

Deep Fried Harmony: The Impact of Pro-Judaic Rhetoric in Fostering  
Protestant-Jewish Amity in the Ante-Bellum South

by

Scott H. Lebowitz

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of  
the Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letters  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Florida Atlantic University

Boca Raton, Florida

December, 2011

Copyright by Scott H. Lebowitz 2011

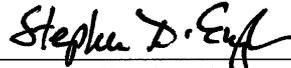
Deep Fried Harmony: The Impact of Pro-Judaic Rhetoric in Fostering  
Protestant-Jewish Amity in the Ante-Bellum South

By

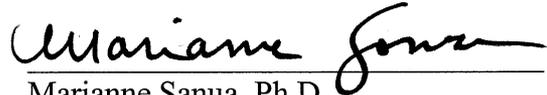
Scott H. Lebowitz

This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's thesis advisor, Dr. Stephen Engle, Department of History, and has been approved by the members of his supervisory committee. It was submitted to the Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letters and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE:



Stephen Engle, Ph.D.  
Thesis Advisor



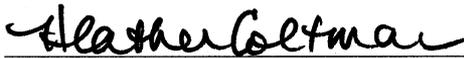
Marianne Sanua, Ph.D.



Evan Bennett, Ph.D.



Patricia Kollander, Ph.D.  
Chair, Department of History



Heather Coltman, DMA  
Interim Dean, Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letters



Barry T. Rosson, Ph.D.  
Dean, Graduate College

November 9, 2011

Date

## Abstract

Author: Scott H. Lebowitz  
Title: Deep Fried Harmony: The Impact of Pro-Judaic Rhetoric in Fostering Protestant-Jewish Amity in the Ante-Bellum South  
Institution: Florida Atlantic University  
Thesis Advisor: Dr. Stephen Engle  
Degree: Master of Arts  
Year: 2011

Scholars of southern Jewish history maintain that ante-bellum southerners displayed genuine philo-Semitism towards their Jewish neighbors. Historians attribute this to the southern Jews' effort to assimilate into southern society and to the presence of other, more preferred, targets of the southerners' animus, namely blacks and Catholics. This analysis, however, is not sufficiently broad to explain the South's Protestant-Jewish dynamic. It neither appraises the relationship from the perspective of the Protestants, nor accounts for the intellectual inconsistencies such a conclusion presents regarding both Protestants and southerners, generally. This thesis identifies and responds to these shortcomings by examining southern philo-Semitism through the eyes of the Protestants and thesis argues that pro-Judaic rhetoric of southern evangelical clergy inundated southerners with favorable references and images of the biblical Jews, causing southerners to develop a high degree of reverence and respect for Jews, whom they saw as their spiritual kinfolk.

## Dedication

This manuscript is dedicated to my family, particularly to my understanding and patient wife, Louise, who has put up with these many years of reading and research, and to my daughter, Lily, who has inspired me to press on no matter how late the day ends or how early it begins.

Deep Fried Harmony: The Impact of Pro-Judaic Rhetoric in Fostering  
Protestant-Jewish Amity in the Ante-Bellum South

Introduction .....	1
Historiography of Southern Judaism.....	15
The Southern Ideology.....	36
Preaching in the Tidewater.....	55
The Impact of Sermons .....	81
Conclusion .....	90
Notes .....	92
Bibliography.....	105

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Upon his arrival in America in 1859, Charles Wossolowsky typified the immigrant Jewish peddler of the nineteenth century in nearly all respects. He faced mandatory conscription into the national army of his native Prussia, a country that had become increasingly hostile to Jews. His parents reluctantly sent their nineteen year old son to America hoping that he would avoid conscription. They believed that the prospect of Charles living in the nation with a reputation for freedom and liberty justified the separation of their family; such a belief was common among Jewish families throughout central Europe during the nineteenth century. Equipped with a small bundle of clothing, an even smaller bundle of money, and the blessing of his parents, Charles found his way to Sandersville, in the northeast part of Georgia. There he joined his older brother, Asa, who had made the identical journey two years earlier and who spoke broken English only a little better than Charles. The moment Charles arrived in Sandersville, Asa handed his brother a peddlers' pack and sent him off into the Georgia wilderness to sell Asa's wares to local farmers.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to his wares, Asa offered his brother advice about what he could expect to encounter along the way. Charles was equally alarmed at the prospect of

coming across ferocious bears, as he was at meeting the first gentile farmer he would be selling to. Charles' was quite relieved that he encountered neither threatening bears, nor any of the vicious gentiles that he feared awaited him. Instead of bigoted gentiles like he knew in the Old World, Charles found the rural farmers in northeast Georgia to be warm and friendly, congenial, grateful and helpful. Because Charles had experienced little more than blatant anti-Semitism from gentiles while he lived in Prussia, he certainly did not expect such a disparate reaction from the American gentiles. In fact, he was shocked by their invitation to share a meal and to spend the night rather in their home than face a long trek home through the dark wilderness at night. When Charles sat down for his first dinner at a gentile farmhouse in rural Georgia, he was so astounded at the hospitable nature of the alleged vicious gentiles, he could not bring himself to mention that his religion forbade him from eating the bacon his hosts served. Rather than risk offending his new hosts or quashing the growing and unexpected goodwill, he ate the bacon then stayed up all night praying for forgiveness.<sup>2</sup>

The farmers did not take advantage of his ignorance of the language or culture and did not cheat him; in fact, the farmers and their children helped him speak and read English. Before long, Charles found that most farmers eagerly anticipated his visits so they could hear the news he brought about local happenings, especially those involving Negroes. The farmers' children awaited Charles's visits because they enjoyed playing school teacher to their foreign born English pupil. In a matter of weeks, Charles believed that he had become part of the

fabric of this very Protestant community. This realization struck Charles with particular force when he realized the farmers no longer served bacon or pork when they had him over for dinner- they had learned about, and respected, the restrictions of his kosher diet.<sup>3</sup>

Charles concluded that Asa mischaracterized Georgia's gentiles about their general demeanor. At the very least, Charles knew that his own initial experience with the locals was not consistent with his brother's depictions. More significantly, Charles rejected Asa's assertion that Jews in Georgia must abandon all religious observances that reflected the religious differences between gentile and Jew. Asa claimed that failing to totally assimilate would jeopardize Charles's ability to make a living by peddling to gentile farmers. Charles did not know what experiences Asa had with the farming families of northeast Georgia, but in his own short time in America, Charles found that the "Christ loving" gentiles of Sandersville, Georgia cared far more about the honesty and sincerity of a "Christ killing" Jew than any actual Christ killing the Jew's ancestors may have perpetrated. He determined that complete assimilation was not the necessary foundation of becoming American; he was welcome to openly remain a Jew religiously, morally, and ethically while becoming an American socially and politically.<sup>4</sup>

Charles Wossowsky's transition to life amid gentiles in the ante-bellum South sheds light on the experiences of Jews in the South. His story is equally as illuminating regarding the transition made by the gentiles to life with Charles and other Jews. Wossowsky's experience supports several historians of southern

Judaism who have since concluded: that many Protestants in the Old South warmly embraced and accepted their Jewish neighbors. While the South saw much blatant anti-Semitism and begrudging acceptance of Jews to be sure, scholars have nearly unanimously concluded that southerners generally embraced Jews with far more warmth than the northern Protestants, who typically received Jews in a cold and distant fashion. In the quest to understand why southern Protestants seemed to be so accepting of Jews in their midst, most modern historians of southern Jewry place the greatest emphasis on traits that Jews did not possess: they were not black and they were not Catholic. Blacks and Catholics simply could not elude the disdain and contempt of the southern Protestant. In the eyes of many Protestants, however, Jews posed a lesser evil, racially and religiously, and therefore invoked far less enmity within the average white Protestant.<sup>5</sup>

Historians also favor explanations that stress Jews' character traits and decision making regarding acculturation and/or assimilation to American and the Protestant dominated southern culture. Jews who emigrated to the South from Europe in the early and middle nineteenth century shared other behavioral patterns and characteristics, which historians argue endeared them to the southerners. Most Jews in the South practiced their faith behind the doors of their homes and synagogues. They posed no threat to the security of southerners' property or lifestyle because they were rather small in number and they made no effort to encroach on the industries which southerners felt were the most lucrative. Rather, Jews mostly confined themselves to merchant activities such as peddling and shop

owning. Further, Jews were known to be an industrious and tough-minded people, earning the respect of southerners who placed a high value on these traits. Indeed, modern scholars have supported Asa Wossowsky's conclusion that in order to gain acceptance in the Protestant-dominated southern culture, the transplanted Jews felt compelled to abandon outward traditional Jewish behaviors and customs and to give the appearance of conforming to the southern culture.<sup>6</sup>

Asa's depiction that Protestant acceptance of Jews required Jews to conform to the Protestant social structure, and the endorsement of this depiction by the consensus of relevant historical scholarship, raise two intellectual questions. First, the evidence offered by Charles Wossowsky (and others) appears to contradict such a blanket conclusion. There is little direct evidence to support the notion that Asa's interpretation (that acceptance into greater southern society required Jewish immigrants to conform) more typified the experience of southern Jews than Charles's. The evidence offered in support of Asa's conclusion has been overwhelmingly 'Jewish-centric,' that is, it has presented only the perspective of Jews on the subject. Scholars have conducted scant research into the mind-set of the southern Protestant regarding what characteristics Jews ought to have possessed, or what behaviors ought to have been displayed, in order for southern Protestants to embrace them and welcome them into their culture. Yet, as the ascendant group in southern society, the Protestants' mindset is precisely the mindset that provides a point of departure for scholars seeking to explain more fully the southern Protestant acceptance of Jews in the early nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, Asa's interpretation completely excludes any active role by Protestants in fostering a harmonious relationship with the Jews. Asa and historians who support Asa's interpretation have adjudged Protestants to be merely passive participants in this relationship, only willing to accept Jews if Jews conformed their own behavior and lifestyle to more closely match that of the Protestants. While the history of ante-bellum southern Protestant intolerance towards blacks and Catholics might appear to justify this conclusion, scholars must still study the behavior and attitudes of the Protestants towards Jews in their own context in order to properly determine if the southern Protestants mindset of exclusion and prejudice also applied to the Jews.<sup>8</sup>

The standard Jewish-centric explanation also belies the fact that the relationship has often been characterized as truly philo-Semitic, not merely as one that was not outwardly anti-Semitic. To conclude that Protestants conditioned their embrace of Jews on their willingness to depart from Jewish behaviors and customs, does not necessarily describe a philo-Semitic sentiment. This cause and effect explanation is much more applicable to the nature of Protestant-Jewish relations historians have ascribed to northern Protestants. In the North, Jews lived among Protestants in relative peace, with little or no incidents of institutional or systemic prejudice, yet at the same time, Protestants maintained an emotional partition between themselves and Jews. The greater weight of historical scholarship, however, argues that southern Protestants did not just tolerate or accept Jews, they genuinely and warmly embraced Jews and welcomed them into their society.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, if the Protestant-Jewish relationship in the South was truly unique, then logic dictates, or at least suggests, that the foundation of this relationship contained equally unique elements. The standard reasons posited for the southern philo-Semitism identify traits and behaviors that were not at all unique to Jews in the ante-bellum South. This disconnect in the scholarship is made more troubling, though, by the realization that southern philo-Semitism was not merely unique, it was altogether paradoxical. Philo-Semitism runs contrary enough to the many stereotypes regarding nineteenth-century white southerners and Protestants when each group is considered in isolation. Philo-Semitism seems far less likely when these two profiles are considered in the same time and place, namely the ante-bellum South.<sup>10</sup>

Many contemporary scholars cast the Old South as a region characterized by bigotry and ethnic hierarchy, one filled with white Protestants of various economic ranks incapable of embracing anyone other than white Protestants. Whether or not such a broad reputation is warranted, the South *was* the home to ante-bellum slavery, western civilization's great scourge on freedom and liberty following the enlightenment and revolutions of the eighteenth century. In addition, southern Protestants displayed significant animosity towards Catholics and Asians throughout the nineteenth century. Any causal explanation of southern philo-Semitism must address why the southerners would dichotomize Jews from blacks, Catholics and Asians. An explanation of southern philo-Semitism that relies on the specifics of Jewish assimilation and fails to distinguish Jews from other minority

groups can only pass logical muster if blacks and Catholic and Asian immigrants refused to assimilate in the same manner as Jews, a conclusion which no historian has yet argued.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, Jews throughout central Europe faced Pogroms, governmental exclusion from citizenship and property rights, and other systematic and institutional anti-Semitism from various Christian oligarchies, many of whom were Protestant. Even England, the most liberal, forward thinking, and Protestant of the nineteenth-century European monarchies, refused Jews full political emancipation until 1858, when the parliamentary debate on the issue approached its thirtieth year. During the thirty year period in which Parliament denied Jews political equality, members of Parliament who opposed Jewish emancipation routinely recognized that the Jews of England possessed fine moral character, zealously participated in the market through trade and finance, did not exist in such numbers (only 40,000 or so as of 1840) as to threaten England's character as a Christian nation and generally displayed a patriotic loyalty to England and her empire. Yet it was the protection of Britain's Christian character that most members invoked when voting against the emancipation. In other words, Britain's mostly Protestant parliament conceded that their sole reason for denying political equality to Jews was the mere fact that they were not Christian. Clearly then, conventional Protestant theology or practice did not operate to create inherent affinity for Jews among Protestants throughout the nineteenth-century world.<sup>12</sup>

The northern United States provides evidence of a tolerant and pluralistic society, which professed the sanctity and righteousness of the separation of church from government. Still, most accounts of Protestant- Jewish relations through the end of the Civil War reflect a cool reception and toleration of Jews by Protestants with a notable lack of warmth to the relationship. For their part, northern Jews, like German and British Jews, frequently practiced spatial segregation, residing in large Jewish enclaves and creating a relatively insulated, self sustaining society which inhibited, rather than fomented, Jewish-Protestant relations.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, when viewed through a wide-angle lens, philo-Semitism seems quite out of place in the ante-bellum South and its overwhelmingly Protestant, and clearly bigoted, society. In order for an explanation as to causes of such philo-Semitism to be complete, therefore, the explanation must detail why southern Protestants would depart so drastically from the known patterns of behavior attributed to both southerners and Protestants. The reasons heretofore advanced by historians to explain southern philo-Semitism do not address either of these paradoxical features.<sup>14</sup>

A close examination of the historiography of southern Judaism reveals a dearth of research into the attitudes of southern Protestants towards southern Jews. Scholars have on numerous occasions considered the notion that southern Protestants held Jews in high regard because of their ancestral lineage, yet few studies exist which examine or explain the cause of philo-Semitism from the Protestant perspective. As the field of southern Jewish history is relatively young

and far from thoroughly developed, each scholarly contribution has significantly furthered the understanding of Jewish life in the ante-bellum South. Accordingly, historians in the field have relied on previous studies on the issue of southern philo-Semitism, which have all examined the issue based on evidence left behind by Jews and not Protestants.<sup>15</sup>

Further complicating the historiographical scaffolding, the Protestant-Jewish relationship did not lend itself to a tidy and concise evaluation. Jews had been living in the South namely Charleston and Savannah since the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, respectively. The collective experience of Protestants and Jews in the South was extremely diverse, including examples of commercial and political equality, outright anti-Semitism, and examples of begrudging toleration more associated with the northern U.S. The nature of southern Judaism changed, however, by the early nineteenth century as more Jews emigrated from Germany and Austria, not from Spain and Portugal as they had in the colonial period. Further, these new immigrants were less anchored to the commercial sections of port cities and as the marketplace stretched into the southern interior, Jews ventured into the hinterland as peddlers and shop-keepers in greater numbers. The later emigrants had different cultural backgrounds from earlier immigrants and led vastly different lives in this country, as well.<sup>16</sup>

The scholarship therefore can be misleading and often does not even represent a majority of the evidence, but rather a substantial enough portion of the evidence to sustain a qualified conclusion. It is not the purpose of this thesis to

discount the traditional explanations of philo-Semitism because they do have merit, more in some instances and less in others. The southern Jewish/Protestant relationship, however, was complex and cannot be explained by a few variables which only address the actions and thoughts of one of the groups. This thesis seeks to explicate another variable which addresses the thoughts and actions of the Protestants, a dynamic that has been typically ignored in explaining philo-Semitism in the ante-bellum South.<sup>17</sup>

The nature of Protestantism in the ante-bellum South was conducive to, and a major cause of, the good will demonstrated between Christians and Jews. The evangelical denominations that dominated the southern religious landscape (Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian) all shared inherent qualities and characteristics which tended to promote philo-Semitism. Reliance on the literal word of the Scriptures and the emphasis of the evangelical sermon during the church service were predominant features of evangelical Protestantism in the South. The typical church-going southerner was inundated with references to the Old Testament in these sermons, which often times referred to the ancient and Biblical Jews in laudatory and reverent terms. Because southerners were so receptive to these sermons and the sermons' religious messages portrayed the Jews in such a positive light, Protestants, quite naturally, developed a degree of respect and deference for their Jewish neighbors. This respect translated directly into southerners developing an increasingly reverent attitude towards the Jews as they migrated to the South in increasing numbers.<sup>18</sup>

As the numbers of Jews increased in the South, so too did the reverence shared by the Protestants. Perhaps a significant explanation for this reverence can be found in the evangelical sermons that left an immediate and lasting impact on the minds and psyches of the southerners. While, the southern Protestant' religious ideology can be traced through a careful examination and synthesis of a multitude of secondary sources, sermons and other religious literature provided substantial that the Protestant clergy regularly extolled the virtues of the Biblical Jews to their congregations. Quite often, ministers employed a pro-Judaic rhetoric in their sermons to extol Biblical Jews, and to use the virtues and actions of Jews to teach morality and proper Christian practices. Much contemporaneous literature reveals the enduring impact of sermons on the consciousness and psyche of the southerner. Because so many sermons used pro-Judaic rhetoric while making direct reference to scriptural passages, it is inferred that the pro-Judaic messages resonated in the southerner in a manner directly proportional to that of other sermons. In addition, the impact of pro-Judaic rhetoric can be measured by the degree in which southerners relied on Judaic metaphors to provide comfort, guidance and resolve during the Civil War. That the military and political leaders continued to draw from the spiritual virtues and acts of courage for inspiration during the War speaks to the efficacy of the ante-bellum pro-Judaic sermons on the psyche of the average southerner.<sup>1920</sup>

The lowland coastal areas of both Georgia and South Carolina, especially Savannah and Charleston, provide fertile ground to study the impact of sermons on

the relationship between Protestants and Jews. These two cities, which are separated by only 150 miles, combined to form one larger cosmopolitan area and the attitudes from the lowland tidewater areas were known to spread to the upland back-country areas. While neither city was a state capital or centrally located, both served as their states' commercial and cultural hub throughout the ante-bellum period. More important, however, was the fact that preachers in these cities and from the surrounding towns frequently published and disseminated sermons throughout the region, including across state lines. Also, preachers from these cities often travelled to nearby towns to preach to smaller congregations and the churches from Savannah and Charleston frequently invited preachers from the rural outreaches of their area to preach in the city.<sup>21</sup>

The scholarly field regarding issues raised in this study has been well cultivated and secondary literature abounds. Certainly, the text of sermons by southern preachers, generally and in the context of secession and the Confederacy, places this research within the range of southern historiography. The focus on evangelical denominations and their relationship with Jews in the ante-bellum South appropriately places this study within the context of religious history. Nonetheless, this thesis seeks to explain philo-Semitism, and its causes in a particular time and place. Furthermore, this study has been provoked by the observation that the historiography of southern Judaism has perpetuated an explanation of philo-Semitism that is incomplete and not sufficiently supported by

a body of primary source evidence. Accordingly, this historiography assesses southern Jews within that framework.

