

Beacon of Liberty:  
Carl McIntire and Fundamentalist Reaction  
To Nazi Germany, 1936-1939

The Religious Right receives much attention in American culture. It is not only a topic for academic research, but also a mainstay in the American media, including news analysis and popular culture. While there is an attempt to understand Fundamentalists on the “Old Christian Right” from the early Twentieth Century and “New Christian Right” as it ascended into American culture in the 1970s, there is a deficiency of research covering Fundamentalist reaction to Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Many accounts of Fundamentalism leave a gap between the Scopes Trial of 1925 and the post-World War II era where Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism emerged into mainstream American culture.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly true with the research covering the Presbyterian Fundamentalist, Carl McIntire.<sup>2</sup> Many recognize his efforts to fight the “isms” of his day, but that “day” often begins in the 1950s during the height of McCarthyism, or the mid-1940s with the publication of *The Author of Liberty* and *Twentieth Century Reformation*. McIntire is often caricatured as a reactionary gadfly who was able to find a Communist wherever he looked, separated from as many Presbyterian denominations as possible, and worked hard to bring misery to the World Council of Churches and Billy Graham. While this is all true to an

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<sup>1</sup> By Fundamentalism I refer to the movement which includes evangelical Christians who were opposed to modernism in any way. This is the movement which came from the millenarian movement in the late 1800s, resulting in Bible conferences and institutes. It is dispensational, separatist and holds to a strong view of the inerrancy of Scripture with a genuine piety and devotion to the Christian faith. For an expanded understanding see George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980): 4-6. The most notable exception is Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) which gives a good survey of 1930s Fundamentalism.

<sup>2</sup> When McIntire is discussed in the context of the 1930s, it is typically relegated to the denominational schisms with which he was involved.

extent, McIntire was more than simply a reactionary Fundamentalist. By exploring McIntire's views on Nazi Germany in the period of 1936-1939, it appears his thought serves as a bridge to the later public theology of the New Christian Right movement of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>3</sup> In addition, McIntire's intense commitment to the American ideal of liberty helps to explain his later, sometimes irrational, fear of Communism.<sup>4</sup> In order to demonstrate this, the role of McIntire's *The Christian Beacon* will be explored as an important vehicle for reaching the masses with his views on liberty, the proper relationship between religion and politics, and the role of biblical prophecy in understanding contemporary geo-politics. To properly gauge how McIntire's Old Right thinking informs New Right ideals, attention will be given to McIntire's interpretation of world events and perceived understanding of their influence from the period between the *Beacon's* founding to the outbreak of war in Europe.

### *McIntire's Public Theology*

Carl McIntire was more than a Presbyterian firebrand pastor and Fundamentalist warrior. As an outspoken author, publisher, radio personality, political commentator, conspiracy theorist, Communist hunter, fighter of Modernism, seminary founder, and denominational schismatic, he

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<sup>3</sup> A cursory read through Church History texts by Kenneth Latourette, Justo Gonzalez, Bruce Shelly and Martin Marty present the 1930s as basically void of opposition or protest against Nazi Germany. This deficiency can lead one to believe very little, if anything, was done by the American Church in this area, when, in fact, there was a vibrant movement within American Fundamentalism which was speaking against Nazi Germany and Adolf Hitler. Fundamentalist publications during this time were calling people to action and were making information known concerning the way Nazi Germany was treating Jews, Christians and Roman Catholics.

<sup>4</sup> For surveys of McIntire's patriotism which link him to anti-Communist crusading, yet fail to address his crusade against Hitler's regime see: "Carl McIntire" by Shelly Baranowski, in *Twentieth Century Shapers of American Popular Religion*, ed Charles H. Lippy, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989): 256-263. To Baranowski's credit, she points out the need for further research into the role and impact of McIntire upon American Christianity. See also John Fey, "Carl McIntire: From Fundamentalist Presbyterian to Presbyterian Fundamentalism", *American Presbyterians* 42:4 (Winter 1994): 253-268. Fea cites some of the same issues of the *Christian Beacon* that I have, yet seems to miss the role McIntire played in voicing opposition against Hitler and anti-Semitism, while at the same time loosely associating him with anti-Semitism (268), but Fea is very clear in demonstrating McIntire's ascent to political "player" during the 1950s-1960s and calls current scholars of Church History to dig deeper and revisit McIntire to gain understanding of his lasting impact.

