85.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 85-86.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 106.

business” and “keep taxes from destroying the people and their property.”¹⁶⁶ He went on to say that businesses should be free from labor unions because “when management surrenders these privileges [setting their own wages], it no longer owns its property.”¹⁶⁷ The only way to have a biblical society was to allow business to operate with as little government interference as possible.

In McIntire, Pew found someone to use the scriptures to promote American corporate interests. *The Author of Liberty* acted as theological justification for the free enterprise campaign. McIntire’s scriptural support for profit-making gave Pew an opportunity to extend campaign into churches. In October 1946, Pew sent \$3000 to the Christian Beacon Press to help fund *The Author of Liberty* and send free copies of the book to churches.¹⁶⁸ Pew also connected McIntire to other high capacity donors. Their relationship gave them both a way to fight theological and political liberalism.

Pew praised McIntire’s diligent work to promote free enterprise.¹⁶⁹ Both possessed shared concern for the continuation of New Deal policies in American life. They believed the Federal Council of Churches embraced collectivism, and communicated anxiety at the prospect of anti-free enterprise messages finding their way to the pew.¹⁷⁰ McIntire seemed for a while to abandon his fundamentalist commitment to separation from the Presbyterian Church through his partnership with Pew. For Pew had no interest in leaving the (southern)

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 120.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 127.

¹⁶⁸ Carl McIntire to J. Howard Pew, 4 October 1946 and Carl McIntire to J. Howard Pew, 7 September 1946, both in folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

¹⁶⁹ J. Howard Pew to Carl McIntire 10 March 1947, folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

¹⁷⁰ Carl McIntire to J. Howard Pew, 24 February 1947, folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

Presbyterian Church in the U.S. He had to stay and fight. Pew did share some of McIntire's fear that communists had "wormed their way into the hierarchy of several church organizations."¹⁷¹ He told McIntire that the communists used their influence to get church organizations to endorse programs that would "destroy our freedom." Pew did not include his own PCUS in this indictment. He remained an active lay elder in that social conservative denomination and seemed to have a great deal of faith in it – even after its leaders, as we will see in chapter four – later shocked right-wing politicians by endorsing desegregation of the public schools in 1954.

McIntire and Pew began an association in 1946 that lasted nearly twenty years. They exchanged over 300 letters, and ate meals together at the Waldorf Astoria when McIntire was in New York. They appeared to have a genuine friendship based upon shared political convictions, though McIntire's religious views were far more militant than Pew's. McIntire espoused Pew's views in his own writings, and Pew provided money and business connections for McIntire. In December 1948, for example, Pew sent McIntire \$2000 for personal use,¹⁷² "realizing that inflation has greatly curtailed the excellent work you have heretofore done."¹⁷³ The economy had entered a recession the previous month. For the next two decades, Pew gave McIntire tens of thousands of dollars and the opportunity to promote his brand of Christian conservative doctrines along with Pew's own political doctrines. McIntire laid aside his strict adherence to

¹⁷¹ J. Howard Pew to Carl McIntire, 3 July 1951, folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

¹⁷² J. Howard Pew to Carl McIntire, 29 December 1948, folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

separation, as Pew maintained his membership and served as an elder in the PCUS, for the purposes of free enterprise.

As he grew in popularity, McIntire essentially took the baton of celebrity Fundamentalism from J. Frank Norris (1877-1952), the famous Texas Baptist, who shared relationships with U.S. Presidents and Detroit's most powerful business leaders. During the last two years of his life, Norris was a mentor to the much younger McIntire. Norris advised McIntire how to create relationships with CEOs of major industrial corporations, as well as pastors with large congregations in Ohio and Michigan. Norris not only shared contacts, but also the occasional barb against Billy Graham, who he, like McIntire, felt betrayed Fundamentalism.

J. Frank Norris had long standing relationships with industrialists, like the airline magnate Carleton Putnam, who in the 1950s became perhaps the most dedicated crusader against the civil rights movement who was not an elected official. Pew and McIntire shared a similar relationship. Business interests funded projects that worked to their advantage. With centralized cooperation in groups like the Advertising Council, corporate propaganda leapt ahead by great strides in 1940s and 1950s. Historians, long distracted by "grassroots" agitation, have begun to document the ways that such powerful private institutions created space for, and benefited from, fundamentalist politics.¹⁷⁴

These relationships centered on political goals like the tax cuts, union-busting, and deregulation that the "free enterprise" slogan was designed to cover.

While McIntire had a religious reformation in mind, he understood the need for

¹⁷⁴ Fones-Wolf, *Selling Free Enterprise*, 218-226; Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and The Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: WW Norton, 2011).

that reformation to work its way through political conflict, and the attendant publicity. To maintain freedom of religion, McIntire believed other freedoms needed to be established, particularly a “free market” as imagined by Hayek and other Austrian-school economists. This motivated him to seek business assistance to maximize his audience. It also played into the desire for corporations to spread the gospel of business to the masses. This symbiosis helped launch a religious crusade to preserve “American values” during the Cold War.

CHAPTER THREE

GOD’S COLDEST WARRIOR

Civilization is on the brink of the deepest and widest chasm it has ever faced. –
Carl McIntire, 1946.¹⁷⁵

For Carl McIntire, the Cold War was a spiritual war, reminiscent of Ephesians 6:12: “For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.” With the historically unprecedented opportunity to fight an openly atheistic enemy, McIntire’s quest for a Christian revival gained new urgency. He had reason to hope that more political leaders would seek his services in this war than in the last – and evidently he hoped that corporate magnates who sought to provision the armies who prepared to fight this war, would seek his services, too.

As McIntire and other Fundamentalists initiated anti-communist crusades, many Americans turned to Christianity as they faced a postwar world . A spiritual awakening – associated above all with Billy Graham--drove up rates of church attendance.¹⁷⁶ For example, in 1940, church membership was 57%

¹⁷⁵ McIntire, *The Author of Liberty*, 208.

¹⁷⁶ Jason Stevens, *God Fearing and Free: A Spiritual History of America’s Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 3

compared to 63.3% in 1959, which outpaced the rapid population growth from 132 million to 178 million in the US.¹⁷⁷ The Christian ethicist and Reformed minister Reinhold Niebuhr and the great theologian Karl Barth – both widely known as “neo-orthodox,” though neither accepted the label--appeared on the cover of *Time*. Graham’s crusades filled stadiums and arenas, promoting Christian salvation against the backdrop of Soviet atheism.¹⁷⁸ Even President Eisenhower framed the Cold War as a spiritual conflict. In his address to the National Congress of Christians and Jews in 1953, he said, “The churches of America are citadels of our faith in individual freedom and human dignity. This faith is the living source of all our spiritual strength. And this strength is our matchless armor in our world-wide struggle against the forces of godless tyranny and oppression.”¹⁷⁹

McIntire seized upon this spiritualization of the age to expand his Twentieth Century Reformation. He attempted to fight the Cold War in Europe, through his ICCC, and the United States, through the ACCC. He cooperated with leading Cold Warriors to warn his constituents of an impending communist threat, which he saw as a spiritual war to be fought. McIntire’s activities during the height of the Cold War shed light into his role in the expansion of conservatism and his increasing politicization of fundamentalist teachings.

¹⁷⁷ Alex Schafer, *Countercultural Conservatives: American Evangelicalism from the Postwar Revival to the New Christian Right* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 16-17.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 55.

¹⁷⁹ Kevin Schultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held America to its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 76-77.

The Front Lines of the Cold War

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, McIntire helped organize the Food Committee for European Christians. The ACCC's food drive aimed to help "Europe's real Bible-believing Christians" during the transitional period.¹⁸⁰ This was McIntire's entrance onto the international stage but it garnered no attention outside his own publicity channels.

In addition to the selective charity, McIntire sought to demonstrate to Europeans the benefits of alliance with the Americans, when socialist and communist parties, which were prominent in the anti-Nazi resistance, were appealing to their patriotism and anger at their occupiers. Though he promoted this effort to his fundamentalist followers to appear that he operated on a global stage, McIntire did not receive public recognition for his efforts in the press outside his own *Christian Beacon*.

The food committee proved to be a small affair. McIntire's group solicited donations from over 200 churches, yet received a total of only around \$3000 from 12 congregations.¹⁸¹ The ACCC provided aid only to vetted "Bible believing" churches and orphanages connected to Fundamentalist groups in Germany.¹⁸² The operation lasted from 1946 through 1948 and paled in comparison to the Red Cross's massive efforts that raised 2 million Swiss Francs per year without the narrow, religious focus of aid distribution.¹⁸³ Though the food committee was a

¹⁸⁰ Jack Murray, Food Committee for European Christians donation letter, 8 March 1948, folder 1, box 312, CMCC.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Wm. Harlee Bordeaux to Ruth Trato, 23 February 1948, folder 1, box 312, CMCC.

¹⁸³ George Willeman, Roger Heacock and Jacques Freymond, *The International Committee of the Red Cross* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1984), 79.

small international relief effort, McIntire used it to enlarge his organization internationally as he established the International Council of Christian Churches in 1948 with financial assistance from J. Howard Pew.¹⁸⁴

In 1952, he began a campaign to evangelize the Soviet Union through the ICCC. Since sending missionaries to Russia was impractical, McIntire devised a publicity event. He contacted the right-wing radio preacher, Billy James Hargis, of the Tulsa-based Christian Crusade, and convinced him to launch a campaign called Bible Balloons Behind the Iron Curtain.¹⁸⁵

McIntire's ICCC issued press releases touting the project. From West Germany, McIntire promised to send "a barrage of 10,000 balloons carrying small Bibles" into Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.¹⁸⁶ The ICCC implied that the US State Department approved of the action and quoted a spokesperson who said the "Department as a matter of principal welcomed spiritual aid...in areas deprived of religious freedom."¹⁸⁷

Meanwhile, the Ecumenical Council of Churches in the Netherlands protested the scheme. It offered statements from the Evangelical Brethren Church of Czechoslovakia, saying that balloons "degraded" the holiness of the Bible.¹⁸⁸ This denomination was legally allowed to practice Christianity and use the Bible.¹⁸⁹ In fact, some of the ICCC's European leaders objected to McIntire's plan

¹⁸⁴ J. Howard Pew to Carl McIntire, 16 August 1950, folder 31, box 257, CMCC.

¹⁸⁵ "Bible Balloons Behind the Iron Curtain," 1952, folder 11, box 312, CMCC.

¹⁸⁶ International Council of Christian Churches Press Release, 8 September 1953, folder 11, box 312, CMCC.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Press Report of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in the Netherlands, 1955, folder 11, box 312, CMCC.

¹⁸⁹ Helen Cameron, "Seventy Years of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren," *Religion in Communist Lands* 17, no. 3 (1989), 232-234.

because they believed it would lead to more persecution of Christians in Soviet Bloc countries.¹⁹⁰

Undeterred, McIntire and Hargis went to West Germany and began releasing balloons. All told, the ICCC and its volunteers launched tens of thousands of balloons with nearly half a million scripture portions and Christian tracts.¹⁹¹ McIntire told his *Christian Beacon* readers “the need for the Word of God behind the Iron Curtain is great” and pressed them to donate money because “God has promised, ‘My word shall not return unto me void.’”¹⁹² Throughout the 1950s, McIntire touted this project as “The Christian Way to Conquer Communism” and offered potential financial supporters the opportunity to “be responsible for one of more souls being in Heaven.”¹⁹³ In 1953, the U.S. State Department issued an order banning this venture because Bibles could be construed as political propaganda, leading McIntire to ask President Eisenhower to rescind this order.¹⁹⁴ That did not happen. By 1955, however, the West German government decided to stop McIntire’s spiritual battle. Billy James Hargis helped release the last balloons that August. There the plan to convert the masses of the Soviet Bloc ended.¹⁹⁵

As the U.S. made the transition to “one nation, under God”—the phrase was not added to the originally secular Pledge of Allegiance till 1954--
Fundamentalists saw their opportunity. McIntire believed that Stalin’s repression

¹⁹⁰ Ruotsilla, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 110.

¹⁹¹ “Statement Concerning the Bible Balloon Project,” International Council of Christian Churches Press Release, 22 September 1955.

¹⁹² “Another Bible Balloon Project,” *CB* 4 March 1954, 1, 8.

¹⁹³ “The Christian Way to Conquer Communism...,” 1954.

¹⁹⁴ “Balloon Bible Ban Charged to State Department,” *Los Angeles Times*, 31 August 1953.

¹⁹⁵ “Statement Concerning the Bible Balloon Project.”

in Russia and the new Warsaw Pact countries, who were indirectly controlled by Russia, vindicated his warnings: he had depicted communism as the greatest threat to freedom since he started preaching in 1931. The U.S. government's growing bipartisan dedication to fighting "communism" in the late 1940s-80s, gave him the resolve to expand his Twentieth Century Reformation movement.

Wars and Rumors of War

During the 1930s, Fundamentalist pastors J. Frank Norris and John R. Rice used their publications and sermons to show how Adolph Hitler, the Pope, and Joseph Stalin were connected to biblical prophecy. In 1940, Rice published *World Wide War and the Bible*.¹⁹⁶ He framed the war as the culmination of biblical prophecy and used imagery from the Prophet Daniel and said "the Bible plainly gives the lineup of nations" who will fight the battles to usher in the End Times.¹⁹⁷ He pointed the future Axis powers, poised to fight the Second World War, and tied them to the dispensationalist scheme for the Battle of Armageddon. When the U.S. entered the war, Rice said the collapse of civilization the Second Coming would be the result.¹⁹⁸ For Rice and many fundamentalists, the Bible's reference to wars and rumors of war applied to the coming end of history in their own lifetimes.

J. Frank Norris added flair to his end-times prognostications. The Texas fundamentalist made headlines, in 1938, when he burned a Nazi flag on stage at

¹⁹⁶ John R. Rice, *World-Wide War and the Bible* (Wheaton: Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1940).

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 84.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 84-105.

an “Americanism rally” sponsored by his Temple Baptist Church in Detroit.¹⁹⁹

Norris also saw impending war as the culmination of biblical prophecy. In “Hitler and the Earmarks of the Beast,” he declared, “Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and other outstanding characters, are being moved by the hand of God” and Hitler’s persecution of Jews might be “the last persecution” before “Christ the Lord, their Messiah, our Savior comes.”²⁰⁰ In January the following year, Norris gave sure-fire prophecies “that will be fulfilled in 1939” and claimed Jewish persecutions and world war were “forerunners of the hour of victory. The morning is coming! To the Christian this commotion means the Lord’s coming draws nigh!”²⁰¹

Though McIntire was as enthusiastic a dispensationalist as Norris, he shied away from specific prognostications like these.²⁰² He believed God’s hand moved history toward a divine *telos* - an appointed day - but prudently declined to commit himself to deadlines. In that pragmatic reserve, he resembled his nemesis, Billy Graham. He avoided the ruinous embarrassment of failed prophecy. During the Second World War, McIntire spent his time focusing on Fundamentalist infighting and speaking against the U.S.-Soviet alliance rather than the divine plan for history’s end.

¹⁹⁹ “Preacher Burns Nazi, Soviet Flags on Isle,” *The Fundamentalist*, 10 June 1938, 3-4, 7-8.

²⁰⁰ “Hitler and the Earmarks of the Beast,” *The Fundamentalist*, 7 October 1938, 1, 3.

²⁰¹ “Prophecies that Will be Fulfilled in 1939,” *The Fundamentalist*, 28 July 1939, 2-3.

²⁰² A survey of the *Christian Beacon* through 1936-1939 does not yield a single story featuring Hitler – or any other figure living figure in world politics -- in Apocalyptic terms. This contrasts sharply with other fundamentalist publications such as *The Voice of the Independent Fundamentalists of America* and Bob Jones’s *The Sword of the Lord*, which frequently ran stories and sermons identifying either Hitler or Mussolini as an eschatological character. Barry Hankins points out in *God’s Rascal: J. Frank Norris and the Beginning of Southern Fundamentalism*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 86, that Norris did not necessarily believe Hitler was the Antichrist, preferring to view this role as one for a Communist. In *The Author of Liberty*, McIntire identified Hitler as a type of “the Beast” and articulated his understanding that any government that denied liberty and did not operate according to Biblical principals was a type of the Beast. In that sense, he said Hitler was “the Beast,” just not in the eschatological sense. 187-211.

After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, McIntire turned his attention to the power of the atomic bomb. That weapon, according to McIntire, was part of God's plan to preserve liberty and stop communism. He called the bomb "an instrument for righteousness and liberty. God has given it to us for that end."²⁰³ McIntire publicly advocated use of the bomb to end the Cold War and halt the spread of collectivist ideology.

In 1946, J. Howard Pew asked McIntire to remove material that suggested America exert its new weapon against the Soviet Union from a draft McIntire sent him of *Author of Liberty*.²⁰⁴ McIntire believed that World War II had failed because the Soviet Union remained intact and able to expand.²⁰⁵ He likened Russia to the Beast from Revelation and said, "the totalitarian Superstate is described realistically in the closing chapters of God's Word under the title of "the Beast." This State is the work and joy of "the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan (Rev.13:2; 20:2)."²⁰⁶

The way to defeat the beast was to destroy it. McIntire wrote, "America should use the atomic power at the present moment...[.] If she does not, she is failing her stewardship before God."²⁰⁷ "[I]t is the responsibility and the right of the freedom-loving nations before Almighty God, to use this power."²⁰⁸ He added that a preemptive strike against the Soviets would liberate Russians just as Hiroshima and Nagasaki liberated the Japanese. By giving the new form of power

²⁰³ Carl McIntire, *The Author of Liberty* (Collingswood: Christian Beacon Press, 1946), 209.

²⁰⁴ J. Howard Pew to Carl McIntire, 17 April 1946, folder 3, box 192, CMCC.

²⁰⁵ McIntire, *The Author of Liberty*, 188-191.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 187.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 209.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

to one side of the new Cold War, God had given the United States the ability to be either the “world’s greatest destruction, or the world’s greatest peace and blessing.”²⁰⁹ Much depended on whether the U.S. took his advice to use that power.

By framing the use of nuclear weapons this way, McIntire fed dispensationalists’ yearning to see current events in the context of biblical descriptions of disappearing heavens and land laid waste.²¹⁰ The expansion of the Soviet Union, coupled with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, fueled Fundamentalists’ belief that The End was approaching: the war between heaven and hell. Dispensationalists believed that Israel’s claim to Palestine was divine. When the secular state of Israel formed in 1948, McIntire said in a sermon, “Palestine is rightfully theirs [Jews], because God promised it to them as an everlasting possession.”²¹¹

In 1950, McIntire issued a statement, as head of the ICCC, calling on President Truman to use the A-bomb to help Chang Kai-Shek reclaim China from the recent victory of Mao Zedong’s Communist party in China’s 22-year Civil War. The Associated Press ran a story based on McIntire’s press release. McIntire received dozens of letters in response. One suggested that for McIntire to call himself a Christian was “a shocking travesty.”²¹² Another accused

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 210.

²¹⁰ Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares*, 58.

²¹¹ “Pastor Urges Changes in U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Los Angeles Times*, 12 April 1948, A8.

²¹² Letter from Donald Cameron to Carl McIntire, 9 December 1950, folder 3, box 312, CMCC..

McIntire of cowardice and added that “if this is the Christian solution to world peace I see the end of Christianity.”²¹³ McIntire did not change his mind.

McIntire and other Fundamentalists were challenging the growing realist conception of foreign policy—promoted above all by Reinhold Niebuhr, whose anti-communism was as pronounced as that of anybody in American public life. Realism relied on an unemotional assessment of military and economic capabilities of potential allies and enemies, an impatience with speculation about the alleged “intentions” of other nations, and above all an insistence that governments and other collective institutions were incapable of acting morally in the same sense that individuals are; governments cannot plausibly or even coherently sacrifice their own interests for a greater good or for the good of any “other.” But as much as McIntire hearkened back to the “idealist” foreign policy of his fellow Presbyterian, Woodrow Wilson, he also sought something new: to politicize not just a religiously grounded sense of moral righteousness, but to persuade the United States to make its foreign policy conform to the vision of fundamentalism. Three decades before the rise of similar anti-secular parties on both sides of the conflict in the modern Middle East, McIntire was laying the groundwork for a re-enchantment of the world.

Red Scare(s)

If God gave America the atomic bomb, Satan gave Stalin the ideology of communism, according to McIntire. Thus, McIntire tried to uncover communism

²¹³ Letter from Anonymous to Carl McIntire, 7 December 1950, folder 3, box 312, CMCC.

– or any emphasis of collectivism over individualism-- wherever he could. He sought and often got attention when he did whether through rallies, bombastic public statements, or print media.

In the early 1960s, McIntire released a pamphlet, *The Communist Thesis*. It declared, “Communism is not a religion. It is the antithesis of all religion represents.”²¹⁴ Christianity, for McIntire, provided the ideological framework for the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. He did not believe Christianity and communism could co-exist. Any cooperation or compromise with communism just deepened and intensified the threat of Communism. Thus McIntire presented the Russian Orthodox Church as an extension of Soviet Communism as he claimed “Communist use and control” over the ecclesial body.²¹⁵ McIntire made this accusation against the Russian Orthodox Church numerous times, even declaring in 1956 that a visiting delegation to the NCC were “eight top Red clergy...appointed agents of the Communist Party; some even secret intelligence officers.”²¹⁶

The belief that Red Clergy had infiltrated mainline Christianity through the Russian Orthodox Church deepened McIntire’s opposition to the World Council of Churches. Many Evangelicals and nearly all Fundamentalists disliked global ecumenicalism. But McIntire saw a communist conspiracy at work within the Council. In a letter sent to all U.S. Congressmen and Senators, McIntire alleged that the Council promoted Communism in its 1951 meeting because it adopted a resolution that stated, “from each according to his ability, to

²¹⁴ Carl McIntire, *The Communist Thesis*, folder 42, box 454, CMCC.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ “THE COMMUNISTS ARE COMING!” 17 May 1956. CMCC Box 213, Folder 25.

each according to his need...has its root in the teachings of Jesus.”²¹⁷ He charged that the WCC actively worked against the “private enterprise system.”²¹⁸ McIntire believed that, because the organization distributed literature in the U.S., American Christians received socialist propaganda disguised as Christian teachings.²¹⁹

McIntire’s alarm sounding did generate some response from elected leaders. Congressman George Bender, Republican of Ohio, told McIntire he shared his concerns and promised to “do everything in my power to check this trend.”²²⁰ Republican Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan offered support to McIntire and the ICCC, of which he said, “I am pleased to note that it addresses itself...to the question of Socialism.”²²¹ Congressman Norris Poulson, Republican of California, stated “I am fully aware of the fact that Communists are using church organizations as a medium of spreading their ‘disease germs.’ I congratulate your group on exposing this fact.”²²² He also provided a copy of “How You Can Fight Communism” by James Fifield of Spiritual Mobilization to McIntire. McIntire used his position at President of the ICCC and ACCC to project an air of authority and leadership when he communicated with elected officials. This helped him generate some response when he made allegations that the WCC was part of the conspiracy to spread domestic communism.

McIntire reproduced Communist Party USA (CPUSA) materials with his own commentary to demonstrate a patriotic, biblical counterpoint. He insisted

²¹⁷ International Council of Christian Churches letter by Carl McIntire, 23 February 1951. CMCC, Box 152, Folder 59.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Letter from George Bender to Carl McIntire, 2 March 1951. CMCC, Box 152, Folder 59.

²²¹ Letter from Homer Ferguson to Carl McIntire, 6 March 1951, folder 59, box 152, CMCC.

²²² Letter from Norris Poulson to Carl McIntire 8 March 1951, folder 59, box 152, CMCC.

that the equality promised by socialism suffocated true liberty.²²³ Like many opponents of civil rights – and several worried supporters-- McIntire called attention to the CPUSA's call for "liberation of the Negro" as a wake-up for an impending revolution.²²⁴ McIntire also spoke against calls for workers' rights.

Following the 1945-1946 United Auto Workers' strike, McIntire reached out to pro-business leaders, including the President of General Motors, Charles Erwin Wilson, to discuss banning collective bargaining, ending the closed shop, and ways to weaken organized labor as it looked to the industrializing South for expansion of membership.²²⁵ The ACCC offered to provide GM with anti-union propaganda and help it hamper the UAW. McIntire even said, "The closed shop violates freedom of conscience and the Eighth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal.'"²²⁶ McIntire's intense belief that capitalism must operate with as little interference as possible led him to further side with corporate business interests, even though, demographically, fundamentalist churches, including his own, were made up of lower to middle class Americans.

