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Carl McIntire: Fundamentalism, Civil Rights, and the Reenergized Right, 1960-1964

Bobby G. Griffith Jr.

Thesis submitted to
The Eberly College of Arts and Sciences
at West Virginia University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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in
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Carl McIntire (1906-2002), the fiery Fundamentalist leader, led a crusade against the civil rights movement between 1960 and 1964. This thesis explores McIntire's protests of civil rights legislation as they complicate the standard narrative which is typically southern focused and hones on racial arguments against civil rights, while McIntire was based in New Jersey and made political arguments. Additionally, McIntire's language of American traditionalism, anti-communism, and libertarian economics parallel the rise of modern conservatism which culminated in the candidacy of Barry Goldwater for President. This thesis shows that McIntire and other religious and social conservatives built momentum through organization and a shared dialogue, which calls to question the notion of an Old Right and New Right dichotomy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER
1. Introduction and Fundamentalist Historiography 1
A. Introduction 1
B. Historiography of Fundamentalism 5
2. Understanding Carl McIntire 20
3. Protesting the Struggle: Carl McIntire and the Civil Rights Movement 34
A. Religion and the Civil Rights Movement 34
B. McIntire and the Civil Rights Movement in Perspective 38
C. McIntire and the Coming Civil Rights Act 43
D. McIntire and King 50
E. McIntire and Race 54
4. Welcome to the Party: Religious Conservatives Find a New Home 59
A. Old Right and New Right 60
B. What's So New About The New Christian Right? 64
C. Suggestions 71
D. Conclusion 75

Chapter 1
Introduction and
Historiography of Fundamentalism

"I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." This remarkable sentence came at the close of Barry Goldwater's acceptance of the Republican nomination for President in 1964. In this speech, Goldwater promised to reverse the errors of the Johnson Administration. He made the claim that under the Democratic policies of the previous four years, Communism has been allowed to spread and flourish. In fact, Goldwater argued that freedom had been retreating in America and if only Americans would elect him, freedom would return.

The events which led to the Goldwater nomination were remarkable. In fact, the previous ten years were a struggle for America. The nation was in the midst of the Cold War, had experienced a near war with the Soviet Union, was engaged in a military conflict in South Vietnam, and was riddled with domestic unrest. At the heart of the domestic unrest was the civil rights movement, which lobbied for equal rights for African Americans, who were subjugated as a second-class citizenry.

Barry Goldwater, the nominee who promised a return to freedom had voted against civil rights. In fact, many of his supporters stood against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Still, the Goldwater moment seemingly ushered a new era of conservatism in American politics. The week Goldwater was nominated; Ronald Reagan became conservatism's new voice and was deemed to be a rising star. Though this seems to be a remarkable shift, considering President Eisenhower's

penchant for moderate politics and the fact that Richard Nixon was no arch-conservative himself, it was not a dramatic turn.

Alan Lichtman demonstrates in *White Protestant Nation*, that as early as the late 1920s religious and social conservatives worked to build a legitimate social and political movement to challenge the social order of an America increasingly influenced by liberalism.[1] Religious conservatives clung to visions of a Christian America, a city on a hill that eschewed the collectivist notions of Franklin Roosevelt, scorned the post-World War II order which birthed the United Nations, and viewed the communist movement with apocalyptic potential. Social conservatives shared in much of this as well. Both groups worked hard, particularly between 1945 and 1964 to rally Americans behind a discourse of traditionalism, economic libertarianism, and anticommunism. Indeed, Goldwater's candidacy was simply the tipping point for a group who believed the federal government had overstepped its constitutional authority through the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Wrapped in this narrative lies a religious movement, working at the grassroots level to shape public opinion against the government in the early 1960s. Under Eisenhower, social issues surrounding the Cold War were foremost in the minds of religious conservatives, particularly Christian Fundamentalists. The growth of the civil rights movement and passage of civil rights legislation seemed to many religious conservatives to undermine social harmony. Fundamentalists perceived the Civil Rights Act as an attempt to fundamentally alter American society and began to mount opposition to these changes. The most prominent was Carl McIntire, who led a crusade to fight the Cold War through civil rights opposition, mobilized thousands, and spread his message to millions.

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[1] Allan Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008).

Carl McIntire is one of the least analyzed religious leaders in the twentieth century. To this date, there is no scholarly biography which charts his rise and downfall. Though it seems simplistic to call McIntire's career a "rise and fall," his life does fit that sort of tragic tale. His career began in the mid-1930s in controversy which catapulted him into the American religious scene during the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. Because of his organizational abilities, use of mass media, and overpowering personality, he became a national, if not international, Fundamentalist leader who commanded the attention of those who agreed and disagreed with him. By the early 1970s, his poor financial management led to the repossession of his property and his long-standing feud with the Federal Communications Commission culminated in McIntire becoming the only person to lose a radio license due to the Fairness Doctrine. By the late 1980s, McIntire's influence had all but disappeared; he had no control over the organizations he created, his own church demanded his retirement, and he was no longer the leader he once was. In a final act for recognition, he donated his papers to Princeton Theological Seminary, the institution at which he studied for the ministry and for decades had decried its liberalism, in 2002 before he died.

Despite the paucity of scholarly treatments of McIntire, his career warrants a brief treatment in order to understand his significance as an anti-civil rights agitator. Doing so will highlight McIntire's influence among both Fundamentalists and social conservatives. Because of the longevity of his career, McIntire is a goldmine for religious conservative thought on events like the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, Christian views on Nazi Germany, Cold War, civil rights movement, and general changes in American politics and culture.

To best understand McIntire, one must first look to him as a Christian Fundamentalist. The Christian Fundamentalist movement in the United States is more than a religious

movement.[2] It is a cultural phenomenon which seeks to restore its understanding of purity in religion, morality, and politics and inject it into broader culture. While it is often misunderstood and lampooned, it played a forceful role in the twentieth century. Despite their minority status in comparison to other religious and social groups, Fundamentalists were influential in culture, media, and politics. Its modern incarnation has its roots in a reactionary theological movement in the late 1800s which produced the work *The Fundamentals*. It later shifted from a religious movement to a cultural movement by the 1920s as theological institutions and Christian denominations began to reinterpret Christian texts in light of current events. In response to the demythologizing of the "old time religion," in the broader changes in society, politics and science, Fundamentalism became a distinct movement and identity and its rival was Modernism.[3]

As these identities emerged in the 1920s, controversy ensued. Institutions such as Princeton Theological Seminary experienced internal conflicts among faculty and students. Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist groups encountered tension, shifts in leadership, internal struggle, and splintering. This struggle for respect, power, control, and "Christian" identity culminated in the Scopes Trial in 1925, in which one interpretation of the Genesis account of

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[2] Throughout this paper, I will refer to American Christian Fundamentalism as "Fundamentalism." This is the movement which came from the millenarian movement in the late 1800s, resulting in Bible conferences and institutes. It is dispensational, separatist and holds to a strong view of the inerrancy of Scripture with a genuine piety and devotion to the Christian faith. Fundamentalism is based upon the "five Fundamentals" which they believe Christian Scripture teaches. These are: the inspiration of the Bible by the Holy Spirit without error; the virgin birth of Jesus Christ; the teaching that the death of Jesus Christ was atonement for sin; the bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ; and the belief that the miracles recorded in Christian Scripture were real. Coupled with these beliefs of which many are shared by the post-World War II Evangelical movement, is the notion of separatism from perceived false Christianity and even broader secular culture. For an expanded understanding see George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980): 4-6.

[3] George Marsden in *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, defines Modernism as a view which sees the progress of Christianity tied to the progress of culture. As such, God is revealed in "cultural development," and "human society is moving toward the realization of the kingdom of God." (146) Additionally, Modernists were not necessarily opposed to Darwinian evolution, or a literal interpretation of Christian Scripture. This means, one could be considered a Christian without espousing the "five Fundamentals." Also, Modernists to fit into the conversation of theological liberalism, which interpreted the kingdom of God in the same fashion, believed "morality has become the essence of religion," and that "the supernatural is manifested in the natural." (24-25)

Creation was pitted against Darwinian Evolutionism, leading not only to Fundamentalism's public humiliation despite a legal victory, but a rallying point for the maligned.

Throughout the era known as the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy of the 1920s, leaders, institutions, and media outlets grew using the label "Fundamentalist." Once this mantra and identity were accepted and incorporated into religious and cultural discourse, Fundamentalism became a distinct movement. Though varied in minor degrees, Fundamentalists shared many of the same attitudes and fears over issues such as morality, science, and Christian theology. Though some in this movement sought to simply keep the "fights" within the bounds of Christianity, many wanted to expand their movement and dialogue from religion to broader society.[4] Hence, Fundamentalism became entwined in politics and other cultural issues offering critique, alarm and solutions to society's ills. This led to alignment on the part of Fundamentalists with right-leaning political and social movements, whether considering the Old Right (1900-1930s), McCarthyism, or the New Right (1970s-present).[5]

Fundamentalism shares a unique historiography. On one hand, accounts of Fundamentalism's origins and leaders share many of the same details. On the other hand, given the author and context of the work, interpretations of Fundamentalism differ. These

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[4] D.G. Hart's biography of Gresham Machen deals with Machen's rejection of cultural Fundamentalism while holding to basic Fundamentalist interpretations of Christian Scripture. After Machen's death many Fundamentalists attempted and still attempt to claim him as "their own" though Machen himself did not classify himself as Fundamentalist. D.G. Hart, *Defending the Faith: J. Gresham Machen and the Crisis of Conservative Protestantism in Modern America* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 1994).

[5] For a short overview see: Micheal Lienesch, "Right Wing Religion: Christian Conservatism as a Political Movement," *Political Science Quarterly* 97.3, (Autumn, 1984), 403-425 and Corwin Smidt, "Evangelicals Within Contemporary Politics: Differentiating Between Fundamentalist and Non-Fundamentalist Evangelicals," *The Western Political Quarterly* 41.3, (Sept, 1988), 601-620. For basic cultural interpretations see: D.G. Hart, *That Old Time Religion in Modern America: Evangelical Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002) and George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991). A few representatives of alarmist interpretations, particularly earlier ones are: Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, *Danger on The Right* (New York: Random House, 1964).

interpretations build a unique narrative which provides the context for the emergence of Carl McIntire and his ideas.

Stuart Cole provided an early account of Fundamentalism in his *History of Fundamentalism*. First published in 1931, Cole gave the background of Fundamentalism's origin as he provides a brief narrative of Christianity in America since the Colonial period. Cole did this under the guide of empiricism, hoping to convince his readers that the "facts" will demonstrate the root causes for the conflicts American Christians faced in the 1920s and 1930s.[6]

Beginning with the story of Plymouth Rock and ending in the early 1930s, Cole, a seminary professor, weaves theology and history together to demonstrate that a clash of Christianity and culture was inevitable. According to Cole, the post-Civil War era, combined with the rise in secularism, resulted in the eventual conflict within the American church. This was a result of adaptation of "new" ideas, such as modern science, on the part of theological liberals; and the rejection of those ideas on the part of Biblicists.

The Biblicists reacted by creating a grassroots movement based upon formal and informal networks. This led to the rise of Bible and prophetic conferences, an increase in professional evangelists, and new Bible-based institutes and training materials. Simultaneously, Cole notes that the Biblicists began to employ propaganda and polemics to combat liberal Christianity. The net result was the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, which began in the late nineteenth century and continued past the time of his writing.

Cole understands Fundamentalism as incapable of thoughtful inquiry. He chides Fundamentalists for creating the current controversy through their unwillingness to reconcile legitimate questions brought about through the dynamic changes in the nineteenth-century. According to Cole, the naïve pietism which characterizes grassroots Fundamentalism is its

[6] Cole, xii.

downfall, and thus, heightens the conflict that the American church experienced at the time he wrote this work. Interestingly enough, Cole's work was republished in 1963 as America was in the throes of another Fundamentalist controversy.

The 1960s were a tumultuous decade, particularly for Fundamentalists. The decade began with social change, as John F. Kennedy became the first Roman Catholic President, and ended with the injection of counterculture into mainstream life as evidenced by the Woodstock music festival. The headlines Fundamentalists made during the 1960s became fodder for scholars in the 1970s as they grappled with the significance of that decade. Erling Jorstad's *The Politics of Doomsday: Fundamentalists of the Far Right* seeks to chronicle the embedding of "far right" Fundamentalists, like Carl McIntire, into the Republican Party between 1960 and 1964.[7]

Published in 1970, Jorstad provides a brief history of Fundamentalism, but posits that the far right identity did not fully emerge until the 1950s, during the height of McCarthyism. When this happened, Fundamentalist religious identity merged with conservative political identity to create a far right movement in which political views were reinforced by narrow religious interpretations. Jorstad argues that one must understand 1960 through 1964 as the "achievement of power" for Fundamentalist leaders as they increased in both religious and political persuasion. The downside to this, according to Jorstad, is that Fundamentalists could not emerge from the 1964 Presidential election and maintain their power and influence. This was the result of over-politicization as the Fundamentalist message was too entwined within the political discourse to reemerge as a coherent religious movement.

Ultimately, doomsday was the Fundamentalists' belief that "the end was near" due to their understanding of Biblical prophesy. Jorstad demonstrates this through his summary of basic Fundamentalist teachings regarding the Anti-Christ, communism and Roman Catholicism. These

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

ideas, combined with social changes in the 1960s worked together to increase Fundamentalist fervor in politics. As Fundamentalists saw doomsday approach, they did not realize their doomsday was at hand. The irony of doomsday is the world moved on after Goldwater, but according to Jorstad, far right Fundamentalism did not.

In 1974, Gary Clabaugh's *Thunder on the Right: The Protestant Fundamentalists* became fodder for both Fundamentalists and those who opposed them. Clabaugh shies from a formal scholarly tone as he divides Fundamentalists into two groups: "Fundarists" and Fundamentalists.[8] For Clabaugh, the term Fundarist was short for Fundamentalist Protestant Radical Right. Clabaugh sees this group of Fundamentalist leaders as source of social problems, particularly during the 1960s.

Within the Fundarists, Clabaugh identifies several figures like Carl McIntire and Billy James Hargis and presents them as dangerous to American life. Clabaugh, who derides Protestantism in his opening chapter, depicts McIntire and Hargis as leaders with financial backing, outmoded ideas, and populist power creating a situation where a Nazi-like America was possible. These two, along with other prominent leaders, wrapped their anticommunist crusades in an attempt to remake America into a puritanical Fundamentalist state.

Clabaugh dissects their worldview into several categories. First, he sees the radical Fundamentalists as operating with a "black and white" worldview, meaning there are clear distinctions between good and evil in all situations.[9] Second, he sees the fringe elements, like Carl McIntire, as conspiratorial due to their obsession with communism and the ease at which they label ideas, groups and actions as communistic.[10] Last, he sees the patriotism as a "chauvinistic nationalism," which depicts a "mythic" American history in which the story of

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[8] Gary Clabaugh, *Thunder on the Right*. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1974), 1-2.
[9] Ibid., 126.
[10] Ibid., 126-129.