desired to rally as many to his causes as possible with less flamboyance than J. Frank Norris, but more flair than John R. Rice. McIntire is an anomaly among popular Fundamentalism because of his Presbyterianism, but that did not stop him from working with others outside his tradition.<sup>5</sup> Until the 1950s, McIntire's primary outlet for spreading his ideas was the *Beacon* which began publication in February 1936 and ended in 1994.<sup>6</sup> This was McIntire's chief mouthpiece and he received a national audience through its publication. Though he is primarily remembered for using the *Beacon* to advance his ideas concerning Big Government, modernism, and Communism, it is important to understand the role the *Beacon* played in presenting his public theology as he rallied the *Beacon's* readers to his causes.<sup>7</sup>

The *Beacon's* first issue fired an opening salvo against the "isms" of the 1930s with which McIntire and the majority of American Fundamentalists disagreed. This bombastic beginning set the tone for the life of the paper. The *Beacon's* purpose was to be "a light set on a hill, a signal warning and guiding men-broadcasting the Gospel of Jesus Christ from the Collingswood Presbyterian Church".<sup>8</sup> McIntire promised this was a paper of religion and politics would not be engaged "one whit", but broke this promise a few paragraphs later by labeling the Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUSA) apostate and in opposition to

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<sup>5</sup> McIntire, Carl. *Twentieth Century Reformation*, (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press, 1944): 3-25. In these sections McIntire lays out the case for redeeming the word "Christian" and makes it clear that he will fellowship with those who agree with him on the "essentials of Orthodoxy". This is borne out in his American Council of Churches, which was made up of Fundamentalists from different traditions within Protestant Christianity. When I say McIntire is an anomaly I mean that in the sense that the majority of Fundamentalism is composed of those with Baptist convictions and McIntire was a paedobaptist who professed to be confessional.

<sup>6</sup> Obviously McIntire is best known for his radio program *Twentieth-Century Reformation Hour* which aired on 600 radio stations at its peak, but this originated after the *Beacon*. During the 1930s, McIntire's radio exposure was sermon broadcasts.

<sup>7</sup> William Howe Cianci, *Carl McIntire: A Study of His Philosophy and Use of the Mass Media*, PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1972: 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Christian Beacon*, (13 February 1938): 1.

bible-based freedoms found in the Constitution.<sup>9</sup> In addition, McIntire suggested that prophecies found in the Bible were unfolding due to conditions in Russia and Germany which would signal the return of the Jews to Palestine.<sup>10</sup>

In America, patriotism and Fundamentalism go hand in hand. Carl McIntire was no exception to this and could be considered a model for how this works itself out in a dedicated fashion. Other than ecclesiastical separation, most associate McIntire with his patriotism and defense of the American ideal, especially against Communism. A study of McIntire's patriotic thought during 1936-1939 reveals his concern with effects the of Nazi Germany's fascism in addition to his perceived threats of Communism in the United States.

The *Beacon* first criticized the Nazi government in its ninth issue and called the Nazi party a "cult".<sup>11</sup> Why attach a religious label on a political party? Beside the fact that McIntire believed Nazism incorporated Hitler worship, he also held that Christianity served as both foundation and warrant for the State. This was McIntire's basis for governmental philosophy and praxis.<sup>12</sup> For McIntire, a nation's type of government was a direct correlation to the religious commitment of its leadership, as well as the strength of its founding philosophy. This is articulated early in the editorial "Liberty".

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

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 1. McIntire's view of liberty is best expressed in *The Author of Liberty*, (Collingswood, NJ: Christian Beacon Press, 1946), published 10 years later, where he posits that the liberty found in the Constitution is Biblical, as is Capitalism and if one opposes his thesis then they are anti-Biblical and anti-liberty.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>11</sup> Carl McIntire, "Communist Sunday School Beliefs", *CB*, (19 April 1936): 7. In this article, Communism labeled a "neo-pagan cult".