## Chapter 2

### Historiography of Southern Judaism

As Southern Jewish history emerged as a nascent, specialized field of study in the early 1970s, scholars have since worked prodigiously to unearth enough information to create a narrative of history that casts light and lucidity on the southern Jewish experience. Historians have studied the South to better understand the Jewish experience and to demonstrate that southern Jews exemplified the resourcefulness and endurance of the Jewish people. Scholars also have used the study of Jews' southern experience to better understand the South and southerners. Few, if any, studies, however, have endeavored to study the southern Protestant as a means to better understand the experience of southern Jews. Similarly, few studies have examined southern Protestant theology as a basis for understanding the sentiment of Protestants towards Jews. Instead scholars tend to emphasize Jewish-centric explanations of southern philo-Semitism, and the explanation itself does not appear to have ever been the primary focus of scholarly investigation<sup>22</sup>

Historians have on several occasions concluded that many Protestants embraced Jews based on the Jews Biblical ancestry, though typically they have done so summarily and rarely cite primary source material as a basis for their conclusion.

Many scholars, in fact, cite to the conclusions of other historians who themselves had not cited to primary sources. This is important because a review of the historiography indicates that these conclusions have been perpetuated without having been properly substantiated.<sup>23</sup>

While many scholars have examined pro-Judaic rhetoric in ante-bellum Protestant sermons, they tend to focus on topics other than Protestant views towards Jews, such as the defense of slavery. Some scholars have drawn narrow conclusions regarding Protestant-Jewish relations by examining the sermons or other religious texts written by specific evangelicals, but historians have not relied on primary sources to establish a broader conclusion regarding the role of sermons, or other evangelical rhetoric, in molding Protestant views towards Jews. The cumulative effect of this analytical approach is that scholars allow that Jews alone affected their assimilation into southern culture. In their view, Protestants were inert constants in the equation with the behavior of the Jews as the only variable capable of affecting any movement. Indeed, this is quite a logical assumption considering that most Protestants throughout the rest of the nineteenth-century world displayed intractable hostility towards Jews and that most southerners displayed intractable prejudice against blacks. Yet such a premise, however logical, still ignores the variant nature of humans in general, and the altogether peculiar nature of the ante-bellum southerner in particular.<sup>24</sup>

Just as inhibiting to the scholarly analysis is the scarcity of direct evidence on this issue. Hasia Diner, for example, who has written extensively on the history

of Jews in America in the North and the South, so eloquently stated a “vast trove of scattered evidence... defines the field of southern Jewish history,” which often means that conceptualizing “must at present rely on antidotal gleanings.” It is challenging enough for historians in this field to craft a narrative regarding the acts and thoughts of southern Jews. Reflections on slavery, the sectional crisis, plantation life and southern culture, dominated the autobiographies and memoirs of the ante-bellum period, not the Protestants-Jewish relationship. Southerners frequently mentioned religion in their memoirs and journals, yet unearthing comments related to why many southerners regarded their Jewish neighbors as they did is next to impossible, thus justifying the void in the literature.<sup>25</sup>

Harry Golden, one of the first modern historians of southern Jewry, helped to introduce the notion that the Protestant-Jewish relations in the nineteenth-century U.S. South were indeed quite cordial and warm and that Jews were by and large accepted by non-Jews in the southern society. Golden, a transplanted Jewish New Yorker and journalist, then living in Charlotte, argued in 1955 that the southern Jewish experience was distinct from the experience of other Southern ethnic minorities, claiming that Protestant persecution and hostility dominated such as blacks and Catholics ante-bellum histories (albeit to greatly different degrees). Golden also distinguished the nineteenth-century southern Jews’ experience from the Jewish experience in other parts of the world, where Jews were not accepted or granted natural liberties. In a journal article published in 1955, Golden stated that philo-Semitism in the South was due to southern “Protestantism and Anglo-

Calvinist devotion to the Old testament and the Hebrew prophets” and not on “the story of Easter, which has been so closely connected with European anti-Semitism.” Thus, Golden, in the emerging stages of southern Jewish history, first assessed the Protestant-Jewish relationship of the Old South as one shaped by a genuine regard by Protestants towards Jews and which regard was attributed not to the behavioral decisions made by the Jews, but rather to a trait peculiar to southern Protestants. This thesis seeks to expand on this notion by demonstrating through a primary source analysis that evangelical sermons were a significant cause of the southerners devotion to the Old Testament and the Hebrew prophets.<sup>26</sup>

Golden’s second book, *Our Southern Landsman* (1974) helped define the future study of southern Jewish history by assessing the day to day affairs of typical southern Jews living in the South. The study of Judaism in the South, which had previously focused on stories of pioneer rabbis in the South, stories involving Jews in the Civil War, or the stories of one group of Jews existing in one region. Instead, every aspect of southern Jewish life became a relevant topic for historical study, as was every Jewish community and a representative cross section of individuals within those communities. As a direct result of Golden’s work, Jewish southern history was also no longer limited to a study in politics, economics and religion; it became a study in the family unit and educational and professional pursuits. The effects of the Jewish community on both Jews and Protestants and the effect of the Protestant community on Jews were now on the historical radar.<sup>27</sup>

Subsequent academic historians praised and cited Golden for his pioneering efforts regarding Jews in southern society from colonial days to the twentieth century. While Golden's contemporaries and disciples have emulated his examination of the Jewish experience in the South, they have not taken his lead in examining the causes of the philo-Semitism. Few, if any, published articles and books examine the nature of southern Protestantism as a core cause of the Protestant-Jewish relations in the ante-bellum South. Equally as prevalent in the historiography is an identity crisis afflicting the scholarly treatment of the causes underlying the Jewish-Protestant relationship. The issue has not been fully or formally explored by scholars, therefore, historians have lacked a reliable basis from which to consistently initiate their analysis. The result is a litany of contradictions among various scholars and even among an individual scholar's various works.<sup>28</sup>

Eli Evans provides the best example of this trend. Considered one of the leading pioneers in southern Jewish history, his first book, *The Provincials* (1973), used his own family history to help explain the evolution of southern Judaism through the end of the nineteenth century. In his essay into the Protestant-Jewish relationship, Evans relied primarily on the Jew's 'whiteness' to explain the goodwill between the two groups. In the foreword, Evans declared that "Jews were not aliens in the promised land but blood-and-bones part of the South itself. Jewish southerners- passing for white in that mysterious underland of America." When describing the experience of the immigrant Jewish peddlers, Evans echoed the

sentiments of the freshly arrived Charles Wessolowsky: Jewish peddlers approached poor whites cautiously and usually received a cool reception initially, only to quickly find that the poor white and his family had taken to him and his story telling.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, Evans, contradicted both Wessolowsky and himself when he concluded that while the southern Jew slowly became another white man, the Jew “knew his place.” Although he was white, the Jew was conditioned to fear authority from his experiences in Europe and he “would acquiesce and become like [the southern Protestant] in many ways. Yet he was conscious of the differences, of the permissible boundaries between attitude and act, of just how far was too far.” Evans’ indicated that the Jew *was* an alien in the South and that his whiteness offered only conditional safe harbor as a southerner, provided that his attitudes and actions did not exceed the boundaries established by the Protestants. Moreover, Evans also supported Charles’ brother Asa, who argued that it was necessary for Jews to abandon, at least to a degree, their heritage in order to thrive in the South.<sup>30</sup>

A closer examination of the *Provincials* sheds more light onto the development of the Jewish-centric explanation of the relationship between gentile and Jew. Evans relayed the writings of Oscar Straus, who aside from being the future owner of Macy’s in New York City, was the son of Lazarus Straus, a Jewish peddler from Talbotton, Georgia. Oscar recounted that his father “was treated by the owners of the Plantation with a spirit of equality that is hard to appreciate today...the existence of slavery drew a distinct demarcation between black and

white races...this gave the peddler an equality, probably he would not have enjoyed to such degree.” While it is highly probable that the Jew’s ‘whiteness’ was looked upon favorably by the Protestants, Oscar Strauss’ presumption and its perpetuation by historians raises several intellectual issues which must be addressed.<sup>31</sup>

First, Strauss purported to be inside the mind of the Protestant while summarily concluding that the ends (Jews being treated as equals by Plantation owners), was necessarily the product of the means he designated (the Jews’ whiteness). In this regard, there is no reason to assume a Jewish Strauss was competent to articulate the Protestants’ state of mind without any evidence, direct or circumstantial, to suggest that he was privy to the Protestant plantation owners’ thoughts. Strauss’ conclusion that Protestants treated Jews as equals because they were both white is therefore pure conjecture on his part and must be treated as such. The perpetuation of this conjecture by Evans, and no less than three of Evan’s colleagues who have subsequently cited to this correspondence, demonstrates the problem of analyzing the thoughts and words of a Jew to critically assess the thoughts and motivations of a Protestant.<sup>32</sup>

Second, the notion that Protestants embraced Jews because they were white is fallacious on its face. Southern Protestants, like Protestants everywhere, were rabidly anti-Catholic and the whiteness of southern Catholics did not assuage the vitriol at all. If the Jews were to be adjudged by their race alone (in fact, the whiteness of the Jew was itself the subject of much debate in the nineteenth-century), and not by their religion, the same should be true of Catholics. After all,

the Jews and Catholics alike were regarded as inferior throughout the rest of the Protestant world. That the whiteness of the Jew would trump his religious shortcomings more so than the whiteness of the Catholic would trump his does not pass logical muster.<sup>33</sup>

To evidence his conclusion, Evans next draws upon the work of Nathan Glazer's book *American Judaism* (1972), which contended that the Reform Judaism movement originated in Germany in the second decade of the nineteenth century in an attempt by German Jews to assimilate as full members of German society. This reform movement then spread to the southern United States, where it took hold first in Charleston, South Carolina. Glazer projected the motivations for German reform onto the American reform movement. As a result, the proliferation of reformed practices typically has been included as a cause of Protestant-Jewish harmony in the South (i.e., reform Judaism demonstrated the willingness of the Jews to become more American). Yet based on the experience of Jews in Germany, efforts to practice Reform Judaism in the South can not by itself explain southern philo-Semitism.<sup>34</sup>

German Jews sought to assimilate into German culture through their reform and intended to make the practice of Judaism less esoteric and more in line with contemporary German religious practices. In the three to four decades after reform was initiated, however, German Jews faced more severe hostility than before, culminating in the Revolution of 1848, which resulted in the revocation of the grant of rights they had received decades earlier. Additionally, Evans and Glazer both

credited the American reform movement to motivations that were more internal than external. Therefore, it should not be taken as axiomatic that the practice of reform Judaism was helpful in promoting Protestant-Jewish relations, especially since Jews were so careful to practice their faith behind closed doors anyway.<sup>35</sup>

One of the more ironic aspects of *The Provincials* was Evans' use of Dr. Lou Silberman, who was the Hillel professor of Jewish Literature and Thought at Vanderbilt University during the 1950s and 1960s. Silberman asserted that the study of Jewish southern history had become too insular, and was not conscious enough of the history and influences of America itself. According to Evans, Silberman "wrote in 1957 that the Reform movement in the South 'must be understood against the entire background of Southern Culture and particularly of southern Protestantism.'" Silberman found parallels with the Reform movement and the disestablishment of the 'intellectual' churches of the eastern seaboard (the Anglican church in the South) and found that in the expanding southern frontier, the "'fierce independence and individualism that found expression in the Baptist churches" were instrumental in shaping the configuration of the 'low-church Protestant' nature of the Jewish reform church in the South. Although Silberman calls for a further study of southern Judaism from the perspective of the Protestants, a plea that even included multiple contextual starting points, no such study has been published.<sup>36</sup>

Also in 1973, Leonard Dinnerstein published *Jews in the South*, a compilation of shorter contributed essays which traced southern Jewish history

from the seventeenth through twentieth centuries. As is generally the case with southern Jewish history, the essays which dealt with the ante-bellum period focused on individual people and events and attempted to extrapolate larger themes and conclusions that could be applied to the Jewish experience of that era. In his introduction, Dinnerstein explained the scant historiography of the early southern Jews as a function of their small numbers and by their attempts to fit in as American, both of which resulted in the Jews in the South retaining a low profile. In explaining the benevolence with which the southern Gentile treated Jews, he concluded that the Gentile settler “retained their Old World prejudices, but they realized the need for a diversified economy so they welcomed the special talents and skills attributed to the Jews.” He also propounded that “Jews sought to completely assimilate and erase cultural distinctions that set them apart.” Thus, Dinnerstein sounded what became the standard refrain, and more importantly, the methodology, for examining Jewish-Protestant relations in the Old South. That is, the relationship was perpetually a function of the Jews meekly conforming their ways and coincidentally fulfilling a role that compliments, rather than threatens, the southern order.<sup>37</sup>

In one of his two essays in *Jews in the South*, Bertram Wallace Korn asserted that Jews very likely derived their opinions on slavery from conversations with their non-Jewish neighbors and customers. Korn believed that because Jews wanted to succeed in their new home, they often adopted the opinions and attitudes of their Protestant neighbors as their own. He also concluded that slavery generally

had a large impact on the status of Jews in the Old South- the all pervasive division was between the races, not the classes or faiths. In arguing that the Jews whiteness accounted for much of the immeasurably higher political and social status achieved by Jews in the South than in the North, Korn also relied on the exact same Oscar Straus quote regarding his father that Evans used.<sup>38</sup>

Twenty years after *The Provincials*, Evans published another book, *The Lonely Days Were Sundays*. This book was a compilation of vignettes by Evans which examined various issues of southern life, such as politics, fashion and race-relations, from the perspective of southern Jews. Most of the vignettes dealt with more contemporary issues (post World War II), though a few stories deftly treated the ante-bellum period, such as the rise and fall of the first self-acknowledged Jewish United States Senator, Judah Benjamin. It is in his long introduction, however, that Evans shed more light on the difficulty historians have had in shaping the identity of southern Jewish history as a function. He conceded that “From the period before the Civil War, southerners have used Old Testament analogies to portray themselves as the chosen people.” This observation (Evans provides no bibliographic note in support of his conclusion), presented another natural point of departure for examining the impact of this phenomenon on Protestant views of their Jewish neighbors. Evans admits that he had always been struck by the fact that southerners considered themselves the ‘Chosen People’ and that “southerners and Jews are a lot alike and share a tortured history.” Evans, however, is a contemporary historian who used the past to better understand his

own heritage as a southern Jew. He referred to the modern-day southerners' image of themselves in the context of discussing attitudes in America towards the present day state of Israel.<sup>39</sup>

Evans also believed that the fact that fewer than a hundred books of southern Jewish history had been authored through 1993 was due to the greater focus on the black-white conflict. He further stated that Jews in the South were used to maintaining a low profile and they were marginalized by New York Jews. All of these seemingly disconnected musings by Evans actually combine to illustrate a major feature of Jewish southern historiography. Historians have multiple perspectives and vantage points to choose from when telling history, and in a relatively new and unsaturated field, every work has made a unique and much needed contribution to the field. Many times the contributions also shed light on other issues that have not been sufficiently addressed, such as searching for and examining evidence of Protestant opinions of Jews in the antebellum South.<sup>40</sup>

Two more recent major works, both anthologies of collected scholarly essays, have defined the present state of the field in southern Jewish history and also illustrated the difficulty in framing a consistent characterization of the experience of Jews in the ante-bellum South. In *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History*, edited by Marci Ferris Cohen and Mark I. Greenberg (2006), the authors quite literally alternately depicted the experience of southern Jews as that of a people who tried to assimilate despite being cast as outsiders in a Protestant world and that of a people who were warmly embraced and embroidered into the fabric of

the existing southern culture. The authors who concluded the former contend that Protestants could not overlook the religious differences, and either displayed outright animosity towards Jews, or at best tolerated the presence of Jews but would not in any sense afford them a place in the social hierarchy of the South. Those who concluded the latter described a sense of mutual veneration between the two groups, precipitated on the part of the Protestants by the Jews Biblical ancestry and on the part of the Jews by the affection they developed for the South and the southerners' way of life.<sup>41</sup>

Jennifer A. Stollman's entry, "The Pen is Mightier than the Sword," discussed southern Jewish authoresses in the nineteenth century. Stollman argued that the southern culture was decidedly Christian and had institutionalized anti-Semitism since the colonial days. She ultimately concluded that early southern evangelicals demonized Jews and declared them dangerous and that sermons and other literature regularly disparaged Jews, which "had material consequences for Jews in the South" and set them apart from the rest of southern American society. Stollman did acknowledge, however that there was sufficient evidence of philo-Semitism to present a very contradictory impression. More tolerant Christians saw Jews as the ancestral holders of ancient Christian traditions and for this minority of Christians, Judaism was not dangerous, just anachronistic.<sup>42</sup>

Hasia Diner's essay, "Entering the Mainstream of Modern Jewish History: Peddlers and the American Jewish South," asserted that the Jewish peddlers were true 'outsiders' in the Old South, they did not have a role in the social hierarchy

and they had to learn their customers culture so that they could ingratiate themselves. She also, however, relayed a quote which necessarily conveyed the opposite connotation: the Oscar Strauss quote which explained his father's positive experience as being a function of his white race. Similarly, Robert N. Rossen's article, "Jewish Confederates," asserted that Jews in ante-bellum Charleston "occupied the most distinguished places," that southerners respected Jews for their knowledge of and historic connection to the Bible, and that southern aristocrats "had few concerns about Jews in their midst." Rosen then concluded that southerners accepted Jews into their society because Jews accepted the southerners' customs and mores.<sup>43</sup>