America is more than a tale of exceptionalism, but of Divine blessing and intervention.[11] These ideas, according to Clabaugh, would have devastating consequences upon American society if implemented policy-wise.

Though he separates Fundamentalism into two categories, Clabaugh does little to describe the "mainstream," if one exists. Instead, he shows how McIntire, Hargis and others wielded their populist influence to resist changes in religion, science and culture. The Fundarests were a group who viewed themselves as divinely appointed to fight communism, racial integration, the Fairness Doctrine, and Vietnam protestors. To do this, according to Clabaugh, they used whatever means necessary to promote their ideas, using the mass media, as well as formal and informal organizations, under the guise that the divinely-appointed leaders are truly world-leaders.

Neither Jorstad not Clabaugh's works could anticipate what followed their publication. In 1973, the US Supreme Court ruled in the case *Roe v. Wade* that women seeking to terminate their pregnancies had the constitutional right to seek medical services to do so. This was a landmark decision which reignited a firestorm from Fundamentalists much like civil rights and the loss of school prayer. Because of this the religious and political right resurged much like the 1960s. Though Jorstad and Clabaugh reported the collapse of Fundamentalist influence in society and politics, this was not the case.

Curiously, however, scholarly conversation surrounding Fundamentalism took a significant shift. Historians began to revisit the roots of Fundamentalism and, in the process, antagonists like Carl McIntire, faded into memory. This new shift was due in large part to George Marsden's groundbreaking *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*. Marsden's work appeared in 1980 and was

[11] Ibid,. 131-133.

named book of the year for 1981 by *Eternity Magazine* and was later placed in the "Top 100 Books of the Century" by *Christianity Today*. As the endorsements declared, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* impacted the historiography of Fundamentalism. Marsden did this by looking beyond the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy or Scopes Trial and began with the influence of Victorianism in America.

Because of the nature of the project and the fact that it dealt with a defined, linear scope, Marsden employed empirical evidence to supply his conclusions and guide his work, though his work could be classified as social history.[12] He breaks the book into four parts: Before Fundamentalism, The Shaping of a Coalition, The Crucial Years: 1917-1925, and Interpretations.

To give the reader an understanding of the "movement" that is Fundamentalism, he offered these basic premises. Fundamentalism was the movement which includes evangelical Christians who were opposed to modernism in any way.[13] This movement came from the millenarian movement in the late 1800s, resulting in Bible conferences and institutes.[14] It was dispensational, separatist and held to a strong view of the inerrancy of Scripture with a genuine piety and devotion to the Christian faith.[15] These basic ideas guided the reader as events unfold throughout the work.

Marsden highlighted several aspects of Fundamentalism which he believes are keys to interpreting the movement. The first was 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. This became the basis of Fundamentalists' views concerning how one becomes a true believer. It also explained how ideas

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[12] I say that because Marsden is recording the development of a social trend, Fundamentalism, which is also a group that prior to his writing of this work, did not have a large historiography.
[13] George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 4-6.
[14] Ibid., 4-6.
[15] Ibid., 4-6.

of piety, sin, salvation and cultural separation worked together to create a message that, if embraced, would save souls.[16]

The second key was millenarianism, which gave a basis for a populist framework of interpreting Biblical texts and applying them to current events to create fervor that the "end was near." This resulted from Fundamentalists' incorporation of dispensationalism, a recent hermeneutic relying heavily on charts and "signs of the times" that many believed could predict the arrival of the eschaton. Additionally, this view fueled the need for revivalism, as only true believers would be "raptured" at the imminent second coming of Christ.

Third, Fundamentalists placed high value on personal holiness. This flowed from Victorian-era morality which Fundamentalists used to interpret moral, political and social issues. It led to crusades against alcohol, gambling, and other "social ills." Additionally, the pursuit of holiness led to defending Fundamentalist views of "truth," which engendered a distrust of broader American culture that did not share the same value system. Combined, these three keys led to the development of a Fundamentalist identity.

Where Marsden differed from a "typical" historical account is in part four. After an overview of events which 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 agreed with consensus historians that Fundamentalism is, in part, a social movement.[17] However, he argued it must be understood within its religious framework. There is no doubt Fundamentalists reacted against social movements and ideals with

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[16] Marsden is careful to point out that salvation, piety and emotional pleas did not originate with Fundamentalism, but does add that Fundamentalists did employ the addition of cultural separation as a mark of the true believer.
[17] Ibid., 199-201.

which they disagreed. Still, social climate alone cannot explain the development of Fundamentalism.[18] Marsden posited that early Fundamentalists believed they were being pushed out of mainstream Christianity and American culture. Their identity, according to Marsden, was rooted in Victorian idealism, which was passé by end of the nineteenth century. Fundamentalists saw the American life changing rapidly and believed Christianity was becoming demythologized. This alarmed them and caused them to react heavily against social changes and create solidarity among themselves.[19]

With regard to political aspects of Fundamentalism, Marsden couched his analysis in terms of survival.[20] Because social conditions in the post-World War I period were changing rapidly, Fundamentalists believed their American was in danger. To highlight this, many Fundamentalists used rhetorical tactics. Instead of pointing to concrete philosophical or political differences, they used slogans. The subject of evolution was highly politicized in the 1920s and to combat it, many Fundamentalists simply equated it to Bolshevism. This was a political tactic. Fundamentalists claimed the mantra of true Americanism. If one accepted the tenants of their beliefs, then they could be truly American. Americanism crept into Fundamentalist discourse in other areas as well. For instance, Marsden demonstrated 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

[18] Ibid., 205.
[19] Ibid., 205. Solidarity is important because, as a whole, Fundamentalism is not a singular organization. It was and is made up of thousands of small networks. The average Fundamentalist church or institution (college, Bible institute, or "ministry") is not connected to a larger ecclesiastical structure, but is independent, hence, the importance of solidarity.
[20] Ibid., 206-208.

views that God's kingdom was coming in the future, but in reality, they taught that God's kingdom was in America.[21] This paradox produced political involvement.

In interpreting Fundamentalism as an intellectual phenomenon, Marsden weaved a fine thread. He acknowledged that the historiography has interpreted Fundamentalism as anti-intellectual. He also agreed there were many anti-intellectual strains within the movement. However, Marsden argued that to label the entire movement as anti-intellectual is incorrect. He cited many primary sources showing that among the better educated Fundamentalists, there was a healthy respect for science and education, despite their disdain for Darwinian evolution. Their objections with science were methodological. Still, beholden to Newton and Bacon, these Fundamentalists believed that for science to be true, it must be provable, not abstract or theoretical.[22] For Marsden, this was clearly different than the common notion that Fundamentalists resorted to *ad hominem* attacks against those touting differing scientific views. Marsden called for a nuanced understanding in this area. On one hand, there were anti-intellectuals within Fundamentalism. However, there also were serious, educated scholars within the movement. Marsden believed historians need to find a way to balance this aspect of Fundamentalism, as it does not lend itself to a simple explanation.

Marsden surmised the social, political and intellectual aspects worked together to create an American phenomenon called Fundamentalism.[23] This was due to factors in American culture which allowed Fundamentalist Christianity to become a unique American movement. Marsden argues that Americans did not quickly adapt European philosophies such as Romanticism.[24] Instead, Americans generally accepted these ideas later, which led to a unique environment

[21] Ibid, 211.
[22] Ibid., 214-215.
[23] Ibid., 222-228.
[24] Ibid., 226.

where social, intellectual and theological changes clashed with groups who were "behind the curve" compared to Europe and New England.[25] Marsden did concede that "fundamentalism" is not unique only to America, since Islamic Fundamentalism exists, but American Christian Fundamentalism was unique among worldwide Protestantism.[26]

In the end, Marsden's presentation is broad, yet his analysis was nuanced. He did not make a mono-causal case for the development of Fundamentalism. Instead, he argued for complexity with room for differences within a cohesive group. This has allowed other scholars who look at Fundamentalism to apply many of his conclusions to their work as evidenced by Joel Carpenter's *Revive Us Again*.[27]

Others have sought to synthesize the origins of American Fundamentalism with other forms of fundamentalism, like Islamic fundamentalism. Martin Marty argued that comparative studies are useful because it informs scholarly conversation and sheds light on unique social forces from which fundamentalisms arise.[28] Marty further postulated that though Fundamentalism was a distinct movement, there were correlations between other religious fundamentalism, particularly millenniarianism, messianic beliefs and philosophy of history.[29]

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, ethic monism, xenophobic strains, millennerianism and messianism.[30] Additionally, Risebrodt saw similarities in the "carriers" of Fundamentalism:

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[25] Ibid., 227.
[26] Ibid., 227-228.
[27] Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)
[28] Martin Marty "The Fundamentals of Fundamentalism" in *Fundamentalism in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Lawrence Kaplan, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 16.
[29] Ibid., 22.
[30] Martin Risebrodt. *Pious Passion: The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1993), 178-183.

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 American Fundamentalism and Iranian Fundamentalism's commonalities were rooted in reaction against societal and governmental changes which undermine the worldviews of a particular religious class within each country.

Joel Carpenter revisited Marsden's world of Fundamentalism in his 1997 *Revive Us Again*. As Marsden left Fundamentalists in the throes of defeats after political and social losses, Carpenter argued that Fundamentalists used these defeats to quietly build a national, and to an extent world-wide, movement.[31] According to Carpenter, Fundamentalists improved their methods to attract more followers.[32]

As they melded their strong commitment to the "Five Fundamentals" with revivalistic fervor, Fundamentalists increased their following via mass media.[33] Still, social movements need organization and Carpenter argued that Fundamentalists used organizational means to build a vast network of alliances. Though separated by minor cultural differences, a subculture of educational institutions, youth organizations, and parachurch groups formed and created a commonality among this class of Christians.[34]

What gave Carpenter's Fundamentalists their ultimate strength is the combination of organization with the emergence of Billy Graham. As Graham became a household name, others like Harold Ockenga seized upon this moment to create the National Association of

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[31] Carpenter, 13-32.
[32] 33-36.
[33] 33.
[34] 124-186.

Evangelicals.[35] This movement was set to legitimize the much reviled Fundamentalism mocked by the Scopes trial loss.

The biggest struggle which occurred in Fundamentalism was that Evangelicals differed in the area of separation. Carpenter showed that Carl McIntire and others made a strong case for ecclesiastical separation because of their dismay that Evangelical leaders would dare share the national stage with Christians who were not fully committed to Christian and social Fundamentalist ideas.[36] McIntire used his leverage with the American Council of Christian Churches to drive a wedge between Fundamentalists and the emerging Evangelical movement. What began as an attempt to legitimize the majority of Christians into one movement worked to create a new movement – Evangelicalism.

One chief problem in Fundamentalist historiography, particularly looking at Fundamentalists prior to the advent of the so-called New Right, was the lack of synthesis between the religious and the secular. This was primarily caused by the Fundamentalist practice of cultural separation. Scholars have not looked past much of the rhetoric and fully investigated to see if words matched actions. Arguably, this has created a dichotomy in the scholarly conversation concerning Fundamentalism. The distinction between "Old" Christian Right and "New" Christian Right is arbitrary, as this thesis will demonstrate.

Too many scholars attempt to pin Fundamentalist political involvement with Jerry Falwell and the rise of the Moral Majority. Some of this can be laid at the feet of Falwell, particularly in light of the 1981 manifesto *The New Right: We're Ready to Lead*.[37] This work coincided with the rise of Reaganism and the resurgence in Christian conservatism, which has been a mainstay in American politics since. One example is Susan Harding's *The Book of Jerry*

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[35] 141-160.
[36] 148.
[37] Richard Viguerie, *The New Right: We're Ready To Lead*, (Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1981).

Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics, which used Falwell as a starting point for Fundamentalist involvement in politics.[38] Furthermore, she appeared to see Falwell's emergence in the 1970s as a Fundamentalist return from exile, as if Fundamentalism had been absent from the American political narrative for decades.[39] While the scholarship concerning Falwell is remarkable and sharp, the overall thrust missed key moments in Fundamentalist involvement in the American political discourse, particularly the role of Cold War culture and the civil rights movement.

Despite this, there have been some recent works which seek to make this synthesis. Lisa McGirr's *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* is an examination of Orange County, California's conservative bent.[40] In this work, she combines religion, politics and culture to create a unique narrative that works to gain a better grasp of the resurgence of conservatism during the 1960s and its lasting impact. While noting the influence of Fundamentalism in Orange County, McGirr leaves room for further examination, particularly in the area of the civil rights movement.[41]

Herein lies the crux of the matter: there is a need for a better synthesis of Fundamentalism, political conservatism and the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The goal of this thesis is to begin that process using Carl McIntire's story as a small slice of the larger narrative. McIntire's long career, which stretched from the 1930s through the early 2000s, provides the information necessary to do this. McIntire commanded attention from scholars in the 1960s and early 1970s, but receives little attention in the rest of Fundamentalist

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[38] Susan Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
[39] Ibid., 61-82.
[40] Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
[41] Ibid., 30-35.

historiography. This means a need exists to reexamine the alarmist interpretation of McIntire in light of the broader conversation.

Focusing on McIntire's entrance into the civil rights debate in 1960 and ending with the 1964 Presidential election is key to understanding the right's resurgence which occurred during this time. In this period, McIntire's paper, *The Christian Beacon* saw its subscription rate grow tenfold. Additionally, his radio program *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* grew from 100 stations to over 600 in four years. His organizations see tremendous gains in grass-roots mobilization and he became injected into the national political discourse in a new way.

This combination of religion, social dismay and national politics will help explain the Republican Party's ideological shift during the same time. The 1960 Presidential election pitted the moderate Richard Nixon against the liberal John F. Kennedy. The 1964 Civil Rights Act enjoyed support from 80% of Senate and Congressional Republicans. Despite this, the GOP nominated Barry Goldwater for President in 1964, though he was one of six Republicans who voted against the bill.

By examining Carl McIntire's activities in this timeframe, it will be apparent that grass-roots mobilization on the part of he and other Fundamentalists helped sway the Republican Party to embrace social and religious conservatism. Additionally, this thesis will demonstrate that the civil rights movement played an important role in this migration and will highlight the need for further examination of Fundamentalism and race. This thesis will also argue for latency and resurgence on the part of social and political rightists as the right became energized due to social and political changes between 1960 and 1964. These changes induced fear and alarm into conservative discourse, which produced mobilization and action. It will also call for a

reexamination of Fundamentalism as it relates to political involvement in America on the outset, not simply ending shortly after the Scopes trial and beginning again in the 1960s or 1970s.

Chapter 2
Understanding Carl McIntire

Carl McIntire (1906-2002) emerged in the Fundamentalist movement during the 1930s. Though born in Michigan and raised in Oklahoma by his missionary parents, he studied for ministry at Princeton Seminary. At Princeton, he found himself entwined in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy, and became a disciple of J. Gresham Machen. He was part of the exodus of theologians, students and ministers who left the Presbyterian Church U.S. by choice or force. In McIntire's case, he was defrocked for his Fundamentalist views, though he was pastor of a 1200 member congregation. This was only the beginning; however, because McIntire began a movement within Fundamentalism he later called the Twentieth Century Reformation. This movement incorporated McIntire's newspaper, the *Christian Beacon*, his publishing company, Christian Beacon Press, a radio station, WXUR, and a program, *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*.