<sup>12</sup> "Are World Events Today Fulfilling Bible Prophecy?", *CB*, (7 January 1937): 2. As referenced earlier, this article speaks of an end times sign fulfillment by highlighting Germany's atheistic, anti-Christian government and quotes an unnamed German leader saying, "Hitler is a new, greater and a more powerful Jesus Christ" and "Adolf Hitler is the real Holy Ghost". McIntire does not delve into specific prediction in this article, but rather points toward an eschatological evil.

maintaining liberty in this land are those who believe and defend and love the Bible as the Word of the living God.<sup>13</sup>

McIntire believed that for society to truly be free and for the citizenry to have good government, the State's foundation must be built upon Biblical Principles.<sup>14</sup>

McIntire's ideal government would have mirrored the United States, a democratic republic fueled by capitalism, limited government and liberty.<sup>15</sup> McIntire's heavy use of the word "liberty" may appear libertarian on the surface, but in application it was not. He desired restrictions where libertarianism would not encroach. For instance, he approved Prohibition and believed people should not be allowed to consume alcoholic beverages.<sup>16</sup> He opposed dance clubs, gambling halls, and movie theatres.<sup>17</sup> McIntire's view of the State's function in the moral sphere was influenced by his interpretation of Scripture. His publicizing of Nazism and Communism's evils were warnings to his audience, designed to give a picture of a de-Christianized America, which had succumbed to Big Government and given into "worldly" desires such as alcohol, dance and movies. The way to protect the U.S. from the same fate as Germany was to publicize the loss of religious influence, personal freedom and the encroaching

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<sup>13</sup> "Liberty", *CB*, (11 February 1937): 6. Later in *Author of Liberty*, McIntire suggested "The State is related directly and in the most specific manner to the Ten Commandments. The State has no right or authority to encroach upon the liberties of the individual which God guarantees under His law. The State, in other words, must respect and honor the law of God as it concerns the individual, and only in honoring and maintaining this law can it serve its true function and truly be free" (106).

<sup>14</sup> For McIntire, "Biblical principles" for government equaled the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights, an economy governed by Capitalism without organized labor, and so-called "Blue Laws". This is borne throughout *Author of Liberty* as well as various articles in the *Beacon* where he laments the passing away of "Blue Laws", the popularity of movies, dance and alcoholic beverages which demonstrates his belief that the U.S. was entering dark times.

<sup>15</sup> "Capitalism", *CB*, (1 December 1938): 4.

<sup>16</sup> An interesting aside is the way *The Beacon*, who would have been opposed to Gandhi because of his religious views, printed two stories of his embracing of prohibition for India. They were both featured in prominent places on the front page. "Gandhi Predicts Prohibition Return", *CB*, (26 August 1937): 1 and "Gandhi States Abstinence Is Point of Honor", *CB*, (23 September 1937): 1. These articles serve to show McIntire's view that it was more honorable for Christians to hold to a position of total abstinence from alcohol, as well as support Prohibition, as he is giving place to one who, in his mind, was pagan who held to the more honorable conviction. "The Ballot", *CB*, (3 November 1938): 4. This was an appeal to voters in McIntire's county to vote for a dry town in order to put the local saloon out of business and save the people from becoming drunks.

<sup>17</sup> "Separation", *CB*, (28 January 1937): 4.

growth of totalitarianism. This was designed to allow the reader to see that Americanism was the ideal. Not New Deal Americanism, but the Americanism which existed before the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy. This was an America with limited government which protected the morality McIntire and other Fundamentalists found Biblical, was not influenced by Modernism, Catholicism, Communism or Totalitarianism, and promoted the virtues of capitalism and self-reliance.<sup>18</sup> For a Fundamentalist, this could only happen if biblical Christianity exerted influence upon everyday life, existing apart from government control.<sup>19</sup> These views led to the *Beacon's* presentation of the loss of religious freedom in Germany by directing criticism toward Hitler and his government.<sup>20</sup> McIntire and other Fundamentalists believed religious freedom was the ideal which set the U.S. apart from other nations. Religious freedom was not a characteristic of Nazi Germany and McIntire used the *Beacon* to bring that to light. Many articles were published highlighting the existence of religious persecution throughout the world, but specifically persecution taking place in Nazi Germany and impacting religious groups other than Jews. This loss of liberty and freedom led to speculation concerning the End Times.