McIntire criticized both Harry Truman's often pro-labor Fair Deal policies. He also went after liberal Republicans who worked to preserve or to expand and modify New Deal programs like social security and spending on civilian and military infrastructure, along with bipartisan traditions of progressive taxation. McIntire was unmovable in his belief that individualism and free

²²³ "The Communist Party's Program to Socialize America," 20th Century Reformation Hour, 1954, folder 39, box 454, CMCC.

²²⁴ Ibid, 5.

²²⁵ W.O.H. Garman to Chas. Wilson, 11 February 1947, folder 14, box 110, CMCC..

²²⁶ Forster and Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 107.

enterprise were the only policy solutions to protect the U.S. from a centralized system that would plunge America into communism.

McIntire's dispensational reading of scripture gave him little ammunition against such programs. Biblical hermeneutics had far more resonant political applications in foreign policy. Dispensationalists, drawing on Revelation Chapter 13, believed that a one-world government would precede the advent of the anti-Christ. They believed the so-called prophesy of the Beast compelled the faithful to be on watch due to stark warnings of global worship and the "mark of the Beast."

McIntire's criticism of the United Nations and what he saw as the related ecumenical movement and more ambitious political schemes of world federalism, grew out of his faith in individualism. But the popularity of post-WWII projects of worldwide unity also signaled to him—and, he hoped, to his potential followers—that the final battle against the biblical "beasts" of worldwide empire was approaching. McIntire enlisted his organizations in both material and spiritual warfare to ward off communism and the end of the world they believed was otherwise imminent. The fate of the world "depends solely upon the moral leadership and courage of America under the commands and guidance of the Author of liberty.... Satan's man, another beast [the USSR] is arising in the world."²²⁷ McIntire believed that God "must be honored in our national and international affairs. His Word must be the law by which our statesmen are guided."²²⁸ He also called for "Christians who will lift their voices in these last

²²⁷ McIntire, *The Author of Liberty*, 210.

²²⁸ Ibid, 225.

days” and “Christian men who will go into politics – run for office” and for “all avenues of public propaganda” to “be used – the radio, the press, the meeting hall, the theatre, the stage.”²²⁹ A mobilization on that scale required McIntire to expand his partnerships.

Onward Christian Soldiers

McIntire established a working relationship with Senator Joseph McCarthy during the early 1950s. They were remarkably alike. Both carefully crafted public images and used media to elicit maximum publicity. Both claimed to be saving the United States from ruin in the form of communism. McCarthy falsely claimed to be a soldier with vast combat experience.²³⁰ McIntire similarly exaggerated the extent of his connection to Princeton Theological Seminary, and his relationship with its former professor, J. Gresham Machen, to establish his academic credentials. He also presented the ACCC and ICCS as co-equal to the National Council of Churches and World Council of Churches, though his organizations had much lower membership and far less cultural clout. Both saw themselves as leaders in the Cold War.

When McIntire and McCarthy solidified their relationship, two worlds of conspiracy collided. In McCarthy, McIntire found a fellow traveler unjustly accused and attacked for his opposition to communism.²³¹ McIntire viewed McCarthy as someone whose extreme methods benefitted America just as his goal

²²⁹ Ibid, 226.

²³⁰ David Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (New York: The Free Press, 1983), 30-33.

²³¹ Carl McIntire to Joseph McCarthy, 18 March 1954, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

to expose communism worked for the betterment of society.²³² McIntire promoted McCarthyism and distributed literature that touted its benefits, even though McCarthyism was little more than making claims of communist affiliation without objective proof.²³³ McIntire even offered to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to offer his support for the maligned Senator.²³⁴

McIntire worked with McCarthy to expose communist infiltration of American churches. The Senator made arrangements for him to meet with anti-communist activist, Judge Robert Morris, to discuss how the US Senate could expose Russian clergy's influence in the World Council of Churches.²³⁵ Following McCarthy's censure, McIntire continued to send information about the suspected communist conspiracy in the NCC and WCC. He asked the Senator to enter one of his own speeches about "Red Clergy" into the Senate record, and alerted him about a possible connection between Chinese communists and liberal ministers.²³⁶ McCarthy declined assistance.²³⁷ Five months later, he died, due to his alcoholism, and McIntire offered his condolences to his wife, Jean and said, "we have lost a real friend and all fight harder against communism and for a free America."²³⁸

²³² Carl McIntire to Maurice Tishman, 9 April 1954, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Carl McIntire to Joseph McCarthy, 10 March 1953, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

²³⁵ Carl McIntire to Joseph McCarthy, 10 March 1953, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

²³⁶ Carl McIntire to Joseph McCarthy, 15 June 1956 and Carl McIntire to Joseph McCarthy, 19 December 1956, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

²³⁷ Joseph McCarthy to Carl McIntire 24 July 1956 and Ray Kiermas to Carl McIntire 26 December 1956, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

²³⁸ Telegram from Carl McIntire to Jean McCarthy 3 May 1957, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

Shortly after World War II ended, Carl McIntire mailed J. Edgar Hoover with a request for “a copy of the address [he] delivered in San Francisco” that covered communist infiltration in American churches.²³⁹ He praised Hoover’s efforts in the struggle against this ideology and said, “I heartily approved of the reports which I saw of it in the newspapers and was interested in the remark that you made in regard to the churches.” McIntire also enclosed a copy of his own *Rise of the Tyrant* for Hoover, with the promise the book “deals with the radical elements in the Federal Council of Churches.”²⁴⁰ McIntire’s fear of communism fit into Hoover’s own dour assessment of the state of affairs in America.

Remarkably, that letter sparked a Cold War working relationship between McIntire and the head of the most powerful secret police organization in the West, arguably in the world. Hoover praised McIntire’s “thoughtfulness” and thanked him for passing on a copy of *Rise of the Tyrant*. With such blandishments, Hoover allowed – perhaps encouraged—McIntire to perceive that the two partners were equals in the battle.

Hoover knew McIntire’s ministry did not confine itself to Collingswood, New Jersey. McIntire was creating a large, global network for Christian Fundamentalists. In the 1940s, McIntire was expanding weekly radio show, a weekly newspaper with over 10,000 subscriptions, and produced books and pamphlets through his Twentieth Century Reformation Press. McIntire provided Hoover many channels to disseminate his anti-communist messages and to

²³⁹ Letter from Carl McIntire to J. Edgar Hoover, 22 October 1946, folder 3, box 189, CMCC.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

legitimate the growing power of his massive government bureaucracy with ostensibly old-fashioned Christian piety.

Hoover passed copies of his speeches on to McIntire for publication.²⁴¹ McIntire obliged. Hoover shared McIntire's belief that the many American churches acted as an unwilling front, allowing socialists and even communists to indoctrinate unsuspecting church members. Their strategy was "to undermine, hoodwink, and exploit the Christian pulpit" because of public "apathy toward and lack of knowledge of Communism."²⁴² He said Communists would "concentrate on church people who, once recruited, would be instructed to stay in their churches."²⁴³

McIntire believed that the Liberal Christian view of the Kingdom of God served as coded language for communism.²⁴⁴ In fact, that view of the Kingdom predated Marx's Communist Manifesto (1848) by decades. Perfectionist visions abound in American postmillennialism. The Puritan vision of society was one that incorporated a presentist view of the Kingdom of God. John Winthrop spoke of this in his sermon "A Model of Christian Charity," as he declared Puritan colonists a "city on a hill" before establishing the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630.

McIntire's believed the Kingdom of God was a future reality. Dispensationalists believed God's Kingdom would come when Jesus Christ returns to literally reign 1,000 years on the earth and reestablish Jerusalem as the

²⁴¹ J. Edgar Hoover to Carl McIntire, 31 October 1946, folder 1, box 223, CMCC.

²⁴² J. Edgar Hoover, "REDS CONVERT PULPIT," folder 1, box 223, CMCC.

²⁴³ J. Edgar Hoover, "God or Chaos," February 1949, folder 1, box 223, CMCC.

²⁴⁴ McIntire to Hoover, 7 February 1951, folder 1, box 223, CMCC.

capital. For McIntire, the present world had to become worse before Christ would come to reign on earth.

Liberal theology taught that the Kingdom of God was present and a force to improve the human condition. In the U.S., this teaching arose from social Christianity, a movement that reacted against the excesses of the Gilded Age and Industrial Revolution.²⁴⁵ Early proponents incorporated ideas promoted by labor activists and socialists into the teachings of Jesus. They also looked to German theologians like Albrecht Ritschl, who taught that God's Kingdom "transcends the natural limits of nationality to become the moral society of nations."²⁴⁶

One of the leading proponents of this view in America was Walter Rauschenbusch, who, in the 1890s, emphasized "the immanence of God, the organic nature of society, and especially the realization of Christ's kingdom on earth."²⁴⁷ Rauschenbusch stressed a common brotherhood among all people and taught that God's Kingdom was present when the Church worked to improve society through "social action" as an "organized conscience."²⁴⁸ This view of the Kingdom held an optimistic outlook for the future because humanity had the potential for progress. Indeed, Richard Niebuhr called this "the romantic conception of the kingdom of God" with the "temper of evolutionary optimism."²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Henry May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1949), 151.

²⁴⁶ Bernard Reardon, *Liberal Protestantism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 28.

²⁴⁷ May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*, 190-191.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 191.

²⁴⁹ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (Hamden: The Shoe String Press, 1956), 191-193.

McIntire rejected all talk of God's Kingdom in present tense. This world—Augustine's City of Man— was hopelessly tainted by human interests, projects, and desires. The defining liberal idea that human beings could make it perfect and righteous, or even continue to improve it cumulatively and irreversibly, contradicted his faith that God alone was sovereign in the eternal universe that contained time and earth. His futurist, dispensational theology guarded scrupulously against any hint that man could reverse his own fall in his own time with his own limited knowledge and institutions, or indeed achieve any part of his own salvation except by God's grace, on God's timetable, in God's interest.

McIntire argued that communism was the most ideologically seductive and militarily powerful scheme of unassisted human salvation the world had ever seen. McIntire's belief that Communists were conspiring to overthrow the United State made him welcome Hoover's counter-propaganda. Hoover sent around twenty pamphlets or graphics to McIntire to republish in the *Christian Beacon*. One example was the piece "America's Spiritual Plight." The simple graphic, inserted into several issues of the *Beacon* in 1951, featured "Twelve Important Points to Think About," like suicide statistics and that "murder is committed every forty minutes." "The Communists Are After Our Minds" warned readers that "hard-core Reds continue to use every available technique, ruse and artifice to capture the minds and control the behavior of loyal Americans."²⁵⁰ These and

²⁵⁰ J. Edgar Hoover, "The Communists Are After Our Minds," October, 1954. Edgar Hoover, "America's Spiritual Plight," 1951, folder 1, box 223, CMCC.

dozens of other pieces kept McIntire's organizational and media networks busy as McIntire reprinted the propaganda for his audience.

But real articles from Hoover were apparently not enough. In 1951, both the *Christian Beacon* and Twentieth Century Reformation Hour ran "J. Edgar Hoover Gives Some Crime Statistics."²⁵¹ This essay, which painted a dim picture of youth culture and the influence of communism upon crime statistics, was erroneously attributed to Hoover—who wrote to McIntire after its release to tell him it was a fake.²⁵² McIntire evidently made no effort to correct the record.

Hoover's public status lent McIntire's own crusade against communism some legitimacy and credibility. McIntire found Hoover particularly helpful in showing the inadequacy mainline Protestantism. For instance, Hoover's speech on "America's Spiritual Plight" complained of America's spiritual decline: Americans "spend eight times more hours at movies than Sunday School...[A]s a nation we spend up to \$750 on pleasures, sins, and amusements to every dollar given to church work."²⁵³ This bolstered McIntire's argument that only a spiritual revival on a par with the First or Second Great Awakening could save America from Communism.

Hoover's public discourse reflected McIntire's intense desires for a spiritual awakening. Hoover's speech on "Communist Propaganda and the Christian Pulpit" claimed: "Communists realize that unless the Christian pulpit, that mighty fortress of God, is liquidated...the very existence of Communism

²⁵¹ J. Edgar Hoover to Carl McIntire 11 July 1951, folder 1, box 223, CMCC.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ J. Edgar Hoover, "America's Spiritual Plight," 1951.

itself stands in jeopardy.”²⁵⁴ Hoover’s solution mirrored McIntire’s. Only a militant church that stood against the “brotherliness of Communism” could prevail.²⁵⁵ Hoover made the case that strong religious leadership worked against the “disease” of communism because the best “serum...lies in the strength of the Christian tradition.”²⁵⁶

Many of Hoover’s alarms resonated with McIntire’s. Hoover pleaded with Americans to see that the strongest power to stop communism came from Christian pulpits. He said, “we in America have an anticommunism serum, the answer to the Communist challenge. It lies in the strength of Christian tradition, the power of the Holy Spirit working in men.”

Like McIntire, Hoover expressed suspicion toward ministers who emphasized “others topics” besides the basic teachings of Christianity like, “social, economic, and political issues.”²⁵⁷ Hoover further warned that the communists’ best strategy, after weakening pulpits, lay in the Sunday School and youth programs that addressed social issues rather than basic Christian doctrines.²⁵⁸ Hoover echoed McIntire’s concerns when he said communists “actively pursued” churches to emphasize “peace, civil liberties, economic justice, and the brotherhood of man” because “Communists want to hitch as much of the influence of the Christian church as they can capture to the party’s cause.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ J. Edgar Hoover, “Communist Propaganda and the Christian Pulpit,” 24 October 1960.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ J. Edgar Hoover, “Reds Convert Pulpit,” No date, folder 1, box 223, CMCC.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.,

The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour aired Hoover's remarks and printed them in a pamphlet called "Communist Concentration on Our Youth."²⁶⁰

McIntire repeated Hoover's claims over the airwaves and in print.²⁶¹

Hoover told him that he appreciated McIntire's support and thanked him for "broadcasting my message." Little did McIntire know, Hoover's interest in him lasted only as long as it served Hoover's purposes. As McIntire became further associated with the Radical Right and John Birch movements during the 1960s, Hoover monitored his activities and fully distanced himself by the 1970s for public image reasons.²⁶²

McIntire used his associations with Hoover and McCarthy to establish his status as the leading Fundamentalist Cold Warrior. His promotion of McCarthy and Hoover helped him make their influence part of the information diet of Christian Fundamentalists and those who were curious about Fundamentalism., This strange alliance of mass-mediated religion with centralized governmental power in Washington— this unseparation of church and state— turned out to be as important as the alliance with corporate power. Both distinguished the rise of the New Right from previous right-wing movements.²⁶³ Though this alliance did not begin to bear electoral fruit till the late 1970s and 1980s, its vigorous growth is clear in McIntire's relationship with Hoover. McIntire's media, which reached tens of thousands of eager respondents, played a central role in making political conservatism a holy crusade. His organizations played a vital role as well.

²⁶⁰ J. Edgar Hoover, "Communist Concentration on Our Youth," 1965, folder 34, box 223, CMCC.

²⁶¹ Carl McIntire to J. Edgar Hoover, 8 March 1957 folder1, box 224, CMCC.

²⁶² Carl McIntire FBI File, **94-37990**.

²⁶³ Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right From the Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, McIntire organized “God and Country” rallies in New York City, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and smaller cities. Unlike Billy Graham’s generically patriotic crusades, McIntire’s Faith and Freedom rallies embraced an unabashed nationalism. Each rally began with the song “America” followed by the Pledge of Allegiance. Throughout the program, McIntire presented a conservative political message entwining early modern individualism with 20th-century Fundamentalist teaching. His keynote speeches often stressed the impossibility of Christian co-existence with communism with pithy statements like this one from May 1957: “Christianity can no more coexist with Communism than God can coexist with the Devil. All that Christian religion holds dear is challenged by Communism.” He warned listeners: “agents of the Kremlin come as respected Christian leaders, they have access to pulpits, Christian pulpits in a free country.”²⁶⁴ WCC-affiliated churches and organizations were common examples of unwitting fellow-travellers and dupes. On occasion he urged Christians vigilantly to oppose liberal fiscal, regulatory, and welfare policies, because they would lead to communism.²⁶⁵

In 1955, McIntire went on a multi-city tour he called the Faith and Freedom Rally. In San Francisco he led a demonstration against the NCC. The *Christian Beacon* compared that event to Martin Luther’s Ninety-five Theses that began the Protestant Reformation.²⁶⁶ McIntire advertised the event accusing NCC

²⁶⁴ Second Faith and Freedom Rally program, 14 January 1955. Carl McIntire, “Calling Communists Christians,” 25 May 1957, folder 25, box 312, CMCC.

²⁶⁵ Christian Repudiation of Co-existence, December 1954, folder 25, box 312, CMCC.

²⁶⁶ *CB*, 3 November 1955, 1.

leaders of subversive activities.²⁶⁷ He targeted Bishop Garfield Oxnam, who had testified about his own loyalties before the House Un-American Committee in 1953. Oxnam spent ten hours before the committee and said, “when I say, I believe in God the Father, Almighty, I affirm the theistic faith and strike at the fundamental fallacy of communism, which is atheism.” And yet, McIntire insisted Oxnam was a communist.²⁶⁸ When speaking at Veteran’s Park in San Francisco in October 1955, McIntire again likened his movement to Martin Luther’s. He urged his audience to cling to the “infallibility of the Scriptures,” which would lead them to reject the communism embraced by Oxnam and the NCC.²⁶⁹ He called on Bible-believing churches to break away from the NCC and join the ACCC.²⁷⁰

McIntire used the ACCC to finance and promote his Faith and Freedom rallies. He leveraged his support from J. Howard Pew into connections in the growing business conservative movement. Using modern marketing techniques, he put advertisements in newspapers; local promoters made car bumper stickers available.

Such public events established a right-wing grassroots movement to undermine liberal Democratic and Republican efforts to contain communism, and to create support for the more ambitious, more emotionally satisfying alternative of rolling back communist gains and even attacking Moscow directly. McIntire

²⁶⁷ “Does the National Council of Churches Speak for You?” Advertisement, *Oakland Tribune*, 3 December 1955.

²⁶⁸ Congress, House Hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee, *Testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam*: 3588 as quoted in Angela Lahr, “The Censure of the Bishop: Church and State in the McCarthy Era,” *Methodist History* 44, no. 1 (October 2005): 34.

²⁶⁹ Carl McIntire, Address, 29 October 1955, folder 51, box 642, CMCC.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

had already argued for the U.S. to engage Russia directly. In fact, he joined the National Security Committee, created by former Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, and testified to the U.S. Senate that America needed “a strong and adequate defense program” because “there are times when it [peace] is not possible and there are interests which God wants men to value before peace.”²⁷¹

McIntire’s view fell in step with conservative strategists, James Burnham, General Douglas MacArthur, and John Foster Dulles. These men advocated rollback and promoted an aggressive stance toward Communist nations. McIntire added a religious dimension: “it is the business of America to lead the world into freedom. If we do not, someone else will lead in the opposite direction. This is America’s responsibility.”²⁷² Such rhetoric helped mobilize angry constituencies, which McIntire and his allies hoped also to rally to win the Cold War.

CONCLUSION

McIntire’s Cold Warrior activities helped further solidify the movement of modern conservatism. The marriage of patriotism and Christianity led to the transmission of an aggressive anti-communist message. As he expanded his media empire, his connections with key political leaders gave him an air of legitimacy, encouraging the FBI, as well as thousands of angry and restless conservative Christians, to send their messages out through McIntire and gain a foothold in a growing and potentially mobilizable constituency. McIntire and

²⁷¹ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 87-88.

²⁷² McIntire, *Author of Liberty*, 199.

others became conduits for J. Edgar Hoover's propaganda but also made Hoover and other right-wing leaders somewhat dependent on people like McIntire.

They seized upon the post-World War II surge of nationalism and wave of patriotism that coincided with increased interest in religion, to gain a foothold in the domestic Cold War. McIntire used these moments to make a name for himself whether through the balloon drops, or forging a relationship with the John Birch Society. By 1960, he compromised his own long held belief in disestablishment by joining the board of the newly formed Young Americans for Freedom. As he entered 1960s, he sought to expand his Fundamentalist empire by campaigning aggressively against the civil rights movement.

CHAPTER FOUR

CARL MCINTIRE AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

“You either agree with McIntire or the Devil. Take your choice.”²⁷³
—Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein

In 1948, on the front page of the *Christian Beacon*, one headline stated “Minister Ready for Daughter to Marry a Negro.” It quoted Reverend John Bodo’s sermon on racial questions in which he said, “my daughter will marry whomever she chooses” to answer the “intolerant and ignorant” phrase “I wouldn’t want my daughter to marry a Negro.”²⁷⁴ The short piece ran without commentary. It was placed into an issue that dealt with America’s changing culture brought about by communism and liberal theology.

Carl McIntire fought against civil rights for African Americans. He made the case that civil rights legislation, court rulings, and other government actions enlarged government and furthered communist subversion in the United States. From the *Brown* decision in 1954 to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, each effort to grant civil rights to African Americans only intensified his allegations of Soviet influence and infiltration. As with his opposition to social welfare and fiscal policies, McIntire argued that massive pressure for federal enforcement of human

²⁷³ Forster and Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 100.

²⁷⁴ “Minister Ready for Daughter to Marry a Negro,” *CB*, 15 January 1948.

equality before the law threatened older, more basic rights. As before, he made his arguments from the pulpit, in mass media, and in organized public demonstrations.

He rightly understood that the civil rights movement had a world stage, and he attempted to use this for his advantage. Throughout the 1950s, McIntire carefully alerted his readers and listeners to the dangers of communist subversion. For McIntire, civil rights—which the Communist Party of the USA did, after all, support—were part of a “Satanic” conspiracy for communist world domination.

McIntire claimed the partnership between the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Methodist Federation for Social Action (MFSA), an independent network of Methodist laity and clergy, were communist fronts.²⁷⁵ CORE had made waves through the Jim Crow south with its focus on racial integration and non-violent protest and became the leading civil rights organization. The MFSA was one of dozens of social welfare organizations and home missions that the major southern as well as Mainline protestant denominations set up in 1907. The trend dated to antebellum reform movements that followed the Civil War, and to the revival of social reform known as the Social Gospel movement of the 1890s-1920s.

True to form, McIntire attacked the NAE and Billy Graham with extra care and venom. In 1957, McIntire reproduced an article from *The Greenville News*, that highlighted a resolution passed by the Carolina Baptist Fellowship which said, “we hold solidly to the segregation of the races as upheld by our

²⁷⁵ “Apostasy Proof Package,” *CB*, 22 July 1954, 4-5.

Baptist forefathers in the South.”²⁷⁶ They also asked the SBC to “aggressively positively” uphold segregation.²⁷⁷ The SBC did not do this, so the group linked Billy Graham to this change in SBC policy because of his “unequal yoke” with mainline Christians.

In May 1964, McIntire criticized Graham and the SBC for participating in the interracial Baptist Jubilee Advance that celebrated the 150th Birthday of the Baptist movement in the United States. He mocked the idea that Martin Luther King and Billy Graham would participate in the meeting together and said “Southern Baptist leadership [had swung] toward the liberal, “middle-of-the-road” way of thinking.”²⁷⁸ The editorial cartoon said “Integration Races led by Marty King, Civil ‘Riots’ Before and After Dessert by ‘Huby’ Humphrey and Billy Graham will ask the Benediction.”²⁷⁹

McIntire however did not go after the largest African American denomination—indeed the largest black organization in the world, the National Baptist Convention (NBC). It, too, had voluntarily separated itself from the Southern Baptist Convention, which most black Christians were affiliated with, after the Civil War. Moreover, the NBC largely steered clear of social controversy, and its long-time President from 1954 to 1982, the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, was a staunch opponent of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement.