The purpose of illuminating these seemingly contradictory conclusions is not to challenge the legitimacy of all or any one of the conclusions, but rather to highlight the complexity of the southern Jewish/Protestant relationship and how its nature must be examined and explained holistically. The scholars have concluded that in certain instances Protestant amity towards Jews did result from the Jews Biblical heritage, however the clear pattern has been to present a more global explanation for philo-Semitism as primarily one of Jewish conformity to a rigid Protestant social model.<sup>44</sup>

Eli Evans penned the foreword to *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil*. and observed that still no headway had been made in assessing the experience of southern Jews from the eyes of the Protestants. He also recognized the need for future research into "the way in which Jews [were] shaped by the ethos of the

South.” Once again, Evans provided a point of departure for such research by noting that “Jews in the South were not insular” and that they participated and served as leaders at political, civic and economic levels within their communities. Gary P. Zola, the director of the American Jewish Archives, authored “The Ascendancy of Reform Judaism in the American South during the Nineteenth Century” for *Jewish Roots*. He too called for future research on this subject by concluding that the Jews popular image in the South had been associated with the much admired Hebrew nation of the Bible.<sup>45</sup>

The second major work to frame the current state of the field of southern Jewish history was also an anthology of shorter essays, Mark K. Bauman’s *Dixie Diaspora: An Anthology of Southern Jewish History* (2008). This collection also demonstrated the difficulty historians of southern Jewry have in uniformly describing the Protestant-Jewish relationship. This book also displayed a greater tendency by historians in this field to default to Judeo-centric explanations for ante-bellum southern philo-Semitism. Yet at the same time, *Dixie Diaspora* seemingly made more references to and intellectual connections with the conclusion that Protestants’ perception of their Jewish neighbors as the descendants of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament was a major cause of the philo-Semitism.<sup>46</sup>

In Bauman’s introduction, he reaffirmed not only the notions that Jews from the region played important roles in national and international affairs and were more accepted in the South than elsewhere, but also that the South was a society of

racist and prejudicial mores and values and that the Jews sometimes accepted the values and other times, attempted to bend the boundaries of these values. Bauman also concludes that Reform Judaism stressed changes in services that could impress Christian visitors. Thus Bauman takes the position that philo-Semitism existed as a function of Jews conforming to the parameters established by Protestants, the Judeo-centric analysis.<sup>47</sup>

The first article in the anthology was penned by the co-editor of *Jewish Roots*, Mark I. Greenberg. “A Haven of Benignity: Conflict and Cooperation between Eighteenth-Century Savannah Jews” recounts the sentiments of John L. Zubly, a Presbyterian minister, who lauded the nature of Judaism’s liberties: “The whole system of that religion is so replete with laws against injustice and oppression; and by one of its rites, it proclaimed liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof.” Though Greenberg presented direct evidence of the Protestant-centric view of philo-Semitism in colonial America, this was very tangential to the hypothesis of his essay and so he did not develop the philo-Semitism argument in any substantial way.<sup>48</sup>

In H.A. Wiener’s “The Mixers,” an examination of post-bellum Texas rabbinate also reveals strong evidence of the same conclusion that underlies this thesis:

Texas was Bible Belt country where assimilated Jews called themselves Hebrews and were respected as people of the Book. Rabbis, no matter how small their flocks, often achieved the eminence of bishops... Their Old Testament roots gave them a ‘degree of prestigious’ as leaders of the chosen people. Rabbis represented erudition and an exotic addition to the

frontier...rabbis became community leaders whose opinions mattered they had moral clout.<sup>49</sup>

The evidence cited for this conclusion was a letter from a Jewish Rabbi in 1916.

David Goldberg, a rabbi from Corsicana, Texas, wrote to the Texas Jewish Journal on May 18: "Christianity is based on the Old Testament...this circumstance alone is sufficient to keep the Jews in considerable prominence before the non-Jew."

Despite the fact that over one hundred years ago, Jews themselves realized the connection between their spiritual lineage and their favorable treatment at the hands of their Protestant neighbors, this connection, as it relates to the ante-bellum South, has yet to receive scholarly investigation or gain any traction as anything more than a rider to the industry standards of Jewish assimilation and racial conformity, a rider that was often times disregarded without explanation by the historian in favor of the Judeo-centric causes.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps the most profound example of reluctance to embrace Protestants' pro-Judaic sentiments as a significant cause of southern philo-Semitism was Howard N. Rabinowitz's "Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South." This article did not examine new primary sources, but instead synthesized previous research to postulate that the South has been more receptive to Jews and displayed less anti-Semitism than the nation as a whole and certainly less than the East and Midwest. Rabinowitz opined that Jews in the South suffered less economic discrimination than in North, attributed to a lack of northern corporate influence, and there was little systematic anti-Semitism. Social discrimination was present in

the South to a greater degree than commonly acknowledged, though still to a lesser extent than it was in the North. Southerners were particularly tolerant in the political realm, as evidenced by the elections of two southern Jews, Judah Benjamin and David L. Yulee, to the United States Senate.<sup>51</sup>

Rabinowitz sought the explanation for why relations between the Jew and Gentile remained cordial throughout the ante-bellum South. He began his analysis by citing to Harry Golden's explanation that philo-Semitism in the South was owing to southern Protestantism and Anglo-Calvinist reliance on the Old Testament and Hebrew prophets and not on the story of Easter, as was typically the case in the North and in Europe. Rabinowitz then postulates that the South's commitment to evangelical Protestantism may have just as logically led to anti-Semitism before ultimately concluding that southern philo-Semitism was based on the Jews' small numbers, the fact that they settled early and families became entrenched, stayed out of Protestant dominated professions and industries, the presence of other targets (Catholics and blacks), and most importantly, Jews wanted to assimilate and to blend in to the existing southern culture. Rabinowitz went to the brink of concluding that Protestant theology was a significant factor in the relationship before retreating to the standard Jewish-centric reasoning.<sup>52</sup>

Joshua Rothman's "Notorious in the Neighborhood: An Interracial Family in Early National and Ante-bellum Virginia," depicted interracial sex and marriage in nineteenth-century Virginia. Rothman began his article with the premise that Christian churches consistently preached that Judaism was an inferior religion. He

also cites to Jacob Radar Marcus, one of the venerated pioneers of Jewish American history, who concluded that early 19<sup>th</sup> century Americans were ambivalent towards Jews; there was a degree of acceptance and toleration and also rejection, but certainly a strong sense of difference. Since scholars have regularly found evidence of either anti-Semitism or a cool relationship between the two groups, perhaps scholars have assumed that the philo-Semitic southerners must be one and the same as the anti-Semitic southerners; southerners could truly embrace Jews only if they were willing to maintain a low profile and conform to southern society.<sup>53</sup>

Scott Langston's article in *Dixie Diaspora*, "Interaction and Identity: Jews and Christians in Nineteenth Century New Orleans," is perhaps the only scholarly study of the theological relationship of Protestantism to ancient Judaism, and the Protestants' use of that relationship in their sermons. Langston details Presbyterian minister Benjamin Morgan Palmer's article "The Import of Hebrew History," which appeared in the religious periodical *Southern Presbyterian Review* in 1856. Palmer, the son and nephew of Presbyterian ministers, and a graduate from the University of Georgia in 1838 and the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Columbia, S.C., in 1841, believed that by appropriating religious language and concepts of the both religions, Christians and Jews "produce communities of faith that cooperated with each other." Using Palmer as his lone example, Langston offered a glaring exception to, or outright disproved, those historians who

concluded that Jews “always were considered outsiders; the barrier of religion was too difficult to overcome.”<sup>54</sup>

Despite the fact that Palmer was a resident of northern Georgia in 1856 when his article was published in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Langston limits his study to Palmer’s impact on post-bellum New Orleans. Langston does not imply or argue that preachers stressed religious language and concepts that linked both religions in their sermons on a widespread, systematic basis or that the impact was felt elsewhere throughout the South before the War. Nevertheless, many of Langston’s conclusions regarding the interaction of Protestant and Jews in post-bellum New Orleans are entirely applicable to ante-bellum interactions of Protestants and Jews in Charleston and Savannah, and therefore have been incorporated into the analysis below.<sup>55</sup>

This historiography, aside from establishing an intellectual framework in which to properly locate this study, also has established why there is a great need for this study. Scholarship of nineteenth-century southern Judaism has grown at great speed over the past forty years. Both the macrocosmic study, attempting to treat the collective experience of all Jews across the entire region, and the microcosmic study, looking at the individuals and smaller groups of specific southern regions, has drawn the relationship between Jews and Protestants in the South into much clearer focus. What has yet to be undertaken, though, is the study of this relationship through the eyes of the Protestant.<sup>56</sup>

The standard reasons offered by historians to explain Protestant philo-Semitism in the South present bona fide causes of the warm relationship between the two groups, especially as seen through the eyes of Jews. They do not, however, adequately account for how or why this relationship was so radically different from Protestant-Jewish relations throughout the rest of the world or why it was so radically different from the relationships that white southern Protestants had with other religious and ethnic groups. Southern Protestants embraced Jews when Protestants elsewhere in the world did not. White southerners embraced Jews but not other ethnic and religious minorities. The explanation for both of these anomalies lie in the South's distinct and collective religious ideology, unique to that of any other religious ideology in the world, in which one of the cornerstone tenets was a strong sense of identification with the Chosen People, the Israelites of the Old Testament. In contrast to their views on Catholics, who were seen as the theological enemy, and blacks, who were seen as genetically inferior chattel, by southern Protestants saw the modern Jewish immigrants as the descendants of a group of people they shared a kindred spirit with, the ancient Hebrews. Prior to examining the genuine regard that Protestants felt towards Jews, then, one must understand the lens through which southern Protestants viewed their world. It is necessary to understand the evolution of the nineteenth-century southern Protestant ideology.<sup>57</sup>

## Chapter 3

### The Southern Ideology

While historians have thoroughly researched and analyzed the construction of the religious ideology in the nineteenth-century South, their analysis has not specifically, or sufficiently, explained the basis for the Protestant-Jewish relations. Synthesizing the research regarding the various components of the Southern religious ideology delineates a clear parallel between the southerners' view of themselves and their view of the Biblical Israelites. The convergence of several factors has forged this parallel: the evolution of Protestant Christianity from the time of the English Reformation; the settling of a new continent; the fight for religious plurality and disestablishment in colonial America; the political and intellectual rhetoric that accompanied the American Revolution; the growth of the Cotton Kingdom and the three-tiered social structure of the early nineteenth century and finally, the need to defend slavery on moral grounds in the later ante-bellum period.<sup>58</sup>

The formation of the South's nineteenth-century religious ideology truly began with the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Germany. The Protestant church rejected many core tenets of Roman Catholic Christianity, including the belief that humans' only possessed knowledge of God through another human being, the priest. Protestants believed that each person could have

an individual relationship with God and that God revealed his will for humans directly in the Bible, which each person could read and at least to a certain extent, interpret for themselves. In addition, Protestants believed that faith in God and the Conversion experience, both of which were individual affairs, brought about eternal salvation, not through the grace of the priest or works which directly benefitted the church. This provided Protestants a sense of individuality, not previously seen in the Christian world, which would become the corner stone of southern religious ideology.<sup>59</sup>

Protestantism, and its individualized approach to understanding God and living a righteous life, however, did not by itself create the religious tolerance that would later epitomize American liberty and mold a hospitable South for the Jews. In England, the Protestant reformation of the sixteenth century led to the English Reformation, in which King Henry VI formally denounced the Roman Catholic Church and established the Church of England and Anglican Protestantism as England's official religion. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious wars between Protestants and Catholics ravaged England, compelling the English monarchy and parliament to enforce Anglicanism through legislative and military means, directly repressing Catholicism and often indirectly repressing non-conforming sects of Protestantism, such as the Puritans, Quakers and Calvinists. By the end of the sixteenth century, England was indeed a semi-confessional state, requiring a profession of faith to the Anglican Church in order to enjoy full rights of citizenship. This mentality of religious intolerance travelled with many of the

early English settlers to the new world: Many settlers were not, in fact, seeking religious liberty for all, rather they were seeking a haven in which they could practice their brand of religion unmolested.<sup>60</sup>

So while the early English settlers did not favor religious freedom of others, they were on a quest to find their own bastion of religious freedom. They came to identify their journey and search for such a land as synonymous with what Jerusalem represented for the Biblical Jews. The preachers who journeyed to British North America immediately referred to the continent as the “New Jerusalem” and began preaching to the settlers that, just like the Israelites when they were in Canaan, Persia and the desert of the Sinai peninsula, the English settlers were God’s “Chosen People.” To conquer the wilderness of this new world thus be a fulfillment of God’s promise to them as the reclamation of Jerusalem had been to the Jews over two thousand years before. In addition, many Protestants who settled in both the northern and southern colonies immediately associated the native Americans with the lost tribes of Israel, believing that continent was inhabited by the Jews who had become de-civilized over the centuries of living in the untamed wilderness. Thus, from the moment English settlers first stepped foot onto southern soil, their religious ideology contained a direct nexus with the Israelites.<sup>61</sup>

The next building block in constructing the southern religious ideology involved the official establishment of particular churches within the colonies. As previously noted, many early settlers, and many early colonies, were not proponents of pure religious freedom, but rather insisted that its inhabitants

practiced only the particular brand of Christianity endorsed by that colony's founders. Most colonies established an official denomination and imposed penalties on those residents who failed to confess faith to that denomination or strictly adhere to its conventions. While northern colonies which were more diverse, all of the southern colonies established Anglicanism, the traditional liturgy of the Church of England, as their state-supported, and mandated, religion. Virginia was founded in 1607 as an Anglican colony with the religious objective of converting the Indians to Protestantism; its leaders imposed a Puritan-like civil code designed to require adherence to Anglican Church. Maryland, though originally chartered by the first Lord Baltimore in 1634 as the only Catholic colony, established the Anglican Church in 1692. The Carolina colony, chartered in 1669, established the Church of England in 1698. Lastly, Georgia, not chartered until 1732, established the Anglican Church in the 1750s.<sup>62</sup>

Over the course of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century, thousands of Europeans of dissenting denominations migrated to America and settled along the southern frontier, then consisting of the Tennessee Valley and the Mississippi Valley. As the southern colonists surged westward from Virginia into Kentucky and Tennessee, and from the coastal tidewaters of Carolinas and Georgia into the hill country and then into Alabama and Mississippi, the structure of the religious establishment entrenched on the eastern seaboard of the colonies did not follow. One of the primary reasons for this migration was that the vast and sparsely populated southern hinterlands did not suit the form of hierarchal

centralization and structure that an established Church, especially one as hierarchal as the Anglican Church, required to retain control over the people. Also, most of the frontiersmen were already High Church dissenters who were dissatisfied with the structure and control asserted by the structured and liturgical Anglican Church. Many of these dissenting settlers were Presbyterians of either Scot or Scot-Irish descent who emigrated from the middle colonies. These Presbyterians were mostly ‘new light’ adherents who were avowedly against church establishment, hierarchy and liturgy. This explains the enormous growth of the Presbyterian population in the South between 1690 and 1740, during which time it became the South’s most popular denomination. This also helps explain why the southern frontier was nonetheless devoid of religious institutions beyond the simplest of meeting houses in its earliest years of settlement.<sup>63</sup>

The lack of religious institutions or hierarchy did not mean the settlers were not religious or that they did not desire religious instruction and religious leaders. A more apt characterization would be that the nature of the organization and practice of religion as it existed in America in 1740, was not well-suited to reach the people who had steadily drifted away from the population centers along the Atlantic seaboard. Religion itself adapted to the changing geographic and demographic picture, however, during a revival movement known as the ‘Great Awakening.’ This era between 1740 and 1770 saw a marked increase in religiousness, an explosion of church building, and a dramatic expansion of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist congregations throughout the South. The emergence of the

itinerant preacher also epitomized the Great Awakening, as Methodists George Whitefield, John Wesley and Francis Asbury traversed the countryside across the nation preaching the Gospel. Whitefield, who preached in America from 1740-1770, combined a flamboyant style with an earnest message of great spiritual importance: what each individual must do to be saved. Not only was Whitfield immensely popular, he inspired a generation of future American preachers.<sup>64</sup>

When itinerant preachers took the southern countryside on foot and horseback to fill the religious void created by the region's vast expanse and sparse population, the settlers of the southern hinterlands responded immediately and enthusiastically. Neither the preachers nor the flocks that followed them desired to build a structured hierarchal church subordinate to a national or global religious governing body. Moreover, while many Anglican and northern congregations built large, ornate churches, southern church goers were mostly poor farmers who neither wanted, nor had the resources, to do the same. The average southerner wanted to not only sever the link between church and state, but also the link between church and status. The primary goal of preacher and parishioner alike was establishing a sincere relationship between the individual and God in order to bring about the conversion experience within the individual. The preachers' secondary goal was to spread the Gospel, to evangelize; the preachers wanted those who heard his sermons to bring his message into the southerners' homes and communities.<sup>65</sup>

Preachers typically represented Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian denominations. While these groups held some minor liturgical differences, they

shared more important similarities such as the basic concepts of piety, conviction and conversion. Furthermore, all of these evangelical denominations believed that any evidence needed to convince someone of the virtues of faith and salvation was to be found directly in the scriptures and nowhere else. Thus, from the onset, the southern evangelical preacher was essentially a conduit between the Good Book and people of all economic and social rankings, especially the common folk. The Great Awakening, by virtue of its emphasis on individual religious empowerment, provided the first opportunity for the genuine expansion of religious liberty in the colonies. These ideas would combine with the political ideas of the Enlightenment to provide the intellectual impetus for the expansion of religious individualism and liberty throughout the South.<sup>66</sup>

The American Revolution was both a cause and effect of southern religious ideology. Individuals were convinced of their rights to self-government and to determine their own religious principles. These ideas, mutually associated as they were with fundamental individual liberty, had by 1770, grown to be the two predominant intellectual movements in the South: evangelism and democracy. At the same time dedicated preachers continued to deliver the gospel to the people. Throughout the Revolutionary War, the nature of southern religion changed from an intellectualized and philosophical Deism to a movement of fervent, devout emotionalism. Not only did the emotion attached to southern worship increase, so did the desire to eliminate it as a formal vehicle of the state. This notion was itself revolutionary as religious liberty; separation of church and state were largely new

ideas in the 1780s and 1790s. Although all colonies formally established churches at one point, after the American Revolution, southerners posited three of the most compelling arguments in the revolutionary period for religious freedom and separation.<sup>67</sup>