McIntire's mission was to return America to his vision of what he believed it once was. To this end, he created the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) and International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) to build a national and global consensus among Fundamentalist churches and social conservatives. He also created a denomination of like minded Fundamentalist Presbyterian churched, called the Bible Presbyterian Church. Though just a pastor of the Bible Presbyterian Church in Collingswood, New Jersey, a suburb east of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, he became a world leader in the Fundamentalist movement. This can be understood by one of the church's mission statements:

> 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 of compromise that have manifested themselves.[1]

To those who were McIntire's allies, he was a leader. To those who he opposed, he was an agitator. In the 1930s he was outspoken in his opposition to theological liberalism, but also fascism and communism. After World War II, he viewed communism as the greatest threat to American liberty. He viewed social movements, such as civil rights, with great skepticism and fear because he saw his ideal America slipping away as the government grew in size and power. He, like many, capitalized upon the fear of communism in the dynamic society of the 1950s and 1960s. McIntire opposed court rulings related to segregation and federal legislation granting civil rights. He believed that many of the leaders, politicians, pastors and activists were tied to communism, directly and indirectly. He firmly believed a Soviet-planned fifth column existed in the United States and he employed charged rhetoric and innuendo to promote this belief. McIntire's actions during the civil rights movement played an interesting role in the history of religion and civil rights as he built a following during this time of social unrest.

McIntire relied upon three key components to build a national and world consensus for his views and activities: organization, mass media, and education. These three areas allowed McIntire to build and maintain a following, which gave him a certain degree of credibility to his supporters, and formidability for his enemies. While all three were linked to an extent, they must be analyzed separately to demonstrate the importance.

One important tool McIntire used to his advantage was mass media. He published a weekly tabloid format newspaper called the *Christian Beacon*. He also hosted a radio show, the *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*, which rebroadcast sermons and socio-political

[1] *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.

commentary from McIntire's perspective. In addition to these two outlets, McIntire also operated a publishing company, the Christian Beacon Press, which published twelve McIntire authored books and numerous pamphlets.

Though McIntire promised his *Christian Beacon* would not engage in politics "one whit," it was a promise soon broken.[2] From the its first issue in 1936 through its last issue in the early 1990s, the *Beacon* discussed politics couched in terms Fundamentalists could imbibe, disseminate and propagate. McIntire viewed himself and his use of mass media in prophetic terms. He believed the use of media was divinely appointed and a means to combat evil and purport the message of the Bible.[3] One such evil was his belief that America was losing basic freedoms. McIntire viewed the civil rights movement with suspicion. He often tied the movement to communism and warned Americans that America would soon lose its freedom. He did this to build a consensus in order to preserve his notion of traditional values and small government. Why would a minister take up such a political cause? McIntire himself 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."[4] Apparently, many believed McIntire's words as his publication began with a few thousand readers in the 1930s and reached its peaks at nearly 80,000 at the height of the civil rights movement.[5]

McIntire's radio career was also very important to his impact. McIntire used radio to his fullest advantage. Beginning in 1935, he began broadcasting his weekly sermons, preached at the Bible Presbyterian Church in Collingswood, New Jersey. He took this program and expanded it

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[2] *Christian Beacon*, 13 February 1936, 1. Hereafter, *Christian Beacon* will be abbreviated *CB*.
[3] William Howe Cianci, *Carl McIntire: A Study of His Philosophy and Use of the Mass Media* (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1972), 241.
[4] Ibid., 1.
[5] Forster and Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 101, 105 & 111.

by raising funds to put it on several stations. Instead of the classic sermon-driven radio program, McIntire did something entirely different for a Fundamentalist preacher. He reformatted the program to a daily talk show designed to be a recorded version of the *Christian Beacon*.[6] McIntire called this program *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*. It began in 1955 and aired until the early 1970s.

The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour was McIntire's greatest media success. McIntire's vision for his public ministry was not simply to be a churchman, but to lead, what he called the Twentieth Century Reformation.[7] Radio was key to this endeavor. During the 1950s the program reached a peak of 100 stations in various US and world markets. This was successful considering McIntire's denomination was a small segment of the Fundamentalist movement, which opposed both Evangelical and mainline Christianity. What is most striking is the program's dramatic increase between 1960 and 1964. During this time, through concerted fund-raising efforts, McIntire was able to air his program on 600 stations. Additionally, it was the only Fundamentalist program in America to air every weekday and was the longest running at thirty minutes.[8] The *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* had a presence in forty-seven states with its highest concentration in the south and several foreign markets.[9]

The increased exposure led to much opposition. Because McIntire's program was both religious and political in nature, it raised the ire of many on the political left who did not share his views. Works such as *Christian Fright Peddlers*, *Danger on the Right*, and pamphlets

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[6] Robert Mulholland. *Carl McIntire: The Early Radio Years: 1932-1955*. (PhD diss., Bowling Green University, 1984), 25.

[7] McIntire lays this vision out in his 1948 book, *The Twentieth Century Reformation* which is a religious and political work.

[8] Dale Leathers, *A Descriptive Study of Revolutionary Reaction of the 1960s: The Rhetoric of Salvation*, (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1965), 67-69.

[9] Ibid., 68-69. Leathers reported that *The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* was on 27 stations in Texas, 26 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.

produced by the Anti-Defamation League, warned their readers of the extreme rightist views which McIntire promulgated. Additionally, McIntire's radio station, WXUR, did not adhere to the Fairness Doctrine. This created a two-fold battle for McIntire, as he was pitted against private and public sector opposition.

McIntire dealt with his enemies in grand Fundamentalist style. As one who would later be called the "PT Barnum of Fundamentalism," he used his "oppression" to generate publicity and make claims of conspiracy. In radio, print, and public appearances, McIntire lamented the persecution he received, but capitalized upon it to argue that his views were correct. For McIntire, his attackers were "false accusers" who understood that his message was truth, leading them to manufacture schemes to dissuade others from listening to him.[10] Additionally, liberals to dared to attack McIntire were part of a broader movement to deceive the masses. This allowed him to allege a wide conspiracy designed to destroy the biblical values upon which America was built and McIntire defended.[11] McIntire's conspiratorial nature led him to warn his followers of the communist assaults on American liberty and true Christianity.

CHRISTIAN BEACON
SPONSORING 20th CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR

Fifteen Cents Per Copy | Second class postage paid At Camden, New Jersey | Volume XXXVIII | Number 31 | Thursday, September 6, 1973

'COLUMBUS' DEDICATED

The good ship *Columbus*, anchored in international waters off Cape May, N. J., was dedicated on Labor Day, September 3, 1973. Technical difficulties which have beset the operation prevented the first signal from being broadcast at 11:30 a.m. as was intended. The ship riding in calm seas flies two Christian flags.

The U.S. Coast Guard boarded the ship last Friday afternoon, searched it from stem to stern, and demanded to see the registry, which they copied. Later they explained that they were making a report to Washington. The pretext used for boarding the ship was the sighting of an alleged oil slick which did not exist. The ship was not leaking any of its oil.

Television and news reporters have been attending every development. The pulpit used in 1938 in the Collingswood Bible Presbyterian Church tent and later in the tabernacle was taken to the ship for use in the ceremony. Dr. McIntire spoke from 2 Chronicles 7:14: "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land." An embossed plaque carrying the Mayflower Declaration had been provided for the dedication by women representing listeners of Radio Station WXUR. Mrs. Mary Killen was in charge of the plaque. Mrs. Dorothy White, missionary of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, presented a plaque on behalf of the staff in Cape May bearing the words of Alfred Lord Tennyson: "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." Dr. McIntire read the "Manifesto of Freedom."

Difficulties in securing even private boats to take individuals to the ship made it impossible for the crowd to attend. Television and press representatives continued to visit the ship throughout the day. Dr. McIntire, the Earl Whites, and Dr. Ralph Gross and his sons Ed and John, between visits to the ship, caught some 60 bluefish. At least five large sharks "attended the dedication" as their fins could be seen near the boat. Five yellow canaries, which came on the ship from Florida flitted about. The large poster "Revival 76" was mounted near the bow of the ship.

Friday evening a small plane swooped over the stern and dropped a note. It was in a bag and cartridge used to mail film for development.

(*Continued on page 2*)

Manifesto of Freedom

September 3, 1973, off the coast of the United States of America.

"In God we trust." Amen. On the occasion of the dedication of Radio Free America outside the continental United States in the international waters of the broad Atlantic in the pursuit of liberty, this Manifesto is made for the glory of God. God is the author of liberty. He created man to serve Him. He made the earth to be used by man and has declared, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (2 Cor. 3:17). Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, declared, "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" (John 8:36). The faith which He gave and His commandment to go into all the world to preach the Gospel require freedom. The exhortation, therefore, of the Scripture has always been, "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" (Gal. 5:1). From the Mayflower Compact, drafted upon the high seas before the Pilgrims landed which bears the words, "In the Name of God. Amen," to the Declaration of Independence at the birth of the United States of America which declared that all men were "endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights" to the Bill of Rights itself, whose First Amendment guarantees to all the people the free exercise of religion, the ideals of freedom have been the highest and noblest concepts for the securing of truth and justice and peace.

Without free speech, free religion, a free press it is impossible to have free government, a free people, or to resist the shackles of slavery and tyranny. Freedom is everybody's business. It is more precious than life—a gift of God and more valuable than all the treasures of a nation. The good ship Columbus rides the high seas under the protection of the Almighty God and as a rebuke to a people who esteem lightly both their heritage of freedom and the blessings of liberty.

Radio Free America is set to broadcast on 1160 kc. on the AM band and should cover an area reaching from North Carolina to Maine. RFA is expected to be on the air within several days.

By Faith. . .

My dear Radio Friend:

Cape May opened with the Congress of the International Council of Christian Churches and the seal and blessing of God upon a glorious testimony. It closed with a freedom ship at sea and the most delightful opportunity to bear testimony to the Gospel. God in His providence has joined the issue with the United States Government on the rights of the people to their freedom of speech and the free exercise of religion. A press has shown an interest exceeding anything that we have known in the past. Friends are arising.

Just what the future holds only God knows, and it is with faith that we take each step. Our readers may help with their contributions. They are needed very badly. All may help by getting the petitions signed for use with Congress. Contact with local news media, letters to the public opinion columns, encouragement to local radio station—all these open avenues for testimony. The special *Christian Beacon* subscription drive, good until September 15, needs your attention.

Be grateful for the radio stations that are carrying the 20th Century Reformation Hour. Please undergird the entire movement with your assistance and prayers. It is by faith that the good ship *Columbus* rides the waves and will carry her message of freedom and life. It is eternal life.

Faithfully,
Carl McIntire

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

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[10] Ibid., 93.
[11] Ibid., 93-94.

Doctrine. In 1973, the FCC closed his WXUR in Collingswood, New Jersey. Not one to be outdone by his enemies, McIntire, dressed as John Witherspoon, held a public funeral for freedom of speech, and then launched a pirate-radio station off the coast of Cape May, New Jersey on a World War II surplus ship. This, of course, received prompt attention from the U.S. Coast Guard, but McIntire used this event to generate much attention as he was the first and only person to lose a radio license under the Fairness Doctrine.

While mass media played an important component in McIntire's public life, organizations were the engine of mobilization. McIntire's public persona is one of public gravitas. He opposed many organizations like the National Council of Churches (NCC), the World Council of Churches (WCC), National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), and the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS). He also used organization to mount protests against the revolution in the delta during the civil rights movement, and counter-protested anti-Vietnam War dissenters. Though mass media played a role in publicizing these types of events to his readers and listeners, they were well-organized.

McIntire was a prolific organizer. According to Douglas Abrams in *Selling the Old Time Religion: Fundamentalists and Mass Culture*, early Fundamentalists applied Taylorite efficiency models and 1920s business models of organization. McIntire was the most successful in this endeavor. In 1941, disgusted by the liberalism of the FCC, McIntire created the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC). The thrust of the ACCC was to provide an organizational umbrella for American Fundamentalists. McIntire's also used the ACCC to offer faithful Fundamentalists a public alternative to what McIntire regarded as Christianity. In addition, McIntire made numerous attempts through the 1950s to gain access of free airtime on

both national radio and television for the ACCC to provide a Fundamentalist counter to the NCC.[12]

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 hailing from Europe, Africa and Asia. McIntire believed he could weaken the WCC's influence through this organization. The ICCC would demonstrate that Fundamentalism was not simply American in nature, but a worldwide movement. McIntire also used the ICCC to protest WCC events, often holding 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, enjoying a membership of over one-million.[13]

McIntire followed the pattern of previous Fundamentalist leaders by building educational institutions. Though J. Gresham Machen's Westminster Theological Seminary shared the same theological convictions, it did not advocate McIntire's social Fundamentalism. McIntire separated from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in 1937, associated with Machen and Westminster, and founded both the Bible Presbyterian Church and Faith Theological Seminary. In addition, McIntire's organization began an undergraduate institution, Shelton College, which served the needs of educating fundamentalists until it was closed in the 1980s.

Education provided McIntire with an air of legitimacy. For most Fundamentalist leaders, a college or seminary was a status symbol proving the founder to be a bona fide leader. This was

[12] Mulholland, 107-215.
[13] Mulholland, 24.

the case with Bob Jones College, later University, which granted McIntire his honorary doctorate. The same can be said for such institutions as Oral Roberts University and Liberty University. They share a commonality to provide an authoritative voice for the Fundamentalist leader. They also serve as a vehicle for replicating religious, social and political ideologies. In fact, the *Christian Beacon* continually advertised both Shelton College and Faith Seminary, not as top institutions to receive and education, but as places to become equipped to fight for McIntire's Twentieth Century Reformation.

The Master of Protest

The combination of organization, media and education gave McIntire the ability to gather protest groups. Fundamentalism relies upon a class which sees itself under siege by religious and social change or government imposition and McIntire was able to channel the unrest for his own means. An example of this was his ongoing commemoration of the Auburn Affirmation of 1927. This was a document signed by theological liberals in the wake of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. After several years, it became a non-issue among the Fundamentalist press, but McIntire continued to devote space in the *Beacon* upon each anniversary to stoke the embers of protest. McIntire still believed that his Presbyterian heritage was under assault and continued to remind his readers of this moment for decades.

Another example of McIntire's engine of protest was his relationship with mainline and Evangelical Christianity. McIntire used the ICCC, ACCC, *Christian Beacon* and *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* in concert to gather protestors for PCUSA General Assembly meetings, WCC meetings and Billy Graham Crusade events. When the United Presbyterian Church prepared to adopt a new confession of faith in 1967 in Columbus, Ohio, McIntire parked a hearse outside the building with a placard which read "The Death of a Church." He was not

alone, however, as many joined with him to picket those in attendance. This led to a book of the same name.