Since its beginning, popular Fundamentalism has been linked with Dispensational premillennialism and is known for interpreting world events based upon this view.<sup>21</sup> This is due to the wide acceptance of the Scofield Bible and its attractive means of understanding the progression of history through dispensations. As the final acts in history prior to the millennium came closer, wars would increase and life for the Christian faithful would become more difficult.

As Fundamentalists looked at the 1930s, Americans were suffering through the Great

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<sup>18</sup> "Capitalism", 4. McIntire says, "Aside from the Bible, the most individualistic and Capitalistic document that exists in America today is the Bill of Rights, consisting of the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Those amendments guarantee the Capitalistic system. Every true American...must have, whether he realize it or not, a fundamental agreement with and appreciation for the Capitalistic system."

<sup>19</sup> James Davidson Hunter, "Religion and Political Civility: The Coming Generation of American Evangelicals", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 23.4, (December 1984): 365.

<sup>20</sup> "Communist Sunday Schools-Beliefs", *CB*, (9 April 1936): 1 and 7.

<sup>21</sup> Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 4.

Depression, Modernism was gaining greater influence, and rumors of war in Europe and Japan making their way across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and finding their way into Fundamentalist sermons and publications.<sup>22</sup> Fundamentalists were trying to come to grips with a world that was changing rapidly and their brand of premillennialism was an outlet, for better or worse, in understanding the times. Though he was not as dogmatic in many his of eschatological assertions as some Fundamentalists, Carl McIntire was staunchly premillennial and the *Beacon* gave him an outlet to express and gauge the events of his day through the prophetic framework in which he operated. His premillennial views are evident in his understanding of the Jews and history's progression toward the Millennium.<sup>23</sup>

The *Beacon's* reporting of Jews brings up an interesting dilemma in understanding McIntire as he is viewed in the framework of Old Christian Right thinking. While he is firmly on the side of being an "American first" and protecting American heritage, his 1930's thought does not fit into the Old Christian Right stereotype of anti-Semitism.<sup>24</sup> This is most evident in his 1938 sermon, "Why Christians Should Be Kind to the Jews".<sup>25</sup> McIntire took a stand against anti-Semitism based upon God's Covenant with Abraham and his special favor toward Jews

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<sup>22</sup> D.G. Hart. *That Old Time Religion in Modern America: Evangelical Protestantism in the Twentieth Century*. (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002): 101-106. Hart deals with how the Depression "fit" the Dispensational schema during this time, even with a scant mention to Hitler as the Beast in Revelation. However, he tends to leave Fundamentalism's treatment of Hitler in that realm only, which is deficient based upon the body of material from that era. While, it is true that Fundamentalists could be seen as obsessed with eschatological prophecy during this time, it is unfair to categorize or typify Fundamentalism as only viewing the events completely in an eschatological framework.

<sup>23</sup> "Europe's Unrest in Light of Prophecy", by William H. Richie, *CB*, (22 September 1938): 1.

<sup>24</sup> Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right From the Great Depression to the Cold War*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983): 96-97. Ribuffo seems to harmonize Dispensationalism with anti-Semitic beliefs without focusing on some of the long term leaders on the Fundamentalist Christian Old Right during this time. For instance, there is no discussion of J. Frank Norris, John R. Rice, or Carl McIntire. All three were far from anti-Semitic and took time to speak against anti-Semitism and supported the notion that the Jews were still God's chosen people who were blessings to the nations, as well as still receiving blessings from God. Ribuffo's observation that the Dispensationalist understanding of Jews being persecuted before the advent of the Anti-Christ is a worthy idea, however, its wedding with anti-Semitism, particularly *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* does not hold when prominent Fundamentalists are examined (97). I am not disputing the anti-Semitism which Ribuffo discusses, however, I do not believe the evidence for this can be applied to Fundamentalists on the Old Christian Right.