In declaring that freedom of religion was a natural right, Thomas Jefferson famously said: “It does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty Gods, or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg.” Jefferson was especially outspoken against the high church doctrines and their priestly way of persuading people to give up morals for mysteries. Virginian Patrick Henry concluded that it was not fair for a government to support one faith and not others and that it was not the job of the state to decide which religion is right. Virginia’s James Madison believed that government establishment would not work because the young nation was too religiously diverse; in 1785 he submitted a petition for religious liberty signed by over 1500 Virginians to the Virginia Assembly.<sup>68</sup>

These arguments led to the drafting of the unprecedented United States Constitution, a document which expressly forbade the federal government from establishing any religion or from requiring any religious test for enjoyment of the rights of citizenship or to hold office. The intellectual and emotional leaders of the period also conjured images of the new nation as one modeled after the ancient Israelites. Noted statesman and philosopher Ben Franklin, for example, wanted the United States seal to depict Moses parting the Red Sea and Jefferson wanted it to show the Israelites trekking through the wilderness. Preachers and government

leaders frequently likened George Washington to Moses, who liberated the Israelites from Egypt, and to Joshua, another Hebrew patriarch. The new nation, led by the efforts of pre-eminent southerners, promoted itself as a people who favored religious diversity and who revered the ancient Jews because they were the chosen people who triumphed over persecution with their faith- a faith in the same God the new American icons believed in.<sup>69</sup>

Between 1790 and 1830, preachers brought Evangelism to the masses of the South like never before in response to a deeply felt need for order following the Revolution. Not only had the population become denser in the southern hinterlands, which meant that preachers could reach a greater audience at any one time, but also two particular social developments created much greater awareness of the evangelical denominations. The first was the camp revival, an outdoor gathering of (typically) thousands of people, lasting for a weekend or longer, designed to spread the Gospel and hopefully stimulate participants to go through the conversion experience necessary for the salvation of one's soul. Presbyterian Pastor James McGready led one of the first, and the most famous, such gathering at Cane Ridge in southern Kentucky in August 1801. Ten to twenty-five thousand devotees attended and many of them, some no doubt aided by the sweltering summertime heat and lack of suitable shelter and water, went into altered states, or experienced convulsions, tremors, trances, or comas in their quest for conversion and its subsequent reward of salvation.<sup>70</sup>

This era also saw a great increase in southern religious periodicals, especially in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia from 1800-1829. These periodicals influenced the opinions of church members regarding social, moral and religious issues and moved Christians to read scriptures and promote benevolence in the name of Christianity. Preachers frequently submitted sermons and sermon-like essays for publication in these papers. As a result, the mores espoused by the preachers reached a much wider audience than ever before.<sup>71</sup>

By 1840, religion had regained its position as the most influential aspect of American life. Though technically composed of several different denominations, Evangelicalism in the 1830s-40s, dominated the southern religious landscape and represented the apogee of homogeneity in American religion. This period of increased fervent and spiritual earnestness was known as the Second Great Awakening. This movement emphasized the core tenets of evangelical Protestantism: the authority of the Bible, a definable conversion experience based on faith in Jesus and the importance of spreading Gospel to others. The former and the latter of these tenets created an atmosphere perfectly designed for pro-Judaic rhetoric by the preachers.<sup>72</sup>

The Second Great Awakening differed from its predecessor of a century in key theological respects. The original Great Awakening was much more of a passive and pessimistic experience. The preachers in that movement essentially taught an almost strict Calvinist approach to conversion and salvation: God would act upon the individual, who could scarcely accept His grace even if he wanted to.

The message in the Second Great Awakening, was that salvation came from an individual relationship with God and all Christians had innate ability to accept God's grace, whether or not they did was a matter of individual choice. The Second Great Awakening and the election of President Andrew Jackson, a man of common lineage from Tennessee, inspired southerners during the second quarter of the nineteenth century to believe in their right to make decisions for themselves in religious (and political and civil) affairs without having to rely on the leadership or opinions of educated elite of the east.<sup>73</sup>

Southern religion significantly impacted southerners' identity just as the southerners' identity impacted his religious ideology. The fact that southern religion developed as a distinct institution from its northern and European counterparts attests to the fact that southerners required a religion that endorsed and reinforced its regional values. The fact that such a vast and diverse region could identify and maintain such a uniform system of values was as remarkable as it was unique. Two important factors helped to create such an environment: the actions of women in the southern home and the role of class in southern society.<sup>74</sup>

Women collectively served as the back-bone of the southern community's religious life. Because religion offered women one of the Republic's first outlets for liberation from a life often pre-ordained to domestic tedium and isolation, women flocked to church, and church-related activities, with great zeal. In the ante-bellum South, where many towns were too new or remote to erect their own church buildings, women often transformed their homes into churches so that their

neighbors could gather to hear itinerant preachers' sermons. In the later ante-bellum years, when modest church buildings dotted the southern landscape, women comprised the majority of church membership and attended church more regularly than the men did. Women often were the dominant figures inside the confines of an early America home and their behind-the-scenes authority extended into the public realm every Sunday as the wives would lead their reluctant husbands to the church house. The authority of the wives of course would stop at the gate of the church yard, though, and it was not at all uncommon for the men to refuse to enter into the church and to remain in the yard talking with their neighbors, while the women went inside the church for the service. Many southern men saw church as unmanly, and many more feared facing their Maker in light of their recent conduct, so Mom often went into the church alone and emerged with the lessons of the sermon she would later repeat at home.<sup>75</sup>

Church services served many functions for women in the South. First, the study of the Bible armed them with an impressive arsenal of scriptural passages with which contradict or mitigate male authority. Second, women used religion as a means to fill their own social vacuum, free of male restraint and interdiction. Finally, the conversion experience gave women a new birth where they could forge a new psychological identity, independent of the conformity expected of them to a pre-determined matrix by their parents or husbands. Evangelical churches, which many times defied societal norms by affording women a speaking role in public, expanded women's position in the community and their sense of spiritual authority

at home. As a result, women took the lead in spiritually nurturing the family unit. The need for credibility in the role of religious matron fueled their intense study of religious literature. By the later ante-bellum period, southern women were typically very well-versed in religious literature and enjoyed undisputed religious authority in the home. Their role as the domestic religious leaders became more natural to them, and it also became more natural for the husbands and children in the household to be led in such matters by the family's matriarch.<sup>76</sup>

Wives and mothers also typically stressed religion and piety as the dominant influence for one's conduct, depicting Christianity as the foremost arbiter of southern ethics. In many cases, pious mothers also encouraged young men to enter the ministry. Men tended to remember the religious values taught by their mother, though it caused internal struggle at times. In the same manner that the preachers were a conduit for the Good Book, southern women were a conduit for the preachers and their message. Inside the household, they reiterated the lessons and values of the sermon, which frequently meant repeating laudatory stories and glorifying language regarding the children of Israel.<sup>77</sup>

Prior to the spread of evangelism during the Great Awakening, the Anglican Church in the South was class based. Because church membership and attendance provided a constant reminder of class distinctions and social hierarchy, most common folk, while still very spiritual and religious, wanted nothing to do with the established church. Evangelicalism changed the church experience for southerners in profound ways. Evangelicals challenged the values of the southern aristocracy,

not by completely eradicating race and class distinctions among their ranks, but rather by supplanting these factors as the new way to judge people.<sup>78</sup>

Piety and morality replaced family and class as a basis to judge others. Religion was the source of this piety and morality and the vast majority of all southerners were Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists or Episcopalians (the evangelical, American version of the Anglican Church). All of these religions conveyed quite similar religious beliefs and taught quite similar values, helping to bind the South into a singular giant community. As a result, although this community was divided into four distinct classes, it was not at all class conscious. The planters, the upper class, sought and gained the approval and admiration of the middle class, the plain folk. The plain folk of the South were economically independent and all-too ready fight at the notion of being oppressed. Accordingly, there was no political or economic coercion placed on them by the Planters, who truly 'ruled' with the consent of the governed. The lower class, the crackers, fell in line mostly because they valued the continuity and stability of status quo and because their skin color afforded them superior status over the slaves, who occupied the lowest rung of southern society.<sup>79</sup>

Southern evangelicals rejected materialism by the master class and the dehumanization of slaves. These morals were disseminated throughout the society by the preachers. Thus, southern society became homogenous, in which people of different classes naturally tended to treat the other classes with at least a minimum level of dignity of respect, even if they felt superior to them. This phenomenon,

similar to the ‘paternalism’ planters felt towards the slaves, helped to create a very monolithic South in which all of the players had an interest in maintaining the status quo. The status quo included the elements of religion, piety and morality and respect for other individuals. All of these elements intersected at the southern church during the preachers sermons.<sup>80</sup>

Despite its hellfire and brimstone reputation, Southern evangelism portrayed a loving and forgiving God who watched over the common man. The evangelical denominations brought a feeling of individual importance to a religious culture previously dominated by formal liturgy and ritual acts which did not engage personal involvement. An overwhelming sense of the presence of God and an emotional conversion experience which emphasized the value and integrity of each person, replaced the previous “scholastic theology which pushed God beyond the reach of human understanding.” The self-control and the social decorum of evangelists became the ascendant values in southern society and every bit as important, if not more so, than orthodoxy. Thus, the key to the southern clergy’s power and popularity was his ability to embody these traits.<sup>81</sup>

The preacher was a projection of the southerners’ spiritual and social needs, and an aura of power and even mystery developed around him. So long as he had a good voice and an abundance of graceful gestures, and as long he symbolized in his person, actions and words all of the values and morals of the people who made up his congregation, he was the accepted moral and intellectual leader of the community. Southern ethos required the minister to exhibit even greater morals and

a higher piety than his flock; his deportment outside the pulpit often gave him greater credibility inside it. This credibility enhanced preachers' ability to inculcate to his congregation that the family home was the basic, central religious unit. Nature intended, and the Bible, through the Old Testament patriarchs, commanded, that people were created to procreate, nurture and care for human beings. Preachers exhorted their flock to read from scriptures at the start and conclusion of each day, to consult with their families about the state of their souls and to nurture their children so that could grow into adult maturity and seek and find their own conversion experience. Daily reading and exposition of the Bible would help immensely in conveying the importance and seriousness of not only the spiritual nurturing of their children, but also in guiding the southerner into using day to day living as opportunities to apply the Bible's teachings.<sup>82</sup>

For the southern clergy, preaching was the most important duty. Jeremiah Jeter, a Baptist minister from Virginia insisted that a preacher "must preach the gospel...preaching is your great work."<sup>83</sup> Ministers preached at a tireless pace, usually at least twice a week or more if they had more than one congregation in their charge. Further, each sermon had to be different because church members would often attend all the sermons. Simon Peter Richardson, a Methodist preacher in Southern Georgia and northern Florida, traversed his 250 mile circuit every three weeks. Abner Clopton preached 290 times in 1826. Basil Manley, Jr., of the First Baptist Church in Richmond and Moses Drury Hoge of Richmond's Second

Presbyterian Church, preached three times a week. Methodist itinerant Peter Doub, of the Yadkin district, delivered an estimated 1000 sermons in four years.<sup>84</sup>

Preaching was the principle means of achieving grace, the minister needed to preach God's plan for salvation and convince the sinner of his/her impending danger. Then the preacher was charged with persuading the sinner of their duty to accept salvation. In this respect, the preacher needed to preach in a way that forced the unconverted to want to receive these life-giving words. While it was the preacher's duty to warn of the grave necessity of conversion and salvation of his soul, he was to do so by imparting a message of love and affection. Therefore, despite the hellfire and brimstone reputation, most sermons tended to use plain terms and clearly evinced the love compassion God felt for his parishioners.<sup>85</sup>

"Sermons were overwhelmingly Biblical," according to Benjamin Morgan Palmer, a Presbyterian minister from northern Georgia who cautioned preachers against adding anything to God's message.<sup>86</sup> Jeter admonished his fellow preachers to preach only the evangelic truth. Preachers tried to appeal to the hearts and consciences of the congregations by first offering instruction in religious truth found in one Bible verse or another, and then exhort their audience to apply it to their lives, especially if the lessons involved repentance or the acceptance of faith. Ministers typically converted hundreds, if not thousands of sinners using this approach. Preachers who did not have good success rates were pointed to as examples of how not to preach.<sup>87</sup>

Preachers' sermons persistently elevated the worshippers to the central position of the service through their warm styles which evoked positive, emotional responses from the congregation. Preaching styles, especially extemporaneousness, made members feel as though the Preacher was talking directly to them. The vast majority of sermons were extemporaneous and sermons that were read were not nearly as well received. Palmer, for instance, would sketch his sermon before hand, but he insisted on cloaking his sermon with improvised words and phrases that came to him as he preached. This created in him a type of mental excitement that was apparent to his listeners, increasing their interest, as well.<sup>88</sup>

Southern sermons had a distinctiveness to them that gave them tremendous appeal to church goers. In 1847, Moses Drury Hoge wrote to his uncle, Drury Lacy about his preacher, Dr. William Plummer, at the Second Presbyterian Church in Richmond: "I am hungry to hear him roar once more...to see his eyes glare...his hair stand up on end...to see him foam at the mouth again..." Hoge recounted how the sermons of his Plummer's successor, a northerner, "instructed and pleased, but they were not 'Southern sermons'... 'no bursts of passion, no involuntary emotion, no sudden and splendid inspiration... Yankees seem to say good things because they have studied them, calculated them out and know it to be a duty to say them. Southern men say good things as if they could not help it.'" Long before he had any aspirations of becoming a Baptist minister himself, Jeremiah Bell Jeter savored each word the preacher uttered in his sermon, and repeated each metaphor and

image over and over because “it was the most pleasant intellectual exercise within [his] reach.”<sup>89</sup>

Parishioners expected and demanded fresh original thought of the sermon and sharply, and publicly, criticized any sermon that did not reflect genuine spiritual contemplation on the part of the preacher. Southern women judged the quality of the sermons just as harshly, and they regularly exchanged and discussed religious tracts and Biblical commentaries with friends. Southern men and women alike felt betrayed and personally affronted if they were not moved during a sermon. Urban churchgoers demanded more polished sermons than their rural counterparts. In all parts of the South, southerners keyed in to the Sunday sermon as the religious and cultural highlight of the week.<sup>90</sup>

Collectively the various elements which comprised the southern Evangelical sermon created a fertile breeding ground for pro-Judaic rhetoric. The preachers need to exhort the virtues and supremacy of scripture complimented perfectly the intellectual and cultural needs of their constituents. The southerner longed to hear tales of extraordinary piety, valor and honor, in a manner that would leave no doubt as to the sanctity and magnitude of the lessons. The fables and episodes found in the Old Testament optimized the equilibrium between what the preachers’ supplied and what the southerners’ demanded. The incessant demand for sermons, increasing as it did throughout the ante-bellum period, resulted in a plethora of sermons which glorified the morals and exploits of the ancient Hebrews.<sup>91</sup>

## Chapter 4

### Preaching in the Tidewater

Nineteenth-century sermons delivered by southern Evangelical preachers regularly discussed the ancient Hebrews in similar terms and therefore, support this paper's conclusions. For that reason, selected sermons from other regions, such as the Louisville, KY, and Richmond, VA, areas are included in this paper.<sup>92</sup>

Christianity and the preaching of the Gospel have historically relied on the values and lessons propagated by the Old Testament, as well as abundant references to the Children of Israel. Yet, this cannot fully explain southern Protestants' amity towards Jews. A few distinct traits in the sermons by southern evangelical preachers, though, appeared to have created a tangible sense of identification among the typical southern Protestant with the ancient Hebrews. That this identification cultivated true harmony between the Protestants and their Jewish contemporaries was a reflection of the nature of the Judaic allusions used by the preachers; it was how the preachers spoke of the Jews that created the identification within the Protestants.<sup>93</sup>

Southern Protestant preachers typically identified the Jews in express terms, allowing the congregation to discern the individuals, or group of people, being discussed in the sermon as Jewish. Aside from using the term "Jewish" or any of its many derivations, the preachers used idioms such as "the Children of Israel," "the

Israelites,” “the sons of Abraham” and other terms that can only be construed to refer the Jews. While southerners as a whole were not a particularly literate group, literacy throughout the South expanded greatly in the nineteenth century, and most southerners owned and read the Bible. Between their own Bible study and their religious upbringing, however extensive that may have been, most were familiar with the key figures of the Old Testament and their exploits. Preachers constantly referenced Jewish pioneers, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David and Solomon and others, in the course of disseminating the Biblical and moral lessons of the Old Testament. These Biblical pioneers were universally renowned amongst Christians as central figures in Biblical lore who worshipped God as practicing Jews. Thus, on a nearly weekly basis, southerners conjured vivid and direct images of a Jewish people when listening to the sermon.<sup>94</sup>

Frequently, preachers spoke in terms that lauded and revered the ancient Israelites. This approbation was never more evident than when preachers sermonized about the covenant between God and Abraham. God covenanted with Abraham that henceforth, his children would be His chosen people and that He would protect and care for them, so long as they believed in Him. According to standard Christian doctrine, Jews proved through their murder of Jesus Christ that they were not ready to accept the moral obligations that came with such a covenant. Jesus and his Christian disciples, however, were ready to honor the covenant. This was perhaps the strongest theological identification southern Protestants felt towards Jews. The God who covenanted with Abraham was the same God of their

Christian faith and it was this covenant with Abraham, the first Jew, which gave rise to the most important aspects of evangelical Protestant faith: God's grace and providence. The southern preachers emphatically and repeatedly announced that both grace and providence inured to Christians as a direct result of God's covenant with the Jews.<sup>95</sup>

From the Great Awakening through the end of the ante-bellum period, preachers routinely addressed the importance of Abraham's covenant in shaping the notion of faith among Christians. In 1738, itinerant Methodist preacher George Whitefield, one of the most renowned preachers of the Great Awakening and protégé of Methodism founder John Wesley, preached in Savannah that God and his people "have a relation to that covenant God made with spiritual Israel, which... will be everlasting, tho' the ceremonial dispensation be abolished."<sup>96</sup>

Presbyterian pastor William Preston, who served Savannah from 1829 through the Civil War, elaborated on this point frequently in his sermons, preaching on one occasion that the history of the Hebrews furnishes "the most convincing proofs [that] they were the covenant people of God. They constituted in their successive generations the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ." Preston also preached that the enduring of the Christian church into the nineteenth century provided "abundant proof of the pledge" which God made in his Covenant with Abraham and that "they which are of faith, are the children of Abraham."<sup>97</sup>

Presbyterian minister Stephen Elliot, preaching in the Charleston suburb of Beaufort, South Carolina, adjudged that Christianity, according to its own

hypothesis, “is the flower of which Judaism was the bud” and that the preeminent Hebrew prophets, Abraham, Moses, Job, and Noah “all had pacts with God underwritten by the same promises for which we worship Christ today.” Thus, preachers who identified the covenant between God and the Jews as the basis for the Christian faith and the genesis of God’s election of Christians as his new chosen people emphasized the direct link between Biblical Judaism and contemporary Christianity. <sup>98</sup>