McIntire not only led protests at mainline or liberal events, but also Evangelical functions. On the surface this should seem odd as Christian Fundamentalists and Evangelicals share similar theological views, though McIntire argued that Evangelicals engaged in syncretism, adopting modernist and Fundamentalist theologies under the guise of ecumenism.[14] Still, both groups adhered to the "Five Fundamentals" produced in the late 1800s, but differed with regard to cultural issues. Richard Niebuhr's "Christ and Culture" paradigm is particularly helpful in understanding the difference between Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism. In this address, Niebuhr offered five views which have been adopted by various Christian groups as they seek to understand their role in society: Christ Against Culture, Christ the Transformer of Culture, Christ of Culture, Christ Above Culture, and Christ in Paradox with Culture.

As Fundamentalism was inherently separatist, the movement can be viewed as embracing what Niebuhr defines as "Christ Against Culture." McIntire fit this notion quite well. As a separatist, McIntire understood the mission of the Church as only the redemption of souls without calls for civic action. Political action was not to affect the culture in the way many Evangelicals, like Harold Ockenga, wanted, but rather as a means to stop the imposition of social forces which encroached upon the Fundamentalist understanding of culture.

For McIntire, culture was not simply the general beliefs, practices and stories embraced by the whole, but a definite model which he believed to be outlined by Christian Scripture. The paradox is that McIntire operated with a mindset which believed the Church was to be against the culture, though McIntire consistently argued for a return to Victorian values, which he

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[14] Carl McIntire, *What is the Difference Between Fundamentalism and New Evangelicalism?* (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press [Date Unknown]).

equated with Biblical Christianity. This was evidenced by his support for prohibition and so-called "Blue Laws" and his rejection of "compromise" on the part of Evangelicals who were willing to partner with groups not adhering to the exact set of social values.[15]

Evangelicals viewed culture as an avenue which could change if the right application of Christian teaching was adopted. McIntire, on the other hand, believed that culture was inherently secular and doomed. This belief was rooted in a millenarian view called dispensationalism, created by John Nelson Darby in Ireland during the 1830s and popularized by the "Scofield Bible," which incorporated C.I. Scofield's notes and illustrations and built upon Darby's work.[16] The popularity of this "study Bible" led to dispensationalism's transmission among Fundamentalists in the late 1800s as this teaching offered a construct by which any Christian could interpret the so-called end times.[17]

Dispensationalists believe that culture will digress and become more sinful, giving rise to the anti-Christ, secret rapture of the faithful, a seven year persecution at the hand of the anti-Christ at which time a new Jewish state will be established in Israel, followed by the battle of Armageddon, which will be won by a conquering Christ who will establish a kingdom.[18] So entrenched was McIntire in his belief of dispensationalism that he called it a "truth of Scripture" and attributed C.I. Scofield with helping to promote this view in troubled times.[19]

With this pessimistic view of the human narrative, it seems contradictory for McIntire to be so adamantly political during his life. On one hand, McIntire's understanding of history

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[15] Carl McIntire, *Servants of Apostasy*, (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press, 1955), 325-340.
[16] George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 45.
[17] Ibid., 59-62.
[18] 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.
[19] Carl McIntire, "Premillennialism," *CB*, (1 October, 1936), 4.

pointed toward the futility of involvement. On the other hand, his understanding of liberty precipitated his immersion into American politics, thus complicating his overall view of culture.

In 1937, his editorial "Liberty" sets the stage for Christian involvement in politics. For McIntire the type of government a nation had was a direct correlation to the religiosity of its leadership, as well as the strength of its founding philosophy.

> True Liberty is taught to us in the Bible. Give men the Bible, let them believe the Bible, and they become "free men" in Jesus Christ and demand civil and religious liberty. In which to live and glorify God. Take the Gospel away from a land, let men discard or become indifferent toward the Bible, and that people slips back into darkness and tyranny. 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.[20]

It is this notion that for a society to truly be free and for the citizenry to have good government that the state's foundation must be built upon "Biblical Principals."[21] McIntire used his idea of liberty to testify before a Congressional subcommittee concerning school prayer, alert his followers against policies and politicians with whom he differed and to make the case that national policy should be informed by Fundamentalist Christianity.

An ideal government for McIntire would have mirrored his exceptionalist view of the United States, a capitalist republic with representative government and minimal federal regulation.[22] In his 1945 *Author of Liberty*, McIntire argues for limited government by tying it to the Ten Commandments:

> The State is related directly and in the most specific manner to the Ten Commandments. The State has no right or authority to encroach upon the liberties of the individual which God guarantees

[20] "Liberty," *CB,* (11 February, 1937), 6.
[21] For McIntire, "Biblical principals" for government equaled the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights, an economy governed by Capitalism without organized labor, and so-called "Blue Laws." This is borne throughout *Author of Liberty* as well as various articles in the *Beacon* where he laments the passing away of "Blue Laws," the popularity of movies, dance and alcoholic beverages which demonstrates his belief that the U.S. was entering dark times.
[22] "Capitalism," *CB,* (1 December 1938), 6.

> under His law. The State, in other words, must respect and honor the law of God as it concerns the individual, and only in honoring and maintaining this law can it serve its true function and truly be free.[23]

This may sound libertarian, but McIntire's application of government was not. For instance, he approved Prohibition and believed people should not be allowed to consume alcoholic beverages.[24] He was also against the operations of such businesses as dance clubs, gambling halls, and movie theatres.[25] McIntire's view of how the state should function was influenced by his sense of morality derived from his interpretation of Scripture.

Understanding McIntire's view of culture and the function of liberty within society is important to grasp the reasons behind the defining battle of his life: communism. Throughout the history of the *Christian Beacon* and the *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour*, communism was the dominant topic. In fact, McIntire was a committed Cold Warrior, who fully believed in a grand communist conspiracy to control the world. This conspiracy had roots in modernism, which McIntire argued accepted the ideas of Marx over Christian scripture.[26] This alarmed McIntire because he believed in an exceptionalist America which was a city on a hill shining a great beacon of liberty to all. Thus, McIntire committed his life to waging a battle against the great "other" in all its forms.

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[23] Carl McIntire, *Author of Liberty*, (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press, 1944), 106.

[24] An interesting aside is the way *The Beacon*, which would have been opposed to Gandhi because of his religious views, printed two stories of his embracing of prohibition for India. They were both featured in prominent places on the front page. "Gandhi Predicts Prohibition Return," *CB*, (26 August 1937), 1 and "Gandhi States Abstinence Is Point of Honor," *CB*, (23 September 1937), 1. These articles serve to show McIntire's view that it was more honorable for Christians to hold to a position of total abstinence from alcohol, as well as support Prohibition, as he is giving place to one who, in his mind, was pagan who held to the more honorable conviction. Also "The Ballot", *CB,* (3 November 1939), 4. This was an appeal to voters in McIntire's county to vote for a dry town in order to put the local saloon out of business and save the people from becoming drunks.

[25] "Separation," *CB*, (28 January 1937), 4.

[26] Carl McIntire, *The Rise of the Tyrant: Controlled Economy vs. Private Enterprise*, (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press, 1944).

This is why McIntire linked social issues with which he disagreed to either communism or the downfall of America. In the 1930s, he cast the Fundamentalist-Modernist debate in terms of communism. In the 1940s, he advocated nuclear war to stop the growing Soviet Union, while alleging Soviet infiltration in the World Council of Churches and mainline Protestantism. In the 1950s, he continued this vision, but used the pages of the *Christian Beacon* to identify "communist" pastors and church leaders so his readers could act upon that information. By 1960, Carl McIntire was marked by the Democratic National Committee as one of the "top 10 anti-Catholic bigots" for his opposition to John F. Kennedy. In addition, he began to mobilize protests across America to speak against the civil rights movement.

Though McIntire was known for his outspoken views before the 1960s, he became identified as a member of the radical right in the early 1960s. In fact, he mobilized and led a grassroots movement against civil rights and social change in America. Though some labeled him an extremist, who held no real sway in the public discourse, others saw differently. In fact, it is reported that the FBI had informants who monitored McIntire's church during the period they collected information on the KKK and Black Panthers.[27] Of course, McIntire saw this as a badge of honor and a means to Christianize FBI agents.[28]

Throughout McIntire's career he argued that his motivation was to preserve the liberty taught "clearly" in Christian scripture. As he believed capitalism and limited government were biblical principals, he devoted his life to stop the federal government from impeding the exceptionalist American narrative to which he clung. His actions demonstrate a shift in American politics. As his popularity and influence grew, the Republican Party eventually embraced the

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[27] Mulholland, 26.
[28] Ibid., 26-27.

religious and social conservative message of which McIntire preached. The move from Nixon to Goldwater can be understood, in part, through McIntire.

Chapter 3

Protesting the Struggle:

Carl McIntire and the Civil Rights Movement

"You either agree with McIntire or the Devil. Take your choice," said one of McIntire's parishioners in an interview in the early 1960s.[1] Though the context for this statement is not fully known, it provides the basis for McIntire's treatment of the civil rights movement. While some religious leaders during this time nuanced their negative arguments, like the Reverend Billy Graham, Carl McIntire was blunt in his opposition. Though he offered limited comments concerning civil rights during the 1950s, he became quite vocal in the 1960s and organized public opposition. McIntire's protest activities shed light into the religious conservative embrace of the Republican Party by 1964 and serve to complicate the stereotypical Fundamentalist narrative in the area of race and civil rights.

Religion and Civil Rights

The historiography of the civil rights movement is quite broad. Because this was an important moment in the twentieth century, there are robust scholarly contributions from many points of view.[2] With regard to the role of Christian religion and civil rights, most scholars tend to focus on groups which supported the movement.[3] This scholarship typically hones in on the positive role of African-American churches and white churches, normally separating the two.

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[1] Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 100.

[2] See: Manning Marable, *Race Reform and Rebellion, The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1900* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1991) and Joe Street. *The Culture War and the Civil Rights Movement* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2007) for excellent overviews of the civil rights movement.

[3] Michael Friedland, *Lift Up Your Voice Like a Trumpet: White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements, 1954-1973* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and James Findley, "Religion and Politics in the Sixties: The Churches and the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *The Journal of American History* 77.1, (Jun., 1990), 66-92 are good representatives of this approach.

When the role of white ministers and churches is synthesized with African American churches, the accounts typically focus on the struggle white ministers faced in their support of civil rights. However, when religious opposition is explored, it is usually relegated to a chapter or paragraph in a larger work dealing with the extreme right or some other similar movement, figure or institution.[4] Still, there is more to the "story." Though history is often viewed as the accounts of "the victorious," fuller perspectives can be gained when placing events in their broader context.[5]

One of the advantages wrought by social historians has been the focus on "history from below." This takes historical accounts solely from the hands of the "victor" and seeks to broaden the perspective by highlighting forgotten voices, whether common people or those who were the losers in the historical account. David Chappell's *Stone of Hope* does this. In his account, he argues that civil rights historians must get "beyond Dr. King" and argues that a religious "awakening" spilled out from African-American churches and led them to social action. Chappell also devotes three chapters to the struggle in white churches over segregation, as many Southern Fundamentalists and Evangelicals were not united over civil rights. Efforts like Chappell's represent a new turn in scholarship which explores the relationship between religion and the civil rights movement, but it will likely take time to overcome how popular history

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[4] Two relevant examples of this are David Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Cultureand the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[5] Charles Eagles, "Toward a New History of the Civil Rights Era," *The Journal of Southern History* 66.4, (Nov., 2000), 815-817. Eagles makes salient points for presenting the segregationist side of the civil rights story. Still, Eagles' perspective is Southern-centric. While he makes a good case for engaging and presenting anti-civil rights perspectives, the focus on the South does not provide the full perspective he seeks. As this paper will show, opposition and struggle did not simply exist in the South, but throughout the United States.

generally sees civil rights from the lens of Rosa Parks, Dr. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and other "larger than life" figures.[6]

The role non-African-American religion played in the civil rights movement can be viewed in three ways: supporting, indifferent, and oppositional. Many diverse expressions of Christianity lauded key moments in the civil rights era. When the Supreme Court made its ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, there was a sense of support from Roman Catholics, mainline Protestants, and broad Evangelical groups.[7] In fact, the Southern Baptist Convention and National Association of Evangelicals endorsed the ruling.[8] Additionally, the National Council of Churches and mainline denominations such as the Presbyterian Church U.S. and Methodist Church commended legal action that ordered desegregation.[9] Many white clergy in the South supported desegregation and granting equal rights for all races.[10] This was not easy to do. It often came with the risk of violence, societal out casting, and potential job loss.[11] For the white ministers and churches who supported civil rights, it was a risk they needed to take at the time.

The most prominent Protestant in the United States during the civil rights era was Billy Graham. As a former Fundamentalist turned Evangelical leader, many looked to him to usher in white acceptance of civil rights, particularly post-*Brown v. Board*. Michael Friedland argues that Graham's actions were often vague, couched in spiritual terms, and apolitical.[12] Still, evidence

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[6] Clayborne Carson, "Martin Luther King: Charismatic Leadership in a Mass Struggle," *The Journal of American History* 74.2, (Sept., 1987), 448-450. Unfortunately, this paper will not examine the role of the Nation of Islam played in the civil rights movement because it falls outside the narrow scope of this essay.
[7] Trice, Mike. *Religious Newspaper Coverage of the Civil Rights Struggle: 1954-*1964 (PhD diss., University of Southern Mississippi), 28-47.
[8] Jerry Bearle Hopkins, *Billy Graham and the Race Problem, 1949-1969*, (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 1986), 58.
[9] Friedland, *Lift Up Your Voice*, 18.
[10] Ibid., 21.
[11] Ibid., 21.
[12] Ibid, 23. This assessment is also supported in Hopkins' *Billy Graham and the Race Problem*.

demonstrates that Graham consistently called for Americans to look at all sins, not just racism.[13] He believed the way to end racism was for people to experience conversion and that revivalism would take root in American life.[14] Though Graham received criticism from some African American groups for his lack of a strong public stand for civil rights, President Eisenhower still called upon him to quell religious opposition to the "Little Rock Crisis" by providing public support.[15] David Chappell notes that Graham argued for racial integration in American society, but makes the case that he was possibly reluctant to publicize his views because they would have negatively affected his public image.[16] Though Graham did not use his pulpit to argue for or against civil rights legislation, the fact that he shared the stage with Martin Luther King can be considered an endorsement of the movement. Chappell sees Graham's role as a means for loose Evangelical support on the part of the Southern Baptist Convention and other groups, yet still they struggled to fully embrace the movement as southern opposition created potential problems for these religious bodies.[17]

Religion also played a negative role in the civil rights era. There were religious groups which argued for the status quo within American life. Numerous reasons were given to support an anti-civil rights agenda. Some fearfully argued against race-mixing, desegregation, and utilized conspiracy theories designed to debunk the movement as a means of destroying white culture or American heritage. Jane Dailey alludes to this in an essay which explores the "theology of segregation."[18] In this essay, she demonstrates that many Southern Fundamentalists

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[13] Hopkins, 34.
[14] Ibid., 34.
[15] Ibid., 123 & 83.
[16] Chappell, *A Stone of Hope*, 143-144.
[17] Ibid., 144-178.
[18] Jane Dailey, "Sex, Segregation and the Sacred after *Brown*," *Journal of American History*, 91.1 (June, 2004), 119-144.

and Evangelicals inherited a mindset which viewed miscegenation as a transgression of God's law, and saw civil rights legislation as the encroachment of evil upon society.

