Notes

Introduction


2. Larson mentions, though he does not explore, the implications of Dayton’s emergence as an industrial town and the Socialist politics of Thomas Scopes. Larson, Summer for the Gods, 87–88, 91.


16. Scopes and Presley, Center of the Storm, 8–10.


26. “Debs Says the Word: To the Wealthy Folk,” Appeal to Reason, April 29, 1899, 2; Shapiro, New South Rebellion, 244–46.


32. Except when I refer to George McCready Price and his coinage of the term “Red Dynamite,” I use it otherwise without quotation marks to denote more broadly this claim, expressed by many other conservative Christians, about evolution, communism, and immorality.


46. For studies of how the contested politics of gender played out during the Cold War see Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Mary C. Brennan, Wives, Mothers, and the Red Menace: Conservative

47. Daniel Horowitz, Betty Friedan and the Making of “The Feminist Mystique”: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); Hamlin, From Eve to Evolution, 149–65.

48. For a valuable study of grassroots conservatism that takes conspiracy ideas seriously see Erin Kempker, Big Sister: Feminism, Conservatism, and Conspiracy in the Heartland (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018).


52. On the predominance of sexual morality as a theme in intelligent design creationism see Pennock, Tower of Babel, 318–19.


61. CNN, “Anger Erupts over New Mask Rule While Experts Say They Are Key to Contain the Virus,” June 24, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cc4qgvXgLkc.


1. Lighting the Darwin Fuse


2. “Evolution or Sovietizing the State through Its Schools,” in \textit{ Inspiration or Evolution}, 2nd ed. (Cleveland: Union Gospel, 1926), 91, 97–98.


11. Scholarly interpretations of Engels’s linking of Marx and Darwin have varied widely. For a sympathetic account that stresses the “complementary” nature of the two figures see Paul Heyer, \textit{ Nature, Human Nature, and Society: Marx, Darwin, Biology, and the Human Sciences} (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982), 11. For more skeptical views see David Stack, \textit{ The First Darwinian Left: Socialism and Darwinism, 1959–1914} (Cheltenham, UK: New Clarion, 2003), 4, which argues that Engels was actuated by “tactical” and “polemical” motives rather than a sincere belief that Marx and Darwin were complementary figures; and Paul Thomas, \textit{ Marxism and Scientific Socialism: From Engels to Althusser} (New York: Routledge, 2008), 65, which argues that Engels misrepresented Darwin, with “destructive” consequences.


25. Bowler, 95.


41. Vucinich, Darwin in Russian Thought, 356.

42. Vucinich, 368.

43. Vucinich, 363.

44. V.I. Lenin, “What the ‘Friends of the People’ Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats (a Reply to Articles in Russkoye Bogatstvo Opposing the Marxists),” in Collected Works of V.I. Lenin, vol. 1, 1893–94 (Moscow: Progress, 1960), 142.


52. Max Eastman, Leon Trotsky: The Portrait of a Youth (New York: Greenberg, 1925), 129.


79. Draper, Roots of American Communism, 360–61. According to Draper, the proponents of undergroundism were dubbed the “Goose Caucus” by Jay Lovestone, because of how much panicked noise they made about saving the party, an apparent reference to a legend about the sacred geese of Juno having alerted Roman consul Marcus Manlius Capitolinus to an imminent Gallic invasion of Rome in 387 BCE.
86. “‘Monkey or Man’ Mike’s Play at Defense Picnic,” Daily Worker, August 7, 1925; “‘Monkey or Man?’ Screaming Farce by Michael Gold,” advertisement, Daily Worker, August 20, 1925.


100. “Crusader,” *Time*, June 28, 1937, 44.


2. The Lamb-Dragon and the Devil’s Poison


2. “Letter to the editor of Science from the principal scientific authority of the fundamentalists,” *Science* 63 (March 5, 1926): 259.

3. See, for example, Albert Einstein to George McCready Price, February 6, 1954, box 2, folder 2, Papers of George McCready Price, Adventist Heritage Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI (hereafter cited as Price Papers).


34. Price, *Outlines*, 263.


39. George McCready Price to Elder William Guthrie, from 95 Christopher Street, New York City, December 28, 1904, RG 11, box 20, President’s Incoming Letters, 1905-D to 1905-P, Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, MD.