²⁷⁶ “Carolina Group Protests Racial Stand,” *CB*, 13 June 1957, 4.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ “Baptist Jubilee Advance,” *CB*, 21 May 1964, 1.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

The *Christian Beacon* published lists of ministers who publicly supported the civil rights movement and connected them to “Moscow’s Religious Fifth Column” in America “the modern Baal” that plagued America.²⁸⁰ In September 1954, McIntire’s ACCC charged that over 7,000 American clergymen were members of communist front groups, while 30,000 affirmed one can be a Christian and member of the Communist Party, out of 250,000 Protestant clergy in the US.²⁸¹ Many of these pastors were unwitting “dupes,” but “one influential dupe is worth his or her weight in Red gold.” He said their calls for peace and nonviolence were part of a greater movement to empower left-leaning politicians to usher in a communist America.²⁸² According to McIntire, the World Council of Churches actively participated in this endeavor. He claimed the WCC used its influence to initiate a socialist agenda through Marxist ideology, the recently translated Revised Standard Version, the social gospel, and the teaching of “the brotherhood of man.”²⁸³

The term brotherhood of man, employed by mainline Protestants during the civil rights era, helped propel social action. The idea behind “the brotherhood of man” implies a common denominator among human beings that came from late 19th century social Christianity with roots in the ministry of Walter Rauschenbusch. In its full usage it promoted the idea that God is the father of all, and every human being belongs to one another, therefore the Church has both a

²⁸⁰ J.B. Matthews. “Moscow’s Religious Fifth Column in the United States,” *CB*, 9 September 1954, 2-3.

²⁸¹ “Political Religious,” *CB*, 28 October 1954, 2.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ “Resolutions,” *CB*, 4 November 1954, 4-5; “NCC’s Message,” *CB*, 9 December 1954, 1, 3, 5; “Communist Controlled Churches,” *CB*, 20 October 1955, 5, 8.

spiritual and a social mission. In post-World War II America, mainline Protestants used this teaching to promote peace, economic justice, end nuclear proliferation, and promote civil rights.

Many Fundamentalists— and, later, many Evangelicals, like Billy Graham — objected to the Social Gospel’s lessening of the importance of personal conversion, which they saw as the Reformation’s commitment to justification by faith alone. The Social Gospel theologians’ attention to good will, social harmony, and action, smacked of the Arminian heresy that placed the human will as the mechanism to discover justification.²⁸⁴ From the start, the Fundamentals and the Scofield Bible had attacked what they saw as the “post-millennialist” emphasis of antebellum and Gilded Age reformers (prior to the Social Gospel proper). Such worldly projects had focused too much on trying to perfect the material and political conditions of this earth, rather than save and prepare souls for eternity on God’s — Reformed and anti-Arminian-- terms.

Fundamentalist arguments applied simple arguments against the social gospel. Campaigning against social ills distracted Christians from their only valid work on earth: revivals with mass conversions.²⁸⁵ If McIntire and fellow fundamentalists addressed racism at all, they said it was a question of priorities. Once enough people converted to Christianity, only then could the church address “social problems,” like racism.

McIntire’s Evangelical rivals and enemies shared that sense of priorities. Despite this, Billy Graham, and many similarly conservative believers in those

²⁸⁴ Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 118.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

very Christian Life Commissions and home mission boards that McIntire attacked, endorsed and practiced racial desegregation in public life even before the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Their conservative reading of the Bible did not stop—indeed it supported—their endorsement of the civil rights movement and other social justice crusades. While such social work was indisputably “works” rather than faith, they argued that sincere Christian converts should behave like Christians—welcoming their neighbors and enemies alike with unselfish love. To them, racist degradation, deprivation, and exclusion was simply un-Christ-like, incompatible with true conversion to faith in the man who gave the Sermon on the Mount.²⁸⁶

In fact, Evangelicalism’s flagship publication, *Christianity Today*, lamented the fact that the Supreme Court had to force America to grapple with the realities of racism instead of American churches.²⁸⁷ In supporting the *Brown* decision, the magazine acknowledged that white evangelicals had some fault in the perpetuation of segregation. It implied that Evangelicals’ own push for personal conversion had caused a void in social action, a lack of follow-through from conversion to living like true followers of Jesus, sharing the burdens of the poor and the despised. To acknowledge that failure and rededicate themselves to the least of these was to emulate Christ’s humility and generosity—not to get distracted, as Fundamentalists insisted, from conversion but to live the faith in both word and action.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 193.

²⁸⁷ Mark Noll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 156.

The decisive argument for opposition to civil rights for many Fundamentalists, however, was that Evangelicals' support of civil rights led them to consort with "liberal" Mainline Christians. Fundamentalists believed in "separation"; doctrinally pure Christianity must protect itself from corrupt theology, even if that meant evangelizing less and thus converting fewer souls than their Evangelical rivals—whose organizations were growing far faster than Fundamentalist ones.. Even if that meant they got a reputation for shunning the good works that might have demonstrated their sincerity as Christians and by that measure helped them win more souls over to Jesus.

While Graham was a biblical inerrantist, he said to the NAE, "one badge of Christian discipleship is not orthodoxy, but love. There is far more emphasis on love and unity among God's people in the New Testament than there is on orthodoxy, as important as it is."²⁸⁸ Graham would not turn away anybody who believed in Jesus, would not refuse to break bread with them.

McIntire believed that breaking bread with non-Fundamentalist organizations like Graham's, let alone the liberal Mainline denominations, was sin. He clung to the Fundamentalist doctrine of separation derived from the Apostle Paul, who warned the Christians in the worldly city of Corinth, "touch not unclean thing and be separate saith the Lord." For McIntire and other Fundamentalists, Graham was as much a sinner as a modernist who denied the virgin birth of Christ.

In the mid-1940s, McIntire railed against the United Nations and the growing faith in World Federalism and multi-ethnic brotherhood that U.S. State

²⁸⁸ Wacker, *America's Pastor*, 182.

Department and, soon enough, the U.S. Armed Forces, promoted along with the U.N..²⁸⁹ The liberal version of anti-communism, especially during the vast decolonization that came in the wake of World War II, was a nationalist parallel to evangelicalism: liberal anti-communists looked at newly independent nations in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, seeing that their poverty and resentment of “western” imperialist domination made the socialists’ alternative attractive. Liberal anticommunists sought to win, if not metaphysical souls, the “hearts and minds.” They had to do it overseas now as well as at home.

To McIntire the idea that, as Gandhi put it, all men are brothers was a dangerous illusion partly because it was so tempting. “How wonderful that would be if it were true! But it is not. We are not brothers one of another, nor are we children of God until we have been born again.”²⁹⁰ He saw “the brotherhood of man” as a “collectivistic idea” that communists promoted used in their schemes to control economic and social freedom.²⁹¹ Liberals had been duped according to McIntire because “the brotherhood of man, the basis of all the civil rights legislation” was wrong because “the human race is divided into two brotherhoods: the fellowship of the saints, all of whom have been redeemed by the blood of Christ, and the brotherhood of the lost.”²⁹² McIntire said that society “must have a remedy for sin before we can have a remedy for our social problems.”²⁹³

²⁸⁹ McIntire, *Outside the Gate* (Collingswood: Christian Beacon Press, 1949), 279.

²⁹⁰ McIntire, *Rise of the Tyrant*, 143.

²⁹¹ Ibid, 205-206.

²⁹² Carl McIntire, *The Death of a Church* (Collingswood: The Christian Beacon Press, 1967), 69.

²⁹³ McIntire, *Rise of the Tyrant*, 206.

When rival Protestants accused McIntire of racism because of his opposition to the civil rights movement, he called the association “false.”²⁹⁴ He publicly distanced himself from extreme racist groups, like the Ku Klux Klan. Concerning accusations of racism, he said “it could be that, after a lifetime of seeing the world from the far left, and after many years of naïve fidelity to a religion which worships social reform and government...one’s vision could be so impaired that it sees nothing real.”²⁹⁵ McIntire did not equate his opposition to civil rights as a matter of racism, but biblical and political fidelity. Still, that left much to the imagination when McIntire’s activities and associations were taken into consideration.

McIntire’s ACCC, did pass resolutions that denounced the KKK. However, McIntire did associate with other Fundamentalists and leaders on the Right who were known as racist, like Bob Jones who famously preached “Is Segregation Scriptural?,” but McIntire’s public actions do show an interesting contradiction in racial views. On one hand, he was generous with financial support for African churches that lost funding when they left the World Council of Churches, but on the other, he did not support African American churches that argued for legal action in the civil rights movement. McIntire’s commitment to fundamentalism was greater than his public promotion of freedom., though he proclaimed his Christianity was the only way to ensure freedom. Despite decades of making this claim, he denied the opportunity for freedom to African Americans.

²⁹⁴ Carl McIntire, *Servants of Apostasy* (Collingswood: The Christian Beacon Press, 1955), 244.

²⁹⁵ “Hate and Fundamentalism,” *CB*, 21 May 1964.

He insisted that his public opposition to the civil rights movement was based in a political philosophy that strictly separated church from state. He lobbied against the Fair Employment Practices Commission, he said, because it used “the power of the State to attempt to force matters that belong to the heart and spirit.”²⁹⁶ Mainline Protestants’ error lay in their use of a religious ideal, “brotherhood of man,” as a justification for government enforcement of civil rights.²⁹⁷ According to McIntire, “the heart of the problem is that human relations cannot be forced by law.”²⁹⁸ When Christian and Jewish groups called Fundamentalists bigots, McIntire said, “it is not bigotry to preserve the kind of life which the American people have had through the years.”²⁹⁹

He said he did not seek to preserve segregation but rather the Jeffersonian principle of limited government.³⁰⁰ This was the reasoning he applied when he opposed integration at Little Rock Central High School in 1957. He wrote Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus offering support and praised his “stand for freedom and the constitutional rights of our states.”³⁰¹ Indeed, McIntire’s ACCC weighed in on President Eisenhower’s use of Federal troops to integrate Little Rock high schools and claimed force exacerbated the situation.³⁰²

McIntire never used racist epithets on the record or openly disavowed racist goals in his defense of segregation laws. But his reprints of news articles

²⁹⁶ Ibid, 245; “Brotherhood of Man,” *CB*, 5 April 1956, 2.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 244-246.

²⁹⁸ Carl McIntire, “Whatsoever a Man Soweth: A Commentary and Valuable Clipping Collection Concerning the Civil Rights Movement in America, August 1965,” 20th Century Reformation Hour, 2. CMCC, Box 153, Folder 54.

²⁹⁹ “Brotherhood and Bigotry,” *CB*, 28 February 1957, 1, 4, 5.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 5.

³⁰¹ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalism*, 148.

³⁰² Ibid.

seem well chosen to feed racist fears and reinforce racist assumptions. For example, the *Beacon* reprinted an article that painted Methodist segregationist minister, Lee Craft, in a sympathetic light.³⁰³ Craft was suspended for publishing a newsletter that promoted segregationist ideas, but also vehemently opposed communism. The article minimized segregation and emphasized an anti-communist purge among Methodists. The *Beacon* also reprinted Congressman Donald Jackson's fiery anti-civil rights speech on the House Floor that asserted, "the blasphemy of [W.E.B.] Du Bois has no place in a list of books recommended for teachers and children."³⁰⁴ The speech condemned other works like *A Documentary History of the Negro in the United States* and claimed they were part of communist indoctrination.

While McIntire tried to depict himself as a person who believed that races were equal, he did not approve of interracial marriage. He saw civil rights legislation as leading to "race mixing."³⁰⁵ In one interview he expressed disapproval of interracial marriage on the basis of cultural difference and social problems due to prejudice.³⁰⁶ He never claimed, however, that his race was the superior one.³⁰⁷ Perhaps he thought that was obvious to his audience.

³⁰³ "Suspended Minister Assigns Himself a Job," *CB*, 31 March 1955, 5.

³⁰⁴ "Congressman Donald Jackson Exposes NCC's Recommended Reading from 'Negro American,'" *CB*, 28 April 1960.

³⁰⁵ McIntire, *Death of a Church*, 70.

³⁰⁶ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalism*, 143.

³⁰⁷ One example of a Fundamentalist publication that argued for separation based upon the superiority of Anglo-Saxon lineage was *Truth and Liberty*, edited by C.O. Stadskev, an early proponent of the Christian Identity Movement. A few examples from the civil rights era are "Race Mixing and the Bible: The Christian View of Segregation," *Truth and Liberty Magazine* (October 1957), 39-40; "That which GOD has Separated Let No Man Integrate," *Truth and Liberty Magazine* (October 1958), 36-39; "The Racial Problem," *Truth and Liberty Magazine* (October 1960), 16-18; "Lincoln on Racial Segregation," *Truth and Liberty Magazine* (February 1962), 35-36; and C.O. Stadskev, "Is Interracial Marriage Scriptural?" *Truth and Liberty Magazine* (October 1961), 1-8. Many of these articles, and others which I did not cite, make the allegation

Privately, however, another picture of McIntire emerges. In 1963, Robert Shelton, from the United Klans of America in Tuscaloosa, Alabama contacted McIntire and requested copies of *The Worker* that the *Christian Beacon* ran that May.³⁰⁸ McIntire was not unfamiliar with the KKK or the Citizen's Councils that were so pervasive in the South. In fact, he collected Citizen's Councils' newsletters and the FBI made note of that as early as 1957.³⁰⁹ He also subscribed to the newsletter for the Southern States Industrial Council that promoted segregationist views.

In 1962, the National Ku Klux Klan attempted to secure McIntire as a speaker that year when they met opposite the NAACP in Atlanta.³¹⁰ Interestingly, McIntire, whose archives have records of outbound correspondence, did not save his reply, or perhaps he never replied. There was a level of affinity as the Klan distributed McIntire's pamphlets "False Prophets," "Bankrupt United Nations," and "Why Christians Should Fight Communism" at meetings.³¹¹

Apparently, McIntire's ideas resonated with the white supremacist group. At the National Meeting of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in March, 1964 members were encouraged to join McIntire's march on Congress to protest the Civil Rights Act.³¹² As the Civil Rights Act seemed inevitable, the Klaverns

that interracial marriage, desegregation and other outcomes of a victorious civil rights movement were not only part of a communist conspiracy, but also anti-Scriptural. The authors of these articles point to various texts and draw out racial meanings, even when the texts do not deal with race, ethnicity, or geography. The crucial aspect in the hermeneutic applied to gain these meanings was the absence of original context. For instance, when dealing with Old Testament passages, one cannot find insight into Ancient-Near Eastern views on borders, race, ethnicity or culture.

³⁰⁸ Robert M. Shelton to Carl McIntire, 20 August 1963, folder 47, box 120, CMCC.

³⁰⁹ Carl McIntire, FBI HQ-F 100-423395-548, 12.

³¹⁰ Carl McIntire, FBI-HQ-F 157-168-116, 3.

³¹¹ Carl McIntire, FBI-HQ-F 157-92-264, 26 and Carl McIntire, FBI-HQ-F 157-92-289, 22.

³¹² Carl McIntire, FBI-HQ-F 157-168-252, 3.

of the Association of South Carolina Klans sent a letter to their members announcing Billy James Hargis as a speaker on 9 April and Carl McIntire as a speaker on 10 April.³¹³ McIntire also consulted Klan leaders about coordination for this march and how to best advertise it to maximize attendance.³¹⁴ Though McIntire's ACCC may have denounced the KKK, he did not. In fact, his cooperation with the group demonstrates that he fell in step with white Fundamentalism's history of racial prejudice.

McIntire and the Coming of the Civil Rights Act

During John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign in 1960, the Democratic National Committee called McIntire one of the five most "anti-Catholic bigots in America."³¹⁵ The Anti-Defamation League regularly named him a "hate peddler."³¹⁶ If so, it was good business. By the time Kennedy began the push for federal civil rights legislation, in June 1963, McIntire's *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* aired on nearly 600 stations, thousands attended his "March For America" events, the *Christian Beacon*'s circulation neared 45,000, which exceeded *Christianity Today*, the Christian Beacon Press was publishing McIntire's books and pamphlets, and his Christian Admiral Hotel hosted hundreds of guests weekly.³¹⁷ Carl McIntire now waged war against the impending Civil Rights Act.

³¹³ Carl McIntire, FBI-HQ-F 105-38068-567.

³¹⁴ Carl McIntire, FBI-HQ-F 157-1586-2, 14.

³¹⁵ "DNC's Memorandum," *CB*, 29 September, 1960, 1, 3, 8.

³¹⁶ Forster and Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 107; "About the Wiscasset, Maine, Freedom Rally," *CB*, 18 July, 1963, 7.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 101, 105, 111.

Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups were all over the headlines making declarations in defense of the protesters in Birmingham. McIntire called Kennedy's sudden interest in civil rights "unrighteous."³¹⁸ McIntire claimed Kennedy lacked global understanding because promoting the civil rights movement gave the Soviets and global communist movement more ground in their plan to subvert America.³¹⁹ Kennedy's commencement speech at American University in 1963 offended McIntire because Kennedy said:

In too many of our cities today, the peace is not secure because freedom is incomplete. It is the responsibility of the executive branch at all levels of government -- local, State, and National -- to provide and protect that freedom for all of our citizens by all means within our authority. It is the responsibility of the legislative branch at all levels, wherever the authority is not now adequate, to make it adequate. And it is the responsibility of all citizens in all sections of this country to respect the rights of others and respect the law of the land.³²⁰

McIntire called the speech "condescending." President Kennedy simply called upon government to secure Constitutional rights for all citizens. McIntire responded to Kennedy's call to complete America's promise of freedom and said, the President endangered America, and thus made the Soviet Union happy.³²¹ McIntire took issue with the President addressing domestic issues this way at a university commencement. He saw Kennedy's signal to move toward civil rights legislation as an unreasonable expansion of federal power.

³¹⁸ "The Protestant Desegregation Drive," *The Shreveport Times*, 30 June, 1963 in *CB* 11 July, 1963, 5.

³¹⁹ "The President's Speech and Biblical Considerations," *CB*, 27 June, 1963, 1, 8.

³²⁰ John F. Kennedy, "Strategy of Peace" (1963), in *A Documentary History of the United States*, ed. Richard Heffner (New York: Signet, 2002), 396.

³²¹ "The President's Speech and Biblical Considerations," 1, 8.

Shortly after Kennedy's speech, civil rights forces mobilized for a "March on Washington." They intended to put pressure on Congress to pass the new civil rights bill. Three weeks before the March, McIntire warned his *Christian Beacon* readers that communists supported the marchers' demands.³²² He reproduced articles from communist publications like *The Daily Worker* that promoted the march.³²³ McIntire added that public accommodations section of the administration's bill "involved the destruction of property rights as they have always been recognized and practiced under the Constitution."³²⁴ McIntire claimed that politicians were "exploiting Negroes" by promising that legislation would change their lives, but put them under the thumb of a stronger federal government. He said that enacting radical new laws in response to demonstrations would only ensure further "lawlessness and riot."³²⁵ The day after the march, the *Beacon* reproduced several articles from *The Worker* and *new america* and underlined phrases like "liberation movement" and "bourgeois democratic revolution" to highlight the communist flavor of the marchers' placards and speeches.

After the march, McIntire devoted an entire issue of the *Beacon* to the event, saying that, "August 28, 1963, will go down in the history of the United States as a day of shame, a day of sorrow, a day of tragedy."³²⁶ He said, "the march brought together leftist groups...which had been out violating laws. Martin

³²² "March on Washington," *CB*, 8 August, 1963, 1, 8.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 1-8.

³²⁴ "Peace and Civil Rights," *CB*, 8 August, 1963, 8.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ Carl McIntire, "August 28 March on Washington Opposed by American Council of Christian Churches: Washington Suppresses News Released by Opposition Leaders," *CB*, 5 September, 1963, 1.

Luther King himself has been arrested 13 times.”³²⁷ He charged the event had “the full backing of the Communist conspiracy in the United States and throughout the world.”³²⁸ “This cannot possibly be a “Freedom March,” McIntire complained, “the demands being made upon the Federal Government will deprive all citizens – both Negro and White – of freedom they now enjoy under the Constitution.”³²⁹

Despite such bold assertions, McIntire never publically grappled with the reality that blacks and whites did not share the same freedoms. He did not wrestle with Jim Crow laws, or inequality at the ballot box. Instead, he made the March on Washington into a left versus right political issue.

He admitted that the United States had a “racial problem.” But marches were “the wrong approach” because they played into the hands of Communists who exploited the drive for civil rights to implement a “bourgeois revolution.”³³⁰ McIntire also questioned whether equality was the true goal. Without addressing the marchers actual grievances, he asserted, “in the United States there has never been a question of equality or of equal rights.”

Most of all, perhaps, McIntire worried about the effect the march would have on potential allies of the U.S. abroad. He knew the March on Washington played a role in Cold War relations because it was a global event. But he complained and said it “gave an entirely erroneous impression to the world concerning the status and position of the Negro in the United States.”³³¹ “The

³²⁷ Ibid., 1.

³²⁸ “Suppressed Release,” CB, 5 September 1963, 1.

³²⁹ McIntire, “August 28 March on Washington Opposed by American Council of Christian Churches,” 1.

³³⁰ Ibid, 8.

³³¹ Ibid.

Negro in the U.S.A. is free. He is free to work, labor, to improve himself, and to get ahead in life, just as any other American has been and is.”³³² McIntire believed the U.S. was the beacon of freedom, a city on a hill, but he never reconciled his experience with those who faced violence and discrimination because of their race.

McIntire tried to minimize the experiences of African Americans and claimed discrimination was a natural part of all societies. He said, “no one is discriminated against any more at the present time than are the Fundamentalist Christians.”³³³ Not stopping to think of Presbyterian demographics, McIntire asserted, “colored people discriminate against the white all the time when they formed their Negro churches and only Negroes attended them.”³³⁴ If the government meets the marchers demands, “it would be necessary to redistribute the population of the United States” to have a “proportionate share of Negroes.”³³⁵

Unlike some segregationists who tried to win moderates over to their point of view, McIntire never discussed the real discrimination African Americans faced. The *Beacon* never printed stories of the violence committed against African Americans. To McIntire, the “racial problem” came from communists, who duped civil rights activists to think America did not provide equality in order to usher in a “revolutionary program to destroy capitalism, to establish socialism, and to bring about bureaucratic regulation of the lives of the business leadership of the

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

country and of all the people.”³³⁶ Though he granted that the U.S. had not achieved perfect equality of opportunity in all realms, “the questions of the Negro, of integration, of civil rights are insignificant in the presence of the revolutionary program to change the social order and to bring about a new understanding of the Constitution of the U.S.A.”³³⁷

Once the Civil Rights Act of 1964 seemed inevitable, McIntire wasted no time escalating his opposition. He solicited help from Senator Strom Thurmond, whom he called a “Christian Patriot.”³³⁸ He churned out *The Bible Versus “Civil Rights”* as a supplement with the *Beacon*. McIntire argued that the “racial program” was not a moral issue as outlined by liberal Christians and politicians as it came from a poor theological framework.

McIntire harped against the liberal teaching of the universal fatherhood of God, a doctrine employed by advocates of civil rights, and said, “he is the Father only of those who have been adopted into his family.”³³⁹ Furthermore, “the drive to bring about the civil rights program is built upon road, unbiblical humanism, which is called the “brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.”³⁴⁰ Without citing specific Scripture, McIntire charged, “the whole theological approach is contrary to the Word of God.”³⁴¹

The *Beacon* made economic arguments that promised “equality” would create more inequality because it endangered property rights and personal

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid., 1, 8.

³³⁸ “Senator Thurmond – Christian, Patriot,” *CB*, 12 March, 1964, 7.

³³⁹ Carl McIntire, *The Bible Versus “Civil Rights”* 18 February 1964.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, 1.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

freedom.³⁴² McIntire claimed the Civil Rights Act was based upon a pervasive cultural impulse that stated, “human rights are above property rights” and the “public accommodation and fair employment practice provision” allow the government “to invade the sphere of the individual as it concerns his business, his private property, his personal activity, and lay down regulations that the individual must proceed to follow under civil penalties.”³⁴³ This argument was reminiscent of McIntire’s view that Moses was a capitalist because he would not let the children of Israel leave Egypt without their property.

In April, McIntire published an open letter to President Johnson that urged him to veto the bill. He asked, “have we reached a day when, in order to have a “Negro freedom movement,” we must restrict the liberty of all Americans, including Negroes?”³⁴⁴ He also claimed that property rights were at risk because the bill placed human rights above property rights which violates the Ten Commandments and basic biblical teachings that “a man is responsible to God for his property, its use and its disposition” and not “the Government.”³⁴⁵ McIntire said “the church is the most segregated institution in the United States today because it is a voluntary association that operates under the First Amendment that protects the free exercise of religion.”³⁴⁶ He said “we are convinced that the problems between the races should be left where the Constitution of the United States leaves them...to the states and to the people.”³⁴⁷ He decried the use of

³⁴² James Shaw, “‘Civil Rights’ – A Weapon for Reds,” *CB*, 9 April, 1964, 2.