One area which stands to be improved upon in the historiography is the geographic limitations imposed by current scholarship. In the exploration of historical actors who opposed civil rights, particularly religious leaders, the focus is generally southern. This is the case with David Chappell and Jane Dailey. Paul Harvey's *Freedom's Coming* also imposes this limitation. As Harvey explores the religious roots of the civil rights movement, his focus on its religious opposition is southern-based.[19] The southern focus leaves out Carl McIntire's civil rights protests, though Chappell does mention McIntire in passing. McIntire led a robust crusade against the civil rights movement. While operating from New Jersey, his audience was nationwide, including a heavy presence in the South. Adding McIntire into the narrative of civil rights protest will only serve to strengthen the continuing conversation of why people opposed equal rights for minorities.

Carl McIntire used the Cold War as his ally. 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 *Brown v. Board* to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, each moment of progress for civil rights was marked with allegations of Soviet infiltration, the radicalization of American citizens, and the fear that basic rights were disappearing. These arguments were not just made from the pulpit, but through the use of mass media and organized protests. McIntire managed a complex organizational structure based in Collingswood, which employed women who daily combed through over 150 publications, organized between 2,000

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[19] Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through the Civil Rights Era*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 2007), 1-360.

and 4,000 letters daily to provide him with the information he needed to tailor his Fundamentalist message for radio, print and public appearances.[20]

McIntire and the Civil Rights Movement in Perspective

The events surrounding *Brown v. Board* were chaotic. America was engulfed in a Cold War with the Soviet Union. People were unruly and violent in their opposition toward the Supreme Court's decision to desegregate the American public school system, and hosts of leaders wasted no time to weigh in on the African American struggle for civil rights. Carl McIntire grounded his opposition to civil rights in a Cold War framework. In the period between *Brown v. Board* until Kennedy's proposals for civil rights legislation in 1963, McIntire employed tactics of fear and suspicion to discredit the movement. He rightly understood that the civil rights movement was on a world stage, which he attempted to use for his advantage. However, his public rhetoric tied the movement to his fight against communism, the Soviet Union, mainline Christianity and social liberalism. Still, he limited his public opposition to comments until the early 1960s when he mobilized against the movement.

For many, civil rights represented a dramatic struggle of good and evil. Many today would agree with this statement and believe "evil" was opposition and "good" was the movement. Sometimes good and evil are based upon perspective, whether right or wrong. For McIntire, civil rights was part of a "Satanic" conspiracy for communist world domination. So engulfed with this belief, he republished a graphic outlining groups such as the Congress For Racial Equality (CORE) and the Methodist Federation for Social Action as communist front groups.[21] McIntire tied these social justice organizations to a broader communist movement which he believed infiltrated Christian denominations like African Methodist Episcopal Church,

[20] Leathers, 70-71.
[21] "Apostasy Proof Package," *CB*, (22 July 1954), 4-5.

Presbyterian Church US, and the Methodist Church.[22] McIntire firmly denounced many non-Fundamentalist Christian groups and leveled particular criticism toward the World Council of Churches. He used charged rhetoric which alleged the WCC was involved in an effort to bring the world under communist control, even in their support of civil rights.[23]

The *Christian Beacon* continually published lists of ministers who publicly supported the civil rights movement and connected them to "Moscow's Religious Fifth Column" in America.[24] Shortly after the initial allegations, McIntire charged that over 7,000 American clergy were members of communist front groups.[25] Many of these pastors were, of course, "dupes" according to McIntire who said their calls for peace and nonviolence were part of a greater movement to empower left-leaning politicians to usher in a communist America.[26] According to McIntire, the World Council of Churches was actively involved in this endeavor. 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."[27]

One of the key phrases employed by mainline Protestants during the civil rights era was "the brotherhood of man." The idea behind this phrase implies a common denominator among human beings. In its full usage it promoted the idea that God is the father of all, and every human being belongs to one another. This terminology was employed to promote the social gospel, a late 19th century movement promoted by theological liberals, who sought social and economic justice. In post-World War II America, mainline Protestants used this teaching to promote peace, economic justice, end nuclear proliferation, and promote civil rights. The problem many

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[22] Ibid., 4-5.
[23] "Resolution," *CB*, (12 August 1954), 1, 4, & 8.
[24] J.B. Matthews. "Moscow's Religious Fifth Column in the United States," *CB*, (9 September 1954), 2-3.
[25] "Political Religious," *CB*, (28 October 1954), 2.
[26] Ibid., 2.
[27] "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.

Fundamentalists and Evangelicals had with the social gospel was its lessening of the importance of personal conversion and its stress on goodwill, social harmony and action.[28]

The Evangelical and Fundamentalist argument against the social gospel was simple. They believed revival and mass conversions must take priority over social ills.[29] Once enough people converted to Christianity, only then could the church address social problems, like racism. Still, that did not stop Evangelical endorsement of the civil rights movement and other social justice agendas. There was Evangelical support for much of the civil rights movement, but it was nuanced with the need for revival and conversion before society could truly change.[30] 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 via *Brown v. Board* instead of American churches.[31] Though the magazine supported the decision, there is a sense that the push for conversation caused a void in social action, as Evangelicals would have been forced to partner with groups with whom they disagreed.

Many in the Fundamentalist movement, however, opposed Evangelical support of civil rights because it led to partnerships with liberal and mainline Christians. Fundamentalists believed in the concept of "separation," which taught that doctrinally pure Christianity must be separated from corrupted theology, even though the result was absence from social action for good causes. McIntire was a Fundamentalist of this stripe. He believed that partnering with groups not holding to Fundamental Christianity was sin. Furthermore, he vehemently opposed to the concept of the "brotherhood of man" even as it pertained to the civil rights movement. In the mid-1940s, McIntire railed against this teaching and said, "How wonderful that would be if it

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[28] Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 118.
[29] Ibid., 118.
[30] Ibid., 193.
[31] Mark Noll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 156.

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."[32] He saw "the brotherhood of man" in terms of communism and labeled it a "collectivistic idea" designed to control economic and social freedom.[33] According to McIntire society "must have a remedy for sin before we can have a remedy for our social problems."[34] Hence, the emphasis of salvation before social action.

Later, as the civil rights movement was in full view of American society, McIntire's opposition rhetoric increased. When accused by mainline Protestants of racism because of his outspoken views, McIntire called the association "false."[35] He publicly distanced himself from some racist groups, including the Ku Klux Klan, which opposed civil rights and argued that his public opposition toward the movement was based in political philosophy.[36] He lobbied against the Fair Employment Practices Commission because it used "the power of the State to attempt to force matters that belong to the heart and spirit."[37] For McIntire, politics and religion were intertwined. He believed mainline Protestants were in error because they used the "brotherhood of man" as one reasons for their support of government imposition of civil rights.[38] When charged by religious groups, Christian and Jewish, that he and other Fundamentalists were bigots for opposing the brotherhood of man, he argued that "it is not bigotry to preserve the kind of life

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[32] McIntire, Carl. *Rise of the Tyrant: Controlled Economy vs. Private Enterprise*, (Collingswood, NJ: The Christian Beacon Press, 1945), 143.
[33] Ibid., 205-206.
[34] Ibid., 206.
[35] McIntire, Carl. *Servants of Apostasy*, (Collingswood, NJ: The Christian Beacon Press, 1955), 244.
[36] Ibid., 244-245. In fairness to McIntire, his organization did pass resolutions which denounced the KKK. McIntire did associate with other Fundamentalists and leaders on the Right who were known as racist, 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 which lost funding when they left the World Council of Churches, but on the other hand, he did not support African-American churches which argued for legal action in the civil rights movement. This was likely due to his strident argument for a type of separation of Church and State that fit within his Fundamentalist framework.
[37] Ibid., 245; "Brotherhood of Man," *CB*, (5 April 1956), 2.
[38] Ibid., 244-246.

which the American people have had through the years."[39] McIntire's argument was not necessarily for the preservation of segregation, per se, but the republican ideal of limited government.[40]

Despite the anti-big government, racially neutral tone in many of McIntire's statements, he did delve into the issue of race a few times during the post-Brown, pre-Civil Rights Act period. The *Beacon* republished articles from other news sources related to race. He placed and depicted these articles in the paper in such a way that a pro-segregationist stance was the obvious conclusion. One article told the plight of a Methodist pastor, suspended from the ministry for his Fundamentalist views.[41] He was disciplined for "unchristian tempers, words or actions."[42] The article outlined his support for segregation. This minister likened desegregation efforts to communism, but claimed that racial discrimination and segregation were not the same.[43] Another article, "Carolina Baptist Group Protests Racial Stand," highlighted the protest of Baptists upset at the Southern Baptist Convention for an anti-segregationist platform.[44] Obviously, these two articles do not provide anything definitive, but they possibly shed light on McIntire's racial views, particularly given a rare instance where he concluded that civil rights would lead to race-mixing.[45] He did not, however, claim that his race was superior, as many who argued against segregation.[46] At the same time, McIntire never addressed the real issues which African

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[39] "Brotherhood and Bigotry," *CB*, (28 February 1957), 1, 4 & 5.
[40] Ibid., 5.
[41] "Suspended Minister Assigns Himself a Job," *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, (24 March, 1955) in *CB*, (31 March, 1955), 5.
[42] Ibid., 5.
[43] Ibid., 5.
[44] "Carolina Baptist Group Protests Racial Stand," *The Greenville News*, (6 June 1957) in *CB*, (13 June 1957),4.
[45] McIntire, *Death of a Church*, 70.
[46] 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. Stadsklev 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),

Americans faced, like discrimination, violence and the lack of basic rights provided in the U.S. Constitution, particularly in the south.

McIntire and the Coming of the Civil Rights Act

By the 1960s, Carl McIntire had made his way on many lists. While he spent the 1950s and 1960s fighting communism and the civil rights movement, supporting HUAC and J. Edgar Hoover, he managed to find himself on Right Wing watch lists. During John F. Kennedy's campaign for the American Presidency, the Democratic National Committee called McIntire one of the five most "anti-Catholic bigots in America."[47] Additionally some of McIntire's associations with others on the right garnished him the label "hate peddler" by many in the political center or on the left in America.[48] By the time Kennedy began the push for Federal civil rights legislation, 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, the Christian Beacon Press was publishing multiple McIntire authored pamphlets and books, and his Christian Admiral Hotel hosted hundreds of guests weekly.[49] McIntire also helped found and operate two colleges, a seminary, the International Council of Christian Churches, and the American Council of Christian Churches. Carl McIntire, ruler of a Fundamentalist army, now waged war against the impending Civil Rights Act.

35-36; and "Is Interracial Marriage Scriptural?" by C.O. Stadsklev, *Truth and Liberty Magazine*, (October, 1961), 1-8. Many of these articles, and others which I did not cite, make the allegation 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.

[47] "DNC's Memorandum," *CB*, (29 September, 1960), 1, 3 & 8.

[48] Forster and Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, 107; "About the Wiscasset, Maine, Freedom Rally," *CB*, (18 July, 1963),7.

[49] Ibid., 101, 105 & 111.

As more Protestant groups assisted mobilization efforts for groups like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and CORE, McIntire intensified his criticism.[50] In addition, President Kennedy's interest in civil rights legislation, led to McIntire's cry of "unrighteousness" because he believed Kennedy's high view of human ability to change society was wrong.[51] McIntire said that Kennedy lacked global understanding.[52] Because McIntire saw the civil rights movement as a part of a Moscow-driven plan to overrun America, he viewed Kennedy as naïve. Kennedy's commencement speech at American University in 1963 offended McIntire because Kennedy dared to challenge domestic issues in a public venue. Kennedy said:

> Finally, my fellow Americans, let us examine our attitude towards peace and freedom here at home. The quality and spirit of our own society must justify and support our efforts abroad. We must show it in the dedication of our own lives -- as many of you who are graduating today will have an opportunity to do, by serving without pay in the Peace Corps abroad or in the proposed National Service Corps here at home. But wherever we are, we must all, in our daily lives, live up to the age-old faith that peace and freedom walk together. 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.[53]

McIntire called Kennedy "condescending" in his rhetoric, and said the Soviet Union was pleased by this speech because it endangered America.[54]

Shortly after Kennedy's important address, civil rights forces mobilized for a "March on Washington." This demonstration intended to show the federal government that civil rights legislation was a must to consider and pass. A. Phillip Randolph, organizer of a similar march

[50] "The Protestant Desegregation Drive," *The Shreveport Times*, (30 June, 1963) in *CB*, (11 July, 1963), 5.
[51] Carl McIntire. "The President's Speech and Biblical Considerations," and "What Fellowship Hath Righteousness With Unrighteousness," *CB*, (27 June, 1963), 1 & 8.
[52] "The President's Speech and Biblical Considerations," 1 & 8.
[53] John F. Kennedy, "Strategy of Peace" (1963), in *A Documentary History of the United States*, ed. Richard Heffner (New York: Signet, 2002), 396.
[54] "The President's Speech and Biblical Considerations," 1 & 8.

during the 1940s, was key, as well as other groups such as the SNCC, CORE and NAACP. Many historians have treated the March on Washington as one of the most important events of the 1960s, and even the twentieth century. Carl McIntire treated it as a communist action.