40. George McCready Price to A. G. Daniells, from 422 W. 57th Street, New York, March 19, 1905, RG 11, box 20, President’s Incoming Letters, 1905-D to 1905-P, Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, MD.

41. Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, July 13, 1905.


43. McFarland, Inside Greenwich Village, 122–23. Walling was not formally a member of the Socialist Party of America until 1910, but he helped write the party’s 1904 platform and wrote widely for socialist publications during the decade. Mark Pittenger, American Socialists and Evolutionary Thought, 1870–1920 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 147.

44. Numbers, Creationists, 94–95, 98.


46. 1908 Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1908), 139.


48. Clark, Crusader for Creation, 32; Numbers, Creationists, 107.


54. Price, 31, emphasis added.

55. Price, 32–33.


57. Signs of the Times, July 4, 1911.

58. Signs of the Times, May 23, 1911.


60. See, for instance, the following, all from the Advent Review and Herald: “Christianity’s Solution of the Problem of Capital and Labor,” August 14, 1913, 7–9; “A World-Wide


63. Price, 175–78.

64. Price, 168–69.

65. Price, 176–79.


86. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, August 20, 1925.

87. William B. Riley, “Choose You This Day: Between the Bible and Evolution,” *Signs of the Times*, October 13, 1925.


91. Advertisement for *The Predicament of Evolution*, the *Present Truth*, December 1927, inside cover.


98. Price, 117–18, emphasis in original.

3. Blood Relationship, Bolshevism, and Whoopie Parties


6. Marie Acomb Riley, *The Dynamic of a Dream: The Life Story of Dr. William B. Riley* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1938), 21. The author drew her information on Riley’s birthplace from “A Sketch of My Life” done by Riley in 1931 for the Northwestern Bible School yearbook, wherein he identified his place of birth as “Green” County, Indiana. The correct spelling is Greene, named for Revolutionary War general Nathanael Greene. Rural Greene County (https://www.co.greene.in.us/) is located directly west of Monroe County, whose county seat is Bloomington, home of Indiana University.


14. William Bell Riley to Dr. Garten, June 14, 1916, Riley Collection; Trollinger, *God’s Empire*, 89.


18. Riley, 61–62, 64. In the published version of the sermon, which appeared in *Inspiration or Evolution*? (1926), a “note” at the bottom of the last page directed readers who wanted to learn more to Price’s *Poisoning Democracy*. Along with that note, the inclusion of the Bouck White “dynamite” story in Riley’s sermon suggests he learned of it from reading Price, since it appeared first in Price’s book. Among the books in Riley’s personal library were five by Price. *Poisoning* was not among them, but they did include *The Predicament of Evolution* (1925), which also featured the White story. “Books from Dr. Riley’s Library,” *Riley Collection Index*, Riley Collection.


21. Riley, “Evolution or Sovietizing the State through Its Schools,” in *Inspiration or Evolution*, 94.

22. Riley, 95

23. Riley, 100.

27. “Baptist Bible Union of America, First Conference.”
40. *Searchlight*, October 6, 1922.
42. Analyzing a similar performance at a mock trial of a Baylor professor whom Norris accused of teaching evolution, Michael Lienesch writes, “Its purpose was not legal but political and psychological, to encourage the audience to take more aggressive action against evolutionists.” See Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: The Making of the Antievolution Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 81, my emphasis.
43. “Address on Evolution before the Texas Legislature,” 2.
47. Ribuffo, 88.
50. Historians have paid increasing attention to the olfactory dimension of human experience. See Mark Smith, ed., *Smell and History: A Reader* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2019).
52. Winrod, *Christ Within* (1925), 54–69; *Christ Within* (1929), 91, on O'Toole.
54. Winrod, *Christ Within* (1925), 70–71. This passage is preserved in the third edition (1929), 111.
58. “Russia’s Mistake.”
64. For a sample of Ham’s preaching visit http://ia600403.us.archive.org/4/items/SERMONINDEX_SID0629/SID0629.mp3.
72. “Beheading 2,000 Teachers Would Have Saved Germany.”


92. Winrod, Christ Within (1925), 54–69; Christ Within (1929), 91, on O’Toole.


101. O’Toole, *Case against Evolution*, 126. As Ronald Numbers has noted, O’Toole’s use of Price did not include an endorsement of flood geology, which is almost entirely absent from the book. Numbers, *Creationists*, 118.