Beyond the core theological aspects of Christianity, some southern evangelical preachers regularly drew upon the history of the Jewish people as a direct metaphor for the contemporaneous experience of their congregations. Whitefield, for example, likened Jacob’s journey to Leban to the Christians’ journey to heaven, as well as to the pilgrims and pioneers who settled the continent in the face of danger and without creature comforts. In 1845, Methodist minister William Bacon Stevens addressed the Georgia legislature by calling Georgia the “Palestine of America,” contending that, like the prospering Israelites in their good land, the Christians of Georgia had a duty to give thanksgiving to God for their good fortune in the state. Finally, Preston queried his flock “what Christian can fail to see how close and striking the points of coincidence between [the Israelites] experience and that of the people of God now?”<sup>99</sup>

Not only did the preachers make general comparisons between the experience of Israelites and Americans, but they also invoked the names and legacies of the Hebrews’ most revered heroes in their dirges and eulogies of

America's greatest hero, George Washington. In Charleston the pastor of the Independent Church, opened his 1799 sermon dedicated to Washington by relaying the story of the fallen Jewish king Josiah before he segued to Washington with a direct comparison of the two:

With this memorable mourning of the Jewish nation, for the loss of their eminently and worthy Josiah;-- how striking is this resemblance that appears in the universal, unfeigned mourning, now exhibited by the American people, for the loss of their great, and excellent, and beloved WASHINGTON; whose life was a most valuable blessing to the most beneficent Providence to his country.<sup>100</sup>

Shortly afterward, Savannah's Baptist minister, Henry Holcombe, led his church's public mourning of the death of Washington by delivering a sermon replete with references to and quotes by David, the King of the Jews, and by comparing the sense of loss that Americans felt with that of the Jews at the death of David. In both of these instances, the preachers created a close sense of identification with ancient Jewish heroes and America's first hero, at a time when the young people were most nostalgic about the father of their country.<sup>101</sup>

Preachers repeatedly referred to the actions, attitudes and judgment of ancient Hebrews in order to best convey the message or lesson in their sermons. For instance, Baptist pastor Samuel Steel's published sermon out of Winchester, Kentucky, in 1828, focused on the issue of infant baptism. Steel included a note to the reader stating that initially he had not intended to publish this sermon, but he did so at the request of a number of religious friends.<sup>102</sup> Steel endorsed infant baptism based on what he believed to be purely scriptural teachings. His sermon then embarked on a six page essay into the history of the Jewish people, tracing the

lives of Abraham, and his covenant, Moses and David, while reporting on the many instances in which these three were said to have been part of God's 'church,' and 'kingdom.' He concluded that the Jewish 'church' and 'kingdom' of the Old Testament and the Christian 'church' and 'kingdom' of the New Testament were one and the same. Because infants were received into God's church when it was a Jewish church, children should likewise be received into God's 'new' church, the Christian church.<sup>103</sup>

Steel's deference to Jews' historical and theological precedent affirmed the experience of the Biblical Jews as authoritative on the issue. While this alone would have likely created a measure of respect and reverence in the congregants for their Jewish contemporaries, Steel further asserted that the ancient Jews' exploits actually occurred under the cape of Jesus Christ's kingdom, even though the Jews in question all lived well before Jesus Christ's birth:

This is that Moses that was *in the church* in the wilderness...*the church of Christ*, for they partook spiritually of his body and blood'... Paul says, 'Our fathers were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea...for they drank from the spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was *Christ*. It was not only a Gospel Church...and we know that Abraham rejoiced to see Christ's day'<sup>104</sup>

Thus, these passages illustrate the preachers' tendency to champion the glory of Jesus through the works of the Jews by attributing to Christ the prescient power of beginning his spiritual reign before he was born. For this reason, these sermons elevated the Jewish people in the eyes of the congregation to be included in the kingdom of Christ. This sentiment was perfectly framed by Preston, who

placed Jews on a level of spiritual and historical equality with Christians when he preached that there was “two grand divisions of mankind, Jews and Gentiles.”<sup>105</sup>

The year after Steel’s sermon on infant Baptism was published in Kentucky, T. Charlton Henry preached to the Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston on the fate of the souls of infants who died prior to Baptism. Like Steele, Henry leaned heavily upon specific the authority of the ancient Jews in their handling the issue. He declared that while “the Jew knew no doubt in regard to the children of the covenant” and that the early Christians considered the question sufficiently settled, centuries later, after many corruptions “had crept into the Church,” the issue had become warped to the point that the Church’s official position was that there seemed to be no hope for the dying infant, in fact, the sins of the parents were visited upon the infant who had not yet been cleansed of them through conversion.

106

Determined to find a scriptural basis to undermine this conclusion, Henry directed his congregation to hearken back to the learned wisdom of the Jews, in particular to Ezekiel 18. Henry reminded his flock that this verse proclaimed that “the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.” Henry stated that this verse “seemed more consistent with the government under which the Hebrews lived.” Later in the same sermon, he quoted the speech Moses made to Israelites in Deuteronomy, in

which Moses told the Israelites' children they will inherit the Promised Land, to which Henry remarked:

The allusion is to the Promised Land, which their fathers had forfeited by their disobedience, but which the ignorance of children rendered it impossible for them to forfeit. And may not the same unaccountability furnish a hope respecting the Heavenly Canaan? <sup>107</sup>

Henry's sermon demonstrated a sheer determination to preach to his congregation that the spiritual law of the ancient Jews, based in scripture as it was, should prevail in a conflict with later Christian interpretations of the same issue.

Southern evangelical preachers often framed certain practices of the ancient Jews as Christian in spirit and doctrine. Steel explained the parting of the Red Sea and the Jews safe passage through it was a mass baptism, because the "clouds poured out water" unto the Jews. Elliot noted that David grew up in Bethlehem and his longing to drink again from its well was prophetic because Bethlehem was not yet known for being the birthplace of Jesus. Aside from being prophetic, David's longing to drink from the well of Bethlehem was metaphoric; it signified that David longed to be part of Jesus Christ's kingdom. Whitefield also cast Moses in a Christian light when he asserted that Moses' leading his people to the mountain of God showed "how a person ought to Methodize their time... The devotion and business of a Methodist go hand in hand; I will assure you Moses was a Methodist, a very fine one, a very strong one."<sup>108</sup>

In 1836, the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina continued this pattern when it published a pamphlet titled "Catechism on Confirmation," directed particularly for young Christian

people as they prepared for their Confirmation. The pamphlets aimed to energize the youth's for their Confirmation and to help them understand the significance of the event. The pamphlet presented in "Q and A" format and one of the first questions asked: "Had the Jews any similar rite in use among them?" The pamphlet's answer was: "Yes. They brought their children before the congregation at the age of thirteen years, when they learned the law...the traditions of the elders...and the daily prayers." The pamphlet likened the Jewish rite of Bar Mitzvah, when children became answerable for their sins, to a Christian's responsibility after Confirmation to acknowledge and honor the promises made at the time of their baptism. In this case, the Bar Mitzvah was cast in a light which it made it look synonymous, or at least more similar than different, to the Confirmation. Accordingly, because the sanctity of the Jewish traditions was beyond reproach, the young Christian should recognize the solemnity of their own Confirmation.<sup>109</sup>

Southern preachers used the Jews' laws, experience, culture and lessons, as told through the Biblical stories, to establish proper Christian morals as well, especially by praising the virtue of the Hebrew heroes or recounting the triumphs and travails of the Jewish holidays. Reverend A.F. Dickson, a Presbyterian minister from Charleston, printed a book of sermons for the unlearned which was distributed throughout the South. One of the sermons described King Solomon as "the wisest man that ever lived" and admonished that "surely you don't expect to find anyone better than...his father, Good King David." Dickson decreed that

David exemplified in God and what it meant to be humble with holy desires. Similarly, Elliot believed David to be the example of what spiritual reflection was and should be, while advising that the “sweet psalmist of Israel” should be read every day. Elliot also wanted his parishioners to “act in the spirit of the Children of Israel- return to the Lord.” Whitefield again provided the most poignant example when he characterized David as “a man after God’s own heart...an Old Testament saint blessed with a New Testament spirit.”<sup>110</sup>

Beyond mere general character testimonials, the sermons often mentioned particular moments in the lives of the Jewish prophets which served to prove their piety and righteousness. Whitefield labeled David’s describing Manna as milk unto babies and meat to grown persons as evidence of the Jews’ ability to find happiness regardless of the circumstances and that God was the source of comfort. Preachers frequently cited David for his specific acts of virtue and faith, including his desire to be quickened in the Word and thy righteousness. Preachers’ sermons not only directed their congregations to adopt the morals and values of the Jewish prophets and heroes, the preachers also hinted to their congregations that they themselves adopted these values. In 1855, in his sermon dedicating the New Presbyterian Church in Chesterville, South Carolina, the Reverend John Douglass preached that he hoped his dedication could be as simple and appropriate as Solomon’s dedication of his “noble and glorious” Temple.<sup>111</sup>

Jewish holidays often dominated the preachers’ sermons and when they did, the sermons emphasized the valor and righteousness of the Jews, as well as their

special place as the chosen people. The most popular Jewish holiday sermon discussed Passover, which relates the story of the Israelites exodus from bondage in Egypt. The Passover sermons told of God's power in his deliverance of the Jews from the Pharaohs; likened the cross of the crucifixion to the tablets of the Ten Commandments as physical manifestations of the joy and awe in receiving God's law; and justified modern Protestant ordinances by invoking the Jews' continued adherence to their more ancient ordinances, such as the eating of the Passover meal called the 'Seder.' Preachers also frequently reminded Christians of the Jews' continued observance of Passover and the thanks they continued to give to God for deliverance from bondage. Christians of the South, they said, must demonstrate the same gratitude to God for their freedom and prosperity.<sup>112</sup>

Preston devoted an entire sermon to explain the history and significance of the Jewish holiday of Purim. The sermon was entitled "The Great Resolve" and he recalled how the Jews banded together to confound and slay their antagonist, Haman, who petitioned the heathen King Ashaverous to be allowed to kill all of the Jews within his kingdom. Preston lauded the honor, courage and righteousness of the Jews while vilifying Haman and insulting King. The sermon made it clear to the congregation the same boundless loyalty and a willingness to perish in the name of and in defense of God and Jesus was required to fulfill the duties of a Christian.<sup>113</sup>

The deference for the ancient Hebrews was unmistakable throughout these sermons; the conclusion that southerners developed a favorable impression and sense of personal identification with the Biblical Jews inescapable. The antebellum

southerners' embrace of Jews was a still, however, relative fact. The South, which prior to the Civil War had no significant history of systematic or institutional anti-Semitism, was more tolerant towards Jews than most European societies, and clearly appeared to have offered more opportunity to assimilate into the fabric of Protestant culture than the North of the same era. Still, the southern Jews were different than the southern Protestants because Jews did not accept Jesus Christ as the Messiah or as their Lord and savior. Furthermore, the Bible portrays Jesus' death at the hands of his fellow Jews as an act of mob violence and as indicative of the fallen morality of the Jewish nation. Worse still, the fathers of Christianity, the twelve apostles, were all former Jews who denounced their Judaism in order to martyr the fallen Jesus. Thus, the preachers' sermons often described the origins of Christianity as a rejection of Judaism and condemnation of the Jewish people.<sup>114</sup>

The reason this paradox does not undermine the conclusion that southern Evangelical sermons, on the whole, served to endear the Jews to Christians, is that the preachers consistently delivered these particular messages in a manner that compartmentalized the sins of the Jews, rather than generalizing them. In other words, these Preachers invariably seemed to isolate the era of Christ's lifetime and crucifixion as the only period in which the Jews deserve censure and tailored their criticism of the Jews to this epoch in very specific and certain terms. The preachers did not portray these sins and failures as emblematic of their predecessors, nor did they reflect on the character or faith of their modern-day descendants.<sup>115</sup>

Whitfield again illustrates this concept perfectly in many of his sermons. He claimed that “there are no such enemy to the Gospel as those: there were Jews who trusted in themselves that they were righteous, that set all in an uproar and raised the mob on the apostles. Our Lord denounced dreadful woes against the Pharisees.”<sup>116</sup> This vitriol alone might be seen as a condemnation of the Jews in general, except that Whitefield also preached that “Christ took not hold of, did not die for the fallen Angels, but of the seed of Abraham,” thus implying that the Jews who murdered Jesus were still loved by God as his chosen people and that when Jesus died, he did so not for ‘our’ sins, referring to fellow Christians, but for ‘their’ sins, referring to the Jews of his generation.<sup>117</sup>

Preachers like Preston were reiterating this point, nearly verbatim, a half century later. Preston also concluded that the New Testament was evidence of God’s compassion and tenderness towards the Jews and that while the Jewish heroes were not without sin, Abraham embodied the faith by which the sinner is justified and that David, whose sins were of the “blackest enormity” proved that sin is no bar to salvation. This was especially important, because one of the few liturgical tenets of southern evangelical Protestantism, different from the Calvinist Protestantism prevalent in the North, is that each believer can be saved by asking for forgiveness from their sins and seeking the Conversion experience by which they live to serve God’s will. According to Preston, the forgiveness aspect was clearly set forth by David: “The grounds for forgiveness in any case: For thy name’s sake, O Lord, pardon my iniquity, for it is great.”<sup>118</sup>

Primarily, though, criticism of the Biblical Jews was strictly limited to those responsible for the murder of Jesus and the Jewish leaders of that day, known as Pharisees. Pharisees were the self-proclaimed righteous ones, who claimed to know and observe the canons of Jewish law better than anyone in society. The accounts of the Bible, however, cast aspersions on their piety and characterized them as hypocrites and sinners. Evangelist preachers seized on this hypocrisy and assailed the Pharisees in their lectures. The preachers also regularly lambasted the general Jewish populace who crucified and murdered Jesus as “cruel and wicked Jews” and rebuked that even though “the King of the Jews had come; they were ignorant of it.”<sup>119</sup>

What makes these instances of derision compelling, however, is that preachers so often rehabilitated the Jews immediately after the criticism. Elliot offered his congregation a very detailed defense of the character of the very Jews who crucified Jesus:

But these were the Jews! ... They were the elect people of God; and from whom therefore, should we have expected greater freedom from corruption than from the Jews? ... Was not our Lord Himself a Jew after the flesh? Were not his disciples and Apostles Jews? ... Is there any reply to this? Because the Jews are now blinded under a curse for this very crucifixion, they were not always so. They were the only people then upon earth in whom any thing approaching to spiritual life and spiritual holiness could have been found.... These miserable men around the Cross were Jews; but as Jews they represented, at that time, the most enlightened and most divinely instructed people upon the face of the earth.<sup>120</sup>

The implications of this particular discourse were clear: in the eyes of the preacher, although the Jews bear responsibility for the murder of Christ, this event represents an anomaly from the typical high moral character of the Jewish people and

moreover, when compared to the rest of the peoples of the world at that time, the Jews still emerged as the clear example of superior morality and behavior.

In fact, preachers made it very clear that although there were outside threats to God's kingdom lurking in the nineteenth-century South, Jews were not among them. This was evident by the way preachers routinely aligned the Jews with Christians when harkening to past enemies or warning about the present enemies. A sermon by Preston succinctly supported this premise by stating that "the greatest opposition and hindrance of the Gospel are the three combined powers of Paganism, Papacy and Mahammedenism" and that the beginning of the millennium will be contemporaneous with the "overthrow of the Pagan, Papal and Mahommedian powers, and the conversion of the Jews."<sup>121</sup>

The Jews, according to Preston's Biblical interpretation, should be converted, the only such group called upon to be converted. The notion that Jews should be joined with Christians, albeit after having been converted first, and that Catholics should be overthrown is compelling evidence indeed that the preachers believed and expressed through their sermons that Protestants and Jews were of kindred spirit, sharing a special and unique bond that other spiritual nations did not share. Even more indicative is that at the exact same time, Preston identified fellow Christians, the Catholics, as enemies.<sup>122</sup>

James Thornwell, the Protestant chaplain at South Carolina College in the 1840s and 1850s, concluded that Catholics perverted vows while Protestants only neglected them. He also declared that "all religions whether Pagan, Jewish or

Christian use vows.” Even though he treats the Jewish and Christian religions as disparate entities in this case, Thornwell still separated both of them from the pagans. Thus, Thornwell was implying that the Jewish and Christian religions were legitimate faiths and that all others, presumably including Buddhism, Hinduism and Muslim were not. Furthermore, Thornwell joined other preachers in assailing atheists in the same sermons in which they praised those of the Judeo-Christian faith. Atheists detected neither “traces of wisdom” nor “tokens of goodness” in God’s providence. Holcombe contrasted his description of Jews as “venerable,” “pious,” and “eminent” by depicting atheists as “gloomy monsters” which have “disgraced and infested” Europe. So, although the evangelical Protestant preachers spewed much invective to the non-Protestants of the nineteenth century, the only criticism of the Jews was reserved for the single generation which had crucified Jesus nearly two millennia prior.<sup>123</sup>

The preachers’ association of their flock to the ancient Jews became so prevalent, the association even seeped into the subconscious mind of the preachers. When Reverend Thomas Smith commemorated the twenty-first anniversary of the dedication of his Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston, S.C., in 1832, he tried to instruct his congregation to look beyond all denominational lines to embrace all who professed the Christian faith. His words, however, betrayed his intent as his description of Christians included many terms commonly associated with the Biblical Jews:

All Christians as far as they are sanctified, are *one*, and joined by the strictest bonds of union. They...eat the same manna. They are guided by

the same “great Jehovah,” and they journey towards the same land of promise and of hope...to Zion. <sup>124</sup>

Reverend Samuel Davies, of Richmond, Virginia, who preached during the eighteenth-century but whose sermons were widely circulated throughout Virginia during the first half of the nineteenth century, lectured that the nature of Christianity obviated the religious distinctions altogether, and that Jews and Christians belonged to the same family- Christ’s:

The name Gentile was odious to the Jews and Jew was odious to the Gentiles. The name Christian swallows up both in one common and agreeable appellation. He hath taken down the partition-wall has taken away partition-names, and united all his followers in his own name, as a common denomination. For now, says Paul, there is neither Greek nor Jew...but Christ is all and in all. <sup>125</sup>

The fact that he and other preachers continued this rhetoric during the Civil War is evidence of the comfort and strength that Old Testament narratives provided southerners during the ante-bellum years. Methodist preacher George Pierce from Augusta, Georgia was among the most heralded of the ante-bellum preachers. Though he did not become a Methodist Bishop until 1854, he delivered a sermon before the Bible Convention of the Confederate States, held in Augusta, Georgia, on March 19th, 1862. His sermon epitomized the sentiments of southern preachers with respect to the connection between the heritage of Biblical Jews and the nature of nineteenth-century southern Christianity. <sup>126</sup>

“The narratives of the old Testament,” Pierce exclaimed, “are not to be regarded as simple paragraphs in general history--mere links connecting, in consecutive order, the events of the olden time.” According to Pierce, these

narratives actually embodied the “great principles in human society and in the divine administration, vital alike to the well-being of the one and the uniformity of the other.” The Georgian’s sermon validated the righteousness of the southerners’ efforts to model their conduct and society after the mold created by the children of Israel. The Civil War, Pierce intimated, was really a step in the process of the South becoming their own nation as God’s chosen people:

In the Mosaic economy... are laws of universal and permanent obligation--principles ordained of God for all time, and perpetuated for the instruction of mankind, in the lasting records of the Church. Before their settlement in the Land of Promise, the children of Israel, however distinct as a people, were not a *nation* in the organic sense of that word... God was all the time educating them to broader views of their destiny, and to more exalted conceptions of their spiritual relations, and of the high functions they were to perform as a chosen people among the nations of the earth.