Prior to the March on Washington, McIntire warned his *Christian Beacon* readers that one of the chief reasons to oppose the demands the marchers planned to make was because communists supported their demands.[55] He reproduced articles from communist publications such as *The Worker* to minimize the importance of this event and to connect it to his communist conspiracy.[56] Furthermore, McIntire argued that "the President's Civil Rights Program involved the destruction of property rights as they have always been recognized and practiced under the Constitution."[57] Regarding the planned march, McIntire claimed that politicians were "exploiting Negroes" and the promise of civil rights elicited "lawlessness and riot."[58] The day after the march, the *Beacon* reproduced several articles from *The Worker* and *new america* with key phrases and words underlined to reiterate McIntire's connection that civil rights legislation was tantamount to communist infiltration intended to usher a revolution. The week after the march, he said, "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."[59]

The *Beacon*'s critique of the March on Washington continued with an entire issue devoted to critique and accusation. McIntire attended the event as a counter protestor and "reporter."[60] He declared that civil rights legislation was "the wrong approach" and that "the

[55] "March on Washington," *CB*, (8 August, 1963), 1 & 8.
[56] *CB*, (8 August, 1963), 1-8.
[57] "Peace and Civil Rights," *CB*, (8 August, 1963), 8.
[58] Ibid., 8.
[59] 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.
[60] Ibid., 1 & 8.

racial problem" in the US had "developed."[61] McIntire's use of the world "developed" is important. In his commentary, he painted the drive for civil rights as a construct brought upon the United States by subversive outside forces who wanted to destroy republican values. He argued that America already provided equality to all. He pointed to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as examples, but still ignored the reality that African Americans were not treated equally under the law. McIntire declared the march "gave an entirely erroneous impression to the world concerning the status and position of the Negro in the United States."[62] Throughout his commentary, he alerted his readers to an impending communist revolution, the loss of basic freedoms, and called them to heed J. Edgar Hoover's warnings.[63] McIntire never discussed the real discrimination many African-Americans faced, nor did he make mention of noted crimes committed solely because of race. The *Beacon* never printed stories of the violence committed against African Americans or dealt with the realities which they faced. Instead, McIntire placed the "racial problem" at the feet of communists and liberals and posited that "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.."[64]

Despite McIntire's opposition, federal civil rights legislation moved forward. In the wake of President Kennedy's assassination, McIntire and other outspoken leaders of the right found themselves under attack for their radicalism and labeled hate mongers.[65] These attacks were the fruit their opposition to civil rights and other social movements. Still, attacking McIntire did not slow his resistance, but, perhaps, increased it. Once the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was

[61] Ibid., 1.
[62] Ibid., 8.
[63] Ibid., 8.
[64] Ibid., 1 & 8.
[65] "Hate," *CB*, (5 December, 1963), 8.

inevitable, McIntire wasted no time promoting his opposition. He solicited help from Senator Strom Thurmond, who he called a "Christian Patriot."[66] Also, the *Beacon* made economic arguments that promised "equality" would create more inequality because it endangered property rights and personal freedom.[67]

In April, McIntire published a letter sent to President Johnson, which urged him to veto the bill. McIntire drew upon his ideas of liberty and implored the President that Biblical freedom would be restricted in post-Civil Rights Act America.[68] Furthermore, McIntire continued his charge that granting civil rights was in opposition to the Constitution. After all, the Bill of Rights and Constitution provided the rights African-Americans sought leading McIntire to charge their demands infringed upon "personal liberty."[69] He posed the question, "have we reached a day when, in order to have a "Negro freedom movement," we must restrict the liberty of all Americans, including Negroes?"[70] McIntire did not mention the specific liberties that would be

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[66] "Senator Thurmond – Christian, Patriot," *CB*, (12 March, 1964), 7.
[67] ""Civil Rights" – A Weapon for Reds," by James Shaw, *CB*, (9 April, 1964), 2.
[68] "From Dr. McIntire – A Letter To President Johnson," *CB*, (2 April, 1964), 1.
[69] Ibid., 1 & 4.
[70] Ibid., 1.

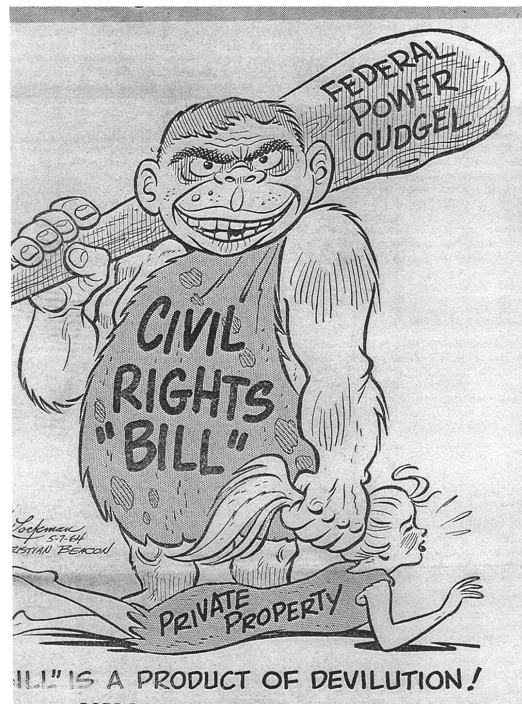
lost, but still made multiple allegations that free exercise of religion was in danger, property rights were at risk, and somehow anti-discrimination would lead to more discrimination.[71] One interesting request McIntire made was for Johnson to meet with a delegation from the ACCC. He justified this request on the basis that both Kennedy and Johnson met with delegates from the mainline NCC.[72] There was a sense of irony in this request. The minister who argued against equality and fairness on the basis that it already existed requested it for himself. 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.[73]

While Congress debated the Civil Rights Act in 1964, McIntire and his organizations were busy. The *Beacon* reproduced speeches by Senators Robert Byrd, Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond, and continued the mantra that an impending communist revolution awaited

[71] Ibid., 1 & 4.
[72] 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.
[73] Ibid., 4.

America.[74] The McIntire-affiliated International Christian Youth-USA (ICY) planned and hosted seminars in Mississippi to counter the NCC's social justice oriented youth.[75] McIntire's hotel, The Christian Admiral, advertised patriotic conferences for the summer.[76] 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.[77] Additionally, advertisements for Highland College announced to the *Beacon*'s 80,000 readers that it was the "20th Century Reformation College in the West."[78] There was at least one sermon published which argued that the Civil Rights Act was akin to Soviet rule and contrary to "the basic rights of Bible law which is fundamental in Anglo-Saxon law and the foundation of our American system of law."[79]

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 by the hair called "private property."[80] By using a caveman and the term "devilution," this cartoon tied together the idea that evolution violated basic Christian teachings which would lead to the social disorder McIntire predicted civil rights legislation would bring. Additionally, this cartoon played upon southern racial stereotypes of



[74] ""Civil Rights" – A Weapon For Reds," 2.
[75] "ICY-Mississippi Challence To NCC-WCC "Revolution in the Delta" Program," *CB*, (7 May, 1964), 1
[76] "Christian Admiral Conferences," *CB*, (7 May, 1964), 4
[77] "ACCC to Hold Spring Convention in the South," *CB*, (13 February, 1964), 1.
[78] "Advertisement for Highland College," *CB*, (7 May, 1964), 7.
[79] R.T. Woodworth, "Civil Rights – Jacob's Voice, Esau's Hands," *CB*, (14 May, 1964), 2 & 6.
[80] ""Bill" Is A Product of Devilution!" (7 May, 1964), 1.

African American male predatory sexuality upon white women.[81] According to this cartoon, private property, desirable and vulnerable, was about to be dragged into a cave and violated against its will. Though not attached to an editorial, this cartoon represented the belief that the America McIntire and others believed once existed was in danger due to civil rights legislation. Still, in the face of impending defeat, McIntire called his Twentieth Century Reformation movement into action and used organizations, mass media, and cult of personality to continue the fight.

After the Civil Rights Act passed, his Christian Beacon Press churned out thousands of copies of two pamphlets: *The Bible Versus "Civil Rights"* and *Repeal the "Civil Wrongs" Bill For Biblical Reasons*. Both outlined the usual combination of politics with McIntire's beliefs that the Bible stood in opposition to the Civil Rights Act. McIntire alleged that "all citizens, including the Negro" were under "new bondage."[82] Again, he made the case that this act was simply communism imposed on America and warned his readers that the end of American freedom loomed in the near future.[83] Still, McIntire vowed to press on with his opposition, and hoped to sway opinion by warning against communism and Martin Luther King's vow to continue the movement.[84]

McIntire and King

The name Martin Luther King invokes reverence in most American circles today. In the 1960s, this was not the case. As a leader in the civil rights movement, King was continually

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[81] For an extensive overview of stereotypes of African American male sexuality represented in cartoon, particularly after *Brown v. Board*, see Jane Dailey's, "Sex, Segregation and the Sacred after *Brown*."
[82] Carl McIntire, *Repeal the "Civil Wrongs Bill" For Biblical Reasons*, (Collingswood: NJ, The Christian Beacon Press, 1964), 2.
[83] Ibid., 3 & 6. Also, Carl McIntire, *The Death of a Church*, (Collingswood, NJ: The Christian Beacon Press, 1967), 72-77. McIntire poses the question at the end of the chapter "Civil Rights," "why do some [Fundamentalist] Methodists believe in Carl McIntire more than they do in their elected leaders of their own church – the General Conference?" This was in reference to his insistence that civil rights were communistic.
[84] "Communist Endorsement," *The Bible Versus Civil Rights*, (Collingswood, NJ: The Christian Beacon Press, 1964), 4.

under scrutiny. He was investigated by government authorities, jailed for protests, and ultimately assassinated. For his efforts he won a Nobel Peace Prize, honorary degrees, a named federal holiday decades later, and the opposition from those who protested the civil rights movement. Carl McIntire mentioned King very little in his writings, but the occasions when he did mention King sheds insight into the Fundamentalist critique of the era.

The first critique McIntire and others published in the *Beacon* was theological. King emphasized the idea of "love" in ways Fundamentalists did not agree because he stressed love over "Fundamentalist fervor."[85] McIntire called King's cries for Christian love "a sham" and more "tactic than reality" because King sought to "legislate love."[86] He also challenged King to prove that segregation was a sin, a cornerstone of religious promotion of civil rights.[87] Another issue of Biblical interpretation was King's acceptance of theological liberalism. It is true that King was not theologically conservative in the Evangelical or Fundamentalist sense.[88] King also allied himself with mainline Protestantism and was influenced by theologians of that stripe. Because of this, McIntire and others chided his denial of Fundamental doctrines such as the virgin birth of Jesus Christ, and publicly called King to "return to the Bible" in his preaching and abandon his public advocation of civil rights.[89]

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[85] "The Essence of Love – The Theology of Martin Luther King," by Lee Dirks, *CB*, (26 March, 1964), 3.
[86] Carl McIntire, "An Open Letter to Martin Luther King," *CB*, (11 June, 1964), 7.
[87] Ibid., 7. This mention of segregation is one of the few times the *Beacon* directly addresses the issue.
[88] For an example of King's theological liberalism see: Martin Luther King Jr., "The Humanity and Divinity of Jesus," *The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr., Volume 1: Called to Serve January, 1929-1951*, ed. Clayborne Carson, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1992), 257-262. This paper received a B+ and his professor wrote, "a solution which would appeal to the liberal mind." (257)
[89] Ibid., 7.

Second, McIntire took issue with King's call for civil disobedience and insinuated King was more interested in publicity than real progress. According to McIntire, King's use of Saint Augustine's view concerning the validity of unjust laws was against Scripture and moral law.[90] McIntire chided King's "Letter From a Birmingham Jail," and accused him of an attempt to stand "in the train of the Apostle Paul or John Bunyan."[91] Furthermore, McIntire made the claim that non-violent protest, still led to violence.[92] He based this on his assumption that King's approaches created the fear which King argued against without mention of Jim Crow laws, lynching, and other social inequalities.[93]

McIntire's views concerning King's admonition of civil disobedience is curious. On one hand, McIntire implied the state must be obeyed because God ordained it.[94] On the other, McIntire viewed some states as invalid in their role as law givers. In the 1930s, McIntire advocated disobedience to the Nazi government in its oppression of religious freedom, and racial

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[90] Ibid., 3.

[91] Ibid., 3. McIntire's interaction with King's letter is minimal. He continually rebuked King for his use of government legislation, arguing that King's lawbreaking was against God's laws as well as the State's. He continually implored King to abandon the Civil Rights Movement because desegregation and racism were impossible to legislate. McIntire also argued that busing, and integrated society violated the principals of Capitalism and individualism which he believed were hallmarks of American government and society.

[92] Ibid., 3. 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." (86)

[93] Ibid., 3.

[94] Ibid., 3. These views can also be found in *Author of Liberty* and hundreds of articles and editorials throughout the *Christian Beacon*.

suppression of Jews.[95] During the 1950s and 1960s, McIntire opposed social movements, particularly the civil rights movement, as a key strategy was civil disobedience. But in the early 1970s, McIntire himself disobeyed the "Fairness Doctrine" and caused public spectacles in his open defiance toward this law. It seems that McIntire's opposition toward King and the civil rights movement stemmed from his personal interests combined with an irrational fear of communism.

McIntire's third critique was naturally related to communism. Because he believed that legislation King wanted sapped individual rights and gave government more power, it was communistic.[96] McIntire's fears had some basis in reality. The *Beacon* republished articles from *The Worker* and other communist publications which supported the civil rights movement as well as King.[97] This obviously caused McIntire much alarm and he chided King for his participation in global communist advancement.[98] He warned that King's demands, if enacted, would produce a "non-freedom freedom" based upon federal legislation, which trampled states' rights, and took freedom from general society.[99] McIntire's opposition to communism, coupled with his opposition toward many of King's views led him to accuse King of have more interest in advancing a personal and communist agenda than the Christian gospel.[100] In McIntire's eyes, King offered superficial, state-directed solutions more communist than Christian. Despite the

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[95] "Why Christians Should Be Kind to the Jews," *CB*, (27 October 1938), 3; "Pastors Oppose Oath to Hitler," (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.
[96] Ibid., 3.
[97] Ibid., 7 and "Reuther, King Call Peace Big Post-Election Issue," *The Worker* (8 November, 1964) in *CB*, (19 November, 1964), 7. Michigan State University library holds a copy of Claude Lightfoot, *Turning Point: The Fight to End Jim Crow*, (New York: New Century Publishers, 1962), which belonged to McIntire and contains notes which he made throughout the pamphlet. Unfortunately, the author was unable to access this source. This pamphlet does praise King and his role in the Civil Rights Movement. Obviously, this sort of praise would have alarmed McIntire and influenced some of his opinions regarding King, especially in light of his decades old fear of communism in the US.
[98] "Open Letter to Martin Luther King," 3, 7 and 8.
[99] Ibid., 3.
[100] Ibid., 7.

real struggles which King and other African Americans faced, McIntire was more concerned with his fight against communism than with Jim Crow policy or equal rights.

McIntire and Race

McIntire's view of the Civil Rights Act, and civil rights movement, present a contradictory stance when assessing his overall actions with regard to race. Though he never truly engaged in the struggles which African Americans faced in America, he did address racial issues in other moments and places during the twentieth century. McIntire's actions in these respects appear to contradict his actions during the civil rights movement, but they are not contradictory as McIntire placed his theological and political commitments above issues of race.

Between 1936 and 1939, McIntire protested a racial issue on the pages of the *Beacon* and from his pulpit in Collingswood. This issue was Nazi Germany's treatment of Jews, which became known as the Holocaust. During this era, McIntire published hundreds of articles which brought to light the oppressive environment which Jews faced. In fact, McIntire called upon the United States' government to intervene. McIntire also partnered with Zionist and Jewish organizations to fund the emigration of Jews from Germany.

This is a significant instance because McIntire's association with rightists and America First causes tend to put him in the arena of both the "Old Christian Right" and the "New Christian Right." One hallmark of the OCR, according to Leo Ribuffo, was anti-Semitism, which McIntire vehemently opposed. In 1938, McIntire preached "Why Christians Must Be Kind to the Jews" and argued that anti-Semitism was incompatible with Christianity.[101] This view was informed by McIntire's commitment to dispensationalism, which teaches that God has a special relationship with Jewish people. Though McIntire believed that Jews which did not embrace Fundamentalist Christianity would not enjoy the same eternal benefits as he, his allegiance to

[101] "Why Christians Should be Kind to the Jews", *CB*, (27 October 1938), 3.

this staple of Fundamentalist identity was the impetus for him to speak against Hitler's atrocities. Additionally, as Nazi German was a totalitarian government, this provided McIntire an outlet to argue for the superiority of the American system of government and to make the case for American superiority and exceptionalism.