102. O’Toole, *Case against Evolution*, 342.


105. “Bryan, in His Fight with Evolution, Backed by a Professor of Biology, Scores Hard on American Museum,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, May 17, 1925.

4. The Wolf Pack and the Upas Tree


5. At least we know that it appeared in Riley’s personal library. See “Books from Dr. Riley’s Library,” *Riley Collection Index*, Riley Collection.


13. Riley, 14, 15, 17.


15. William Bell Riley, “The Nazi-Communist Battle,” November 20, 1938, Riley Collection. Neither the source nor the significance of the number 541 is evident from Riley’s sermon.


25. As historian Matthew Avery Sutton has noted, Gilbert has been “almost totally ignored by historians.” See Sutton, “Was FDR the Antichrist?,” 1070.


32. Dan Gilbert, Crucifying Christ in Our Colleges, 2nd ed. (San Diego, CA: Danielle, 1935), 44, 58, 64, 131.

33. Gilbert, 9, 132.


40. Gilbert, Evolution, 41.


42. Gilbert, 55, 57–58, 61–62.


44. Giddings, 65, 67.

45. Giddings, 70–73.


49. Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 63.


52. “Dr. Fields Talks in Fundamental Gathering Here,” *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, April 27, 1928, 30; “Miss Knauss Has Most Successful Tour thru East,” *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, February 17, 1928, 8; “At Hall’s Grove Church,” *Greene (IA) Recorder*, June 12, 1929, 8.


57. Knauss, 9, 11.

58. Knauss, 11.


63. Knauss, 14–23.

64. Knauss, 2.


67. Sutton, quoted on 207.

68. Sutton, quoted on 52.

69. Sutton, quoted on 52.

70. Sutton, 248–54.

72. “Reds Hammering at Our Gates,” *Foursquare Crusader*, September 16, 1936, 1. Since the creature has only five, and not eight, tentacles, it is technically a quintipus.


75. Sutton, 7–8, 10, 27–32, 1–3.


5. Beast Ancestry, Dangerous Triplets, and Damnable Heresies


5. Himes, 156.


18. Riley, 2.

19. Howard Moore argues that J. Frank Norris and John R. Rice were fundamentally dissimilar: Norris was a “demagogue” who was primarily looking to boost his own fortunes, while Rice was a “theologically driven man.” While there is some truth to both characterizations, this assessment misses the point that in terms of their politics, Rice and Norris were remarkably similar. As both men noted more than once, theology and politics were inextricably intertwined. The willingness of both Norris and Rice to collaborate, in the service of anticommunism, with Presbyterian separatist Carl McIntire in the 1940s and early 1950s is a good case in point. See Howard Moore, “The Emergence of Moderate Fundamentalism: John R. Rice and ‘The Sword of the Lord’” (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1990), 110–15.


25. John R. Rice, “More about Modernism,” SotL, June 20, 1947. Darwin himself was well aware of the non-heritability of shortened foreskins: “With respect to Jews, I have been assured by three medical men of the Jewish faith that circumcision, which has been practiced for so many ages, has produced no inherited effect.” Charles Darwin, The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1905), 558. I am indebted to Ronald Numbers for pointing me to this reference.


30. Billy Graham, Just as I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham (New York: Harper-Collins, 1997), 22. Graham’s truthful acknowledgment that Ham was known as a Jew-hater in the 1930s has unfortunately failed to be reflected in the most recent scholarly account of Graham’s life. In his biography of Graham, historian Grant Wacker describes Ham as “a classic Southern barnstormer, later associated with anti-Semitism and right-wing causes but in 1934 known mostly for excoriating immorality, upbraiding lax clergy, and calling lost souls to Christ.” Whatever Wacker’s intention, the inaccurate dating of Ham’s anti-Semitism to a period subsequent to the time he converted Billy Graham has the effect of obscuring the possible roots of Graham’s own anti-Semitic views. See Grant Wacker, America’s Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 6 (emphasis added).


32. Graham, Just as I Am, 22–27.


35. See, for example, “Detailed Daily Program of Sword Conference on Evangelism, November 21–28, Chicago Gospel Tabernacle,” SotL, November 5, 1948. In his autobiography, Graham refers to John R. Rice twice. First, in the context of a 1955 evangelistic trip the two men took to Scotland, Graham calls Rice “my old friend.” Second, in a later passage about the break that the old guard fundamentalists made with Graham in 1956, Graham groups Rice with Bob Jones and Carl McIntire. From these brief mentions alone, one would never know just how close the two men had been during their time in Wheaton. Graham, Just as I Am, 253, 302.