The disciplinary process by which the Jews were conducted through their singular history from bondage to national independence, power and prosperity...[the] purpose, and the primary one, was to train up a people to a nationality, favorable in the plans of Providence for the introduction of Messiah's kingdom....<sup>127</sup>

Pierce’s sermon retained the familiar features of the pro-Judaic sermons which had proliferated in southern Churches for several previous generations. In particular, Pierce labeled Judaism as the inferior fore-runner to Christianity (“there were many statutes, local and temporary, having their origin and use in what was peculiar to an introductory dispensation”), and yet he was careful to rehabilitate the character of the Biblical Jews despite their famed fall from grace (“The Jews, with all their folly, ingratitude and perverseness, were fair specimens of human nature”).<sup>128</sup>

To conclude his sermon, Pierce reinforced the ante-bellum principle that southern Protestants were really the spiritual descendants of the Jews and heirs to God's "testimony in Jacob." Southerners were the new keepers of the law appointed in Israel, which Pierce preached "commanded our fathers... should make them known to their children: that the generation to come might know them... that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments."<sup>129</sup>

By 1830, the sectional debate concerning slavery increased significantly in the national consciousness. Northern abolitionists demanded that slavery be outlawed throughout the states and territories and that all slaves be emancipated. To southerners, this movement threatened southern society in every way possible. Slavery held the society together from top to bottom; it formed the foundation for the Planters' financial superiority and thus, their political power and social ranking. The Yeoman farmers admired the planters and often owned one or more slaves themselves. Slavery even provided the poor white Crackers with enough dignity for them to embrace the status quo and prevent the formation of class hostility towards the Planters. Freedom posed challenges to the stability of southern society that bondage did not. Furthermore, many white southerners firmly believed that the slaves lacked the social and leadership skills necessary to govern their own affairs in a free, market-based economy. From the standpoint of the southerner, slavery was truly in the slaves' best interest because it allowed them to be properly cared for by the paternalistic white planters.<sup>130</sup>

Although southern evangelicals initially reacted passively to northern abolitionist propaganda, once the abolitionist platform denounced slavery as immoral, evil and a sin against man and God, southerners joined the fray headlong to defend and justify slavery as consistent with, and sanctioned by, God's will. While abolitionists used the Declaration of Independence and the theory of a social contract to subvert slavery, the pro-slavery argument for southerners became a "back to the Bible crusade" in which southerners rested their case on the scripture. They argued that those who justified and ordered their lives based on the Bible knew that God sanctified slavery in the Old Testament among the patriarchs and Hebrews. Since slavery did not violate the Ten Commandments, as the "stone tablets of Sinai did not explicitly condemn slavery," it was not sinful. In fact, God forbade the coveting of a neighbor's maidservant or slave, a tacit endorsement of slavery. Moreover, many of the Bible's Jewish patriarchs owned slaves.<sup>131</sup>

Not simply the division between the North and the South, the Mason-Dixon line divided the country religiously. By 1845, southern factions of Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians all officially split with their northern counterparts. Northern abolitionists claimed that the New Testament trumped the Old Testament in that it undermined and repudiated slavery. This emphasis on the New Testament reflected the gradual de-emphasis of the Old Testament throughout the North and Europe which had been taking place since the days of the Reformation. Southerners, who continued to place great weight on both the Old and New Testaments, responded by "bonding tooth and nail" to literal word of scripture,

eschewing any interpretation or liturgical commentary. Southern evangelists identified Yankee abolitionist fanaticism with infidelity and anarchy and pro-slavery attitudes with southern sensibility, piety, and submission to order and hierarchy.<sup>132</sup>

In the face of the abolitionists' threat, white southerners determined to mount a moral defense to slavery as an institution in the hopes of winning the battle for public opinion, not only around the nation and world, but also in the South. While the financial motivations and the social hierarchy defense may have more truly portrayed southern white sentiment regarding the sanctification of slavery, in order to quell the onslaught of anti-slavery propaganda coming from the north, southerners knew they needed a legitimate and irrefutable moral justification for owning other human beings as chattel. For this defense, white southerners turned to their preachers, who responded to the intense pressure brought to bear upon them by making the defense of slavery the dominant theme of sermons of the late antebellum period.<sup>133</sup>

Beginning with George Whitefield in the first Great Awakening and continuing through about 1840, abolitionists and slave-owners debated whether scripture in fact sanctioned slavery. Southern preachers regularly relied on chapters and verses of the Old Testament which they believed proved conclusively that ancient Jews owned slaves under God's sanction. Evangelicals relied heavily on Genesis 15:14, which described Abraham's preparation for war with "armed and trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen." Although the

abolitionists disagreed, the southern preachers remained resolute in their insistence that this passage referred to slaves which Abraham purchased. Abraham's barren wife Sara further proved the southerners' case when she took Hagar as a slave so that Abraham might have an issue. Of course, Abraham was "the father of all them that believe" (Romans 4:11), trusted by God to be the seed of Jesus and his household lay the foundation for the Church, slavery and all Christian social organization. Because his morals, piety and faith were beyond reproach, southerners looked to Abraham's household as the standard bearer of slave owning and as their chief evidence that slave-owning and piety were not mutually exclusive.<sup>134</sup>

Southern preachers also emphasized the curse Noah placed upon his son Ham: "Cursed be Canaan. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren" (Genesis 9:25, 9:18-27, generally). While this justification of slavery pre-dated European conquest in America, it became the norm in the south to identify African-Americans as the son of Ham; southerners used Noah's curse to justify not only slavery generally, but also black slavery in particular. The story of exodus and Moses provided a third standard of the Biblical justification for slavery. Preachers recited these themes incessantly throughout the 1830s and 1840s to the point that the abolitionists ceded the fact that the Jews did own slaves, compelling anti-slavery activists to instead denounce the character of slave owning regardless of who the owner was. Indeed, by 1850 it was difficult to muster opposition to Rev. W.T. Hamilton of Mobile when he proclaimed that "No competent Judge, no one

with the least pretension to scholarship” could deny the fact that the Jews owned slaves.<sup>135</sup>

The clergy in both South Carolina and Georgia regularly preached their support of slavery based on the narratives of the Old Testament. As early as 1800, Savannah and Charleston clergy preached and published their sermons defending slavery on spiritual grounds based on the precedent set by the Israelites. In 1833, Charleston’s Richard Furman distributed a pamphlet proclaiming slavery to have Biblical justification and to be consistent with Christian morals. In the 1830s and 1840s, Thomas Smyth and George Howe, two Charleston area Presbyterian ministers, preached regularly in defense of slavery. In 1850, South Carolina Baptist reverend Iveson Brookes’ pamphlet, entitled “A defense of the South against the Reproaches of the North,” asserted that God ordained the Hebrew nation to authorize slavery, and every nation that God favored allowed slavery. A year later, Brookes published a second pamphlet, “A defense of southern slavery,” in which Brooks crusaded against distinguished southern political leader Henry Clay’s abolitionist platform by defying anyone to disparage an institution deemed acceptable by the Jewish nation, a nation which presented a “standard of purer morals” unsurpassed in all of history. George Capers of Georgia accused northern abolitionists of relying on the New Testament in an effort to undermine the authority of the Old Testament and its defense of slavery.<sup>136</sup>

The pro-Judaic rhetoric, which already couched the Jewish patriarchs in extremely laudatory terms, pervaded all areas of the South as the slavery debate

captured the nation's attention in the late 1850s. In 1856, Baptist reverend Thornton Stringwell published his *Scriptural and Statistical Views In Favor Of Slavery*, in which his stated goals were to demonstrate that slavery enjoyed the sanction of the "Almighty in the Patriarchal age" and that its "legality was recognized, and its relative duties regulated, by Jesus Christ in his kingdom." Whether from the pulpit or by publication, southern preachers routinely dichotomized the Biblical justification by first asserting that slavery was allowed by the God of the Jews and then by establishing that it was recognized, if not expressly sanctioned, by the Christian messiah.<sup>137</sup>

Stringwell stayed true to form by using the example of Noah's son Ham, who was to be held in state of abject bondage. Stringwell also claimed that distinguished ancient Jewish and subsequent Christian commentators agreed that Abraham, the same man who is "honored in the sacred records, with the appellation, 'Father' of the 'faithful'" purchased slaves in Haran. What was clear from this excerpt, and the thousands of others like it, was that justifying slavery required preaching from the Old Testament and establishing that the Jews so referenced were beyond moral reproach. While southern preachers in the earlier ante-bellum period defended slavery and the virtues of Abraham, Moses, David, et. al., because they believed it, in the later ante-bellum years, preachers did so because the very survival of the region's way of life depended on it.<sup>138</sup>

In his pro-slavery polemic, *Christian Morality Impracticable In Free Society - But The Natural Morality Of Slave Society*, George Fitzhugh proclaimed that:

Christian morality is the natural morality in slave society, and slave society is the only natural society. Such society as that of the early Patriarchs of Judea, under Moses and Joshua, and as that of the South, would never beget a sceptic, a Hobbes, a Wayland, nor a Channing. In such society it is natural for men to love one another.<sup>139</sup>

Fitzhugh believed he was speaking for the entire South when he proclaimed that the morality of Moses and Joshua naturally transcended that of modern Enlightenment thinkers credited with providing the intellectual basis for abolitionism.

The South bonded so ardently to the scriptural defense of slavery because scripture provided a winning position from which they attacked abolitionism and because scripture was so innate to the southern ideology. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, southerners grew to revere the Hebrews through immersion of the preachers' rhetoric. This slow gradual process resulted in a firm, but probably unemotional, identification with the Israelites. The slavery debate and the sectional crisis added zeal and passion to this foundation that penetrated to the very core of the southerners' individual and collective being. The Sermons' repeated references to the ancient Jews' slave owning and political endurance in the face of political persecution shows that these sermons were no longer only religious tools; the sermons had become intellectual weapons in economic, cultural and political warfare. This fact, as much as any express declaration that any individual

southerner could have made, amounted to strong evidence of the efficacy of the sermons on the mind of the southerner.

## Chapter 5

### The Impact of Sermons

Many scholars of the Old South have established the efficacy of sermons in molding the mentality of the nineteenth-century southerner. As the ante-bellum era progressed, southerners increasingly became church-goers who sought their moral and spiritual direction from the pulpit every Sunday. By the 1830s and 1840s, this feature of southern society had become so prevalent that it helped to galvanize the South's ethos into one nearly homogenous set of values. By the 1850s, this ethos had come under fire from northern abolitionists and the southerners' closed ranks and fought viciously to defend their way of life, and their honor. This metaphoric call to arms resulted in the entire region relying heavily on the voices from the pulpit for their intellectual and spiritual ammunition. The value of the sermon to the southerner became more and more significant as the sectional crisis approached its boiling point in the late 1850s and early 1860s.<sup>140</sup>

Perhaps the most compelling and abundant evidence of the impact of sermons on the mind of the southerner comes directly from the southerners countless memoirs, journals and autobiographies, which confirmed the supremacy of scripture, and specifically, Old Testament scripture, as that force which most forged thought within southern society. Most southerners learned about scripture

through the sermons. Even where southerners were not present to hear the preacher deliver the sermon, the sermon was often perpetuated via publication in the local newspaper, or passed on through the social circles, especially groups of women, who often exchanged and discussed sermons, religious tracts and Biblical commentaries with friends. Talk about the Bible, the weekly sermon and published sermons often dominated family reading circles.<sup>141</sup>

Thus, southern society, which both revolved around religion and operated under a single worldview to a surprisingly large degree, disseminated the sermon well beyond the confines of the local church house. This in itself established the overall importance southerners gave to sermons and the earnestness and solemnity with which they contemplated its message. Their daily journals provided more direct evidence of this, where many church going southerners noted the texts and doctrinal content of sermons and expressed their religious concerns and familiarity with the Bible. Parishioners' diaries also make clear that they expected and demanded fresh original thought of the sermon and were highly critical of any sermon that did not reflect genuine spiritual contemplation on the part of the preacher. Southern women were just as judgmental regarding the quality of the sermons, making it clear that they expected their preacher to 'move them.'<sup>142</sup>

A specific piece of evidence is the Teague family Bible. A voluminous tome, the Teague's *Self-Interpreting Bible by John Brown* contained handwritten summaries of sermons from the family's preacher. While the Teagues summarized dozens of sermons from 1810 through 1830, the longest handwritten commentary

was reserved for the sermon, preached by Presbyterian Reverend McJoyce, regarding the Book of Hebrews, Chapter 11, which offered a compendium of all the messages described in this essay: a definition of faith in God; evidence of this faith through the actions of Noah, Abraham, Abraham's wife Sara, Isaac, Jacob and Moses; an articulation of the story of Passover and its examples of God's undying love for his 'children;' and the ability of the Hebrews to overcome internal struggle and mighty foe alike, with God's help. <sup>143</sup>

Another piece of evidence was the printed "Letter from a Christian to Jew," published in Charleston, S.C., in 1851. This epistle, which does not denote an author or church association and appeared to have been written by a layperson, demonstrated the effect the sermons had on the southerner's mind. As with the Teague family Bible, the letter encapsulated all of the preachers' motifs which created the Protestant's identification with the Jew. The letter started by drawing a parallel between the exodus and the individual life of the author: he could not be freed from his own personal spiritual bondage until he reached the middle years of his life. He then devoted the remainder of the letter to his conclusion that the Jews were the Chosen People, not for their own sakes, but rather so that they could bring the wisdom and glory of God to all nations. <sup>144</sup>

The real covenant God made with Abraham was that Abraham's family would present the Word to the world. For this, the author credited the Jews with great tenacity and workmanship. To the Jewish dispensations of ceremony, rites and laws, the author credited the Jews for teaching the world how to worship and to

merge the human world with the spiritual world. Finally, the letter opined that even modern-day Jews “are witnesses to us of the truth of the leading facts of the Scripture history, and of the belief of their ancestors that it was given by inspiration.” The author of this letter felt personally vested in Abraham’s covenant and therefore saw the Jewish faith as an important part of himself.<sup>145</sup>

H.M. Hamill, a Doctor of Divinity in the Methodist Episcopal Church recalled in his memoirs the impact preachers had on him as a youth and felt obliged to pay “higher tribute to its great preachers and pulpit orators, to whom, under God, more than to any other class or leadership, is due what the South has ever cherished as its best.”<sup>146</sup> First among the orators was Georgia preacher George F. Pierce, whom Hamill described as capable in his prime of stirring men's hearts in a way that put to shame even the eloquence of the political rostrum. . .there came to his eye that wondrous flash as his old-time eloquence lifted him into heights and visions celestial. He was preaching of the pure faith once delivered unto the saints, and pleading for the old order of simple gospel truth and living.”<sup>147</sup>

The ‘old order’ as Hamill described it was an Old South whose people were thoroughly imbued with the religion of the Old rather than of the New Testament. Hamill believed that “even the Kentucky feudist is after a sort an Old Testament religionist, who has not gone beyond the idea of the "blood avenger" of Mosaic permission. Religiously, he took his code and doctrines directly from the Bible.” Hamill also concluded that the South’s theology was so uniform was because the “high examples of a godly profession and practice in the leaders of the Old South

[which] made it easy for each succeeding generation to learn the first and noblest of all lessons - reverence for God, his Word, and His Church.” In other words, the succeeding generations of preachers re-iterated what they had heard from their preachers growing up, thus creating theological continuity from one generation to the next.<sup>148</sup>

Similar evidence from throughout the Old South strongly suggested the sermons’ strong and lasting impact was felt beyond the greater Charleston and Savannah areas. Rev. Johnson Olive, of Wake County, North Carolina, described, in vivid detail his conversion experience. While attending a camp revival in rural Kentucky at the age of fifteen, and not particularly impressed with the impact of religion in his life until that time, the preacher on the stage locked eyes with Olive while delivering his sermon; the affect on Olive was momentous:

His words were well chosen, his voice clear, and his manner indicated great earnestness and desire for the salvation of souls... While he was thus exhorting the bystanders and outsiders I thought he fixed his eyes on me, at least my eyes met his, and such a look I had never seen before; his eyes spoke to my mind with more force than his words did to my understanding. I felt that I was in the presence of a good and pious man of God. Indeed it appeared to me as if his heart and lips had been touched with hallowed fire. I felt as I had never felt before. I believed what the man of God had said. I felt the need of religion and thought I would have given any thing that was in my power to have changed my condition for that of the good old man.<sup>149</sup>

Examining the impact of sermons in the context of both the ante-bellum slavery debate and in the South’s political mantra during the Civil War demonstrated the sermons’ significant impact on the mind of the southerner. In 1860, Robert N. Gordon, a lawyer from Charleston published a pamphlet of nearly 25 pages entitled “The Interest in Slavery of the Non-slaveholder: The Right of

Peaceful Secession/Slavery in the Bible.” Gordon’s pamphlet validated two important conclusions underlying this thesis. First, Gordon echoed verbatim the scriptural verses which referenced God’s sanction of Hebrew slave owning that preachers most often referred to in their sermon. All of these verses came from the Old Testament; Gordon acknowledged that the New Testament did not sanction slave owning, although it was silent as to the sinfulness of slaveholding.<sup>150</sup>