A second racial contradiction can be found during the 1960s. Though McIntire spent countless hours lobbying against the civil rights movement, he spent much time raising aid for Korean famine efforts. This was not simply an effort in the *Beacon* alone, but McIntire's ICCC also promoted yearly fundraising drives to send $100,000 to orphanages and various Fundamentalist church groups.[102] Though McIntire used this to highlight the results of communism in North Korea, it nevertheless demonstrates that McIntire did not base condition upon race, but was likely selective in his application, based upon politics and religious committments.

The evidence lends itself to the conclusion that McIntire placed greater emphasis on social structures than race during the civil rights movement. His fear of communism and an enlarged American government were the impetus of dissent. This seems logical given his support of churches in Africa, South Korea and Latin America, which shared his Fundamentalist views. Additionally, key figures in his International Council of Christian Churches were not American, nor were they white. In fact, McIntire's Fundamentalist influence still reverberates in Singapore,

[102] "$100,000 Goal Set For Gifts to Korea," *CB*, (5 December, 1963), 1.

as the Far Eastern Bible College contends that it still carries McIntire's Fundamentalist banner in Asia.[103] McIntire, through the ICCC, came to the aid of Fundamentalists in Singapore in the late 1940s and helped several leaders organize a new Fundamentalist denomination with the goal of spreading his Twentieth Century Reformation agenda throughout Southeast Asia.

It stands to reason that McIntire viewed race as it operated within his social sphere. He was willing to work with other racial groups as long as they held to his Fundamentalist or rightist political views. He came to the aid of Jews who suffered at the hands of Nazi Germany because it fit within his Fundamentalist framework. He was awarded a medal by Chang Kai Shek weeks after the Civil Rights Act passed for his support of freedom and human rights.[104] McIntire never made the case for racial superiority or inferiority. The evidence suggests he was willing work with non-white religious groups when they did not threaten his political and religious values. As the civil rights movement relied on theological and political ideologies contrary to McIntire's, it was natural for him to vehemently object and he played upon the fears of others who objected as well while ignoring the oppression which African Americans faced in his exceptionalist America.

McIntire's tactics were ultimately unsuccessful in the short term. His cries against the Civil Rights Act were heard, but not followed. Still, his mobilization of opposition brought many into the Goldwater fold. McIntire's grassroots efforts led him to become a recognized voice

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[103] Timothy Tow, *Disciples of McIntire*, (Singapore: Far Eastern Bible College Press, 2002). This work was written by Timothy Tow, a professed disciple of Carl McIntire. Though written from the perspective of a rabid supporter, it does provide an interesting narrative of Tow's attempt to replicate McIntire's Fundamentalist success in Singapore, even creating a Bible Presbyterian Church Singapore denomination and launching the Far Eastern Council of Christian Churches as a Fundamentalist counter to the WCC. Additionally, Tow praises McIntire as a type of the biblical David and Martin Luther. In fact, he argues that McIntire was a true world leader whose calling in life was to save world Christianity from liberalism. Tow also notes that there were more African and Asians at McIntire's funeral than white Americans.

[104] *40 Years: Carl McIntire and the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, 1933-1973*, (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon, Press, 1973), 45. This medal was "conferred by the government of the Republic of Free China, the country which looks upon communism as tyranny, terror, torture and treason."

within the right. In fact, a rumor circulated which posited McIntire as a potential chair of the Federal Communications Commission as one reason not to vote for Barry Goldwater.[105] Between 1960 and 1964, McIntire's movement grew enormously. Books, like *Danger on the Right* were devoted to combating his political message – that increased government via the Civil Rights Act was communistic and would usher in a Soviet-led revolution. These books argued that McIntire represented a dangerous turn in the American political discourse. According to writers like Daniel Epstein, McIntire's marriage of Fundamentalist Christianity and rightist political commitments were radical and had the potential to undermine American society if "their" candidates were elected to high political office.

Despite the warnings of Epstein and others, Carl McIntire, the religious leader; the pastor of a one of the largest Presbyterian churches in New Jersey, now commanded a legion of faithful listeners on over 600 radio stations and nearly 100,000 subscriptions to his *Christian Beacon*. He commanded protests and people joined him to "rally for America." His youth organization mobilized against civil rights in Mississippi. His Christian Admiral hotel held conferences which touted the exceptionalist narrative of America and held seminars to equip attendees with the tools to battle theological and political liberalism. For the 1964 political season, McIntire's grassroots mobilization prompted religious conservatives to support Barry Goldwater, as he led rallies to publicize Johnson's "anti-freedom" agenda.[106] Though President Johnson was a professed Southern Baptist Christian and Goldwater was not, religious conservatives opted for Goldwater.

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[105] "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.
[106] "Grassroots," *CB*, (27 August, 1964), 1 & 8.

Chapter 4

Welcome to the Party

Religious Conservatives Find a New Home

Though only six out of thirty-three Republican Senators voted against the Civil Rights Act, Barry Goldwater was the party's nominee for President in 1964. Goldwater was outspoken against the Johnson Administration's use of federal legislation to solve what religious and social conservatives believed to be a local issue. In the end, Goldwater lost the election handily, the issues that created the conditions which made him the GOP nominee, can be connected to religious opposition toward civil rights and the active courting of conservatives by the GOP.

Key in this was Ronald Reagan's speech in August, 1964. In this address, he called the faithful into the fold. As he warned his audience:

> You and I are told increasingly we have to choose between a left or right. Well I'd like to suggest there is no such thing as a left or right. There's only an up or down: [up] man's old -- old-aged dream, the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism. And regardless of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course. In this vote-harvesting time, they use terms like the "Great Society," or as we were told a few days ago by the President, we must accept a greater government activity in the affairs of the people.[1]

Throughout the speech, Reagan cautioned against the dangers of accepting socialism, totalitarianism and government programs. He argued against the Civil Rights Act, using the language of urban renewal. He made the charge that these programs served to eliminate "private

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[1] Ronald Reagan, "A Time For Choosing," (1964) in *Landmark Speeches of the American Conservative Movement*. ed. Peter Schwartz and Wynton Hall, (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 44.

property rights," because government planners were making decisions. He even charged that the future "war on poverty" was nothing more than a cradle to grave system of dependency.[2]

This speech, which many called "the Speech," and credit with launching Reagan's later run for governor in California, shared many striking themes to McIntire's language against civil rights.[3] There were the charges that growth in government somehow resulted in the impending encroachment of communism. Indeed, Reagan's argument that civil rights infringed upon the property rights of American citizens, was continually used by McIntire. Though there is no evidence Reagan knew of McIntire, his speech demonstrated that a common discourse existed between those on the religious right and those on the political right. This moment represented something new in American politics as religious conservatives became actively involved with the GOP from this point forward.

Old Right and New Right

Though conservatism seems to have emerged en masse in 1964, there are still several questions which must be explored. At the outset it seems that a "new" right emerged during that political season. As many believed their government had betrayed them for constituency groups and embraced a state-centered approach to social and economic issues, this created an alarm which resulted in a "new" conservatism.

The problem with this postulation is the notion of newness. How can it be defined or classified? Perhaps the categories of latent and resurgent can be applied to the right to demonstrate a greater continuity. Newer literature which examines rightist politics in America appears to take this direction without offering these helpful categories. John Andrew's *The Other Side of the Sixties* posits that the "New" Right owes its origins less to the 1960s or 1970s and

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[2] Ibid., 44-46.
[3] Ibid., 46.

more to the New Deal opposition and the strong anticommunist strain which followed World War II. Andrew sees the conservative explosion in 1964 as a culmination of frustration combined with the groundswell of intellectual dissent against government's growth in power. As conservatives began to organize groups, events and media, solidarity ensued.

While Andrew's main focus is genesis of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), he presents his narrative in a way which calls into question the dichotomy between Old and New Right. Additionally, he sees Nixon's failed 1960 bid for the Presidency as an opportunity which conservatives used to make the case for Barry Goldwater.[4] Eventually, the YAF was formed to push a conservative agenda into the Republican Party. This group was committed to the principals of "traditionalism, anticommunism, and libertarianism."[5] Ironically, one of the first board members was Carl McIntire, who attended the Sharon Conference that drafted the YAF platform in 1960.[6]

The selection of Carl McIntire demonstrated the crucial role religion played during the 1950s and 1960s organization of the political right. As one of the platforms was "traditionalism," it was logical to incorporate religious leaders into the movement. McIntire, though controversial, continually called America to a form of traditionalism, which believed America's governing documents – the Constitution and Bill of Rights – were based in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

In *Right-Wing Populism in America*, Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons demonstrate that a rightist political strain has always existed in American politics. The difference is in its manifestation. For instance, Berlet and Lyons argue that too often scholars relegate groups and individuals as "fringe" movements when, in fact, they are "complex and dangerous." The

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[4] John Andrews, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 25.
[5] Ibid., 60.
[6] Ibid., 74. 223-231.

complexity lies in the fact that these groups actually deal with real social issues. The danger lies with the manner in which they distill these issues for popular consumption in order to attract followers.

Berlet and Lyons see the Goldwater candidacy as a rightist "fusionism" because social traditionalism, anticommunism, and economic libertarianism became infused with conservative identity.[7] The background for this fusion was not new, but shared a longer history. In fact, these authors credit Carl McIntire, and others, for a "premature anticommunism" which blended a Fundamentalist Christian message with political language. They argue that McIntire especially ignited Christian anticommunism with his 1946 *Author of Liberty* which preached the dangers of an impending Soviet system in America as prophesied in the Bible.[8]

The theme of prophesy is greatly expanded in Angela Lahr's *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares*. She grounds the foundation of today's Religious Right in the post-World War II religious fervor in American culture and politics. She sees Carl McIntire as key in inciting religious anticommunist hysteria in the late 1940s. She also connects Joseph McCarthy to McIntire in recounting a speech in which McIntire claimed to have a "copy of an address" given by the President of the FCC which proved their connection to communism.[9]

At the root of anticommunism was a belief in the immanency of the apocalypse. Lahr makes the case that American fears were stoked by preachers, like McIntire, who created a sense of paranoia in their claims that the spread of Soviet style communism was evidence that the end was near. Additionally, these leaders combined communism with the threat of nuclear war to spread their message of liberty and salvation. According to Lahr, a key theme throughout this discourse was the need to wed the exceptionalist American narrative to Christian Scripture.

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[7] Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2000), 200-201.
[8] Ibid., 201.
[9] Angela Lahr's *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 41.

McIntire and others incorporated a nationalist fervor to their Christianity. This heightened the sense of urgency for Fundamentalists as many social changes began to take place from the election of a Roman Catholic President to loss of prayer in public schools and the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Lahr's narrative demonstrates that the roots of the "Right" go much deeper than the dichotomy that Old/New Right suggests. Religious fervor over anticommunism, felt loss of traditionalism and the realities that economic libertarianism was lessening led to fusion. This fusion was partially latent during the 1950s as McCarthyism played upon the apocalyptic fears generated from religious leaders. McIntire participated in this with warnings that acceptance of collectivism signaled the "end times" were nigh.[10] Concerning the growth of the WCC and his belief that it advanced the cause of communism he said, "I believe we are witnessing the building of the kingdom of the Antichrist."[11] McIntire's lists, continually published throughout the 1950s garnered attention. In the 1960s, this was not the case, leading to a heightening of public opposition. Hence, shifts in society generated the need for more vocal political opposition and mobilization.

Recent literature which examines religious and political conservatives between World War II's end and the 1964 Presidential corroborates with the notion of latency and resurgence. Joel Carpenter points out that Fundamentalism remove themselves from the public discourse after the Scopes trial, but vigorously organized to continue the fight against beliefs with which they disagreed. McIntire's career bears this out as well. McIntire married political values with his religious views. The combination led to a vital organizational structure throughout the Cold War.

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[10] Carl McIntire, *Servants of Apostasy*, 263.
[11] Ibid., 263.

The difference in McIntire's militancy, if one were to compare 1955 to 1963, was the dominance of social and political issues.

In 1955, McIntire spoke of similar issues in a broad sense: traditionalism, anticommunism, and libertarian capitalism. The difference in 1955 was that social and political forces did not work against his cause in the same fashion as the early 1960s. Though the 1950s were a time in which mainline Protestantism held a strong sway and McIntire did experience defeats, it was also a period of religious growth in both Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism. Additionally, the federal government was forceful in its role of combating domestic communism, as evidenced by the McCarthy era. McIntire added to the suspicions of the McCarty era through his numerous allegations of communist infiltration of the NCC and WCC. In fact, he warned his followers of communist subversion in the American church, through a concerted effort begun in Evanston, Illinois as the WCC meeting in 1954.[12] For McIntire, the WCC's call for a united world church was dangerous. McIntire interpreted the call for unity as a communist action. This was designed to fundamentally destroy capitalism and the American traditions that he believed characterized the nation's history. He then capitalized on this to generate publicity against the Methodist Bishop Bromley Oxnam, alleging him to be a communist making an attempt to fundamentally alter America.[13] Though McIntire attempted to exploit the fears of a "Red" America, he was not as publically militant during the 1950s when compared to the 1960s.

What's So New About the New Christian Right?

Another question which McIntire's career helps to answer concerns whether or not one should accept the premise of a New Christian Right at all. The notion of "newness" implies that there was an "old" movement. The "Old" Christian Right sees its most thorough treatment by

[12] Carl McIntire, *Servants of Apostasy*, 35-196.
[13] Ibid., 221-237.

Leo Ribuffo, who examines Christian political involvement from the Great Depression through the mid-1940s. The Old/New dichotomy is further solidified by media representation as well as self-identification on the part of Jerry Falwell and others, who accepted the identity of a "New" Right. But was there a New Christian Right?

There is a body of literature which treats the Christian Right as a new sociopolitical movement. One example is *New Christian Politics*, edited by David Bromley and Anson Shupe in 1984.[14] This collection of essays seeks to explain the emergence of a "New Christian Right" in the 1970s and trace its forceful entry into American politics in the 1980s. Although there is an acknowledgment concerning the role played by Fundamentalists, including Carl McIntire, the attribution of political activity does not begin until 1970s.[15] In fact, numerous organizations and leaders are mentioned, yet political significance is not ascribed to anticommunist efforts on the part of the ICCC and other groups. In addition, the overarching reason attributed to a Fundamentalist strain in American Christianity was Calvinism, which Jerry Falwell used as an impetus for political action.[16]

Michal Lienesch's *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right* also makes a sharp Old/New distinction when discussing the origins of the "New" Right. Liesnesch admits that a Christian "Right" has probably existed in one form or another throughout American history; however his treatment ignores important issues. First, he sees the 1960s as a time in which religious conservatives were politically "inactive."[17] Second, after declaring this group politically inactive, he speaks of the same group as "active and adoring" of Barry

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[14] *New Christian Politics*, ed. David Bromley and Anson Shupe, (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1984).
[15] James Spear, "The New Christian Right and Its Parent Company," in *New Christian Politics*, 19-40 .
[16] This is a suspect claim as Falwell was anti-Calvinist in his theological positions.
[17] Michael Lienesch, *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 4.