39. Telegram from J. Frank Norris to First Baptist Church, Jacksonville, Florida, February 27, 1950, box 17, folder 778, Billy Graham, 1950, Norris Papers; receipt of gift from


42. J. Frank Norris to Carl McIntire, July 10, 1952, box 28, folder 1321, Carl McIntyre [sic], 1952, Norris Papers.


46. As one example of Rice’s selective quotation style, the sermon quotes from Marx and Engels, as follows: “The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed corelation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting . . . by the action of Modern Industry.” The original adds, “all family ties are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.” This clarifies the sense in which Marx and Engels are disgusted. Similarly, on the point about women, Rice quotes Marx and Engels as writing that “the communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.” He then paraphrases what they say next to mean that Marx and Engels would “legalize” the community of women and call it communism. What they actually write is that “it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production [capitalism] must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private.” Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto (New York: Pathfinder, 2008), 53–54.


50. Ramm, 34, 69, 76, emphasis in the original.


52. Ramm, Christian View, 159–60.


55. Ramm, 262, 301.

56. Quoted in Moore, “Emergence of Moderate Fundamentalism,” 235.

57. Moore, 248–56.


61. Dailey, “Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred,” 125. Dailey writes that “the argument that God was against sexual integration was articulated across a broad spectrum of education and respectability, by senators and Ku Klux Klansmen, by housewives, sorority sisters, and Rotarians, and, not least of all, by mainstream Protestant clergymen.”


63. In later decades the term was also spun into a branch of the sciences: baraminology. Ronald Numbers, The Creationists: From Scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 150, 391.


71. Daniel, God the Original Segregationist, 2.


6. Flood, Fruit, and Satan


2. Numbers, 265.


8. Morris, History of Modern Creationism, 103–4; Numbers, Creationists, 217–18.


18. Morris, History of Modern Creationism, 64n2; Numbers, Creationists, 220–21.


23. Numbers, Creationists, 213–17, 222.

24. Henry Morris to Harold Clark, November 19, 1964, C2, box 2, folder 4, Correspondence about George McCready Price’s Biography, Price Papers.

25. Numbers, Creationists, 215–16, 223–24; John Morris interview. In contrast to Morris and Whitcomb’s sketchy treatment of Price in Genesis Flood, Morris not only cited Price in the chapter on evolution in That You Might Believe, but cited books that were explicitly aimed at an Adventist audience, such as George McCready Price, Genesis Vindicated (Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald, 1941).


32. Whitcomb and Morris, 443–47.


35. Morris, History of Modern Creationism, 178; Henry M. Morris, The Twilight of Evolution (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1963), 27. Ronald Numbers gives a slightly different account, based on Morris’s correspondence, suggesting that there were no questions because the audience was, in Morris’s words, “too stunned to speak.” Numbers, Creationists, 235–36.


41. Morris, History of Modern Creationism, 195–212.


43. Morris, 211.


46. John N. Moore, Questions and Answers on Creation/Evolution (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1976), 87; John N. Moore, “Should Evolution Be Taught?,” Creation Research Society Quarterly (September 1970): 112. Oddly, the diagram included in the latter 1970 piece does not correspond to written material in the article itself. It does mesh nicely, however, with his “Neo-Darwinism and Society,” containing as it does entries for Marx, Keynes, Beard, London, and Shaw, among others.


49. Levitt, 8–11.

50. Numbers, Creationists, 247.


54. Molly Worthen, “The Chalcedon Problem: Rousas John Rushdoony and the Origins of Christian Reconstructionism,” *Church History* 77 (June 2008): 402. Worthen and others report only that Rushdoony received his BA in 1938, but since he turned eighteen four years earlier, in 1934, it is reasonable to infer he started that fall.


68. “Faith Baptist Men Will Meet Tuesday,” *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison), February 7, 1961, 4; Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of


73. Gifford, “‘Girded with a Moral and Spiritual Revival’,” 164–65.


Notes to Pages 198–208


99. Williams, God’s Own Party, 85.


7. Trees, Knees, and Nurseries


2. “Gutierrez-Laughton,” San Bernardino (CA) County Sun, October 15, 1978. They were married at San Bernardino First Baptist.