³⁴³ McIntire, “The Bible Versus ‘Civil Rights,’” 1.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

federal power because “it is an endeavor to enforce conformity and uniformity to use the bureaucratic direction of the central government to make all conform.”³⁴⁸ One interesting request McIntire made was for Johnson to meet with a delegation from the ACCC. He justified this request on the basis that both Kennedy and Johnson met with delegates from the mainline NCC.³⁴⁹ McIntire concluded his letter with the admonition that “Big Government” was contrary to Scripture, and that too many believed “The Federal Government is my shepherd, I shall not want,” instead of God.³⁵⁰



During the debate on the Civil Rights Act in 1964, McIntire fed the *Beacon*'s 80,000 readers opposition speeches by Senators Robert Byrd, Barry

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 4. This argument for “equal time” is interesting in light of McIntire’s later loss of his radio station in New Jersey for failure to comply with the Fairness Doctrine, granting equal time to opposing viewpoints.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

Goldwater, and Strom Thurmond, and reiterated his warnings about an impending communist revolution in America.³⁵¹ The McIntire-affiliated International Christian Youth-USA (ICY) hosted seminars in Mississippi to counter the NCC's youth programs, specifically the Delta Project.³⁵² McIntire labeled it the "Revolution in the Delta," though it began as a response to the murder of Medgar Evers and sought to empower marginalized blacks to organize for civil rights, and provided material relief like healthcare, literacy services, food, and clothes to the impoverished with a budget of \$260,000.³⁵³

McIntire's hotel, The Christian Admiral, advertised patriotic conferences for the summer.³⁵⁴ The ACCC held its annual conference in the Deep South with the theme, "Unmasking the Enemies of Faith and Freedom," who, of course, were civil rights advocates.³⁵⁵ Advertisements for Highland College announced that it was the "20th Century Reformation College in the West."³⁵⁶ The *Beacon* published a sermon that argued that the Civil Rights Act made the U.S. government like the Kremlin, working contrary to "the basic rights of Bible law which is fundamental in Anglo-Saxon law and the foundation of our American system of law."³⁵⁷

³⁵¹ Shaw, "Civil Rights" – A Weapon For Reds, ' 2.

³⁵² "ICY-Mississippi Challenge To NCC-WCC "Revolution in the Delta" Program," *CB*, 7 May 1964, 1.

³⁵³ "Delta Ministry Fact Sheet," National Council of Churches Delta Ministry, January 1965, Congress of Racial Equality, Mississippi 4th District Records, 1961-1966. [<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/41199>]

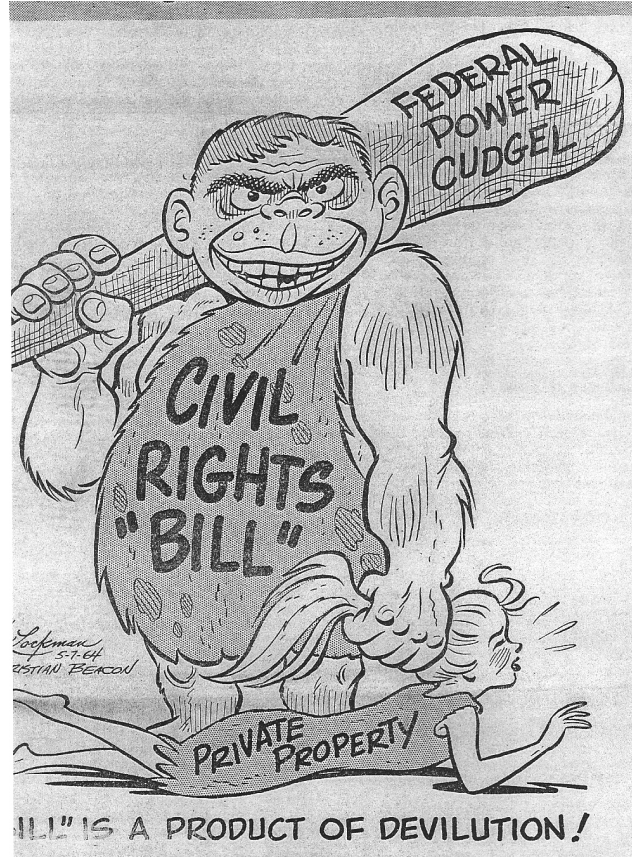
³⁵⁴ "Christian Admiral Conferences," *CB*, 7 May, 1964, 4

³⁵⁵ "ACCC to Hold Spring Convention in the South," *CB*, 13 February, 1964, 1.

³⁵⁶ "Advertisement for Highland College," *CB*, 7 May, 1964, 7.

³⁵⁷ R.T. Woodworth, "Civil Rights – Jacob's Voice, Esau's Hands," *CB*, 14 May, 1964, 2, 6.

The *Beacon* also published several civil rights related editorial cartoons. One featured an oversized, ape-like, caveman carrying a club labeled “Federal Power Cudgel,” wearing an animal skin named “Civil Rights “Bill”,” holding a petite, fair-skinned blonde “private property” by the hair.³⁵⁸



The US Senate passed the Civil Rights Act on 19 June 1964. That night, at McIntire’s International Christian Youth conference, Senator Strom Thurmond spoke to the teens remotely. He told the crowd “this bill was not a bill to protect civil rights, but it was a transfer of power...from the state to the national level...from the individual...[to] bureaucrats.”³⁵⁹ As Carl Thomas McIntire joked about NAACP picketers outside the event, the Senator said “if you’ll go to the

³⁵⁸ “‘Bill’ Is A Product of Devilution!” *CB*, 7 May 1964, 1.

³⁵⁹ “Remarks on Civil Rights,” *CB*, 25 June 1964, 5.

bottom lot of these pickets, you will find they are misled people or they are misled by misled intellectuals who seem to have a special attraction for socialist theories.”³⁶⁰ McIntire stated that Thurmond was “certainly a testimony that the youth of the Twentieth Century Reformation movement needed to hear.”³⁶¹

The next morning, McIntire sent a telegram to President Johnson regarding his possible decision to sign the Civil Rights Act on Independence Day. He said “strongly urge you not use Fourth of July for signing of Senate Bill passed yesterday” because “many Christians deeply grieved by Bill’s encroachment upon our Constitutional freedoms.”³⁶² McIntire requested sympathy when he asked, “please do not pour salt in the deep wounds many feel. Let us all unite in celebrating our Independence Day with joy and delight in its historic meaning.”³⁶³

The following week, McIntire’s Christian Beacon Press churned out thousands of copies of *Repeal the “Civil Wrongs” Bill For Biblical Reasons*. He said “in order to give what they call freedom to the Negroes they are going to take away freedom from every citizen in the United States.”³⁶⁴ He warned that “a powerful bureaucratic structure” will “police the nation, tell people whom they can hire, whom they cannot hire; trespass upon private properties with investigations and inquisitions against the citizens of the country.”³⁶⁵ With this dire prediction, McIntire urged his readers “let every American refer to the Civil

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ “Strom Thurmond, Statesman,” *CB*, 25 June 1964, 5.

³⁶² Carl McIntire to President Johnson, Telegram, 20 June 1964, folder 20, box 162, CMCC.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ “The Fourth of July,” *CB*, 25 June 1964, 8.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

Rights Bill as the civil wrongs bill. This is our privilege McIntire alleged that “all citizens, including the Negro” were under “new bondage.”³⁶⁶ He vowed to press on warning against Martin Luther King’s vow to continue the movement.³⁶⁷

McIntire and King

Before the showdown over the revolutionary 1964 civil rights bill, McIntire had mentioned his fellow southern Protestant minister Martin Luther King very little. But the occasions when he did mention King, he took him to task with Fundamentalist fervor. McIntire’s approach with King lacked intellectual depth. Instead, he opted for Fundamentalist bravado that attacked King’s theology, promotion of civil disobedience, and allegations of communism.

First, McIntire had a theological bone to pick with King. He called King’s cries for Christian love “a sham” and more “tactic than reality” because King sought to “legislate love.”³⁶⁸ Another writer in the *Beacon* that year complained that King emphasized the idea of “love” for his fellow man on this earth with concrete public actions over “Fundamentalist fervor” in devoting love to God and focusing only on the salvation of human souls.³⁶⁹ McIntire also challenged King to prove that segregation was a sin, as he and others did.³⁷⁰ Another issue of Biblical interpretation was King’s association with theological liberalism.

³⁶⁶ Carl McIntire, *Repeal the “Civil Wrongs Bill” For Biblical Reasons* (Collingswood, NJ: The Christian Beacon Press, 1964), 2.

³⁶⁷ Author unknown, “Communist Endorsement,” in *The Bible Versus Civil Rights* (Collingswood, NJ: The Christian Beacon Press, 1964), 4.

³⁶⁸ Carl McIntire, “An Open Letter to Martin Luther King,” *CB*, 11 June, 1964, 7.

³⁶⁹ Lee Dirks, “The Essence of Love – The Theology of Martin Luther King,” *CB*, 26 March, 1964, 3.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 7. This mention of segregation is one of the few times the *Beacon* directly addresses the issue.

Though King was raised in a small-e evangelical southern Baptist church, led by an old-fashioned father who never went to college and beat his son frequently—a background that King actually called “fundamentalist” -- McIntire detected a liberal taint on him. King’s own most brilliant lieutenant, Bayard Rustin, referred to King’s beliefs as “fundamentalist,” but King had indeed been drawn to many insights at the modern, Yankee curriculum at Crozer Theological Seminary and Boston University Divinity School. That said, King was as critical of liberal theology as anybody. In fact, during his formative years, he fell under the spell of America’s fiercest critic of the social gospel movement, the Reformed Christian ethicist Reinhold Niebuhr – who so fierce that his critics called him, exaggeratedly, “neo-orthodox.”³⁷¹ Niebuhr worked hard his whole life to bring American Christians back to an anti-liberal pessimism about mankind and deeper humility about Original Sin. King shared that basic disdain for liberalism’s excesses, partly because he was raised on sterner stuff. He also clung, more than Niebuhr, to the anti-liberal view of a personal God.

³⁷¹ David Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 46-47 and 50-54.

Because King did not adhere to their strict fundamentalist views, McIntire and others accused him of denial of Fundamental doctrines like the virgin birth of Jesus Christ, and publicly called King to “return to the Bible” in his preaching and abandon his public advocacy of civil rights.³⁷² King’s view on the virgin birth stressed its difficulty to grasp in light of modern science, yet he did not fully deny it.³⁷³



Second, McIntire took issue with King’s call for civil disobedience. According to McIntire, King’s use of Saint Augustine’s view concerning the validity of unjust laws stood contrary to Scripture and moral law.³⁷⁴ He said “laws that are unjust and out of harmony with the moral law should be changed in

³⁷² Carl McIntire, “An Open Letter to Martin Luther King,” *CB*, 11 June, 1964., 7.

³⁷³ Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Volume I: Called to Serve, January 1929-June 1951* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 228.

³⁷⁴ McIntire, “An Open Letter to Martin Luther King,” 3.

lawful democratic ways that are open to you and all citizens of this land.”³⁷⁵

McIntire added, “the Scripture exhorts us “to strive lawfully.””³⁷⁶

McIntire chided King for writing “Letter to a Birmingham Jail.” He accused him of becoming a “lawbreaker” and said, “you wrote a letter as though you were standing in the train of the Apostle Paul or John Bunyan.”³⁷⁷ The Apostle wrote letters from prison, addressing church matters, while under arrest for preaching the Christian faith. John Bunyan, the author of *Pilgrim’s Progress*, wrote his famous tale from a jail cell, where he was confined for preaching without a license.

Like many segregationists—and like many liberals, including mainstream black civil rights leaders-- McIntire pointed out that non-violent protest often led to violence.³⁷⁸ King had admitted this controversial approach was true, and McIntire was not the only enemy who had a field day with it. He said, “your demonstrations bring fear. The strategy and approach you are making does more harm than good when it comes to creating the right attitude between the races.”³⁷⁹

McIntire implied the state must be obeyed because God ordained it when it came to the issue of civil rights.³⁸⁰ At the same time, McIntire viewed some states as invalid in their role as lawgivers. In the 1930s, McIntire advocated disobedience to the Nazi government in its oppression of religious freedom, and

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid. Also, see *Outside the Gate*, 86. McIntire argued that King’s “so-called nonviolent approach which always produces violence, and it is the revolution he is after, a condition in which the state is going to provide for and take care of the Negroes through its socialistic endeavors.”

³⁷⁹ McIntire, “An Open Letter to Martin Luther King,” 3.

³⁸⁰ Ibid. These views can also be found in *Author of Liberty* and hundreds of articles and editorials throughout the *Christian Beacon*.

racial suppression of Jews.³⁸¹ During the 1950s and 1960s, McIntire opposed the civil rights movement, because it practiced civil disobedience. To top things off, in the late 1960s, McIntire himself disobeyed the “Fairness Doctrine,” an FCC regulation, upheld by the courts, that required broadcasters to fairly represent opposing views. He even and caused public spectacles, both permitted and illegal, in his open defiance of the FCC’s authority, later affirmed by the Supreme Court.

Third, McIntire’s critique naturally related to communism. Because he believed that King wanted to sap individual rights and give government more power, therefore pushing America closer toward communism.³⁸² McIntire’s fears were not entirely delusional because the Communist Party USA published pro-civil rights literature and actively worked to promote the civil rights cause. Without acknowledging King’s own history of anti-communist sermons, McIntire accused him of promoting his own career and the communist agenda over the Christian gospel.³⁸³

Though King most likely never read McIntire’s open letter, he was not the audience. It was simply fodder to energize McIntire’s followers to fight against the civil rights movement’s advancing of freedom for African Americans. King was useful for him to stoke fear of communism as he employed Fundamentalist tropes to play upon racial fear and aggression.

³⁸¹ “Why Christians Should Be Kind to the Jews,” *CB*, 27 October 1938, 3; “Pastors Oppose Oath to Hitler,” *CB*?, 23 June 1938, 1; “Confessional Clergy Stir Reich,” *CB*, 4 June 1936, 1; “Nazis Protest Catholic Celebration,” *CB*, 19 August 1937, 1; “Germany to Continue Persecution of Jews,” *CB*, 2 February 1930, 1.

³⁸² McIntire, “An Open Letter to Martin Luther King,” 3.

³⁸³ *Ibid*, 7.

CONCLUSION

McIntire's tactics proved unsuccessful. His cries against the Civil Rights Act were heard, but not followed. His efforts led him to become a recognized voice within the right. In fact, Democrats circulated a rumor that Barry Goldwater was considering McIntire as his chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Democratic strategists evidently saw that as a persuasive argument for voting against Goldwater.³⁸⁴ Between 1960 and 1964, McIntire's movement grew enormously. Campaigns against bigotry, such as the ADL's *Danger on the Right*, did their best to discredit his political message. NBC aired the program "Outer Fringe," and connected McIntire to both the KKK and American Nazi Party, despite his protests.³⁸⁵ The *Washington Post* published a piece that questioned whether the ACLU should defend the free speech of "extreme right-wing groups," like McIntire's.³⁸⁶ The ADL argued that McIntire represented a dangerous turn in American public life: his marriage of Fundamentalist Christianity and extreme right-wing political commitments were radical.

Carl McIntire, pastor of a one of the largest Presbyterian churches in New Jersey, with faithful listeners on over 600 radio stations, and nearly 100,000 subscriptions to his *Christian Beacon*, led mass protests to "rally for America." His youth organization mobilized against civil rights in Mississippi. His Christian

³⁸⁴ "Barry's Boys," *CB*, 27 August, 1964, 8. This article purported to reproduce information from *The Democrat*, which was an official publication of the Democratic Party. It claimed that a Goldwater Cabinet would boast Governor George Wallace as Attorney General, former Utah Governor and anti-tax activist J. Bracken Lee as Secretary of Treasury, anti-union activist and journalist Westbrook Pegler as Secretary of Labor among others.

³⁸⁵ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 175.

³⁸⁶ Elliott Carson, "Civil Liberties Guard: ACLU Goes Increasingly to Aid of Right-Wing Groups," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 March 1965, 15.

Admiral hotel held conferences and seminars to equip leaders and masses with the tools to battle theological and political liberalism.

For the 1964 political season, McIntire's grassroots mobilization urged religious conservatives to support Barry Goldwater, who led rallies to publicize President Johnson's "anti-freedom" agenda.³⁸⁷ American voters reelected Johnson in a landslide. McIntire's efforts to elect Goldwater proved as effective as his fight against civil rights.

In 1969, Carl McIntire stood at the front steps of Riverside Church in New York City, where Harry Emerson Fosdick ministered during the height of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, and declared, "the Black Manifesto is the voice of hell."³⁸⁸ McIntire was referring to Jim Forman's famous call for reparations for black slavery and discrimination just a few months prior. He thundered to the small crowd gathered at the steps, including the press, that the National Council of Churches needed to pay Fundamentalists reparations of \$3 billion because it stole institutions away and the money would restore Christianity back to the 19th century before the "social gospel" destroyed everything.³⁸⁹ He said, "[w]e speak for Bible-believing Christians. We are concerned about all the propaganda that turns blacks against whites, poor against rich, and in the name of the gospel promotes the class struggle."³⁹⁰ As the organ music softly played inside the building, McIntire attached his own manifesto to the doors of the church with tape. The *Times* quoted one "long-time observer" of McIntire, who said, "the

³⁸⁷ "Grassroots," *CB*, 27 August 1964, 1, 8.

³⁸⁸ "Church 'Reparations' Demanded for Fundamentalists," *New York Times*, 15 September 1969, 1.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 1, 51.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid* 51.

problems are piling up for Carl McIntire. His organization is eroding all around him.”³⁹¹

³⁹¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

PERSECUTION COMPLEX

AND THE CULTURE WARS OF THE 1960s

I'm sending this to you as a reminder of the Cross which you've neglected in your worldly passions. Seek forgiveness in Christ and you will be relieved of your war. Surely, Alan Ginsberg, poet.³⁹²

As American culture experienced great shifts during the 1960s, McIntire's contrarian positions garnered him publicity in Democratic Party fliers, the Associated Press, *New York Times*, and *Time Magazine*. He helped solidify a partnership between religious conservatives and the Republican Party through his work in the Party and his fusion of religion and politics. He, and other Fundamentalists, pushed their agenda through active pursuit of conflict between government agencies and social movements. These events set the stage for what became known, later, as the culture wars.

The early 1960s signaled the end of consensus for many. Where the civil religion of 1950s was the decade of Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, the 1960s experience division as mainline and more doctrinally conservative Christian groups splintered along social issues. The civil rights movement, for sure, exacerbated the disparity along theological lines as evidenced in the Presbyterian

³⁹² Letter from Alan Ginsberg to Carl McIntire, 24 November 1970. CMCC Box 185, Folder 22.

USA, which split, in part, over the issue of civil rights. Other social issues caused controversy as well. Mainline Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and the United Church of Christ battled for social change.³⁹³ They declared ecclesiastical opposition against the Vietnam War. They supported the War on Poverty. They officially aligned with politically liberal social and political movements producing a social “Reformation.”³⁹⁴

Theological differences led to political ones. Mainline denominations, which attracted wealthier, educated parishioners, became known as both theologically liberal and politically left of center.³⁹⁵ White Fundamentalist and Evangelical groups aligned with politically right-leaning issues. This caused theological disagreements to enter the realm of social and political conflict. Fundamentalists, especially, tied cultural issues to doctrinal ones. Furthermore, these resulted ecclesiastical and political conflict.

Carl McIntire represents the marriage of doctrinal and political conservatism, in a way, as he and his organizations navigated the quickly changing landscape of the 1960s. He waged multi-front battles against religious groups, the U.S. government, and the new Left. His actions during the 1960s, beyond opposition to the civil rights movement, demonstrate the embrace of the culture war ethic.

³⁹³ Michael Kazin and Maurics Isserman, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 252.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 252-267.

³⁹⁵ Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 168-169.

Not One Whit

In 1960, former President Herbert Hoover wrote McIntire to express his gratitude for standing against Marxism in America.³⁹⁶ He also gave permission to reproduce his speech, “The Marxist Menace in America,” in the *Christian Beacon*. Hoover expressed, under no uncertain terms, that Marxism infected American society and government like a disease.³⁹⁷ He warned against terms like “liberal,” and “welfare state” and declared the “empassioned FORCE OF THE PULPIT” as the only hope for America to save youth from the growing tide of liberalism, and to preserve law enforcement from reforms.³⁹⁸ Like McIntire, the former President believed Marxism had affected America like a disease. It was changing the culture and moving the country toward leftism. The solution was both political and religious.

McIntire betrayed the promise he made in the first *Christian Beacon* to engage in politics “not one whit.” His actions during the 1960s demonstrate the full embrace of the pulpit and politics. Throughout the decade, he became fully aligned with the modern conservative movement on hosts of political issues, and baptized them in Fundamentalist doctrine.

In a rare instance of cooperation, McIntire allied with two politically conservative organizations that were not religious, let alone Fundamentalist: the John Birch Society and Young Americans for Freedom. He embraced these organizations at the turn of the new decade with the hope to turn the tide of growing liberalism. Furthermore, these two organizations helped McIntire fully

³⁹⁶ Herbert Hoover to Carl McIntire, 24 February 1960, folder 33, box 222, CMCC.

³⁹⁷ Herbert Hoover, “Marxist Menace to America,” folder 33, box 222, CMCC.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

embrace the burgeoning culture wars of the 1960s in the spirit of the 1920s “old time religion.”

Evangelist Billy Sunday railed against a changing America during the 1910s and 1920s as he preached against evolution, alcohol, sports on Sunday, and women’s fashion. This was a different conservatism than the ones McIntire promoted, though he saw himself in this vein. In fact, many Fundamentalists seemingly found themselves as outsiders in between the First and Second World War. Advances in government and science put Fundamentalists “behind the times,” while shifting cultural preferences provided the basis to claim the mantra of the old time religion.

Unable to escape the ridicule of satirists like H.L. Mencken, who famously quipped, “Puritanism: The haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy,” Fundamentalists launched headfirst into cultural battles. They supported the Volstead act, though Christians, historically, had not preached against alcoholic consumption, except to its excess. They rallied against immigration from Eastern Europe and warned America about encroaching socialism. Fundamentalists saw a Romish conspiracy in the 1928 Presidential campaign of Democrat, Al Smith. Furthermore, they connected Catholicism to the “wets” to support Herbert Hoover. As Darwinian evolutionary teaching became more common, Fundamentalists attempted to use the force of the law to prevent its spread, culminating in the Scopes Trial of 1925.

These cultural issues during the 1910s and 1920s highlighted the tension between individual liberty and community ideals within American society. Carl

McIntire and other Fundamentalists carried this tension with them during the great shifts that took place in the 1960s. On one hand, they touted individual liberty with gusto. On the other, they sought to limit individual liberties in areas where cultural standards changed. They, of course, did this in the name of traditional morality. The space between communal and individual freedom created an irreconcilable tension that led Fundamentalists to organization and protest.

Where the Old Christian Right lacked large-scale organization, the post-World War II era provided the managerial impetus for it. Ecclesial fragmentation helped provide the space for Christians to cross denominational borders and align based upon affinity.³⁹⁹ Evangelicals had the NAE. Mainline Christians found refuge in the NCC. McIntire attempted to coalesce Fundamentalists in his ACCC. Beyond these groups, campus ministries, evangelistic associations, and political groups grew. Corporate money helped make this a sustainable enterprise.⁴⁰⁰

The fusion of business capital, religion, and political affinity was evidenced in 1958, with the newly formed John Birch Society (JBS). Financed by wealthy industrialists like Charles Koch and Harry Bradley, Birchers rallied around anti-communism, anti-taxation, and anti-liberalism.⁴⁰¹ The JBS sought to promote Americanism through reading rooms, periodicals, and small-scale organizations throughout the US.⁴⁰² Though created to minimize the influence of Communism and its so-called international conspiracy, the JBS promoted

³⁹⁹ Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 91-121.

⁴⁰⁰ Kevin Kruse, *One Nation Under God*, 165-201.

⁴⁰¹ J. Allen Broyles, *The John Birch Society: The Anatomy of a Protest* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 48-52.