<sup>25</sup> "Why Christians Should be Kind to the Jews", *CB*, (27 October 1938): 3.

which McIntire believed to be evident in the present time.<sup>26</sup> It was not only this sermon where McIntire promoted a pro-Jewish stance, but also in the *Beacon's* sympathetic reporting of Jews moving to Palestine, perhaps becoming a State, as well as the favorable coverage Zionist leaders received.<sup>27</sup> There was no support for *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, an anti-Semitic writing which alleged a Jewish conspiracy to control the world. In fact, McIntire's views seem to be in direct opposition to that general idea. McIntire's editorials, published sermons, and Scofield premillennialism work to dispel the notion that he was anti-Semitic. This does not make him an anomaly among Fundamentalist leaders, but places him in the status quo. McIntire's views on Jews fall in line with J. Frank Norris, John R. Rice and those found in *The Voice of the Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America*.<sup>28</sup> These views were standard fare among his denomination, the Bible Presbyterian Church, and he was so adamant about them, he separated from the denomination which was founded by his mentor J. Gresham Machen.<sup>29</sup> To place McIntire in the league of Old Right thinkers who were anti-Semitic is problematic, considering the great efforts he and the *Beacon* made to promote Zionist organizations, as well as speak against anti-Semitism. McIntire's view of prophecy gave the Jews a prominent role which fit the Dispensational schema. For McIntire, the Jews were not just important eschatologically, but

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 3 and "God's Covenant Still Stands!" editorial cartoon: 4. This cartoon shows a woman with the title "Persecuted Jews" being beaten by a man with the titles "tyranny", "slavery", and "European Anti-Semitism". It also has a quotation from Genesis, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee...". This shows the importance that McIntire placed upon the Jewish race.

<sup>27</sup> "Prophecy Fulfillment in Palestine Today", *CB*, (7 October 1937): 1 & 5.

<sup>28</sup> J. Frank Norris, *Did the Jews Write the Protocols?:* 1-17. "Did the Jews Write the Protocols?", J. Frank Norris, *The Fundamentalist*, (4 March 1938): 7. This article is a summary of the pamphlet which was printed to address this topic. Norris put the idea that the *Protocols* were part of "an ancient scheme to persecute the Jews" which began in the Old Testament book of Exodus and continued to that very day, reaching a very visible point in Nazi Germany's persecution of the 1930s. "I Must Help the Jews!", *The Sword of the Lord*, (16 April 1937):4. "Is the Wave of Anti-Semitism to Flood the Seven Seas?" *The Voice of the Independent Fundamental Churches of America*, (August 1937): 17. "World Anti-Semitism and the Bible", *Voice of the IFCA* (September 1938): 17.

<sup>29</sup> Carl McIntire, "Premillennialism": 4

throughout human history.<sup>30</sup> He believed they were God's chosen people and carried great importance in world events.<sup>31</sup> He did not believe non-Christian Jews enjoyed the same benefits as Jewish Christians in the afterlife, but used his view of the Jewish people as a rallying point for protection and evangelism.<sup>32</sup>

A common understanding of the dispensational view of the End Times is that history will progress toward evil as the Anti-Christ and Beast prepare to ascend on the world scene and usher in the Second Coming of Christ. This is a progression toward eschatological evil, a belief that the world must become worse before it is able to become better. That "better" is obviously the Second Coming of Christ which ushers in the Great Tribulation, the ensuing Battle of Armageddon, and Millennial Reign of Christ where he is finally King over all Creation and evil. The *Beacon* represented this view in its presentation of the relationship between current events and signs pointing to the end of history.<sup>33</sup> It was highlighted by the increase of totalitarianism around the world and encroachment into the United States. It was shown through the reporting of Modernism's ground gaining in the sphere of ideas. McIntire battled Modernism intently and believed he would overcome, but at the same time, believed this was another sign pointing to the progression of evil. This understanding of the increase of evil helped McIntire and other Fundamentalists make sense of their day. As events seemed to lead toward a world that was continuing in "worldliness", premillennialism became a great hope.<sup>34</sup> McIntire believed the world was in the last days, which was evidenced by the growing number of denominations embracing liberalism, and his understanding of the perceived growth of government in his