Secondly, there was a strong cohesiveness between the world view of the slave holding aristocracy, the middle class who owned few or no slaves and the poor white working class. Gordon compared the plight of the southern non-slave holding labor class with that of its northern counterpart and determined that the labor in the South were better off financially, had a better quality of life, less competition from immigrant pauper labor, more security in the status quo and a better chance to improve their class status than laborers in the North. Southern society, in which most of its members were prospering and the rest capably surviving, was anchored by the economic system of slavery. It was not only the planters who needed slavery to be preserved; a large majority of the middle class, slave owning and non-slave owning, relied on the peculiar institution as the bedrock for a societal structure that was treating them very well. The lower class, referred to as “crackers” relied on slavery as a means to protect their dignity: because they were white, crackers were only the ‘lower’ class, not the ‘lowest’ class as they would have been in a non-slave holding society.<sup>151</sup>

This social structure created a self-propelling relationship between southerners and the scriptural defense of slavery. The more southerners heard regarding the scriptural defense of slavery, the more they uniformly believed in it. The more the abolitionist movement progressed, however, the more the southerners desperately demanded their preachers deliver pro-slavery rhetoric because southerners knew they had to defend slavery at all costs in order to preserve their lifestyle and way of life. The southern preachers moral ilk cloaked the sermons in credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the parishioners, as did the sermons scriptural basis..<sup>152</sup>

Gordon's publication was but one of countless examples of southerners from Georgia and South Carolina who endorsed in its entirety the Biblical justification sounded by the preachers in their sermons. Thomas Cooper, a Charleston layman who by his own admission "took the Bible lightly, believed that the Bible clearly justified slavery as being in accord with the laws of God. Industrialist William Gregg and publishing magnate James Dunwoody Brownson Debow, both from Charleston, concurred with Cooper. Not only did these three all believe and propound the scriptural defense of slavery, but they also "delighted that all social classes united in the scriptural defense of slavery." Mrs. Henry Schoolcraft of South Carolina, responding to abolitionist rhetoric which implied that even if God had endorsed slavery in the age of the Patriarchs, he had surely progressed with the times and would now denounce it, declared that throughout eternity God has been "perfect in wisdom, perfect in justice and perfect in love to

all his creatures.” Growing up on her Georgia Plantation in the later ante-bellum years, Eliza Frances Andrews “honestly and conscientiously held the institution of slavery to be...just and sacred.”<sup>153</sup>

John G. Fee of Berea, Kentucky, recorded in his autobiography the vivid impression made on his youthful mind upon seeing a Presbyterian preacher rise before an immense audience and deliver a discourse in favor of slave holding. "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren," Fee recounted decades later, "God decreed that the children of Ham should be slaves to the children of Shem and Japheth; that Abraham held slaves, and Moses sanctioned such." Furthermore, Mark Twain's mother, from Kentucky, believed in the justification of slavery because she only heard preachers defend it, they never assailed it. It was defended using scripture. "The wise and the good and the holy were unanimous in the conviction that slavery was right, righteous, sacred..."<sup>154</sup>

Although, southerners collectively valued individualism to a very high degree, paradoxically, they were a group of people that also held a rather uniform world view. Evangelical Protestantism lay at the core of the world view and the preacher lay at the core of the religion. The southerner desperately wanted an emotional religious experience, but they did not necessarily need to shape that experience for themselves. Southerners willingly ceded that responsibility to their preacher and because the large majority of most preachers were exhorting very similar messages, southerners absorbed these messages into the fibers of their being. These messages consistently presented Biblical Jews as decent and pious,

God-loving men and women. These are the exact same traits southerners demanded of themselves and each other.<sup>155</sup>

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

The southern Preachers who evangelized the Protestant faith spoke of Biblical Jews in ways that inevitably carried the Jews' favor with the Protestant masses. The preachers identified the Jews unambiguously, either as a nation or as individuals, invoked the covenant of Abraham as the nascent origin of Jesus' Kingdom, heaped lavish praise upon the Jewish Prophets, and praised the virtue and courage of the Jews evident in the many Biblical stories battle and holidays. The language of the sermons personified the Jews as the loyal and dutiful children of the Almighty and made it clear to the Protestant church-goers that the Jews, by their lineage and nature, were a righteous and holy people.<sup>156</sup>

When this characterization is coupled with Holifield's findings that church-goers regarded the sermons more than any other aspect of the weekly church service, the impact of the sermons cannot be discounted. Week after week, members of the congregations heard sermons, often captivating in delivery, which they genuinely believed was their instruction their duty to God and man. It was only natural then, that after years of being inundated with references to Jews as the founders and keepers of their very own spirituality, southern Protestants developed an innate sense of oneness with the ancient Jews. Logically then, it was also quite

natural for southerners to extend this sense of oneness to the ancient Jews modern-day descendants.<sup>157</sup> This identification became a vital part of the southerners' survival repertoire during the later ante-bellum period and into the war. During the abolitionist and Confederacy years, respectively, Southern Protestants relied on references to Jewish slave-owners and to Israel's fight for political survival for motivation and spiritual resolve. As a result, the dynamic of the identification changed dramatically in scope. Prior to the 1850s the Protestants identified with Biblical Jews only because they were immersed with references from their preachers. In the later years of the ante-bellum period and during the war, however, southerners became acutely aware of their dire need to believe in the moral virtue and persistent courage of the ancient Hebrews. The result was a great demand by southerners for significantly more pro-Judaic sermons with heightened rhetoric, which galvanized the philo-Semitic sentiment in the South. In light of the dramatic increase of anti-Semitic sentiment and activity throughout the South during the later years of Civil War and the Reconstruction era, sermons provided the genesis for a deeper understanding of how the Protestant-Jewish relationship deteriorated.<sup>158</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Louis Schmier, *Reflections of Southern Jewry: The Letters of Charles Wessolowsky, 1878-1879*, (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1982), 7-9. While Schmier examined letters written after the ante-bellum period, the first chapter of the book recounts is August 25, 1979 interview with Sadie Davis, Wossolowsky's niece. All references to Charles' and his brother Asa's ante-bellum experience are derived from the Davis interview and not the letters of Charles Wessolowsky.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Jonathon Sarna, *The Jewish American Experience* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986), xiv. Sarna summarizes the historian's characterization of the Jewish experience on southern soil as successful. Eli N. Evans, *The Provincials*, (New York: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1973) and *The Lonely Days were Sundays: Reflections of a Jewish Southerner*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993). Evans is among of the first of many scholars to depict southern philo-Semitism as a function of Jewish assimilation and southern Protestant hatred of blacks and Catholics.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. See also Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South," in *Dixie Diaspora: An Anthology of Southern Jewish History*, ed. Mark K. Bauman, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2008) and Dale Rosengarten, Dale. "Southern Jewish history. (In Pursuit of ...)." *American Jewish History* 90, (Sept 2002), 323.

<sup>7</sup>Schmier, 7-9. See also Mark K. Bauman, "Articles relating to Southern Jewish History Published in American Jewish History, American Jewish Archives Journal, Their Predecessors and Southern Jewish History," *Southern Jewish History* 6 (2003), 163-185.

<sup>8</sup>Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1941) and Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956). While there are hundreds of studies examining the southern racial dynamic, Cash and Stampp provided the two seminal works in this

field. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (Yale University Press, New Haven: 2009). Colley compares Great Britain's view on slavery in the early nineteenth century with that of other European countries, thus providing an effective overview of the reforming views towards slavery throughout the world.

George Brown Tindall, *Natives & Newcomers: Ethnic Southerners and Southern Ethnics*, (Athens, GA.: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 14-18; Kieran Quinlan, *Strange Kin*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 50-51; W. Darrell Overdyke *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1950); and James Woods, *A History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513-1900*, (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011). These works all address Protestant bigotry and religious and ethnic persecution of minorities.

<sup>9</sup>Abraham J Karp, *Haven and Home: A History of the Jews in America* (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1986); Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States: 1654 to 2000*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>10</sup>Evans, *The Provincials*.

<sup>11</sup>See notes 6 and 8, above.

<sup>12</sup>Stewart J. Brown's *Providence and Empire: 1814-1914*, (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2008), 192-195; Ursula R. Q. Henriques, "The Jewish Emancipation Controversy in Nineteenth Century Britain," *Past & Present* No. 40 (July 1968): 126-46. Brown discusses the "Jew Bill" in the context of religious toleration in England generally, while Henriques offers a more detailed survey of the issue which was hotly debated in Parliament for twelve straight years before finally passing in 1857.

<sup>13</sup>Karp, *Haven and Home*, and Diner, *The Jews of the United States*.

<sup>14</sup>Sarna, *The Jewish American Experience*; Evans, *The Provincials* and *The Lonely Days were Sundays: Reflections of a Jewish Southerner*; Rabinowitz, "Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South;" Rosengarten, "Southern Jewish history. (In Pursuit of ...);" Cash, *The Mind of the South*; Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*; Tindall, *Natives & Newcomers: Ethnic Southerners and Southern Ethnics*; Quinlan, *Strange Kin*; Overdyke *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1950); and James Woods, *A History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513-1900*.

<sup>15</sup>Bauman, “Articles relating to Southern Jewish History.”

<sup>16</sup>Diner, Hasia R. *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Hasia Diner, “Entering the Mainstream of Modern Jewish History: Peddlers and the American Jewish South” in, *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History*, ed. Marci Cohen Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2006), 86-108; Diner, *The Jews of the United States*; Sarna, *The Jewish American Experience*.

<sup>17</sup>However, historians generally consider the southern experience to be uniform and homogenous. See Cash, *The Mind of the South* and Donald G. Mathews *Religion in the Old South*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977). But cf. Peter Kolchin, *A Sphinx on the American Land: The Nineteenth Century South in Comparative Perspective*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003). Kolchin is one of relatively few historians who conclude that due to the diversity of the people, ante-bellum southern history is not susceptible to broader generalizations. Howard N. Rabinowitz, “Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South,” in *Dixie*.

<sup>18</sup>Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders’ Worldview* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 543-44; E. Brooks Holifield, “Let the Children Come: The Religion of the Protestant Child in Early America,” *The American Society of Church History* 76 (December 2007): 750-777; Anne C. Loveland’s *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order: 1800-1860*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

<sup>19</sup>The term “pro-Judaic” rhetoric is used herein to mean the practice of extolling the morality or heroism of Biblical figures commonly known to be or identified as Jewish.

<sup>20</sup>Although an examination of southern sermons might appear to warrant a review of southern and religious historical literature, the purpose of this study is to build upon the existing scholarship in the specialized field of southern Jewish history. While the conclusions may be of benefit to southern historians generally, it is beyond the scope of this effort to place the results within the historiographical scaffold of such a vast field. That said, a thorough survey of southern history reveals a similar dearth of research into what influenced southern Protestants views of Jews (whether the views were philo- or anti-Semitic, or in between).

<sup>21</sup>Rosser H. Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History*, (De Capo Press: New York, 1970). Conceptually, this study seeks to demonstrate in microcosm, that the pro-Judaic rhetoric of ante-bellum southern Protestant

preachers throughout the entire South created a degree of philo-Semitism. Logistical limitations regarding researching primary source material, however, requires a more narrow scope of inquiry.

<sup>22</sup>Gary Zola, “Why Study Jewish History?” *Southern Jewish History* 1 (1998): 1-22. Interestingly, the earlier rabbinical scholars did attempt to understand this in more depth, but their work has been largely ignored by modern scholars. The primary example of this rabbinical scholarship is Louis M. Levitsky, *A Jew Looks at America*, (New York: The Dial Press, 1939).

<sup>23</sup> Golden and Evans are two scholars cited to with great regularity.

<sup>24</sup> See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders’ Worldview*; Loveland *Southern Evangelicals*; and Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*. Evaluating the language of ante-bellum evangelical sermons and Protestant views on Jews seems to be more popular among graduate students than experienced scholars. Since 1990, at least three theses/dissertations have looked at the issues addressed in this study. In 1990, a master’s thesis at Rice University examined the language of sermons to establish the Confederacy’s identity as a modern-day Israel graced by God’s providence. In 1994, a doctoral dissertation at Louisiana State University examined pro-slavery sermons to determine what southerners felt were the most important rhetoric used in the defense of slavery. Currently, a doctoral student at the University of Michigan is completing a dissertation which examines Protestant attitudes toward Jews in Charleston in the late 18th and early 19th century. See Zola, “Why Study Jewish History?” and Bauman, “Articles relating to Southern Jewish History.”

<sup>25</sup>Diner, “Entering the Mainstream of Modern Jewish History.”

<sup>26</sup>Rabinowitz, “Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South.”

<sup>27</sup> Harry Golden, *Jewish Roots in the Carolinas: A Pattern of Philo-Semitism*, (Charlotte, N.C., 1955); *Our Southern Landsman*. (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1974).

<sup>28</sup>Rabinowitz, “Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South;” Leonard Rogoff, “Harry Golden, New Yorker,” *Southern Jewish History*, 11 (2008).

<sup>29</sup>Evans, *The Provincials*.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, ix, 41-42.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid; Bertram Korn, “Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South: 1789-1865” in *Jews in the South*, ed. Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973); Hasia Diner “Entering the Mainstream of Modern Jewish History,” in *Dixie Diaspora*, ed. Mark K. Bauman.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.; See notes 6 and 7, above.

<sup>34</sup>Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972).

<sup>35</sup>Evans, *The Provincials*, 45-49; Glazer, 24-28.

<sup>36</sup>Evans, *The Provincials*, 49.

<sup>37</sup>Dinnerstein and Palsson, ed., *Jews in the South*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 3-7, 26.

<sup>38</sup>Korn, “Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South,” 132-33.

<sup>39</sup> Evans, *The Lonely Days were Sundays*, xix, 32

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 6.

<sup>41</sup>Marci Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg (ed.), *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History*, (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2006) and Mark K. Bauman (ed.), *Dixie Diaspora: An Anthology of Southern Jewish History*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2008).

<sup>42</sup>Jennifer Stollman, “The Pen is Mightier than the Sword,” in *Jewish Roots*, ed. Ferris and Greenberg, 74.

<sup>43</sup>Diner, “Entering the Mainstream of Modern Jewish History,” 100-102; Robert N. Rossen, *The Jewish Confederates*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 109-112.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Gary Zola “The Ascendancy of Reform Judaism in the American South during the Nineteenth Century,” in *Jewish Roots*, ed. Ferris and Greenberg, xi.

<sup>46</sup>Bauman ed., *Dixie Diaspora*.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 3-8.

<sup>48</sup>Mark I. Greenberg, "A Haven of Benignity: Conflict and Cooperation between Eighteenth-Century Savannah Jews," in *Dixie Diaspora*, 22.

<sup>49</sup>H.A. Wiener "The Mixers" in *Dixie Diaspora*, ed. Bauman, 86.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, fn 6.

<sup>51</sup>Rabinowitz, "Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South," 277-9.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup>Joshua Rothman, "Notorious in the Neighborhood: An Interracial Family in Early National and Ante-bellum Virginia," in *Dixie Diaspora*, ed. Bauman, 290.

<sup>54</sup>Scott Langston "Interaction and Identity: Jews and Christians in Nineteenth Century New Orleans," in *Dixie Diaspora*, ed. Bauman, 360.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*; Benjamin M. Palmer, "The Import of Hebrew History," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Vol. 9 (Columbia S.C.: I.C. Morgan, 1856), 582-610

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup>Zola, "Why Study Jewish History?"

<sup>58</sup>Jon Butler, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Loveland *Southern Evangelicals*; and Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*.

<sup>59</sup> For the impact of the Reformation English and early American society generally, see Butler, *Religion in Colonial America* and Patricia Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). For the early origins of Baptists, see Robert G. Torbert, *A History of the Baptists* (Judson Press: Valley Forge, 1950).

<sup>60</sup> Brown, *Providence and Empire*.

<sup>61</sup> Butler, *Religion in Colonial America*, 21; Joel W. Martin, "Indians, Contact and Colonialism," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, Thomas A. Tweed (ed.), (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, and Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 3

- <sup>63</sup>Tindall, *Natives and Newcomers*, Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 7 and Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven.*, W. Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763*, (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 165.
- <sup>64</sup>Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 6-11 Butler, *Religion in Colonial America*, 98-112
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid, Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 32, Frank Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 32; Thomas Abernethy, *The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), 9.
- <sup>66</sup>Butler, *Religion in Colonial America* 21, 64-70; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 96; Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 34-38
- <sup>67</sup>Grant Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 16-30; Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948) 56.
- <sup>68</sup>Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 18-20.
- <sup>69</sup>Ibid., 18-23.
- <sup>70</sup>Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 31-33; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 102.
- <sup>71</sup>Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism*, 56-57.
- <sup>72</sup>Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 31;
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid, 32-37.
- <sup>74</sup>Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 95-100; Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 35-37; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 96-102.
- <sup>75</sup> Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 102-113; Wallace Hettle, *The Peculiar Democracy*, 137; Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 42
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>78</sup> Wacker, *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*, 24-29; Mathews 8-10
- <sup>79</sup> Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 83; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 133-140,
- <sup>80</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>81</sup> Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 83-85; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 96
- <sup>82</sup> Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 98-99;
- <sup>83</sup> Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 84.
- <sup>84</sup> Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 43; Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 39-41.
- <sup>85</sup> Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 39, citing to Manley.
- <sup>86</sup> Ibid., 41-5.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>89</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>90</sup> Ibid.; Fox-Genovese *The Mind of the Master Class*, 426-430.
- <sup>91</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>92</sup> Rosser Taylor, *South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 23-40 and Frank Towers, *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 34-63. For a very concise and effective summary of early American cities, including the development of Savannah and Charleston, see Howard Chudacoff, Judith Smith and Peter C. Baldwin's *The Evolution of American Urban Society*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Publishing, 2010).
- <sup>93</sup> Langston, "Interaction and Identity: Jews and Christians in Nineteenth Century New Orleans."
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 360.

<sup>96</sup> George Whitefield, “The Eternity of Hell Torments, A Sermon Preached at Savannah, Georgia” (London, 1738), pg. 7.

<sup>97</sup> William Preston, *Sermons by William Preston, D.D., Late Pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church, Savannah, Ga.* (Philadelphia, H. Cowperthwait and Co., 1857), Volume 2, “Christ as Mediator,” pg. 192; Preston, *Sermons*, “Faith,” pg. 312.

<sup>98</sup> Elliot, *Sermons*, “Watchman, What of the Night,” pg. 56.

<sup>99</sup> George Whitefield, *Eighteen Sermons Preached by the Late George Whitfield, American Minister*, eds. Joseph Gurney and Andrew Gifford, (Newbury Port, Edmund M. Blunt, 1797), “Jacob’s Ladder,” pg. 321; William Bacon Stevens, “The Providence of God in the Settlement and Protection of Georgia,” (Athens, GA 1845), pg. 7-8; Preston, *Sermons*, “Analogy Between the Israelites’ Journey to Canaan and the Christians’ Journey to Heaven,” pg. 250.