⁴⁰² Ibid, 15.

conservative values like smaller government, the promotion of a generic understanding of God, and to restore Western Civilization.⁴⁰³

In “The Blue Book,” that laid out official JBS aims, Robert Welch, the group’s founder and retired corporate business leader, laid out a strategy for disseminating the organization’s message. Welch argued that Birchers needed to distance themselves from the Republican Party in order to push a true conservative agenda.⁴⁰⁴ He expressed support for both Goldwater and Nixon, but saw both men as too dependent upon party structures to make the radical changes American society needed to dismantle New Deal and post-World War II liberal reforms.⁴⁰⁵ To win this war, Welch called upon JBS members to utilize the growing Right Wing media apparatus. He stated:

Of course where television programs "on our side" can be profitably supported by commercial sponsorship, as in the case of Dan Smoot's broadcasts, they are immensely helpful. What we are talking about in the indicated paragraphs are television programs which would have to be supported by voluntary contributions. And it is still our opinion that, as a general rule, such programs are too expensive against other beneficial uses of the same money — as for instance, in the radio broadcasts of Dean Manion, or Billy James Hargis, or Carl McIntire, or several other great Americanists with a huge radio following.⁴⁰⁶

Welch, a successful businessperson in his own right, understood how to expand the reach of JBS. It would take partnerships with others on the right, who were already established. Carl McIntire’s reach in 1958 was growing. His

Twentieth Century Reformation Hour program launched in 1955 and his *Christian*

⁴⁰³ Ibid,17-19.

⁴⁰⁴ Robert Welch, *The Blue Book of The John Birch Society* (Indianapolis: Robert Welch, 1959), 110-111.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid,119-124.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid,83-84.

Beacon boasted over 20,000 readers. McIntire had a large audience with national reach.

The values promoted by Robert Welch fit Carl McIntire's and other Fundamentalists' vision for the United States. The chief exception lay in what "God" meant to Fundamentalists versus the documents within the JBS. The JBS opposed the NCC and liberalizing within mainline Christianity.⁴⁰⁷ McIntire's association with the JBS raised suspicion among some of his followers because this political affiliation betrayed his militant religious fundamentalism.⁴⁰⁸ Some Fundamentalists questioned McIntire's support of JBS, due to the presence of Roman Catholics. McIntire defended this association since the John Birch Society was a patriotic organization that defended "conservative views" and promoted "the cause of liberty."⁴⁰⁹

McIntire actively promoted the John Birch Society. As *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* peaked during the early 1960s, McIntire encouraged his listeners to support the JBS.⁴¹⁰ One listener thanked McIntire and credited him for leading her to join.⁴¹¹ McIntire's glowing promotion of JBS drew attention from the organization itself. A staff coordinator wrote him and said, "we all must feel proud to have a dedicated Christian and patriot such as yourself on our team. You were making the fight when I was still a juvenile."⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁷ Broyles, *The John Birch Society*, 75.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid, 123.

⁴⁰⁹ William Blake to Carl McIntire 8 October 1962 and Carl McIntire to William Blake, 19 October 1962, folder 21, box 119, CMCC.

⁴¹⁰ Shirley Holcombe to Carl McIntire 2 January 1962, folder 21, box 119, CMCC

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Ward Poag to Carl McIntire, 7 March 1962, folder 21, box 119, CMCC.

McIntire also coordinated with the JBS. The JBS helped to promote his Twentieth Century Reformation as an expression of solidarity with the fight against communism.⁴¹³ State coordinators for the JBS also distributed McIntire authored materials like *Author of Liberty*, *Rise of the Tyrant*, and articles from the *Christian Beacon*.⁴¹⁴ In exchange, McIntire reproduced JBS produced editorials in the *Christian Beacon* and promoted their vision to his Fundamentalist audience.⁴¹⁵

He also coordinated with JBS President, Robert Welch. Both men shared the fear of communist infiltration in the U.S. They worked together to exchange organizational materials to mail to supporters, and Welch prodded McIntire to use his radio presence to further the JBS agenda.⁴¹⁶ As McIntire's program reached 300 stations, he offered testimonies over the air to help grow JBS' membership.⁴¹⁷ Both men allied their organizations to increase one another's following, and Welch paid McIntire for radio and print exposure.⁴¹⁸ During the tumultuous mid-1960s and early 1970s, the two men continued to share materials and offer advice to one another in their struggle against liberalism and communism.

McIntire also associated with the newly formed Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). He joined the group as a founding board member after Marvin Liebman, conservative activist and friend of William F. Buckley, successfully convinced him because of his interest in McIntire's radio audience.⁴¹⁹ YAF

⁴¹³ William Ohly to Carl McIntire 4 April 1962, folder 21, box 119, CMCC.

⁴¹⁴ Reed Sensor to Carl McIntire, 12 September 1963, folder 21, box 119, CMCC.

⁴¹⁵ D.A. Waite to Carl McIntire, 10 September 1964, folder 21, box 119, CMCC.

⁴¹⁶ Robert Welch to Carl McIntire, 15 October 1960, folder 16, box 196, CMCC.

⁴¹⁷ Carl McIntire to Mary F. White, 23 December 1961, folder 21, box 119, CMCC.

⁴¹⁸ Robert Welch to Carl McIntire, 14 March 1961, folder 16, box 196, CMCC.

⁴¹⁹ Ruotslia, *Fighting Fundamentalism*, 170.

organized to provide a conservative voice on college campuses to mobilize students against liberalism. YAF placed McIntire into the realm of conservative leaders, like William F. Buckley. His participation also signaled the bond between Fundamentalism and organizational conservatism because he laid aside the doctrine of separation to partner with Catholics and non-Christian conservatives – the very thing for which he vehemently criticized Billy Graham.

McIntire's participation with JBS and YAF demonstrated his willingness to associate with the rising conservative movement during the late 1950s and early 1960s in an organizational capacity. He looked past ecumenical differences for the sake of political partisanship and to push his Republican Party to the political right. This level of participation helped cement the fusion of conservative Christianity and conservatism. It also placed McIntire in a place to further fuse his religious values with his political views. McIntire warred against the changing culture taking on the U.S. Federal Government and new social trends.

McIntire versus the Federal Government

As McIntire and other Fundamentalists further blurred the lines between separation of church and state, they found themselves on the receiving end of trouble. McIntire had long used his media outlets for political purposes. His organizations operated under the guise of religion, but the early to mid 1960s saw pushback from groups who warned Americans about a growing “radical” right wing within the conservative movement. The U.S. Federal government also

stepped in as McIntire and other outspoken Fundamentalists violated laws that governed tax-exempt status.

McIntire's friend, Billy James Hargis, entered this controversy. Hargis's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and other ministries became subject to taxation, which meant donations were not given the benefit of tax exemption for the donor.⁴²⁰ Some Fundamentalists began to push an anti-taxation agenda with the abolition of the Internal Revenue Service because they claimed the organization persecuted them. Hargis and McIntire also fought back.

McIntire released Jesse Helms' editorial, "Stand up and Be Counted." In this pamphlet, Helms told a story of the plight of Thomas Waller and the overreach of the IRS.⁴²¹ The IRS audited Waller and, mistakenly, found irregularities that led to filed charges and twenty-five days in jail before a judge dismissed the case.⁴²² Helms argued that this incident proved the IRS violated the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution and must be abolished.

McIntire alleged that the Johnson Administration targeted conservative Christians. He released "Persecution of Fundamentalism by the Income Tax" and claimed the government used the IRS to stop conservative speech.⁴²³ He declared that some Fundamentalist groups lost their tax exemption while the NCC did not, though they engaged in similar behavior.⁴²⁴ McIntire left out the fact that he and

⁴²⁰ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalism*, 178-179.

⁴²¹ Jesse Helms, "Stand Up and Be Counted," 10 August 1964, folder 84, box 150, CMCC.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Carl McIntire, "Persecution of Fundamental Christianity by the Income Tax," folder 73, box 451, CMCC.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.,

Hargis did promote partisan conservative politics, while the NCC maintained a non-partisan stance.

These anti-tax screeds delved into conspiratorial territory with allegations that the IRS attacked organizations that promoted patriotism and anti-Communism. Furthermore, McIntire pressed the issue that the political speech that typified the ACCC and cost its tax exempt status did not reflect upon Collingswood Bible Presbyterian, or the Bible Presbyterian denomination. The IRS viewed this differently because of the overlap between McIntire's Fundamentalist organizations.

By framing the loss of tax exemption as religious persecution, McIntire fed the frenzy of End Times paranoia because the dispensational view of history purported the regulation of church by the State. This allowed McIntire to turn a legal issue into an issue of religious persecution. IRS Section 170 clearly stated "propaganda organizations" engage in political campaigns, endorse candidates, or lobby for political purposes.⁴²⁵ McIntire claimed his political speech did not rise to that level because he spoke in a religious capacity, and presented sound biblical arguments that transcended politics. In fact, he and others made the claim that "liberal" clergy, who advocated for the Civil Rights Acts, did not receive the same treatment.⁴²⁶ Because of this, the true faith suffered at the persecuting hand of the state, while an imposter Christianity received government sanction.

McIntire made the situation of tax violations into a religious liberty issue. The movement against the IRS fell in line with the growing mobilization of

⁴²⁵ Albert Cole to A.R. Paashaus, 19 March 1964, folder 24, box 159, CMCC.

⁴²⁶ Paul Peterson, "We Protest the Discrimination of the Internal Revenue Service Against Loyal Conservative Constitutional Americans," , folder 24, box 159, CMCC.

American conservatives and their distrust of the federal government. McIntire began to attack the U.S. government in addition to mainline Christianity and communism. He trumpeted his own legal issues as religious liberty ones and spread fear of a liberal crackdown on conservatism by the heavy hand of the state.⁴²⁷ While taking on the IRS, McIntire also fought the Federal Communication Commission over the Fairness Doctrine.

The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour

The Fairness Doctrine regulated controversial issues with its requirement for broadcasters to give equal time to opposing views when presenting controversial issues. For example, McIntire read speeches of Ronald Reagan and other conservative leaders, during the mid-1960s, who addressed political and social issues without a liberal counterpoint.⁴²⁸ By addressing political issues from one viewpoint, the FCC approached McIntire and asked him to give equal time to other views on his program.

McIntire refused to provide equal time. In fact, he saw this as an assault on religious liberty. McIntire argued that his conservative positions grew from traditional Christian doctrine. Therefore, he simply engaged in religious speech.

Three issues pushed the FCC to employ the Fairness Doctrine to McIntire's broadcasts. First, the fall of McCarthyism prompted right wing conservatives, like McIntire, to expand their radio presence.⁴²⁹ Second, the

⁴²⁷ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 245-246.

⁴²⁸ Ibid, 140-145.

⁴²⁹ Heather Hendershot, "God's Angriest Man: Carl McIntire, Cold War Fundamentalism and Right-Wing Broadcasting," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (June 2007): 377.

explosion of new conservative groups, like JBS, raised suspicions due to their reliance on propaganda.⁴³⁰ Additionally, suspicion over racism always haunted these groups due to overlap with Citizens' Councils. One critique that plagued the Birchers was its opposition to civil rights and alleged ties to white supremacy.⁴³¹ Third, right wing broadcasting expanded its message to include social issues. McIntire, and other religious broadcasters, promoted anti-civil rights groups connected to the KKK. They also took their anti-communist message to include any left leaning politics.⁴³²

McIntire claimed the FCC was attacking him. He had no intention to present counter views on his program, or radio station, WXUR. He did, however, seek to fight the Fairness Doctrine through two means: legally to protect his right to broadcast his views without the other side, and antagonistically, by petitioning the FCC and major broadcast networks to let him present counter information when shows like "Meet the Press" aired comments from clergy who spoke on behalf of the WCC or NCC.⁴³³

McIntire claimed the FCC denied "true exercise of religion and freedom of speech."⁴³⁴ He called for a congressional investigation. He also made attempts to curtail the FCC's threat to take away his license by inviting Arkansas Democratic Senator J.W. Fulbright, Pennsylvania Democratic Representative Joshua Eilberg, Edward Downy of Princeton Theological Seminary, and others

⁴³⁰ Ibid, 378.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid..

⁴³³ Carl McIntire to Federal Communications Commission, 16 January 1964, folder 30, box 129, CMCC.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

who represented an opposing view.⁴³⁵ McIntire's invitations used combative language and, often, gave the appearance of open debate, yet he typically gave only two or three days for the invitee to appear on his show, or narrowly defined the terms of their presentation. This, effectively, led his invitees to decline an appearance. So, McIntire followed the letter, but not the spirit of the Fairness Doctrine. When questioned, he simply produced evidence to demonstrate an attempt to allow another view, though he did not take representation seriously.

While he sought to save his *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* and beat Fairness Doctrine, he insisted that his views be allowed airtime on larger broadcasts. He made repeated offers to appear on ABC Television to present a counter viewpoint to the NCC. He fought with Fred Friendly, of CBS, as he tried to gain a voice on that network. His argument was that mainline Christianity did not represent true Christianity. He made theological assertions to try to gain time on the air to no avail.

As the FCC cracked down on right wing broadcasters, who did not follow the Fairness Doctrine, McIntire attempted to use the courts to preserve the status quo. He donated \$10,000 to John M. Norris, a rogue PCUS minister who hosted a right wing radio show, to support his legal battle with the FCC over licensure and the Fairness Doctrine.⁴³⁶ When that failed, McIntire pressed his case through the court system from the mid-1960s until 1972.

In 1964, McIntire hit the zenith of radio popularity. Thousands of letters arrived in his Collingswood offices weekly. *The Twentieth Century Reformation*

⁴³⁵ Carl McIntire to J.W. Fulbright, 8 April 1964. Carl McIntire to Edward A. Dowey, Jr., 2 June 1965. Carl McIntire to Joshua Filberg, 30 August 1966, folder 30, box 129, CMCC.

⁴³⁶ Hendershot, "God's Angriest Man," 379.

Hour surpassed six hundred stations and saw contributions reaching over three million dollars while boasting a listenership of ten million.⁴³⁷ McIntire summoned his large audience to protest the FCC's action against him. The FCC received over 25,000 letters of support for McIntire.⁴³⁸

From the left, *The Nation* labeled McIntire the spokesperson for the radical right.⁴³⁹ McIntire's name appeared in Democratic National Committee material that purported him as Goldwater's potential pick for FCC chair. This would have delighted McIntire, who viewed the FCC as unconstitutional. He took this news and turned it into a public battle with DNC Deputy for Public Affairs, Samuel Brightman over the issue of fairness in broadcasting.⁴⁴⁰ Brightman made formal complaints to the FCC over McIntire's criticisms of both him and the Democratic Party.⁴⁴¹

McIntire capitalized on the controversial publicity. Through Faith Theological Seminary, he purchased WXUR in a suburb of Philadelphia in late 1964 at the cost of \$425,000 plus collateral of \$100,000. He now had the capability to broadcast to Philadelphia metro area with "The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour" and other right wing Fundamentalist programming. McIntire's request for license transfer to operate WXUR resulted in great opposition. The FCC received letters from Philadelphia religious and civic groups

⁴³⁷ Patrick Farabaugh, "Carl McIntire and His Crusade Against the Fairness Doctrine" (Phd Diss., Penn State University, 2010), 57-58.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, 59.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Farabaugh, "Carl McIntire and His Crusade," 59-63.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, 63.

that complained McIntire's firebrand Fundamentalism was harmful to the civic good.⁴⁴²

The controversy played into McIntire's culture warrior instincts as he framed the purchase of WXUR in terms of persecution. Adding WXUR to his Fundamentalist arsenal allowed him to expand the fight against mainline Christianity and liberalism. The opposition of groups like the AFL-CIO, NAACP, Anti-Defamation League and liberal Protestant organizations gave McIntire the ability to present the licensing process as a spiritual battle against evil and a fight to protect the free exercise of religion.⁴⁴³

Ultimately, the FCC approved the license transfer for WXUR in a 5-1 decision.⁴⁴⁴ The committee granted the license based upon the McIntire's promise that WXUR served the mission of Faith Theological Seminary with a commitment to the Fairness Doctrine.⁴⁴⁵ The seminary promised to air opposing viewpoints for controversial topics. Furthermore, McIntire pledged that WXUR would air an *Interfaith Forum* to allow broad discussions from different views and their relation to social problems.⁴⁴⁶ Because of this, the FCC's decision reflected that Faith Theological Seminary planned to use WXUR to reflect the views of the community, and not to advance Carl McIntire's agenda.⁴⁴⁷

With license granted, McIntire renewed his assault on the Fairness Doctrine. In grand style at Constitutional Hall in Washington D.C., he called for

⁴⁴² Ibid, 66-67.

⁴⁴³ Ibid, 65-70.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, 70.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 70.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, 70-71.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, 72-73.

its repeal, as well as the permanence of radio licenses instead of the three-year renewal process.⁴⁴⁸ WXUR's programming did not reflect the assurances given to the FCC. Soon, local boycotts helped reduce WXUR's monthly revenue from \$7,000 to \$500 in late 1965.⁴⁴⁹ McIntire attempted to salvage the situation by adding a program called *Freedom of Speech* that, supposedly, presented multiple viewpoints through its caller driven format. Instead, the show devolved into racist and anti-Catholic screeds.⁴⁵⁰ By the end of 1965, the Pennsylvania House passed a resolution to investigate WXUR's adherence to the Fairness Doctrine, and New Jersey passed similar legislation in February 1966.⁴⁵¹ When WXUR's license renewal hearings came in 1967, McIntire brought so many supporters that the FCC postponed proceedings because the room was too small.⁴⁵²

McIntire presented the controversy over the license renewal in stark terms. He claimed his opponents simply sought to persecute him due to his religious beliefs. He also said the FCC and liberals targeted him because of his promotion of truth. Though it looked like WXUR would not have its license renewed, the Seventh Circuit Court issued a ruling in another matter that favored McIntire's disregard for the Fairness Doctrine, and, remarkably, the FCC granted another three year term because Philadelphia did not have another station that provided a Fundamentalist view.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, 77.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, 80.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, 80, 95.

⁴⁵² Ibid, 107.

⁴⁵³ Ibid, 108 and 110.

This victory proved short-lived. In late 1969, the FCC received a petition on behalf of nineteen civic and religious organizations to overturn WXUR's renewal. Seven months later, the FCC reversed its previous decision in a 6-0 defeat for McIntire.⁴⁵⁴ The commission cited Faith Theological Seminary's failure to follow its own pledge to adhere to the Fairness Doctrine in its programming.⁴⁵⁵ McIntire took this fight to the Supreme Court, which declined to hear the case in 1972. WXUR became the only radio station to lose a license under the Fairness Doctrine.

McIntire mortgaged Faith Theological Seminary for \$400,000 to make WXUR possible. He spent tens of thousands of donor dollars to pay legal expenses and rallied financial support to fight the battle against liberalism. Ultimately, his fight against the FCC proved a near death blow to his organizations and reputation.

After WXUR closed, a donor provided McIntire with a World War II surplus ship to broadcast "Radio Free America," dressed as John Witherspoon. In his opening address, he said:

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid, 111.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid, 113-114.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have been forced by the Federal Communications Commission, which used a sledgehammer to kill radio station WXUR, to move off the East Coast of the United States, in order to enjoy our First Amendment rights – free speech, free exercise of religion. And we're in the greatest crusade we ever had for the cause of the gospel. There's no regulation that anybody knows of, by the FCC or by the laws of the Congress - we searched it out - that has to do with the novel situation that's been created. And we'll see now what's gonna happen ... Five million people crushed – crushed by a sledgehammer in the hands of the bureaucrats to kill the radio stations. Before we get through, we want the radio stations of this country to have permanent licenses, taken out from under any possibility of pressure or control or dictation or any demands made upon the radios by the government of the United States. Let's use the radio to straighten out the government.⁴⁵⁶



This proved to be the only broadcast for Radio Free America. McIntire surrendered the vessel to the authorities due to his violation of multiple broadcast

⁴⁵⁶ Twentieth Century Reformation program, 30 August 1973 as cited in Farabaugh, "Carl McIntire and His Crusade Against the Fairness Doctrine," 125.

laws. Ultimately his fight against the FCC ended similarly to his feud with the IRS – a loss. These two instances demonstrate the employment of a religious persecution motif to seemingly simple legal issues. McIntire placed his woes within a religious context and made his improper behavior into fodder for conspiracy and to make a case for the loss of cherished freedom.

Earthrise: The Religious Politics of a Stamp

As the 1960s moved on, McIntire continued to complain about religious persecution. He did this to gain attention and make up for loss donations that resulted from his increasing radical associations. In 1969, he engaged in a conspiracy that alleged the U.S. Post Office wanted to remove God from a postage stamp. This controversy, which lasted only a few months, sheds light into McIntire's use of conspiracy as a means for political action, and to assert the truth of his deeply held religious beliefs.

In 1951, Carl McIntire and his wife, Fairy, had an unusual experience on a flight in South America. While over the city of Natal, in Brazil, he claimed his plane encountered an Unidentified Flying Object. In a 1973 sermon, he described the experience as surreal, yet true.⁴⁵⁷ McIntire believed this event strengthened his faith. Since the Bible contained stories of angelic visitation, the resurrection, and references to the heavens, including beings who reside there, McIntire saw space as an apologetic for Christianity.⁴⁵⁸ He called his listeners to heed the wonders

⁴⁵⁷ UFO's: A Sermon by Carl McIntire, *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*, 1973.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

spoken of in the Bible, to gain a deeper appreciation for the creation of the earth and the heavens.⁴⁵⁹ Space travel became a proof for the existence of God and reliability of the Bible.

Following the Second World War, the great space race pitted the U.S. against the U.S.S.R. to see which nation would produce the most firsts. The Soviets won the orbit contest, but the U.S. Space Program saw more successes, including the first moon landing. Cold War tensions heightened the drive to advance space technology as a way to keep both nations from nuclear war.

This contest between the U.S. and Soviets contained religious significance. From a metaphysical standpoint, space travel represented humanity's ascent into the realm of the divine. Not since the Tower of Babel had mankind invested so much to enter into the realm that, for all of human history, seemed impossible and otherworldly. The Soviets used space travel to mock the idea of transcendence because mere humanity entered into heaven and did not find God.⁴⁶⁰

Despite the religious significance many Americans placed upon the space program, the business of space belonged to the government. Many Americans looked to NASA, astronauts, and space travel with their faith in view, but science, mathematics, and engineering made these feats possible. Religious leaders, like McIntire, promoted the divine significance of space. Some Christians saw space exploration as a means to increase faith, while others embraced a theology of

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Kendrick Oliver, *To Touch the Face of God: The Sacred, the Profane and the American Space Program* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 47.

environmentalism because astronauts spoke of the desolate feeling in space and the reality that earth seemed the only place for humans to inhabit.⁴⁶¹

As the U.S. advanced its space program in the late 1960s with the goal of landing on the moon, controversy erupted over the Apollo 8 mission, the first to enter the moon's orbit. While orbiting the moon on Christmas Day 1968, the Apollo 8 broadcast live to a global audience and the crew read, at the suggestion of an atheist in mission control, the first ten verses from the Genesis 1 creation account.⁴⁶²

The success of this mission, combined with the global audience who heard the divine word delighted Carl McIntire. The next day, he released a statement that declared God's divine intervention to allow the US to arrive at the moon before Russia.⁴⁶³ He said, "How highly favored the United States has been to be His servant in this proclamation from the sky!"⁴⁶⁴ He even surmised a global revival would take place because astronauts read the Bible.⁴⁶⁵

Not everyone shared McIntire's enthusiasm. Atheist activist, Madalyn Murray O'Hare began a campaign to protest the Apollo 8 astronauts' engaging in religious activity on a government mission.⁴⁶⁶ She said the prayer and scripture reading were hostile toward those who did not adhere to the Christian faith. She then organized a letter writing campaign, registered a complaint with the FCC, and filed lawsuits.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, 142.

⁴⁶² Ibid, 145.

⁴⁶³ Carl McIntire, "Apollo 8's Message to the World from the Moon," 1, folder 55, box 138, CMCC.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, 1.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid, 2.

⁴⁶⁶ Kendrick Oliver, *To Touch the Face of God*, 147.