5. Morris, History of Modern Creationism, 211, 275.


22. “Director’s Column,” Acts & Facts, February 1984, 3. Morris shared with readers that “the following dirge for humanism was written almost 50 years ago when I was a freshman student in college.”


51. Quoted in Morris, 95.


54. Morris, 104.


69. Schaeffer, 25.
71. LaHaye, Battle for the Mind, 5, 241.
72. As historian Adam Laats has noted of the violent controversy over public school textbooks in Kanawha County, West Virginia, in the mid-1970s, the growing preference for “secular humanism” and declining invocation of “communism” did not mean “a simple one-for-one replacement of bogeymen.” See Adam Laats, The Other School Reformers: Conservative Activism in American Education (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 205. Michael Lienesch writes of LaHaye and others, “As these authors see it, humanism and communism are virtually synonymous.” Michael Lienesch, Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 162.
73. LaHaye, Battle for the Mind, front and back covers.
75. LaHaye, 80.
76. LaHaye, 59–83.
77. LaHaye, 64–65.
78. Tim LaHaye, Battle for the Public Schools, 99–172.
79. LaHaye, 83.
81. Woodward and Salholz, 46–47.
82. Quoted in Christopher Toumey, God’s Own Scientists: Creationists in a Secular World (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 83. Citing Woodward and Salholz, “The Right’s New Bogeyman,” 48, Toumey writes that Revell publishing had “sold” 375,000 copies. This may be true, but the Newsweek article says of Battle for the Mind only that 350,000 copies “are currently in print.”


99. Towns interview.
100. Falwell, *Strength for the Journey*.


104. Morris, 75, back cover.


117. Falwell, 71.


126. As of February 1981, the executive board comprised Falwell; Greg Dixon; Tim LaHaye; Curtis Hutson (an independent Baptist who succeeded Rice as editor of *Sword of the Lord*); Charles Stanley, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Atlanta, who would be elected president of the SBC in 1984; and Kennedy.


134. Kennedy, 84.


136. Kennedy, i, emphasis in original.

137. Kennedy, 6.


139. Kennedy, 31–32.


142. Morris, 59.


8. The Nightcrawler, the Wedge, and the Bloodiest Religion


34. Johnson, 92.
40. While Discovery Institute leaders first refused to acknowledge that the document represented official policy, the publication of *Creationism’s Trojan Horse* by Barbara Forrest and Paul Gross in 2004 led Discovery to own up, in 2005, in a piece titled “The ‘Wedge Document’: So What?”: http://www.discovery.org/scripts/viewDB/filesDB-download.php?id=349.
41. “‘Wedge Document’: So What?”
42. “‘Wedge Document’: So What?,” emphasis added.

49. Author’s notes on visit to Creation Museum, Petersburg, KY, April 11, 2015; Trollinger and Trollinger, *Righting America*, 31–32, 52–53.

50. Trollinger and Trollinger, *Righting America*, 191. As Susan and William Trollinger write, the museum is best understood as “a Christian Right arsenal in the culture war.”

51. Author’s notes on talk by Tony Perkins, “Advancing a Culture of Life in the U.S.,” Answers in Genesis Mega-Conference, July 22, 2013, Sevierville, TN.


58. Author’s notes on visit to Creation Museum; Trollinger and Trollinger, *Righting America*, 49.


61. Hodge, “Finland School Shootings.”


70. Kent Hovind’s reputation has tarnished fellow creationists to the degree that even Chad Hovind has made a point of publicly distancing himself from his infamous uncle. See Chad Hovind, “You Can Pick Your Friends, but Not Your Family,” Beliefnet, http://www.beliefnet.com/columnists/godonomics/2011/09/you-can-pick-your-friends-but-not-your-family-chad-hovind-and-kent-hovind.html.


72. Hovind, 169–70.


Epilogue

1. Author’s notes on visit to Ark Encounter, Williamstown, Kentucky, July 7, 2016.


27. The Nehemiah website features this endorsement of Summit: “Their flagship publication, Understanding the Times (UTT) is excellent. Many youth have been put ‘on the right track’ through this ministry”: http://www.nehemiahinstitute.com/links.php; Smithwick, *PEERS Story*, 20.


34. Author’s notes on visit to AiG Creation Museum, Petersburg, KY, April 1, 2017.