Goldwater.[18] Lienesch is correct in pointing to the origins of the Christian Right which existed in the 1970s through his time of writing, but appears to ignore the mobilization of religious conservatives during the 1960s.

Ruth Murray Brown's *For A Christian America: A History of the Religious Right* offers a bold promise of uncovering the impetus for this movement's founding. Unfortunately, Brown sees the Religious Right as a "backlash" movement which reacted against social changes in the 1960s.[19] The issues over sexuality, school prayer and civil rights for women reached a peak with the Equal Rights Amendment, which she argues propelled the Religious Right into mobilization.

Though Brown offers much fruitful information, perhaps in the formation of what today could be called "values voters," there is very little by way of origin. She fails to make connections to the past and ignores the key moments in the twentieth century, such as the Cold War era, and civil rights movement. Additionally, Brown downplays the role of *Roe v. Wade* in energizing role of anti-ERA forces. Still, the lack of connection to the past leaves the impression that the Religious Right appeared *ex nihilo* in the early 1970s.

It is possible that the reason scholars have created the disconnect between "Old" and "New" Right is methodology. Alan Brinkley argues this in his essay "The Problem of American conservatism." Brinkley posits that the "resurgence" of the "fundamentalist Right" in the 1970s surprised many historians and liberals.[20] The reason for the "surprise," according to Brinkley, is that historians created a narrative of the 1960s which deemed conservatism, particularly religious Fundamentalism, ineffective.

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[18] Ibid., 7.
[19] Ruth Murray Brown, *For A Christian America: A History of the Religious Right*, (New York: Prometheus Books, 2002).
[20] Alan Brinkley, "The Problem of American Conservatism," *The American Historical Review*, 99.2, (April, 1994), 423.

Brinkley points to recent scholarship which reevaluates the standard 1960s narrative of the "triumph of the Left," and incorporates rightist activity. Additionally, he points out that scholars like George Marsden have shown that Fundamentalism did not lose its voice after the Scopes trial, and was not simply the belief system of poor, rural whites.[21] In fact, many Fundamentalists and Evangelicals have realized the American dream to an extent, as many have moved through social and economic ranks. For Brinkley, this mobility has served to reinforce their political value system and leaves secular scholars with a more complex group than previously assumed.[22]

Brinkley's arguments highlight an important aspect of the Christian Right, including Fundamentalists. This group shared a coherent discourse prior to the emergence of the so-called New Right in the 1970s. Indeed, the 1964 Presidential election points to this campaign rhetoric from the Republican Party as mirroring that of Fundamentalist rhetoric. Both Fundamentalists and Barry Goldwater shared a vision of anticommunism, economic libertarianism and a return to traditionalism. In addition, the struggle against civil rights was cast in political terms, at least in McIntire's case, as "private property" was used as a reason to oppose state action.

It seems that current scholars are reexamining the origins of conservatism. Still, there is a need to better integrate the role of religious conservatism within that framework. Works like *Right Face* and *White Protestant Nation* do inject religion into the overall narrative of American conservatism.[23] This is a hopeful beginning, but there is a need for greater exploration of Fundamentalism's role in the conservative movement, particularly as more exploration will help diminish the notion that two Christian Rights existed in the twentieth century. Instead, more

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[21] Ibid., 425.
[22] Ibid., 428.
[23] Niels Bjerre-Poulson, *Right Face: Organizing the American Conservative Movement*, 1945-1965, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), Allan Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*.

exploration will demonstrate, as this thesis has, that the Christian Right is best understood as a singular movement which manifested itself in greater force depending upon the social issues of the day.

It is possible to see this through the lens of Carl McIntire as his long career represents for scholars an historical actor who spans both the "Old" and "New" Rights. On the outset of McIntire's career he sought to build a movement which would exceed religious dimensions. 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.

For McIntire, if the religiosity of America increased, love for the Bible increased, then ideals such as patriotism, capitalism and liberty would stay intact.[24] McIntire was so adamant in this idea that he believed "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".[25] McIntire believed that if people shared his beliefs, they would love the Bible and America. This love for the Bible and McIntire's view of liberty 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.[26]

McIntire offered another solution to implement this ideal society – Christian involvement in politics. This extended beyond the notion that Christian citizens must be voting citizens, an idea he used when rallying people to vote against the sale and distribution of liquor.[27] McIntire

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[24] Ibid., 4. Also, "Liberty," (11 February 1937), 4.
[25] "Liberty," 4.
[26] "Collingswood", *CB*, (29 September 1938), 4.
[27] "The Ballot", 4. Also in the same issue, "Decency Versus Lawlessness" by Walter A. Pine. This was a plea from a Methodist Episcopal pastor to "put the liquor traffic in its legitimate place – the graveyard of pagan customs," 4.

envisioned a scenario in which Christians not only voted, they voted for Christians.[28] He believed that it was incumbent upon Christians to be involved in the entire process of politics from voting to holding office.[29] This is natural considering McIntire's view that the religiosity of government determined the freedom enjoyed by its citizenry and it served to set him apart from material found in other Fundamentalist publications which did not offer this solution to its readers.[30] McIntire did not simply encourage the idea that Christians should hold office, but he believed it was a mandate which could be derived from the Bible.[31] 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 were in key positions of leadership, creating the ability for a Christian agenda to be implemented.[32] McIntire viewed Collingswood as the ideal which could be implemented nationwide and bring America back to her Christian heritage, free of the problems which he currently saw. If Christians throughout the country could follow Collingswood, then the rest 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

[28] "Collingswood," 4.
[29] Ibid, 6.
[30] 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' 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.
[31] "Collingswood," 4.
[32] "Collingswood a Town of Many Churches," *CB*, (29 September, 1939), 1 & 4.

conduct of the community."[33] It was this idealism and hope which led McIntire to declare "long live the U.S.A!"[34]

McIntire's activities from the 1930s throughout the end of his career demonstrated a commitment to preserving his vision of the America. This is evident particularly during the most public time of the civil rights movement. McIntire's commitments paralleled the commitments of his constituency as well as the Rightist impulse in the Republican Party. Though Johnson was known to be a Southern Baptist man and Goldwater did not share religious convictions with religious conservatives, McIntire and others gravitated toward his candidacy.

This was due to a set of shared values like anticommunism, a commitment to traditionalism and a belief in economic libertarianism. Additionally, the "losses" which religious conservatives faced, whether the Supreme Court's ruling against public school sponsored prayer, or, for some, forced racial integration in public spaces led them to act upon their beliefs. Mark Noll argues that these defeats during the 1960s have their root in the fight against civil rights.[35] White Evangelicals and Fundamentalists interpreted changes in society as the imposition of federal power, which served to take rights away.[36] The Civil Rights Act served as a rapid expansion of federal government, preying upon fears of religious conservatives, causing them to mobilize. Simultaneously, non-religious conservatives reacted against many of the same social changes.

What helped both groups ascend to power in the Republican Party and to nominate Barry Goldwater was the immense organizing which took place during the 1950s as conservative intellectuals began to create a strategy for an alternate vision for America. McIntire organized his

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[33] Ibid., 4.
[34] Ibid., 4. 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.
[35] Mark Noll, *God and Race in American Politics*, 156-159.
[36] Ibid., 156-159.

two primary groups in the 1940s, but capitalized on the McCarthy era to promote his belief that communist infiltration was a real threat. He was able to strengthen his organizations through his *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* and *Christian Beacon*. In addition, McIntire and others were able to deliver a new constituency to the GOP – religious conservatives.

The trend in Presidential elections since 1964 has demonstrated this to be true. That year saw a surge in conservative Protestant support for Goldwater.[37] Additionally, the election also saw another shift as liberal Protestant and non-religious voters seemingly left the Republican Party.[38] After 1964, the Republican Party enjoyed the support of conservative Protestants with the exception of the 1976 election, when Jimmy Carter campaigned as a "born again" Christian.[39] This "Carter effect" manifested itself only once as Carter was soundly defeated by Ronald Reagan with overwhelming support from religious conservatives.[40] In a sermon days before the 1980 election, McIntire commented that there was an opportunity for Fundamentalists to bring freedom back to America.[41] Though McIntire did not endorse a specific candidate, President Carter was attached to a McIntire's belief that he participated in a non-Christian agenda which took freedom from America.

Though many place the emergence of the so-called New Right firmly in the early 1970s, the evidence indicates otherwise. As this thesis has argued, religious conservatives allied with Republicans earlier than the "orthodox" view of the Christian Right suggests. In light of this, there are several opportunities to reshape the historiographies of Fundamentalism, modern conservatism and the Religious Right.

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[37] Jeff Manza and Clem Brooks, "The Religious Factor in US Presidential Elections, 1960-1992," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 103.1 (July, 1997), 58-60.
[38] Ibid., 60.
[39] Ibid., 61.
[40] Ibid., 61.
[41] Carl McIntire, *Born Again Politics*, (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press, 1980).

Suggestions

Fundamentalist historiography can be greatly improved in several areas. First, there is a need to explore Carl McIntire to fully assess his influence in American history. In many works, McIntire the historical actor appears sparingly without a full evaluation of his career. Many times, he enters as a villainous gadfly eager to cause problems. Other times, he is simply a conspiracy theorist, driven to find a communist whenever and wherever he can. Though, these caricatures have a basis in reality, they do not give a full insight into McIntire the Fundamentalist, media personality, organizer and protestor. McIntire's long career (1932-2002) deserves a book length treatment, particularly as he left behind a large body of work from his twelve books, hundreds of pamphlets, over fifty years of the *Christian Beacon*, sermons, radio broadcasts, correspondence and personal effects. As a separatist pastor, he shaped many aspects of evangelical and fundamentalist Presbyterianism in America. As a political activist he provides much insight into the religious Fundamentalist mindset. In addition, his mentoring relationship with Francis Schaeffer, who is sometimes credited with helping to found the "New" Religious Right, begs for exploration in a McIntire-centered work.[42]

Second, this thesis has demonstrated that Fundamentalism's relationship to the civil rights movement was complicated. McIntire's activities, though aimed at the South in many respects, originated in New Jersey. There is no evidence which suggests his upbringing in Oklahoma, as the son of a missionary to Native Americans, shaped his views concerning civil rights. In fact, the narrative tends to place McIntire's views on the civil rights movement as placing a greater emphasis on his political and theological commitments.

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[42] Barry Hankins' biography *Francis Schaeffer and the Shaping of Evangelical America*, (Downer Grove, Il: Eerdman's Publishing, 2008) provides some information regarding this relationship, but is presented as how McIntire affected Schaeffer.

This stands in contrast to other Fundamentalist leaders who offered race-based objections to the civil rights movement. McIntire's protests, by and large, do not appear to make specific racial arguments. Additionally, his involvement with the ICCC, which was racially integrated at the leadership level, makes his objections against the civil rights movement seem contradictory on a surface level. This demonstrates a void in Fundamentalist scholarship.

As Fundamentalist historiography continues to grow, scholars would do well to explore Fundamentalism and race. The general assumption tends to assert that Fundamentalists agreed that racial differences were based upon a hierarchy of the races established early in the biblical account in Genesis. Additionally, accounts which delve into Fundamentalism and race seem to focus solely on the South. Chapter three of this thesis demonstrated that Carl McIntire, a northern based Fundamentalist, opposed civil rights but did not make the "typical" race-based arguments. Also, McIntire is contrasted with *Truth and Liberty Magazine*, which made the expected arguments against the civil rights movement, though based in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The contradictory picture presented in this thesis regarding Fundamentalists and their relationship to civil rights and race suggests a need for further exploration to challenge the current simplistic narrative.

In exploring Carl McIntire's protests of the civil rights movement, this thesis also connects his activities to the "birth" of the modern conservative movement. This is a key area in which scholars can make outstanding inroads. As conservatives began to organize and mobilize in the 1950s, Carl McIntire and other Fundamentalists and Evangelicals did as well. These groups shared many similar social aims.

Works like *White Protestant Nation*, *Right Face*, and *The Other Side of the Sixties* present the origins of the modern conservative movement and work to incorporate the role of

religion as well. Still, there is more to explore. McIntire launched his *Twentieth Century Reformation Hour* in 1955, though he had been broadcasting since the early 1930s. His aims for this program were political and religious. That year also saw the launching of *The National Review*, founded by William Buckley. Designed to be a tool in organizing a national conservative consensus, the *Review* was influential in leading a rightist surge in the Republican Party.

Of course there are more parallels in the birthing of modern conservatism but these two examples show that religious and political conservatives shared many of the same aims during the same period. This creates a need for a synthesis between the two. Scholars can explore, as this thesis does, the shared language of the two groups as well as political values. Both religious conservatives and political conservatives shared a common vernacular of anticommunism, traditionalism and economic libertarianism. Further examination will only bring the narrative into better view, providing fuller analysis of how modern conservatism captured the Republican Party.

As previously discussed, this thesis calls into question the notion of an Old or New Christian Right. The evidence suggests that scholars must work to combine the two, which would result in a long Christian Right movement. Fundamentalist and Evangelical actions in the 1950s and 1960s were not simple forerunners to the Christian Rightist surge in the early 1970s, nor were they the foundations for Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. In fact, organizations, like the ACCC and ICCC, which had both political and religious aims were simply an older generation of the Christian Right.

Viewing the Christian Right as one continuous movement allows for a longer narrative which factors shared beliefs, values and connections. It does appear that newer literature which

examines Christian political involvement in the twentieth century is beginning to make those connections. At the same time, works produced as recently as 2002 treat Carl McIntire and others as simply precursors to a greater movement which appeared in the 1970s. As this thesis shows, religious conservatives relied on media, organization, protest and political action prior to the Moral Majority and other groups. Placing the creation of the "Christian Right" in the *Roe v. Wade* saga or conversation over the Equal Rights Amendment misses an opportunity to explore a much larger narrative.

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that Carl McIntire's protests against the civil rights movement provide key insight into the Republican embrace of conservatism in the 1964 Presidential election. Additionally, McIntire's activities and actions against the civil rights movement demonstrate a shared language between religious and social conservatives. Common values and the fact that religious and social conservatives created organizational structures to offer an alternative vision for America were crucial for the alliance of conservatives and Republicans. This alliance has been constant since 1964 with one exception.

Through the struggle against civil rights, conservatism, Fundamentalism and the Republican Party came together. Though Fundamentalists and others on the right ultimately lost the culture wars of the 1960s, they gained a religious and social constituency that adhered to a conservative political philosophy. Later, McIntire became a novelty and passé among religious conservatives, but many of his methods and beliefs captured a portion of the public consciousness. This became evident with the so-called "New Christian Right" in the 1970s, the Moral Majority, and various right-leaning Christian political groups which impact American

society today.[43] These groups maintained that social structures which provided security, peace, and prosperity in the past were threatened by an impending action on the part of left-leaning politicians.[44] The need for preservation led to mobilization, which led to protest. This led to great divides which scholars would do well to explore further.

[43] Michael Lienesch, *Right Wing Religion: Christian Conservatism as a Political Movement*, 409.
[44] Clarence Lo, "Countermovements and Conservative Movements in the Contemporary US," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 8, (1982), 108.

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