Thus began a religious battle over the Apollo 8 mission. O'Hare's efforts backfired. Religious groups organized campaigns against her cause. Over 700,000 letters supporting the astronauts' use of the bible were mailed to the FCC.⁴⁶⁷ By the mid-1970s, O'Hare's crusade failed. The FCC received over 3 million letters supporting the Genesis reading and dismissed her complaint.⁴⁶⁸ Subsequently, her lawsuit did not receive a hearing when the court rejected her petition.

While lawyers debated the appropriateness of Scripture reading in space, Carl McIntire manufactured his own religious controversy over four words on a stamp. In a matter of a few months, he mobilized thousands of listeners and readers to protest the U.S. Postal Service. This incident led the agency to change the design of celebratory postage because McIntire created a public display of Christian persecution where none existed.

The "Earthrise" photograph, taken from the moon, became wildly popular. To celebrate NASA's success, the Postal Service announced, in January 1969, that the famous picture be used in a commemorative postage stamp that celebrated the Apollo 8 mission. Carl McIntire began to complain on his radio broadcasts and called for protests because the stamp did not feature the phrase "in the beginning, God..."⁴⁶⁹ McIntire threatened to bring a large protest rally to Houston, for the stamp's dedication, if the stamp did not have those words.

Over the next month, McIntire pushed the issue of the Apollo 8 stamp. He claimed the Postal Service originally included the Genesis phrase, but chose to

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 160.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ "Statement on Apollo 8 Stamp," February 1969. CMCC Box 136, Folder 47.

“drop God from the ‘Moon’ Stamp.”⁴⁷⁰ He announced a boycott of the stamp on his radio broadcast and in the *Christian Beacon*. He called for marches in Atlanta and Houston, both places where NASA and the USPS planned to celebrate the commemorative stamp. He persuaded his friend, Senator Strom Thurmond, to look into the matter and employ the power of the U.S. Senate upon the Post Office.⁴⁷¹ The Twentieth Century Reformation movement engaged in a campaign that sent thousands of letters to the Postmaster General and President Nixon that requested the Genesis verbiage.⁴⁷²

On February 27, 1969, the Post Office director, Minton Bount, announced the Apollo 8 stamp’s release with the words “In the beginning God...” added to the design “in response to many requests.”⁴⁷³ McIntire declared victory and took credit for the change. He claimed this win proved God’s faithfulness to the bible, and was a signal that religious freedom had a semblance of protection in civil life.⁴⁷⁴ Indeed, the stamp stood as a testimony in the fight against liberalism.

⁴⁷⁰ “U.S. Drops God from “Moon” Stamp, *CB*, 2 February 1969, 1.

⁴⁷¹ D. Jamison Cain to Strom Thurmond, 3 March 1969, folder 47, box 136, CMCC.

⁴⁷² “Apollo 8 Stamp – “In the beginning, God...” 28 February 1969, 2, folder 47, box 136, CMCC. “Religious Wording to Mark Postage Stamp for Apollo 8,” *New York Times*, 28 February 1969, 4. Richard Cabeen, “Apollo 8 Stamp Revised,” *Chicago Tribune*, 16 March 1969, E8.

⁴⁷³ “Apollo 8 Stamp – “In the beginning, God...” 1.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 2.



The Apollo 8 stamp controversy was McIntire's greatest victory during the 1960s. Until the early 1980s, he consistently inserted a graphic of the stamp in many of his tabloid-sized materials. In 1972, when launched a Christian-themed resort hotel in Cape Canaveral, The Gateway to the Stars, he included the stamp on promotional materials. During the 1970s, McIntire funded the bizarre project, Twentieth Century UFO Bureau, and used the Apollo 8 controversy to gain an audience among UFO believers.

McIntire's victory, however, originated from manufactured controversy. Much like his allegations against the IRS and FCC over religious speech, He

created discord over the Apollo 8 stamp to advance political aims. In fact, the Post Office never considered the phrase “In the beginning, God...” for the commemorative piece.⁴⁷⁵ McIntire insisted the general public associated the phrase with Apollo 8 because of the Genesis 1 reading. His logic was that not to place “In the beginning God...” on the stamp essentially removed it. In reality, he created an issue of religious persecution where none existed and mobilized thousands to respond.

Picking the Wrong Enemies

McIntire played an important role in the fusion of religious conservatism with the growing conservative organizational culture that emerged in the late 1950s. His work with JBS and YAF allowed him access to the front lines of the modern conservative apparatus and to utilize those connections for his benefit. He even transformed conservative political positions into religious dogma that placed him at odds with a changing American culture and compliance with the law.

With both the IRS and FCC controversies, McIntire framed the issues as ones where religious speech was at stake. He seized upon the fear of broader cultural changes like the growth of social activism and transformation to rights based liberalism and called them attacks on Christianity. He refused to distinguish the difference between political and religious speech. For McIntire, his baptized conservatism reflected what he believed the Bible taught concerning society, morals, and political choices. Essentially, McIntire held that the Bible

⁴⁷⁵ Virginia Brigendine to Carl McIntire, 14 February 1969. David Nelson to Carl McIntire, 13 March 1969, folder 47, box 136, CMCC.

provided the blue print for one's political convictions, and they aligned with conservatism.

McIntire's choices to engage in legal battles against the U.S. government gained him notoriety, but worked to fracture his organizations. When he fought against the Fairness Doctrine, previous supporters, like Moody Bible College, dropped his radio program. His fight with the IRS over tax exemption and religious speech placed him in league with the radical right and outside mainstream conservatism. This cost him financial support and his legal fees began to drain his assets.

While at the height of his struggle to maintain licensing for WXUR and squabbling over tax exemption, McIntire's longest financial backer, J. Howard Pew ended his support.⁴⁷⁶ At the same time, J. Edgar Hoover distanced himself from McIntire on the advice of FBI agents, who he assigned to report on McIntire's activities. The writers on the left, who branded McIntire a leader of the radical right, succeeded by placing him outside mainstream conservatism and on the fringes of right wing politics.

Despite these defeats, McIntire clung to his Apollo 8 victory. He rallied his followers to support the war in Vietnam. He set his sights on fighting against the new left as the Sexual Revolution swept across the U.S., and student activism reached its peak. In these moments, McIntire's activities demonstrate the decline of Fundamentalist influence in conservative politics as Evangelicals began to fill the space they once held.

⁴⁷⁶ J. Howard Pew to Carl McIntire, 30 June 1965, folder 13, box 235, CMCC.

CHAPTER SIX

THE GREAT ECLIPSE

“[W]e are now seeing a confrontation where God’s Holy Spirit will prove to His people what He did at the time of the Roman debauchery in the First Century.” – Carl McIntire, 1971⁴⁷⁷

McIntire’s Fundamentalist empire waned following its peak in the mid-1960s. He made poor political choices that led to financial disaster and his own marginalization. He began the 1960s as a major religious voice in conservatism. His anti-communist reputation gained the respect of the Bircher movement. His role in creating educational institutions allowed him a seat on the board of Young Americans for Freedom. He lobbied for Republican candidates and conservative issues. His Rallies for America brought a Christian presence to Goldwater’s failed bid for the Presidency. Yet, his six-year fight with the FCC, associations with the anti-tax movement, and the rumors of alliances with white supremacists placed him further on the right of the burgeoning conservative movement. Furthermore, major donors began to redirect their finances from Fundamentalists to Evangelicals.

This decline of political fundamentalism’s influence within conservatism allowed a new group of conservative Christians to join the ranks of a changing

⁴⁷⁷ Carl McIntire to Doug Campbell, 9 March 1971, folder 19, box 168, CMCC.

Republican Party, Evangelicals. Modern Evangelicalism initially rejected political alliances in favor of generic civil religion, as typified by Billy Graham in the 1950s and 1960s, yet the alliance formed through several cultural incidents that allowed for the shift from political Fundamentalism to political Evangelicalism.

Law and Order

Of the many changes during the 1960s and 1970s, the rise of the New Left alarmed Carl McIntire. The social disruptions of the civil rights and free speech movements, combined with the unpopular war in Vietnam, proved fertile ground for a counter to McIntire's radicalism. Student movements formed, based upon leftist ideology and, sometimes, Marxism. This heightened the threat of communism in a different way than earlier eras of red scares. Instead of newly arrived immigrants or labor activists, American middle-class college students, and many academics, openly identified with either Marxist ideology or the New Left.

During the 1960s, the college campus became the battle ground for speech and the place to test the limits of acceptable political opinion. In April 1965, Eugene Genovese participated in a "teach in" at Rutgers University, where he served on the history faculty. The young professor highlighted issues with the Vietnam War from a perspective not typically respected in American society. Genovese told students "I am a Marxist and a Socialist. Therefore, unlike many of my distinguished colleagues here this morning, I do not fear or regret the impending Viet Cong victory in Vietnam. I welcome it."⁴⁷⁸ Many questioned Genovese's loyalty to his country. The fact finding report showed that Genovese

⁴⁷⁸ "A Report on the Genovese Case," Rutgers University, 1965, 3, folder 19, box 218, CMCC.

signed a loyalty pledge to the U.S. Government and determined his standing good in the eyes of the state of New Jersey. Alarm grew over this type of radicalism in a public university. Carl McIntire paid close attention to the situation and collected a file of Genovese related newspaper clippings, and maintained correspondence with listeners from his radio audience who tried to push New Jersey, and the U.S. government, to arrest Genovese for treason.⁴⁷⁹

Genovese kept his teaching position and many New Jersey drivers displayed “Rid Rutgers of the Reds” bumper stickers in reference to the affair. This issue, however, generated discussion over the limits of academic freedom and free speech. Ironically, while radical conservatives fought the FCC and IRS under the guise of protecting the First Amendment, they denied that benefit to those who held differing radical positions.

Growing leftist social activism frustrated McIntire. While some saw themselves in a fight for racial and social progress, McIntire and others viewed such activism as a sign of communism’s weakening of the American system. In fact, protest and civil disobedience stood as his greatest critique of the civil rights movement and subsequent social movements that did not fit his conservative paradigm. McIntire had no issue with protests and even civil disobedience from groups who shared his values. In fact, he did the same. When his opponents engaged in the same tactics, he criticized them for destabilizing society.

⁴⁷⁹ Mary Kearfott to Ms. Katz, 2 October 1965 and Mary Kearfott to Richard Hughes, 28 September 1965, folder 19, box 218, CMCC.

The *20th Century Reformation Hour Broadcast* on 27 January 1968 charted the growth of civil disobedience in the US.⁴⁸⁰ The program gave the listeners a conservative timeline of 1960s social unrest. It looked at the civil rights movement and increase in social disobedience to make the case that the national phenomenon of riots and civil conflict lay at the feet of liberals who chose to deemphasize lawfulness.⁴⁸¹

In contrast, the broadcast promoted J. Edgar Hoover's view that "disrespect for the law" created the conditions for people to riot or practice the civil disobedience.⁴⁸² No matter the issue, whether racial inequality and brutality, or the push for free speech, the conservative view interpreted these as contentiousness with the U.S. Constitution. Ironically, the broadcast quoted an editorial that stated "marches are distinctly a Communist technique designed as a prelude to riots in the streets and to eventually overthrow the government" and called for permit denials.⁴⁸³ This reasoning from the *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* that sought to defy the federal government, and whose leader led marches throughout the country and filed lawsuits when municipalities denied his permit applications.

⁴⁸⁰ "Civil Disobedience & Rioting – A Chronology of Statements On," *20th Century Reformation Hour Broadcast*, 22 January 1968. CMCC Box 100, Folder 22.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 1.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 3.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 4.

The broadcast ended with a “biblical rationale” to demonstrate the sinfulness of civil disobedience. It gave these reasons:

1. Riots themselves are forbidden in the Bible.
2. Violence is sinful and wicked.
3. Covetousness is sinful and against the Bible.
4. We should not follow a multitude of evil.
5. We should not steal.
6. We should prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good.
7. We should not believe the lying false propaganda involved in such riots.
8. We should oppose the deceit which is practiced in such riots.
9. We should be opposed to murder which is committed during these riots at times.
10. We should obey the magistrates and powers that be.
11. We should remember that God is not the Author of confusion.
12. We should shun evil companions.
13. We should put off anger, bitterness, wrath, and the like.
14. We should not dishonor the Lord’s Day as many of these people do by performing their demonstrations and riots on that day, instead of being in fellowship in church, where the Gospel of the Lord Jesus is preached faithfully and believed.⁴⁸⁴

The broadcast closed with the declaration that civil unrest and riots “are indispensable tools of the Communist conspiracy” and called “Bible-believing Christians” to obey the law.⁴⁸⁵ McIntire, who caused his own share of unrest, saw those he opposed as the troublemakers without considering whether their protests might be connected to injustice, or if, perhaps, the U.S. truly needed reforms that McIntire himself had not envisioned.

Of course, no one anticipated the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. a few months after the broadcast. McIntire claimed King’s death was the result of his disregard for the law. That April, riots erupted across the U.S because of King’s murder. In response, McIntire delivered speeches that called for U.S. cities

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid, 34-35.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, 35.

to clamp down on lawless behavior. In fact, he sent letters to mayors of the 125 cities where riots occurred and implored them to grant police the power to exercise their biblical mandate against civil disobedience.⁴⁸⁶ In 1968, Fundamentalists feared lawlessness would overtake their nation.

The race for President looked much different in 1968 than it had in 1964. Incumbent Lyndon Johnson declined to run for reelection. Robert Kennedy, the charismatic former Attorney General of Camelot fame, seemed a shoo-in for the Democratic nomination. Many believed he represented a type of inclusive liberalism that still appealed to blue collar whites, who desired a “law and order” presidency at a time in which the nation seemed to unravel.⁴⁸⁷

At the same time, former Vice-President Richard Nixon and segregationist Governor of Alabama George Wallace also ran under the mantra of maintaining the rule of law. After Robert Kennedy’s assassination, “law and order” became a prominent issue in the Presidential race. The chaos of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago with its subsequent riots, and nomination of Hubert Humphrey, helped echo the sentiments McIntire and other conservatives expressed over civil disobedience.

Though McIntire wanted Ronald Reagan to be the Republican nominee, Richard Nixon’s election to the Presidency gave him hope that someone might stop the tide of leftism. McIntire exchanged a small number of letters with Nixon during the McCarthy era and viewed him as a strong leader, firmly anti-Communist, and certainly up to the task of both winning the Vietnam War and

⁴⁸⁶ “McIntire Writes Mayors of Riot-Torn Cities,” *CB*, 25 April 1968, 1.

⁴⁸⁷ Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin’ Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: The New Press, 2010), 76.

restoring civil order. Emboldened by these prospects, McIntire began a letter writing campaign to visit the President and advise him.⁴⁸⁸ Between the election and October 1969, McIntire made numerous attempts to gain an audience with Nixon, only to find himself, yet again, eclipsed by Billy Graham.

Still, the election of Richard Nixon represented a success for someone like McIntire. Fundamentalists viewed the world in stark black and white terms. Nixon's emphasis on law and order matched their own cries. Furthermore, Fundamentalism's ecclesiological system relied on a strong leader. The Fundamentalists employed top-down, charismatic, authoritarian leadership. Southern Fundamentalists may have voted for Wallace, but all Fundamentalists appreciated the opportunity that resided with Nixon. The chaotic 1960s had a chance to end with order, as Nixon promised to restore America to an earlier time where criminals received punishment, and courts interpreted the law in lieu of legal innovations.⁴⁸⁹ For these promises, Nixon earned 60% of white Protestant voters.⁴⁹⁰ But for all their hopes, Fundamentalists soon lost faith in Richard Nixon.

⁴⁸⁸ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 224.

⁴⁸⁹ Allan Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008), 279-280.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 280. Lichtman notes that Wallace earned 14% while Humphrey garnered 26%.

To Win the War

Nixon campaigned to end the Vietnam War, the nation's longest running conflict. The war represented many of the issues that plagued American culture. As it dragged on, more Americans became aware of deep racial and class issues due to the administration of the draft. The long war helped ignite student movements and highlighted issues of free speech. It also sparked protest against war in a way previously unseen in American history. McIntire believed that if Nixon made the decision necessary for the US to win the war, issues of domestic unrest would end.

It did not take long for McIntire to sour on Nixon. Before the first year of his presidency ended, Nixon received the brunt of McIntire's ire. McIntire accused the president of a softened stance toward the war. Furthermore, McIntire picketed the White House over the Vietnam issue and his belief the President did not want to listen to sound advice.⁴⁹¹ Because the President chose to ignore McIntire, he drew a line in the sand and began to mobilize for victory in Vietnam with the hope that Nixon might listen.

McIntire's investment in the Vietnam issue stemmed from his long held views that concerned the Cold War. He saw the Vietnam War in stark, spiritual terms. He believed that Communism did not act as the only enemy, but the Satan helped aid the "the world-wide Communist conspiracy."⁴⁹² By this point, the Cold Warrior shifted his warnings of Soviet expansionism to unified Communist

⁴⁹¹ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 224.

⁴⁹² Carl McIntire, "How to Win the War," January, 1967: 1, folder 70, box 555,.

movement that sought global dominance.⁴⁹³ McIntire believed the State Department employed insufficient strategies to defeat communism because it treated communism as a secular battle, rather than a spiritual war.

To win Vietnam, McIntire offered several solutions. He questioned the usefulness of some American allies and said that any nation that aided one enemy could not be allied with the United States at all.⁴⁹⁴ He complained that Great Britain's trade relationships with enemies, like Cuba, showed a lack of commitment to U.S. interests. He also stressed the importance of strong, centralized leadership within the Presidency. He mocked Johnson's approach to Vietnam because "he fights the Communists gently."⁴⁹⁵ From there, he moved to the issue of Chiang Kai-shek and the opportunity to employ forces from the Republic of China. Last, he pointed to the spiritual nature of the war. He referenced George Washington's famous prayer at Valley Forge and the "constant prayers that went up from the leaders of the Revolution" to extol the virtues of a Christian nation who believes the motto on its currency – "in God we trust."⁴⁹⁶

In Nixon, McIntire began to see a President who shirked his responsibilities as the leader of a spiritual war against communism. The spiritual Cold War for which McIntire congratulated Nixon for fighting in the 1950s had not changed for McIntire – only the battles. McIntire wanted Nixon to escalate – and end – the war so he began protest marches across the U.S. that he called the March for Victory.

⁴⁹³ Ibid, 1.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid, 3.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, 4.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 6-8.

The March for Victory was a series of protest rallies that promoted patriotism as a way to encourage Nixon to end the Vietnam War with triumphant victory. Apparently, McIntire had no issue marching against the government when it suited his agenda. These marches channeled Nixon's mantra of the forgotten American by his appeals to Americans who supported the war. While the hippies made headlines speaking against Vietnam, McIntire tried to galvanize support for the war to persuade Nixon to commit to victory. For McIntire, anti-war protestors represented rebellion against God and country. In a sermon he said, "Sodom and Gomorrah must have been run by the hippies!"⁴⁹⁷

On April 4, 1970 McIntire's first March for Victory took place at the Washington Monument. The *Washington Post* noted the odd timing because it was the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination.⁴⁹⁸ To complicate matters, the keynote speaker was noted pro-segregationist, Governor Lester Maddox of Georgia.⁴⁹⁹ McIntire declared the march successful and claimed 100,000 attended, while the FBI reported fewer than 40,000.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁷ Carl McIntire, "The Hippies in Washington," May 1971: 3. CMCC Box 555, Folder 64.

⁴⁹⁸ Paul Valentine, "Viet victory backers to rally here April 4," *Washington Post*, 21 March 1970, B5.

⁴⁹⁹ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 226.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.



McIntire's push to raise the visibility of those who supported victory in Vietnam reached its peak in October 1970. Frustrated by the lack of media attention, his organization prepared manuals and other propaganda materials for volunteers to give away to increase attendance. Advertised as potentially the largest Christian gathering in Washington, this march attracted social science researchers and the FBI, which believed the presence of right-wing extremists might incite violence.⁵⁰¹

McIntire delivered a fiery speech and quoted the prophet, Isaiah, as he declared the U.S. a wicked nation because it forsook its duty to win the war. He said "it is a sin against everything that Christians know to be honorable, to walk off and live a little nation in the throws of death, and with a big war still on their hands."⁵⁰² He called upon politicians to stop the de-escalation of troops and to secure victory to drive communism from Vietnam.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, 228.

⁵⁰² Carl McIntire, "March for Victory October 3," 6, folder 43, box 558, CMCC.

As part of his effort to press the Nixon administration, McIntire attempted to bring South Vietnamese vice-president, Nguyen Cao Ky, to fill the keynote speaker slot. This did not happen due to pressure from the Nixon administration. McIntire himself met with Ky in Paris to no avail. This incident added to McIntire's disappointment with Nixon and caused him to speak even more sharply against the President that day. Surrounded by hundreds of thousands of marchers, McIntire declared the president ignorant of evil, unwilling to end the war with victory.

McIntire continued to gather support for his Vietnam efforts. He turned a visit to Saigon into a learning opportunity for his audience to gain an alternate perspective of the war. He praised American and South Vietnamese troops, and said he saw "the finest, best equipped and most powerful military establishment on earth."⁵⁰³ He turned his relationship with vice-president Ky and the growing March for Victory movement into one final push for his Twentieth Century Reformation movement.

From the October 1970 march through the end of 1972, McIntire pressed on with his March for Victory movement. He gained some of the notoriety he sought through television interviews and other increased media attention.⁵⁰⁴ He created "Victory Prayer Bands" to as a spiritual means to win the war.⁵⁰⁵ In a rare moment of prediction, McIntire even stressed the apocalyptic significance of the era and pointed to end-times signs that fit his dispensationalist framework.

⁵⁰³ Carl McIntire, "Vietnam Report," 2, folder 16, box 453, CMCC.

⁵⁰⁴ Caseper Dreher to Carl McIntire, 4 January 1971, folder 2, box 126, CMCC.

⁵⁰⁵ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 229.

McIntire corresponded with South Vietnamese government and made subsequent visits to Vietnam and South Korea to meet with officials.⁵⁰⁶

As Henry Kissinger worked to negotiate the war's end, McIntire fired off letters to Nixon that complained of his handling of the war. He engaged in an effort with other Republicans, including Phyllis Schlafly and William Buckley to nominate John Ashcroft of Missouri for President in 1972.⁵⁰⁷ He did everything in his power to stop Nixon from ending the Vietnam War without victory.

McIntire's efforts to influence the Vietnam War failed. As the war wound down, he sent telegrams that encouraged the South Vietnamese leadership not to accept a cease-fire.⁵⁰⁸ He worked with rising influencers within the Republican Party to seek to change Nixon's policies, not just toward Vietnam, but also China. He stood against détente and partnered with right-wing operatives who held his views concerning Communism. Yet, where McIntire failed in his efforts to influence foreign policy, he helped to influence those who rose to fight the culture wars associated with the New Christian Right. Indeed, McIntire's own stand against changing sexual opinions added to the burden that led Evangelicals to embrace political activism.

⁵⁰⁶ Statement by Dr. Carl McIntire Upon Arrival in the United States, November 22, 1972, folder 2, box 126, CMCC.

⁵⁰⁷ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalist*, 233.

⁵⁰⁸ Telegram from Carl McIntire to Nguyen Van Thieu, 18 December 1972, folder 2, box 126, CMCC.

That Old Time Morality

Traditional American culture seemed passé during the late 1960s and not even a traditionalist like Nixon could save it. The expanded use and legalization of oral contraceptives combined with changing attitudes toward marriage and sexual issues created a conundrum for those who believed in traditional sexual ethics. Both Fundamentalists and Evangelicals became alarmed over the growing visibility of sex as a cultural topic. The Free Love movement, which sought to prevent church or state from imposing limits on personal relationships, stood as the representative of changing sexual dynamics. For sure, Fundamentalists lobbied against that movement, but their greater battles centered on sex education, the first push for gay rights, and the meaning of gender roles in American society. These debates expanded from Fundamentalist activism to include Evangelicals.