<sup>100</sup> Isaac Stockton Keith, D.D., “A Sermon on the Death of General George Washington, Late Commander in Chief of the Armies and Formerly President of the United States of America: Who Died at MOUNT VERNON, DECEMBER 14, 1799, in the 68<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age,” (Charleston, S.C., 1800), 5.

<sup>101</sup> Henry Holcombe, “A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Lt.-Gen. George Washington. Late President of the USA” (Savannah, GA, 1800), pg. 1-2, 6-7.

<sup>102</sup> As this attestation demonstrates, the public demand for a particular sermon occasionally justified, or even compelled, its publication and circulation.

<sup>103</sup> Samuel Steel, “A Sermon on Christian Baptism,” (Winchester, Ky., 1828).

<sup>104</sup> Steel, “Christian Baptism,” pg. 9.

<sup>105</sup> Preston, *Sermons*, “The Prodigal’s Return,” pg. 61.

<sup>106</sup> T. Charlton Henry. “Hope for the Dying Infant,” (Charleston, S.C., 1829), pg. 9.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., at 18-19, 26-27.

<sup>108</sup> Steel, “Christian Baptism,” pg. 37-39; Elliot, *Sermons*, “The Well of Bethlehem,” pg. 36, 39; George Whitefield, *Eighteen Sermons*, “The Burning Bush,” pg. 199.

<sup>109</sup> No Author, “Catechism on Confirmation,” Printed by the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina, (Charleston, S.C., 1836) pg. 4-5.

<sup>110</sup> Rev. A.F. Dickson. *Plantation Sermons, or Plain and Familiar Discourse for the Instruction of the Unlearned*. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1856, “None Righteous,” pg. 37-38; Elliot, *Sermons*, “Second Sermon,” pg. 11 and “The Well of Bethlehem,” pg. 43; George Whitefield, *Eighteen Sermons*, “Soul Rejection,” pg. 218.

<sup>111</sup> Preston, *Sermons*, “Christ the Believer’s Refuge,” pg. 21 and “A Faithful Minister’s Parting Blessing,” pg. 9; Reverend John Douglas. “A Dedication Sermon, Preached at the Opening of the New Presbyterian Church, Chesterville, S.C.,” (Charleston, S.C., 1855), pg. 5.

<sup>112</sup> Preston, *Sermons*, “Analogy Between the Israelites’ Journey to Canaan and the Christians’ Journey to Heaven,” pg. 253; Stevens, “The Providence of God in the Settlement and Protection of Georgia,” pg. 16; James Thornwell, *Discourses on Truth*, (NY, Robert Carter and Brothers, 1855), “Sermon #2,” pg. 26. .

<sup>113</sup> Preston, *Sermons*, “The Great Resolve,” pg. 98-101.

<sup>114</sup> Jennifer A. Stollman, “The Pen is Mightier than the Sword,” 74; Rabinowitz, “Nativism, Bigotry and Anti-Semitism in the South,” 277-279.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. These sermons raise questions regarding the general conclusions of Rabinowicz, Stoler and others: In the sermons which these authors refer to in support of their conclusions, did the preachers also rehabilitate the morality of the Jews who murdered Jesus? Did preachers stress that proper Christian behavior requires forgiveness of those Jews?

<sup>116</sup> Whitefield, *Eighteen Sermons*, “The Gospel- A Dying Saint’s Triumph,” pg. 91.

<sup>117</sup> Whitefield, “The Eternity of Hell Torments, A Sermon Preached at Savannah, Georgia,” pg. 13; Preston, *Sermons*, Untitled, pg. 64.

<sup>118</sup> Preston, *Sermons*, Untitled, pg. 53; Preston, *Sermons*, “God’s Desire for Salvation of the Sinner’s Soul,” pg. 156; Jon Butler, *Religion in Colonial America*,

(New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pg. 21; Preston, *Sermons*, Untitled, pg. 53.

<sup>119</sup> Whitefield, *Eighteen Sermons*, “The Gospel- A Dying Saint’s Triumph,” pg. 91; Thornwell, *Discourses on Truth*, “Sermon #7,” pg. 172; Dickson. *Plantation Sermons, or Plain and Familiar Discourse for the Instruction of the Unlearned*, “Who is Jesus,” pg. 70; Elliot, *Sermons*, “What I Have Written, I Have Written,” pg. 25, *Ibid.*, “John the Baptist,” page 205.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, “Christ the Truth,” pg. 310-311.

<sup>121</sup> Preston, *Sermons*, “Vast Numbers of the Human Race to be Saved,” pg. 132, 134-135.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Thornwell, *Discourses on Truth*, “Vows to God,” pg. 239; Holcombe, “A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Lt.-Gen. George Washington. Late President of the USA,” pg. 2.

<sup>124</sup> Reverend Thomas Smith, “Sermon Delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston, (S.C.) On Sabbath Morning, April 1, 1832.” (Charleston, S.C., 1832), pg. 13.

<sup>125</sup> Samuel Davies, “A Sermon on the Sacred Import of the Word Christian,” (Charlestown, VA, 1810).

<sup>126</sup> George F. Pierce, “The Word Of God A Nation's Life.”

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, at 5-6.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, at 12.

<sup>130</sup> Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution*.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-60; Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 155-60, 200-01; Fox-Genevise, *Mind of the Master Class*, 496-515.

<sup>132</sup> Fox-Genevise, *Mind of the Master Class*, 496-515.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup>Ibid.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., 534-5; Iveson Brookes, "A defense of the South against the Reproaches of the North."

<sup>137</sup>Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 187-95; Loveland 187-201.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., Genovese-Fox, *Mind of the Master Class*, 533-4.

<sup>139</sup>George Fitzhugh, *Christian Morality Impracticable In Free Society - But The Natural Morality Of Slave Society*.

<sup>140</sup>Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, 170-75; Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 257-65; Genovese-Fox, *Mind of the Master Class*, 473-504.

<sup>141</sup>Holifield, "Let the Children Come: The Religion of the Protestant Child in Early America," 750-777. Holifield examined the correspondence and private journals of over forty children to determine the effects of religion, and its various components, on their lives, concluding that "the diaries reveal, above all, a remarkable attention to sermons." The children "mentioned sermons more than three times as often as they referred to catechisms, Sunday schools, or children's literature- and they sometimes included in their diaries precise descriptions of a sermon's text and substance." As Holifield's study spanned the years of 1770 through 1860, his conclusions can be reasonably extrapolated to include most American youth who grew in the South up listening to Protestant sermons; Sydnor, *Development of Southern Sectionalism*, 56-7; Genevese-Fox, *Mind of the Master Class*, 425-430.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid.

<sup>143</sup>Teague Family Bible, handwritten insert.

<sup>144</sup>No Author, "Letter from A Christian to a Jew," (Charleston, S.C., 1851), pg. 1-3, 6-8.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>H.M. Hamill, D. D., *The Old South: A Monograph*, 70-72

<sup>147</sup>Ibid.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., 15-6, 67.

<sup>149</sup>Johnson Olive, *One Of The Wonders Of The Age; Or The Life And Times Of Rev. Johnson Olive, Wake County, North Carolina*, (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton & Co., Power Printers And Binders, 1886), 22-5.

<sup>150</sup>Robert N. Gordon, "The Interest in Slavery of the Non-slaveholder: The Right of Peaceful Secession/Slavery in the Bible."

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 96-102.

<sup>152</sup>Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 96-102; Genovese-Fox, *Mind of the Master Class*, 495-98.

<sup>153</sup>Genovese-Fox, *Mind of the Master Class*, 495-98.

<sup>154</sup>John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee , Berea, Kentucky*, (Chicago: National Christian Association, 1891), 53-54; Genevese-Fox, *Mind of the Master Class*, 496-97.

<sup>155</sup>Matthews, *Religion in the Old South*, Anne Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order: 1800-1860*; Genevese-Fox, *Mind of the Master Class*.

<sup>156</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup>Adam Mendelsohn, "A Struggle Which Ended So Beneficently: A Century of Jewish Historical Writing About the American Civil War," *American Jewish History* 92, No. 4 (2004), 438-454.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### Manuscripts

Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.

Steel, Samuel. "A Sermon on Christian Baptism." (Winchester, KY, 1828).

Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, GA.

Holcombe, Henry. "A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Lt.-Gen. George Washington. Late President of the USA." Savannah, GA, 1800.

Joyner, Reverend Charles. "Address to the Senior Class in the Theological Seminary of the Synod of South Carolina." Savannah, GA, 1837.

Preston, William. *Sermons by William Preston, D.D., Late Pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church, Savannah, GA.* Philadelphia: H. Cowperthwait and Co., 1857. Volumes 1 and 2.

#### Volume 1

"Untitled," pg. 53

"The Great Resolve," pg. 98-101

"God's Desire for Salvation of the Sinner's Soul," pg. 156-159

"Analogy Between the Israelites' Journey to Canaan and the Christians' Journey to Heaven," pg. 250, 253, 267

"Faith," pg. 310-313

#### Volume 2

"The Prodigal's Return," pg. 61

"Vast Numbers of the Human Race to be Saved," pg. 132, 134-135

"Christ as Mediator," pg. 192

"The Ordinance of the Supper," pg. 273

Stevens, William Bacon. "The Providence of God in the Settlement and Protection of Georgia." Athens, GA, 1845.

Teague Family Bible

Whitefield, George. *Eighteen Sermons Preached by the Late George*

*Whitfield, American Minister*. Transcribed by Joseph Gurney and revised by Andrew Gifford (Newbury Port, Edmund M. Blunt, 1797).

“A Faithful Ministers Parting Blessing.” pg. 9

Christ the Believer’s Refuge, pg. 21

The Gospel- A Dying Saint’s Triumph, pg. 63, 84, 91

The Lord Our Light, pg. 144

The Burning Bush, pg. 199

Soul Rejection, pg. 218,

Jacob’s Ladder, pg. 321, 332

——— “The Eternity of Hell Torments, A Sermon Preached at Savannah, Georgia.” London, 1738. Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, GA.

South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.

Brookes, Iveson. “A defense of the South against the Reproaches of the North.”

Dickson, Rev. A.F. *Plantation Sermons, or Plain and Familiar Discourse for the Instruction of the Unlearned*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1856.

“None Righteous,” pg. 37-38

“Who is Jesus,” pg. 58, 64-70

“Gospel Conduct,” pg. 126-127

“The Lord Our Shepherd,” pg.138

Douglas, Rev. John. *A Dedication Sermon, Preached at the Opening of the New Presbyterian Church, Chesterville, S.C.* Charleston, S.C., 1855.

Elliot, Stephen D. *Sermons*. NY: Pott and Amery, 1867

“Second Sermon,” pg. 11

“What I Have Written, I Have Written,” pg. 25

“The Well of Bethlehem,” pg. 36, 39, 43

“Watchman, What of the Night,” pg. 56, 59

“Kingdom of Christ,” pg. 73, 83

“Unity of Earthly Life,” pg. 98-100

”John the Baptist,” pg. 204-206

“Christ the Truth,” pg. 310-311

Henry, T. Charlton. “Hope for the Dying Infant.” Charleston, S.C., 1829.

No Author. “Letter from a Christian to a Jew,” Charleston, S.C.: A.J. Burke, 1851.

No Author. Catechism on Confirmation. Printed by the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina. Charleston, S.C., 1836.

Smith, Rev. Thomas. "Sermon Delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston, (S.C.) On Sabbath Morning, April 1, 1832." Charleston, S.C., 1832.

Thornwell, James. *Discourses on Truth*. NY: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1855.

"Sermon #2," pg. 26

"The Love of Truth," pg. 129

"Sermon #7," pg. 172

"Vows to God," pg. 239, 244-246, 255, 261

#### Published Sources

Davies, Samuel. *A Sermon on the Sacred Import of the Word Christian*. Charlestown, VA, 1810. Accessed May 17, 2011 American Early Imprints, Series II, online database.

Fee, John G. *Autobiography of John G. Fee , Berea, Kentucky*. Chicago: National Christian Association, 1891.

Gordon, Robert N. "The Interest in Slavery of the Non-slaveholder: The Right of Peaceful Secession/Slavery in the Bible." Accessed May 17, 2011.

American

Early Imprints, Series II, online database.

Keith, Isaac Stockton. "A Sermon on the Death of General George Washington, Late Commander in Chief of the Armies and Formerly President of the United States of America: Who Died at MOUNT VERNON, DECEMBER 14, 1799, in the 68<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age." Charleston, S.C., 1800. Accessed May 17, 2011. American Early Imprints, Series II, online database.

Olive, Johnson *One Of The Wonders Of The Age; Or The Life And Times Of Rev. Johnson Olive, Wake County, North Carolina*. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards, Broughton & Co., Power Printers And Binders, 1886.

Palmer, Benjamin M. "The Import of Hebrew History," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Vol. 9 ( 1856), 582-610.

Pierce, George F. "The Word Of God A Nation's Life. A Sermon, Preached Before The Bible Convention Of The Confederate States. Augusta, Georgia, March 19th, 1862. Augusta, Ga: The Office Of The Constitutionalist, 1862. Accessed May 17, 2011. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/pierce/pierce.html>.

### Secondary Sources

#### Books

Abernathy, Thomas P. *The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961.

Bauman, Mark K. (Ed.). *Dixie Diaspora: An Anthology of Southern Jewish History*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2008.

Buonami, Patricia. *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Brown, Stewart J. *Providence and Empire: 1815-1914*. Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2008.

Butler, Jon. *Religion in Colonial America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Cash, JW. *The Mind of the South*. New York: Vintage Books, 1941.

Chudacoff, Howard, Smith, Judith and Peter C. Baldwin. *The Evolution of American Urban Society*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Publishing, 2010.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Diner, Hasia R. *The Jews of the United States: 1654 to 2000*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.

——— *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Dinnerstein, Leonard and Palsson, Mary Dale (Ed.). *Jews in the South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973.

Evans, Eli N. *The Provincials*. New York: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1973.

- The Lonely Days were Sundays: Reflections of a Jewish Southerner*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993.
- Faber, Eli. *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654-1820*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Ferris, Marci and Mark I. Greenberg (Ed.). *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History*. Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2006.
- Fishman, Hertzfel. *American Protestants and a Jewish State*. Detroit: Wayne State University, 1973.
- Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth and Eugene D. Genovese. *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Glazer, Nathan. *American Judaism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Golden, Harry. *Our Southern Landsman*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1974.
- Hertzberg, Arthur. *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Karp, Abraham J. *Haven and Home: A History of the Jews in America*. New York: Schocken Books, 1986.
- Kolchin, Peter. *A Sphinx on the American Land: The Nineteenth Century South in Comparative Perspective*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2003.
- Levitsky, Louis M. *A Jew Looks at America*. New York: The Dial Press, 1939.
- Loveland, Anne C. *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order: 1800-1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.
- Mathews, Donald G. *Religion in the Old South*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Potter, David. *The Impending Crisis: 1848-1861*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976.
- Proctor, Samuel and Louis Scmier (Ed.). *Jews of the South*. Macon, GA: Mercer

- University Press, 1994.
- Overdyke, W. Darrell. *The Know-Nothing Party in the South*. Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1950.
- Owsley, Frank L. *Plain Folk in the Old South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.
- Quinlan, Kieran. *Strange Kin*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005.
- Reznikoff, Charles. *The Jews of Charleston: A history of an American Jewish Community*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1950.
- Robinson, W. Stitt. *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763*. Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1979.
- Rossen, Robert N. *The Jewish Confederates*. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2000.
- Sarna, Jonathon D. (Ed.). *The American Jewish Experience*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986.
- Scarborough, William K. *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003.
- Schmier, Louis. *Reflections of Southern Jewry: The Letters of Charles Wessolowsky, 1878-1879*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1982.
- Stamp, Kenneth. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. New York: Vintage Books, 1956.
- Stokes, Thomas, L. *The Savannah*. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1951.
- Sydnor, Charles S. *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948.
- Taylor, Rosser H. *Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History*. New York: De Capo Press, 1970.
- Taylor, Rosser. *South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1942.

- Tindall, George Brown. *Natives & Newcomers: Ethnic Southerners and Southern Ethnics*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Towers, Frank. *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004.
- Tweed, Thomas A. (Ed.). *Retelling U.S. Religious History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Wacker, Grant. *Religion in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Woods, James A. *History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513-1900*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011.
- Articles
- Bauman, Mark K. "Articles relating to Southern Jewish History Published in American Jewish History, American Jewish Archives Journal, Their Predecessors and Southern Jewish History." *Southern Jewish History* 6 (2003): 163-185.
- "Jews and Judaism in Dixie." *Religion Compass*, 1 (2007), 179–189.
- Bowman, Matthew and Samuel Brown. "Reverend Buck's Theological Dictionary and the Struggle to Define American Evangelicalism, 1802–1851." *Journal of the Early Republic*, 29 (Fall 2009), 441-473.
- Diner, Hasia R. "Entering the Mainstream of Modern Jewish History: Peddlers and the American Jewish South." *Southern Jewish History* 8 (2005), 1-31.
- Harding, Susan F. "American Protestant Moralism and the Secular Imagination: from Temperance to the Moral Majority," *Social Research*, 76: No 4 (Winter 2009), 1277-1306.
- Hart, Mitchell B. "Jews, Race and Capitalism in the German-Jewish Context." *Jewish History*, 19 (2005), 49-63.
- Holifield, E. Brooks. "Let the Children Come: The Religion of the Protestant Child in Early America." *The American Society of Church History* 76 (December 2007), 750-777.
- Langston, Scott. "Interaction and Identity: Jews and Christians in Nineteenth

- Century New Orleans.” *Southern Jewish History*, 3 (2000), 83-124.
- Mendelsohn Adam. “A Struggle Which Ended So Beneficently: A Century of Jewish Historical Writing About the American Civil War.” *American Jewish History* 92, No. 4 (2004), 438-454.
- Rogoff, Leonard. “Harry Golden, New Yorker.” *Southern Jewish History*, 11 (2008).
- Rosengarten, Dale. "Southern Jewish history. (In Pursuit of ...)." *American Jewish History* 90.3 (Sept 2002): 323-30. Academic OneFile. Gale. Florida Atlantic University. 17 May 2011. <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.fau.edu/gtx/start.do?prodId=AONE&userGroupName=gale15691>.
- Vann, Barry. “Irish Protestants and the Creation of the Bible Belt.” *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 5, No. 1, (2007), 87-106.
- Weaver, C. Douglas. “The Risk of Majority Faith.” *Baptist History and Heritage*. (Summer/Fall 2009), 53-58.
- Zola, Gary. “Why study Southern Jewish History.” *Southern Jewish History*, 1 (1998): 1-22.