The Sexual Revolution caught both Fundamentalists and Evangelicals by surprise. Little data exists to suggest either group spent much time to develop sexual ethics or training prior to the 1960s. In fact, many Christian publications scrambled to answer the new sexual openness with articles like “Sex Education in the Parents’ Job” and “Is Sex Education the Church’s Responsibility?” and conservative denominations and publishers did not offer any type of sexual education.⁵⁰⁹

Carl McIntire approached the issue of new sexual mores with blunt Fundamentalist flair. Initially, he blamed the problem on Mainline Christians. He said the NCC began the decline because it dared broach the subject decades prior

⁵⁰⁹ Daniel K. Williams, “Sex and the Evangelicals: Gender Issues, the Sexual Revolution, and Abortion in the 1960s,” in *American Evangelicals and the 1960s*, ed Axel R. Schäfer (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 100.

in printed materials that gave a framework for human sexuality.⁵¹⁰ McIntire viewed sexuality in stark, Victorian fashion. He rarely commented on sexual topics, and made a few remarks from the early to mid-1960s. His general approach toward sexuality appears that he wanted the topic kept at home and in private. In fact, he chided a fellow ACCC board member, who complained about the rise of promiscuity and popularity of Playboy, and attempted to shame him for mentioning such a thing.

This changed in the late 1960s when McIntire launched an assault on the movement to teach sex education in public schools. In 1968, the Sexuality Information and Education Council in the United States (SIECUS) began to publish materials to use at public schools. This alarmed many. Conservatives, including McIntire, shared misgivings over the curriculum. At the heart of the issue, they believed to teach the topic of sex without a moral framework allowed children to believe that sexual activity was permissible outside marriage.⁵¹¹ McIntire expressed this view to the school district's Sex Education Committee for his town of Collingswood.⁵¹²

For McIntire, if educators broached the topic of human sexuality divorced from the biblical understanding of sin, they invited confusion and immorality.⁵¹³ He said that sex education worked to break down "historic and Biblical standards that protect the sanctity of marriage and the purity of sex relations."⁵¹⁴ Furthermore he claimed that SEICUS pamphlets that covered the topics of

⁵¹⁰ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalism*, 189.

⁵¹¹ "Sex Education in Our Schools," *Houston Tribune*, 1969, folder 26, box 152, CMCC.

⁵¹² Mildred Vincent to Carl McIntire, 19 March 1969, folder 26, box 152, CMCC.

⁵¹³ Carl McIntire, "Sex Education Report." [date unknown], , folder 26, box 152, CMCC.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, 1.

homosexuality, masturbation, and the act of heterosexual intercourse turned school children into “emotional guinea pigs” because they were susceptible to these teachings given their stage in development.⁵¹⁵ In his view, sex education worked to erode “premarital sexual standards,” created conflicting value systems between parents and children, and added an aura of “permissiveness” for teenagers to become sexually active.⁵¹⁶ McIntire argued that sex education would lead to “higher numbers of illegal abortions, sexual confusion, and an increase in homosexual behavior.”⁵¹⁷

While McIntire worked against sex education, he also entered into direct conflict with the burgeoning gay rights movement. He aired his fears of homosexuality in the late 1960s and called it deviant and anti-biblical.⁵¹⁸ McIntire and other religious conservatives grew increasingly concerned over cultural shifts regarding homosexuality. During the 1960s, the debate over same-sex relationships moved from the realm of deviance to rights owed to citizens regardless of sexuality.⁵¹⁹ Gay activists litigated and worked through political channels to have homosexuality declassified as a mental illness.⁵²⁰ Once accomplished, this allowed the gay rights movement to press toward equality and fight against stereotypes and discrimination.

These prospects terrified Carl McIntire. Following New York City’s Stonewall Riots, a series of protests for inclusion by the gay community that

⁵¹⁵ Ibid, 2-8.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid, 13.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013), 91-93..

⁵²⁰ Ibid, 92-93.

became violent, in late 1969, he moved into action and organized his own protests. When the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) announced a “take over” of Alpine County, CA, McIntire engaged in a counter operation.⁵²¹ The GLF sought to vote in gay officials to govern the county and establish a model community to defy stereotypes of gays and lesbians. McIntire issued a call for Fundamentalists Christians to move into the county, and establish residency in their own trailer park to meet “homosexuality....head on by the Gospel.”⁵²² McIntire said this was the best solution to prevent “the first U.S. atheist and Communist county.”⁵²³

The Alpine County affair amounted to little more than headlines in newspapers across the country. The GLF changed course and McIntire never gathered his Christian residents, despite grand plans complete with protest stops of the gay community presented on a map of California. McIntire’s conflict continued, however.

As McIntire’s reputation as an anti-gay preacher increased, so did criticism from the local media as well as gay activists. He made sure to preach fiery sermons against homosexuality with incendiary titles like “Preparing for the Homosexual Invasion” and “Why the Homosexuals Are on the Way to Hell Except They Believe in Christ and Become New Creatures by the Power of God.”⁵²⁴ He distributed anti-gay pamphlets and marched against homosexuality. Then, in 1971, the Philadelphia Homophile League decided to march in protest at McIntire’s Bible Presbyterian Church in Collingswood.

⁵²¹ “Alpine County, California,” Christian Beacon Press, 1970: 3, folder 19, box 168, CMCC.

⁵²² Ibid, 3.

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ Carl McIntire to Doug Campbell, 9 March 1971, folder 73, box 131, CMCC.



McIntire welcomed the protest. He said, “they are invited to enter the church and hear and see what fundamental Christians believe concerning homosexuals.”⁵²⁵ McIntire believed this “confrontation will enable us to present the truth of God’s Word” and “their efforts to change the social structure and to modify our marriage standards must be doomed.”⁵²⁶

The protestors came. McIntire met them with megaphone in hand, and congregation at his side, to declare their sinfulness and invite them to repent. The Philadelphia Homophile League engaged in several more protests against McIntire. This gave both the League and McIntire visibility within the debate over gay rights in the early 1970s.

The Sexual Revolution surprised Fundamentalists and Evangelicals, who seemed ill prepared to meet the changes that came upon American culture. Both groups scrambled to make sense of public conversations over sexuality, the expansion of sexual rights, and the inclusion of sexual minorities into society.

⁵²⁵ Carl McIntire, “Statement on Homosexuals,” 9 March 1971, folder 73, box 131, CMCC.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

Neither group pointed to well-developed theologies of the human body and the meaning of sexuality, like the Roman Catholic or Anglican tradition did. In fact, McIntire himself noted that a wide range of disagreement over issues like birth control and abortion existed among conservative Christians.

Without an agreed upon ethic or institution upon which to lean, Fundamentalists like McIntire mobilized and fought theological issues through politicization. They organized, lobbied, campaigned for specific politicians and civic issues. As sexual politics became more prominent and controversial, the notion of “family values” emerged in the early to mid-1970s.⁵²⁷ These were a throwback to maintain the masculine order that became contested during the 1960s. McIntire promoted this style of politics, “traditionalism,” and Evangelicals embraced it by the late 1970s.⁵²⁸ Their baptism into the political arena came through a constitutional battle over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The first section of the ERA stated, “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” As simple as it sounded, Carl McIntire tied the proposed legislation to the Women’s Liberation movement and the radical left. He believed that it arose from both Communists and Humanists and, therefore, had no place within the American legal system.⁵²⁹ He stoked fear and claimed the ERA “will make every wife in the U.S. legally responsible to provide 50% of the financial support of her family” and “could prevent havoc in prisons and reform schools by preventing

⁵²⁷ Andrew Hartman, *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 77.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ “ERA: Equal Rights Amendment,” Christian Beacon Press, 1975, folder 35, box 157, CMCC.

segregation of the sexes.”⁵³⁰ Yet the battle over this amendment was not McIntire’s to win.

By the time the ERA became a true national controversy, Carl McIntire’s influence as a religious political leader was nearly finished. His battles over Vietnam and the Sexual Revolution gained national headlines and television interviews, but his financial situation left him in near ruin and over a million dollars in debt.⁵³¹ Liens and back taxes became the new McIntire headlines. His large donors left and small capacity donors became fewer in number. He lost his beloved ACCC in a struggle over control over the organization. His denomination began to distance itself from his abrasive politicism, and he later found himself out of power, headed toward the eventual loss of his position at Bible Presbyterian Church, Collingswood. Even Phyllis Schlafly, the Roman Catholic conservative activist who worked with McIntire in Republican politics and called him a friend, repeatedly declined to meet with him any longer.

Ironically, Phyllis Schlafly, the lawyer and political activist who portrayed herself as an ordinary housewife, proved the most effective voice against the ERA and its subsequent defeat.⁵³² Evangelicals also stepped into this debate. They, like Fundamentalists, borrowed from their Victorian heritage and maintained spheres for men and women that governed family and work life.⁵³³ In matters of sex, gender, and abortion, Evangelical voices finally eclipsed the Fundamentalists, who had participated for decades in American politics.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ John A. Mathis to Christian Beacon, Inc., 18 December 1972. This letter shows \$918,661.10 of debt with an immediate payment of \$50,000 due, folder 1, box 269, CMCC.

⁵³² Hartman, *A War for the Soul of America*, 88.

⁵³³ Williams, “Sex and the Evangelicals,” 109.

The old Fundamentalists like McIntire saw diminished influence within conservative politics and the Republican Party. New leaders rose like Jerry Falwell, Francis Schaeffer, and Pat Robertson. Though tied to the same history as McIntire with regard to issues like anti-communism and civil rights, they made the issue of family the centerpiece of their politics. They found a home in the Republican Party and they built institutions and networks through the generosity of wealthy industrialists, much like their Fundamentalist forefathers.

Welcome to the Party

By the mid-1970s, Evangelicals replaced Fundamentalists as partner constituents of the Republican Party. McIntire's efforts helped nudge some conservative Protestants in that direction with his Goldwater rallies. Subsequently, Richard Nixon enjoyed generous Evangelical and Fundamentalist support, including a friendship with Billy Graham that led to Sunday morning worship services in the White House.

Evangelicals also reaped the rewards of nurturing relationships within the modern conservative movement. J. Howard Pew, who had long funded both Fundamentalist and Evangelical causes, seemed to shift his resources toward Evangelical endeavors by the mid-1960s. He, with Billy Graham, forged alliances with other oil and gas industrialists, who began finance Evangelical organizations.⁵³⁴

⁵³⁴ Darren Dochuk, "Prairie Fire: The New Evangelicalism and the Politics of Oil, Money, and Moral Geography," in *American Evangelicals and the 1960s*, 39-55.

As the 1970s continued, organizations like the American Conservative Union and hosts of newly constituted foundations, began to explicitly finance a “conservative legislative agenda” and included Evangelicals in their budgets.⁵³⁵ By the 1980 Presidential election, the Republican candidate, Ronald Reagan, met with the newly formed Moral Majority and declared that though they could not endorse him, he endorsed them. Carl McIntire’s Twentieth Reformation Movement seemed realized, though his prominence was no longer. He even pressed Vice-President-elect George Bush to respect Fundamentalists, after claiming he called them “extremists.”⁵³⁶ Bush retorted with an objection “to people who are putting me on notice and advising me...as your letter indicated...I get fed up with people who have kicked me around in public service for a long, long time.”⁵³⁷ McIntire wrote him four more times, never to receive a reply.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, McIntire made a genuine push to play a role in Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority.⁵³⁸ Falwell viewed McIntire as a spiritual and political father. McIntire had also worked with Falwell’s chief strategist, Richard Vigerue, on the board of YAF. Despite these connections, McIntire never found a home within the Moral Majority and spent his last twenty years as an outsider to the movement he helped create. Political Fundamentalism had fully transitioned to the realm of Evangelicals.

⁵³⁵ Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, 304-306. Lichtman gives examples of this new trend of foundation-conservative partnerships by noting these foundations: The John M. Olin Foundation, The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, The Smith Richardson Foundation, The Lilly Endowment, The Koch Family Foundations, The Adolph Coors Foundation, and The Scaife Family Foundations. By 1980, these foundations gave over \$20 million a year to conservative groups.

⁵³⁶ Carl McIntire to George Bush, 13 November 1980 folder 6, box 533, CMCC.

⁵³⁷ George Bush to Carl McIntire, 28 November 1980 folder 6, box 533, CMCC.

⁵³⁸ Ruotsila, *Fighting Fundamentalism*, 260.

In some ways, the transition from political Fundamentalism to political Evangelicalism made perfect sense. Fundamentalists demonstrated resistance to many cultural changes, while Evangelicalism operated from a pragmatic approach.⁵³⁹ For example, Carl McIntire railed against the notion of mental health. He saw it as an extension of communism because of its proximity to the social sciences and left leaning thinkers.

This aversion to psychology and psychiatry allowed Fundamentalists to create genres of literature to develop a methodology for mental health called biblical counseling. Evangelicalism, however, sometimes embraced advances in the social sciences. James Dobson, who became a leader in the New Christian Right/Moral Majority eras, practiced psychology.⁵⁴⁰ Furthermore, he helped usher in the genre of Christian self-help works in the late 1970s as a counter to secular books on mental health, child rearing, and family advice. These became part and parcel to religious conservative identity during the 1980s and 1990s.

Evangelicals also adapted to popular culture in ways Fundamentalists refused. Where Fundamentalist opposed newer Bible translations and Christian music that reflected current styles, Evangelicals embraced them. Evangelicalism succeeded in the creation of its own subculture that commodified the Christian faith under the guise of relevance to the times. The Jesus Freaks helped birth the modern Christian music industry. Through CCM, conservative messages helped

⁵³⁹ James Davison Hunter, *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 83.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid, 93-97.

train generations to participate in political action that helped serve the modern Republican Party.⁵⁴¹

Over time, Evangelicals built the types of institutions that Fundamentalists employed for political means. Jerry Falwell established Liberty University, while Pat Robertson founded Regent University. Both grew out of the desire to train Christians to exert influence over American culture. They differed from Fundamentalists in their willingness to accept accreditation standards. This change allowed them to begin law schools to train Evangelical legal activists.

Fundamentalists proclaimed the old-time religion over the airwaves and, essentially, created conservative talk radio, while Evangelicals used television. Pat Robertson's *The 700 Club* and Christian Broadcasting Network crafted Christian commentary mixed with conservative politics. Evangelicals helped nurture a conservative, Republican audience by pressing cultural issues, like opposition to abortion and gay rights, and further cemented Evangelical support of modern conservatism.

Evangelicals also became a legitimate political force in American politics. Pat Robertson ran for President in 1988 and won four states during the Republican primary. Following his example, scores of Evangelicals entered into the political arena and succeeded in winning local and national level elections. Within ten years of Reagan's declaration that Republicans needed to allow

⁵⁴¹ Eileen Luhr, *Witnessing Suburbia: Conservatives and Christian Youth Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

churches to speak into political issues, Evangelicals became inseparable from Republican politics.⁵⁴²

Much of this partnership grew out of the same issues raised by Carl McIntire. From the 1930s until the late 1990s, he emphasized the importance of Christianity and its ability to work through political means to ensure the ideal society. He articulated a coherent alternative vision for society as early as 1939 when he made the case for a new social order that could be created with revivalistic fervor. In the essay, “Collingswood,” McIntire laid the foundation for his long career and, later, Twentieth Century Reformation movement.

For McIntire, if the religiosity of America increased, and resulted in greater love for the Bible, then ideals of patriotism, capitalism and liberty would stay intact.⁵⁴³ McIntire adamantly stated his belief that “those truly interested in protecting and maintaining liberty in this land are those who believe and defend and love the Bible as the Word of the living God.”⁵⁴⁴ McIntire maintained only his belief system produced love for Bible and America. If followed, McIntire argued that it would create a society like his beloved Collingswood which was dry, closed on Sunday, a friendly community, and appealed to a “fine, conservative, upstanding community” due to the “Christian conduct” of its citizens.⁵⁴⁵

McIntire offered another solution to implement this ideal society – Christian involvement in politics. This extended beyond the notion that Christian

⁵⁴² James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 275.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 4. Also, “Liberty,” CB, 11 February 1937, 4.

⁵⁴⁴ “Liberty,” 4.

⁵⁴⁵ “Collingswood,” CB, 29 September 1938, 4.

citizens must be voting citizens, an idea he used when he rallied people to vote against the sale and distribution of liquor.⁵⁴⁶ McIntire envisioned a scenario in which Christians not only voted, they voted for Christians.⁵⁴⁷ He believed that it was incumbent upon Christians to be involved in the entire process of politics from voting to holding office.⁵⁴⁸ McIntire's believed that the religiosity of government determined the freedom enjoyed by its citizenry.⁵⁴⁹ He did not simply encourage the idea that Christians should hold office, but he believed it was a mandate derived from the Bible.⁵⁵⁰ His best frame of reference for seeing the ideal government implemented was Collingswood. In Collingswood, it was not simply the amount of churches that made the town a haven for Christian morality and beauty, but also the fact that Christians exercised key positions of leadership, creating the ability for a Christian agenda to be implemented.⁵⁵¹ McIntire viewed Collingswood as the ideal which could be implemented nationwide and bring America back to her Christian heritage, free of the problems he currently saw. If Christians throughout the country followed Collingswood's example, then the rest

⁵⁴⁶ "The Ballot", 4. Also in the same issue, Walter A. Pine, "Decency Versus Lawlessness". This was a plea from a Methodist Episcopal pastor to "put the liquor traffic in its legitimate place – the graveyard of pagan customs," 4.

⁵⁴⁷ "Collingswood," 4.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, 6.

⁵⁴⁹ This is probably the key line of delineation between McIntire and Fundamentalist leaders in the late 1930s. Out of the major Fundamentalist publications during this time, *The Beacon* was most specific in offering ideas for changing the political landscape and articulating a vision of government, influenced and infiltrated by Fundamentalist Christians. It is true that others, like J. Frank Norris, were very political throughout their careers. Barry Hankins demonstrates this in his article "The Strange Career of J. Frank Norris: Or, How Can a Baptist Democrat Be a Fundamentalist Republican," *Church History* 61 (Spring 1992): 373-392, but Norris's publication, *The Fundamentalist*, does not offer the types of solutions McIntire offered in *The Beacon* during this time. Norris spent much of this time pointing to conspiracy theories about Roosevelt and Communists preparing for a coup, rather than calling Christians to become involved in the process of government.

⁵⁵⁰ "Collingswood," 4.

⁵⁵¹ "Collingswood a Town of Many Churches," *CB*, 29 September, 1939, 1, 4.

of society would benefit from the “civic blessings” which were “given to them because of the righteousness which has been brought to pass by the Christian conduct of the community.”⁵⁵² It was this idealism and hope that led McIntire to declare “long live the U.S.A!” and spend his seeking to make this happen through the fusion of Fundamentalism and conservative politics.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵² Ibid, 4.

⁵⁵³ Ibid. This editorial is so glowing it even speaks of how wonderful the squirrels are when they run on the roofs of houses and leap from home to home.

CONCLUSION

“I was right all along.” – Carl McIntire, 2002

After his death in March 2002 at the age of 95, Carl McIntire’s body was welcomed back to his beloved Bible Presbyterian Church in Collingswood for the funeral service. He lost the pulpit during the 1990s and made an attempt at a fresh start with a new Bible Presbyterian Church made up of a handful of locals who met for worship in his living room. The funeral service, much like McIntire’s career, relied more on patriotism than the Presbyterian tradition.

With the rousing pro-Union hymn, “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” and a few revivalist tunes, the church committed McIntire’s body to his god and, in a way, his country. His funeral service contained the irony that existed in his long political career wrapped around a Christian cross. The bold words of freedom from the opening hymn held a sense of importance to the original audience who sought to bring racial equality during the mid-1800s. Yet, McIntire fought to maintain that inequality. He preached a message of liberty, but lobbied for restrictive policies. He presented himself as a world leader, but his own organizations, and church, expelled him. The man who projected himself as

global leader, left his life in deep debt, and only a shadow of his former self with his bankrupted Twentieth Century Reformation replaced by the Moral Majority and Christian Coalition; two groups who did not acknowledge him.

Despite these realities, McIntire maintained his commitment to himself. In his final interview, he told religious scholar, Randall Balmer, that people would realize he “was right” all along.⁵⁵⁴ McIntire waxed nostalgic and claimed his Cold War alarmism helped America because it birthed the actions that led Christians to usher in an era of power. This interview appeared in *Christianity Today*, the publication founded by McIntire’s enemies, Billy Graham and Nelson Bell.

McIntire spent his final days in an attempt to regain the long lost spotlight. He negotiated with his archenemy, Princeton Theological Seminary, for a Carl McIntire Day in exchange for his papers. A wheel chair bound McIntire accepted the adulation from an institution he criticized nearly seventy years. In biblical terms, perhaps he traded his birthright for a bowl of porridge much like the biblical account of Esau and Jacob.

Though Falwell, Dobson, and Robertson overshadowed him in the last thirty years of his life, McIntire witnessed the fruition of his efforts to create a politicized Christianity. Even his former protégé, Francis Schaeffer, who decades before, rejected McIntire’s penchant for politics, entered the fray. He became famous for his *Christian Manifesto*, which lamented the “hidden censorship” of true Christianity and called his readers to change America “by teaching, by life,

⁵⁵⁴ Randall Balmer, “Fundamentalist with Flair,” *Christianity Today*, 21 May 2002, 53–57.

and by action.”⁵⁵⁵ Schaeffer, who died in 1984, became an intellectual influence of the Christian Right, while McIntire’s ministries went further into debt and anonymity.

McIntire’s efforts during the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy helped further deinstitutionalize Christianity, which only accelerated after the Second World War. His media presence set the stage for the right-wing talk radio that flourished after Ronald Reagan eliminated the Fairness Doctrine. He even laid the groundwork for Fundamentalist educational institutions like Liberty University, Regent University, and others that emerged during the 1970s with God and Country fervor.

Yet, most importantly, McIntire seized upon the de-emphasis of existing ecclesial structures to politicize Christianity. Though Christianity wed itself to Western power during Constantine, Christians maintained varieties of political opinions. With Fundamentalism and, later, Evangelicalism, a large voting bloc coalesced around a single political ideology that remained largely constant from the late 1960s.

This did not happen without outside assistance. McIntire’s ability to create relationships with the emerging corporate conservative movement following the Second World War helped foster this fusion of faith and politics. Policies that proved good for business merged with Christian teachings in a new way. Furthermore, the emphasis on cultural conflict helped Fundamentalist and Evangelical Christians rally around core principals that mirrored those of the modern Republican Party that identified as a conservative political organization.

⁵⁵⁵ Francis Schaeffer, *A Christian Manifesto* (Westchester: Crossway Books, 1981), 136-137.

Though McIntire became an outsider in the movement he helped create, his handiwork became evident in the so-called New Religious Right. The religious fervor of the late Cold War coupled with the penchant for cultural conflict was simply McIntire redux. He knew this, despite the fact he received little acknowledgement for his role during the 1980s and 1990s. As more research finds itself asking the question why Evangelicals became such a core constituency of the Republican Party, a more common answer in the future will be Carl McIntire.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

The first history of Fundamentalism was released in 1930s, following the turbulent decade in which the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy and Scopes Trial took place. Stuart Cole's *History of Fundamentalism* argues that Fundamentalism originated during the Colonial period.⁵⁵⁶ According to Cole, the story of Fundamentalism begins in the 1600s when the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock and continued through the 1930s. Cole sees U.S. history as a tale of cultural conflict between Christianity and secular culture. This increased following the Civil War because of perceived secularism. Many American Christians accepted Darwinism and newer forms of critical scholarship. This clashed with the strands of Puritanism that Cole claimed still existed. Cole called both the Puritans and Fundamentalists Biblicists. Biblicists reacted to modernism through the grassroots creation of networks that resulted in a rise of prophetic conferences, Bible institutes, and lay-driven bible training materials in the late 1800s. These were tools to fight modernism. For Cole, Fundamentalists were backwards looking, anti-intellectual, unwilling to engage in thoughtful inquiry over social and cultural change and its embrace of naïve pietism helped its downfall in the 1920s.

⁵⁵⁶ Stuart Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York: R.R. Smith, 1931).

Erling Jorstad's, *The Politics of Doomsday: Fundamentalists on the Far Right*, argues that Fundamentalist identity merged with a conservative political identity during the 1950s when fundamentalists embraced McCarthyism. This created a wing within the Right that reinforced its political views with religious justifications. He argues that between 1960 and 1964, Fundamentalists achieved their greatest influence in both religion and politics because a sense of "doomsday" motivated them. This arose from fear of Kennedy's Roman Catholicism, the rise of the Left, and threat of communism. Jorstad maintains that Fundamentalists lost power after the 1964 Presidential election because their religious message became nearly inseparable from far Right politics. The world moved on after Goldwater's defeat, but Jorstad claims Fundamentalists did not.

Writing in the late 1970s, Ernest Sandeen's *Roots of Fundamentalism* argues that Fundamentalism has intellectual origins in millenarianism.⁵⁵⁷ He contends Fundamentalism cannot be understood apart from growth of premillennial Christianity in the late 19th century. He distinguishes between the intellectual fundamentalism of Princeton theologians, like B.B. Warfield and Charles Hodge, and the popular fundamentalism that represented the revivalist tradition of the millenarianist movement.

Sandeen sees a divide in Fundamentalism following the death of the Princetonian fundamentalists. That brand of Christianity coalesced around the Niagara Bible Conference, which sought to provide an intellectual basis for the movement in the late 19th century. In the generational shift, the Bible college

⁵⁵⁷ Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978).

became the new constituency. The new generation of fundamentalists became less attached to denominations and more attracted to “fiefdoms” that centered on a leader.

George Marsden’s award winning, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, provides a framework to understand the Fundamentalist movement that emerged during the 1920s.⁵⁵⁸ He shows that Fundamentalism initially included evangelical Christians who were opposed to modernism in any way. It grew out of the millenarian movement in the late 1800s. It identified with dispensational theology, separatist religiosity, and held to a strong view of the inerrancy of Scripture with a genuine piety and devotion to the Christian faith.

Marsden highlights several events key to interpreting the movement. First he looks to revivalism, which flowed out of the Second Great Awakening. Fundamentalists placed a great emphasis on personal conversion experiences and emotionally charged revivals led by enigmatic leaders. The conversion narrative became the basis of Fundamentalists’ views concerning how one becomes a true believer. It also explained how ideas of piety, sin, salvation and cultural separation worked together to create a message that, if embraced, would save souls.

Secondly, Marsden show that millenarianism gave a basis for a populist framework to interpret and apply Biblical texts according to current events without the need for scholarly training. This created fervor that the “end was near.” Fundamentalists relied upon of dispensationalism, a recent hermeneutic relying heavily on charts and “signs of the times” that many believed could

⁵⁵⁸ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*.

predict the arrival of the eschaton. This view helped fuel revivalism, as only true believers would be “raptured” at the imminent second coming of Christ.

Third, Fundamentalists placed high value on personal holiness. Marsden connects Fundamentalism to Victorian-era morality and says they used this construct to interpret moral, political, and social issues. Therefore, Fundamentalists crusaded against alcohol, gambling, and other “social ills.” Additionally, the pursuit of holiness led to a vigorous defense of Fundamentalist views of “truth,” which engendered a distrust of broader American culture. Together, these three keys led to the development of a Fundamentalist identity.

After an overview of events that led to the creation of the Fundamentalist movement, Marsden analyzes four somewhat related interpretations: social phenomenon, political phenomenon, intellectual phenomenon, and an American phenomenon. He uses these four grids to provide a more robust understanding of this movement as well as engage with different historiographic interpretations.

As a social phenomenon, Marsden agrees with consensus historians that Fundamentalism acts, in part, as a social movement. However, he argues it must be understood within its religious framework. Undoubtedly, Fundamentalists reacted against social movements and ideals with which they disagreed, but Marsden believes social climate alone cannot explain the development of Fundamentalism. He shows that early Fundamentalists sensed a disconnect from mainstream Christianity and American culture. Their identity, rooted in Victorian idealism, became passé by end of the nineteenth century. Fundamentalists saw the American life changing rapidly and believed a shift toward the demythologization of

Christianity warranted a response. This caused them to react heavily against social changes and created a sense of solidarity.

With politics and Fundamentalism, Marsden couches his analysis in terms of survival. Fundamentalists saw their version of America threatened by post-World War I social changes. To highlight this, many Fundamentalists used rhetorical tactics. This led to slogan-based retorts rather than scholarly application of philosophical or political differences. For instance, Fundamentalists politicized evolution and to combat it, they equated it with Bolshevism.

Under this guise, Fundamentalists claimed the mantra of true Americanism. If one accepted their beliefs, then they could be truly American. Americanism crept into Fundamentalist discourse in other areas as well. For instance, Marsden demonstrates that various personalities and media outlets would present political issues in stark terms, often citing communist conspiracies to create a “Red America.” Marsden argued that by politicizing actions, Fundamentalists created a paradox with their theological commitments. On one hand, they confessed in their millenarian views an otherworldly aspect to God’s kingdom, but in reality, they equated America with God’s kingdom..

Marsden acknowledges that the historiography generally sees Fundamentalism as anti-intellectual. He also agrees an anti-intellectual strain existed within the movement. However, Marsden argues that to label the entire movement anti-intellectual proves insufficient. He cites many sources that show that among the better educated Fundamentalists a healthy respect for science and education existed, despite their disdain for Darwinian evolution. Marsden sees

their objections with science as methodological. Still, beholden to Isaac Newton and Francis Bacon, these Fundamentalists believed that for science to be true, it must be provable, not abstract or theoretical. Marsden calls for a nuanced understanding in this area. On one hand, anti-intellectuals influenced Fundamentalism. However, he notes many scholars participated within the movement. Marsden argues that historians need to find a way to balance this aspect of Fundamentalism, as it does not lend itself to a simple explanation.

Marsden surmises the social, political and intellectual aspects worked together to create an American phenomenon called Fundamentalism. Mitigating factors within American culture allowed Fundamentalist Christianity to become a unique American movement. Marsden argues that Americans did not quickly adapt European philosophies such as Romanticism. Instead, Americans generally accepted these ideas later, which led to a unique environment where social, intellectual and theological changes clashed with groups who were “behind the curve” compared to Europe and New England. Marsden does concede that “fundamentalism” is not unique only to America, since Islamic Fundamentalism exists, but American Christian Fundamentalism exists as a unique movement among worldwide Protestantism.

Others have sought to synthesize the origins of American Fundamentalism with other forms of fundamentalism, like Islamic fundamentalism. Martin Marty argued that comparative studies prove useful because they inform scholarly conversation and shed light on the unique social forces from which

fundamentalisms arise.⁵⁵⁹ Marty further postulated that though American Fundamentalism was a distinct movement, it shared correlations between other religious fundamentalisms, particularly with regard to millennialism, messianic beliefs, and philosophy of history.⁵⁶⁰

Martin Risebrodt's *Pious Passion* agreed with Marty's sentiment. In comparing Christian Fundamentalism in America and Islamic Fundamentalism in Iran, Risebrodt found numerous similarities like "radical" traditionalism, ethical monism, xenophobic strains, millenarianism, and messianism.⁵⁶¹ Additionally, Risebrodt saw similarities in the "carriers" of Fundamentalism: clergy, displaced traditionalists, and the middle class. Though he recognized differences between the two movements, particularly as they interpret the role of government, Risebrodt made the case that the commonalities between American Fundamentalism and Iranian Fundamentalism were rooted in reaction against societal and governmental changes that undermine the worldviews of a particular religious class within each country.

Joel Carpenter builds upon Marsden in *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* to show how Fundamentalists built and used networks during the 1930s and 1940s to emerge as a religious force in post-World War II America. He places the "separatist impulse" at the center of his narrative to show how this belief created conflict, not only between Fundamentalists and broader culture, but also between Fundamentalists and

⁵⁵⁹ Martin Marty, "The Fundamentals of Fundamentalism," in *Fundamentalism in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Lawrence Kaplan, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 16.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 22.

⁵⁶¹ Martin Risebrodt. *Pious Passion: The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 178-183.

Evangelicals. While Carpenter maintains continuity with Marsden on the issue of Fundamentalism, he presents Evangelicalism as a vibrant movement, centered on leaders, rather than ecclesiastical institutions, and poised to evangelize a nation and change its culture.

Yet neither of these seminal works explains connections between Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, and their adherence to political conservatism. Leo Ribuffo shows connections between a pre-World War II Christian conservatism in his *The Old Christian Right*. He presents religious and racial extremism in the name of anti-collectivism in his exploration of William Dudley Pelley, Gerald Winrod, and GK Smith. These leaders provide a connection to modern conservatism. The Old Right created an identity through morality, capitalism, and anti-collectivism. This helped them lead religious fundamentalists to demand political action to combat cultural and social changes.

A battle against perceived secularization of culture finds itself pervasive in literature that explores Fundamentalism. This comes, in large part, because Fundamentalism originated from conflict over new ideas and changes in American society. In fact, Fundamentalism's interaction with culture is nothing less than a fight, or a war.

James Davidson Hunter's *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* peers into recent controversies he coined "culture wars." He argues that culture wars entail an intense religious belief in the face of rising secularism. This works to create cultural conflict between religious groups and cultural or political movements.

Hunter's work proves important in the studies of Fundamentalists and culture because he shows how religious groups ally or realign in order to combat change. These groups create camps along the line of conflict between the religious and secular. As perceived secularism increases, religious fervor intensifies. Therefore, cultural battles over gay rights or abortion are fought within religious communities, and in broader cultures through political coalitions and voting movements.

This theme of cultural conflict proves important to understand the impact of the 1920s on American culture. Religious and political issues came to the forefront in debates over science and religion, and exacerbated the Fundamentalist controversy.

Michael Kazin's *A Godly Hero* examines the Fundamentalist hero, William Jennings Bryan. Kazen presents Bryan closer to modernism than conservative Fundamentalism. Bryan preached a message of Jefferson and Jesus with progressive politics. He viewed the Bible in biblicist, not Fundamentalist terms. His opposition to Darwinism, the defining moment of Bryan's life, arose from his fear of degrading humanity apart from a miraculous creation. Bryan, according to Kazin, believed in the supernatural power of Christianity as a moral force in society. Kazin sees him as a social progressive who should be considered a hero of the evangelical left, instead of the conservatives and Fundamentalists.

Barry Hankins' *Jesus and Gin: Evangelicalism, the Roaring Twenties, and Today's Culture Wars* peers into several important religious episodes that occurred during the Roaring Twenties compare the culture wars of that decade

and the rise of culture war during the 1980s. Hankins sees an analogous relationship between religious culture of the 1920s and that of the Christian Right during the 1980s. This work not only provides interesting story telling of classic Fundamentalists, but also makes key insights into the tension between individual liberty and community ideals within American society.

In *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares*, Angela Lahr looks at the role of prophecy as it relates to the Cold War and subsequent rise of politicized Evangelicalism. She grounds the foundation of today's Religious Right in post-World War II religious fervor of American culture and politics. She places religious leaders, like Carl McIntire, as key promoters of religious anticommunist hysteria in the late 1940s. She demonstrates that not only did Fundamentalists engage in anticommunist activities, but also Evangelical leaders like Billy Graham.

Lahr contends that anticommunist fervor among Fundamentalists and Evangelicals came from their obsession with the immanency of the apocalypse. She makes the case that leading anticommunist preachers stoked fear and created a sense of paranoia as they connected the spread of Soviet style communism to an imminent apocalypse. Additionally, these leaders capitalized upon the fear of nuclear war to spread their message of liberty and salvation and gain converts – religious and political.

According to Lahr, the marriage of patriotism to Christian Scripture added a sense of nationalist fervor to apocalyptic Christianity that connected with broader Cold War culture. She argues that this helped Fundamentalists

incorporate a sense of urgency connected to social changes. The election of a Roman Catholic president, the loss of prayer in public schools, and the Cuban Missile Crisis helped these leaders make bold connections to end times predictions.

An activist impulse becomes important to Lahr's narrative. She places Cold War millennialism with Evangelical movements from the 1960s and beyond. In this area, she attempts to broaden Evangelicalism to incorporate many movements, including civil rights. While technically correct that many leaders within the black church held evangelical beliefs, she tends to minimize the liberal tradition that influenced and motivated civil rights leaders.

Additionally, she makes one key departure from her fear based narrative in the depiction of Vietnam. For this section, she uses Carl McIntire as a chief representative of Evangelical thought. While McIntire vigorously promoted the U.S. war in Vietnam, he does not fit within broader evangelical consensus due to his Fundamentalism. Here, Lahr drifts from the sharp apocalyptic focus to a generalized one as she showed much diversity in Evangelical thought as it related to Vietnam.

Still, Lahr's work helps the reader sort through the relationship between American Christianity and conservative politics. Her connection of anticommunism and its relationship to millennial thought provides a multifaceted explanation for the ensuing culture wars and right wing activism that engulfed U.S. political discourse after the 1960s. By placing her narrative as one of the roots of the Falwell/Robertson Christian Right, she does well to show theological

underpinnings to cultural ones. These, of course, led to political mobilization as leaders played upon apocalyptic fears far beyond the McCarthy era.

Matthew Sutton finds apocalyptic thinking was key to understanding Fundamentalism and its relationship to culture and politics in his *American Apocalypse*.⁵⁶² Dispensational premillennialism, which originated in the 1830s, emphasizes the second coming of Jesus Christ and its connection to current events as interpreted from certain biblical texts, particularly in the Apocalypse of John. This hermeneutic promoted the belief of the Rapture, stressed the importance of Israel, and called the faithful to look to the presence of signs that pointed to Christ's return. He argues that modern Evangelicalism owes its origins to the popularity of dispensational premillennialism that rose from the millenarian movements following the Second Great Awakening. For Sutton, the belief in the imminent apocalypse provided Evangelicalism the framework for understanding the world and fueled its politics and social movements.

Powerful interests supplied capital for evangelicals to nurture the Fundamentalist movement in its creation of the "old time religion." Sutton shows that white Fundamentalists and evangelicals largely excluded African American believers who shared theological views. He also depicts different understandings of the end times based upon racialized understandings of prophesy. Though divided by race, premillennialism grew to dominate evangelical thought and guide its understanding of politics and culture.

⁵⁶² Matthew Avery Sutton, *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014). Portions of this exploration of *American Apocalypse* are published in my review: "American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism A Review," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 114, no. 1 (Winter 2016): 128-130.

Where George Marsden and other scholars of Fundamentalism emphasize the movement's discontinuity with Evangelicalism, Sutton rightly stresses connection. He terms them "radical evangelicals" and shows how the deep belief in premillennialism created similar views on culture, politics, and how to interpret the times. Sutton provides examples of continuity in his depiction of Evangelical leaders like Harold Ockenga and Billy Graham. By placing Fundamentalists ideologically closer to Evangelicals, he is able to reconcile both movements and demonstrate the unity in theological convictions and commitments to conservatism.

Sutton shows this continuity not only through a fervent commitment to a premillennial outlook, but also how Evangelicals relied on existing networks from the Fundamentalist movement. Wealthy benefactors, like J. Howard Pew, provided financial support to both Fundamentalists and Evangelical causes. Evangelical political connections mirrored their Fundamentalist counterparts. Fundamentalists and Evangelicals have little that separate them in *American Apocalypse*. This helps explain the successful transformation of Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism, yet it does minimize the ire Fundamentalists like Carl McIntire, Bob Jones, and John Rice shared toward Evangelicalism.

As Evangelicalism became the dominant form of Protestantism following the 1960s, premillennialism injected itself into the dour world of the 1970s. Sutton explains the explosion of Evangelical movies and literature that focused on the impending rapture, tribulation, and second coming of Christ. Books like *Late Great Planet Earth* sold in the millions and, later, spawned the Evangelical end-

times fiction genre as typified by the *Left Behind* series. Evangelical leaders connected unrest in the Middle East to impending doom.

Wars, and rumors of wars, provided Evangelicals a framework with which to argue for foreign policies that favored Israel, and they lobbied for federal officials to look to biblical prophesy in order to govern U.S. affairs. By the 1980s, reporters were asking the President questions about the apocalypse. Sutton shows that premillennialism drove Evangelicals to turn their understanding of doomsday into political action, particularly for conservative causes. As a consequence, even politicians had to answer for their alliances. What began as a movement of revivalists and “signs of the times” readers, stretched into a global force of tens of millions who believed the second coming of Christ loomed in their generation. Over time, this belief moved beyond the sawdust trail and managed to find its way into American popular culture and the halls of power.

Kim Phillips-Fein analyzes the growth of conservatism in *Invisible Hands* as she shows how business leaders begin and support the conservative movement during the 1930s. FDR’s enemies founded new organizations to propagandize the public in business matters. Through the Liberty League and National Association of Manufacturers, they attacked the New Deal only to lose that battle in the short-term. Post-World War II hysteria over communism, however, gave them ammo for the fight against FDR’s legacy. They used Hayek’s *Road to Serfdom* as the “intellectual case” against Keynesian economics. They fought Labor through corporate propaganda and connected unions to violence and statism. They built a political infrastructure during the 1950s and 1960s through think-tanks. After

losing in 1960 and 1964, they built coalitions with Evangelical groups and used the 1970s to build an anti-government message that propelled Reagan to the White House.

As Evangelicalism grew following the Second World War, business interests merged with this vibrant movement according to Darren Dochuk's *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*. Dochuk shows how Evangelicals made corporate alliances that, ultimately, transformed the Sunbelt into a haven for grassroots conservatism. Dochuk contends that conservatism in Southern California can be explained through migration during the Dust Bowl.

The Southern errand transplanted Okies and Arkie culture but also religion. This allowed Christians to retain their conservative values which adapted to the region when the National Association of Evangelicals was created in 1943. During the post-World War Two economic expansion, business elites supported churches and colleges. Billy Graham and J. Vernon McGee's anticommunism and pro-capitalism ministries capture the Sunbelt. Dochuk shows how Evangelicals create networks to address political issues.

He depicts the 1960s as the decade of problems, where Evangelicals act with more political awareness and acknowledge a changing world and political culture. In the 1970s, Evangelicals move toward providing political solutions. This culminates in Ronald Reagan's ascendancy to the Presidency in 1980 through a grassroots "freedom" message.

The connections between Fundamentalism and business conservatism find more detailed examination in Bethany Moreton's *To Serve God and Wal-Mart*.

She argues that Wal-Mart developed a symbiotic relationship between the market that serviced white, Christian conservatives in the Sunbelt, and portrayed an image that related to their social and political values. The Walton organization employed familial language that tapped into the values of their customers. They also developed strategic relationships with Christian institutions and promoted Christian conservative causes through the market. They added Christian themed books and inked contracts with Zondervan and Christian recording labels. In a sense, they played a marketized role in the development of Sunbelt conservatism. This helped create an image that resonated with Christian conservatives whose material interests did not concern Wal-Mart.

Moreton's marketized understanding of the relationship between conservative Christian values and politics fits with Eileen Luhr's *Witnessing Suburbia*. She looks at the way corporate capitalism influenced conservative Evangelical culture in the development of a distinct popular culture from the 1960s through the early 2000s. Through youth culture, Christian conservatives preached values of marriage, opposition to abortion, and other culture war issues in a baptized MTV-like fashion. Leading Evangelical political groups peppered these events with voting guides and other issue oriented materials in order to solidify the relationship between Evangelicalism and political conservatism.

Kevin Kruse examines the notion of what he terms the "Under God" movement following the Second World War to show how government, business, and religion built a Cold War consensus that saw the United States as a Christian nation. Kruse, essentially, picks up Phillips-Fein's thesis and probes it more

deeply into the wave of religious fervor that followed the war. He shows that the business leaders who worked against FDR and the New Deal now saw themselves as the brokers of a new America, led by President Eisenhower and Billy Graham, to beckon to a Christian heritage.

The Under God movement took many forms, all generated by corporate and government sponsorship. These took form in adding the phrase “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance, as well as adding the National Prayer Breakfast, and the inclusion of Christianity in numerous spheres in public life as never before witnessed. Essentially, corporate and government interests embraced a generic Judeo-Christian faith for the purpose of creating a unified American heritage.

Kruse demonstrates the role Billy Graham played in this era, particularly contrasted with Fundamentalists. Evangelicals proved willing to acquiesce to broader cultural norms for the purpose of access, unlike their Fundamentalist counterparts. Because of this, Graham and others enjoyed close relationships with Presidents and other national leaders.

Kruse’s work helps explain much of Herberg’s famous thesis that “everyone” in America identifies as either Protestant, Catholic or Jew. Herberg famously charted the explosive growth in religious faith that swept the post-World War II era. Regular attendance in religious services reached an all-time high when he wrote *Protestant Catholic Jew* in the 1950s.

While Herberg seems to lay this phenomenon at the feet of a unifying moment in US history, Kruse shows that it did not happen by accident, divine or otherwise. Instead, powerful interests in government and business helped advance

a mythos of religiosity that helped reshape how Americans perceived their national history. This movement created a fervor that informed a new conservatism in American life that helped birth the modern Conservative movement.

Of course, the relationship between Christianity and markets are not new. R. Lawrence Moore's *Selling God* (1994) made this case prior to the historiography posited by Moreton, Dochuk and others. Moore's arguments concerning Protestantism's capitulation to mass culture in the 19th century lay the groundwork for Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism to join with corporate conservatism. He shows that in the mid-1850s Protestants entered popular fiction because revivalism influenced theatrical emphases that appealed to emotion. Markets democratized Christianity and placed less emphasis on institutions. Mass media in the 20th century adapted with scientific management. Faith and business added advertising. While preaching the dangers of Hollywood, the church used media and movies, and led Evangelicalism to develop its own entertainment that became a cultural force. Evangelicals marketed their own music, self-help, media, and celebrities. They imitated mass culture and created their own subculture.

Markku Ruotsila's *Fighting Fundamentalist: Carl McIntire and the Politicization of American Fundamentalism* provides look at the man *Christianity Today* called the "PT Barnum of Fundamentalism."⁵⁶³ More than a showman, Ruotsila makes the case that Carl McIntire should be considered the founding father of the modern Religious Right.

⁵⁶³ I reviewed *Fighting Fundamentalist* for the website, The Gospel Coalition. <https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/reviews/fighting-fundamentalist-carl-mcintire/>

Ruotsila provides a narrative of McIntire's upbringing in 1910s rural Oklahoma through his death in 2002. He begins early to show how McIntire's early years affected his strong political conservative beliefs. He claims McIntire's distain for socialism and communism came at an early age in Progressive rural Oklahoma. In fact Ruotsila's young Carl McIntire comes from the "Plain Folk" Christianity Darren Dochuk identifies *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*. This means McIntire reacted against Jim Bissett's socialist Pentecostals in *Agrarian Socialism in Oklahoma*. In Ruotsila's telling, McIntire carried those experiences with him into college, and then Princeton Seminary, where he became entangled in the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, siding with J. Gresham Machen. He followed Machen to matriculate at Westminster Theological Seminary.

Ruotsila charts McIntire's creation of the foundation for the modern Christian Right after Westminster. He does this through print, publishing books and a newspaper. Following the Second World War, McIntire rolled this presence into a comprehensive Fundamentalist political vision for the US he called the Twentieth Century Reformation in which he called Bible-believing Fundamentalists to political action through voting and entering political office to implement a rightwing political vision. McIntire attempted this coalition through his Bible Presbyterian denomination, a college and seminary, and creating the International Council of Christian Churches and the American Council of Christian Churches. The common denominator was McIntire as the controlling personality holding them together.

By the early 1970s, McIntire's appeal waned. Personal controversies and poor financial management alienated him from the burgeoning group that coalesced to form the modern Christian Right. Though McIntire spent decades laying the groundwork for a Bible-believing, politically conservative movement, his acquaintance Jerry Falwell did not include him in the Moral Majority.

Ruotsila places a high value on the influence of Dutch theologian and politician, Abraham Kuyper, upon McIntire. This is a difficult assertion, as McIntire does not mention Kuyper in his writings and the Carl McIntire Manuscript Collection at Princeton Seminary does not have files that show McIntire thought anything about Kuyper other than one file that examines his view of eschatology.

To complicate Ruotsila's thesis, Kuyper operated from a theological framework within the Reformed tradition that was amillennial in its eschatological framework. That places Kuyper closer to Saint Augustine, rather than the premillennial view that McIntire promoted. Kuyper also believed that the Kingdom of God was present and active, not future. It had power to change society, much like Augustine's *civitas Dei* overtaking *civitas terrena* to become the *civitas caelestis*. Indeed, Fundamentalists reject Kuyper's transformationalist understanding of culture as it stands in opposition to their declensionist view of history.

Rostula's depiction of McIntire leaves room for more analysis and placement within the historiography of modern Conservatism, Fundamentalism, and the rise of post-World War Two Evangelicalism. McIntire fits squarely within

the rise of conservative religion and politics following the war. His associations, positive and negative, played a key role in the transition from Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism as a key religious constituency for conservatives. His complicated relationship to the Presbyterian tradition and Fundamentalist identity provide contradictions within his theological commitments, which this dissertation has sought to provide.

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