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<sup>30</sup> "Why Should Christians Be Kind To The Jews", *CB*, (27 October 1938):3. McIntire lays out the case for Christians to embrace the Jewish people because of their heritage and God's covenant with them. He also attacks anti-Semitism and highlights the oppression of Jewish people in Europe, specifically in Germany and Poland.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 and

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>33</sup> William Richie, "Europe's Unrest in Light of Biblical Prophecy": 1.

<sup>34</sup> Carl McIntire, "Premillennialism": 4.

time.<sup>35</sup> History's stage was being set for the Millennium and Fundamentalists speculated the identities of the Anti-Christ and Beast.

At times, the Church has shown a fascination with identifying the Anti-Christ, whether it was Protestants attaching that designation to the Pope during the Reformation, or Napoleon in the 1800s.<sup>36</sup> The 1930s were not immune from this either. Fundamentalists typically believed that the world was soon coming to an end because of apparent growing problems which led to speculation concerning the Anti-Christ. One standard Protestant understanding of the Anti-Christ has traditionally identified that person as the Pope. This was true during the Reformation, and has been true in many Fundamentalist circles holding to a dispensational premillennial understanding of Biblical prophecy. The Pope's limited influence during the 1930s made this view a problem for solving the End Times puzzle. Some Fundamentalists argued that Mussolini was the Anti-Christ since he was from Italy and best fit the Dispensationalist criteria of the day.<sup>37</sup> McIntire never delved into these specifics and the *Beacon* made no attempt to identify the Anti-Christ. It could be that McIntire still believed that the Pope must be the eschatological Anti-Christ, though this is uncertain. When Pope Pius XII issued an Encyclical calling the worldwide Church to be united for the cause of freedom, McIntire commented that this was totalitarian and another sign of the one-world Church which would help usher in the Millennium.<sup>38</sup> McIntire's treatments of End Times prophecy was an important aspect of his public theology and he used it to highlight evil and progress the agenda of liberty.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Stephen J. Nichols, "Prophecy Makes Strange Bedfellows: On the History of Identifying the AntiChrist", *JETS*, 44:1, (March 2001): 79-81. Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right*: 96.

<sup>37</sup> "Is The Antichrist Alive Today" by W.M. Robertson, *Voice of IFCA*, Vol 18, No 3, 9/39: 6. "Is Mussolini the Anti-Christ", *The SOTL*, (30 August 1935): 1. In later issues, John Rice seems less hesitant to identify Mussolini as the Anti-Christ. See "Wars and Rumors of Wars" *SOTL*, (14 October 1938): 1-3. This was a sermon explaining how current events were ushering in the millennium. It gives specific events and countries where the Anti-Christ and Beast will come from, but does not name who they are as individuals.

<sup>38</sup> "Pope Pius XII Sends Encyclical Letter", *CB*, (2 November 1939): 1, and "Encyclical": 4.

## *Consummate Evil: Nazi Germany's Challenge*

McIntire's criticisms of Nazi Germany were not founded upon his view of religious freedom, but came from his understanding of the relationship between liberty and the State. For McIntire, Germany could not truly provide liberty because it did not have the proper philosophical foundation.<sup>39</sup> In essence, Germany was unable to grant freedom for a pluralist society to exist because Nazism was founded upon principles incompatible with Scripture. Since Hitler presented himself in deity-like terms, he usurped the place of the God of the Bible.<sup>40</sup> This in turn led to totalitarianism and dictatorship. McIntire cited God's removal from the public sphere as the primary reason for the State to strip away liberty and then tied this to the German government, which was undertaking the task of eliminating religious freedom.<sup>41</sup>

The *Beacon's* reports on religious oppression of German Protestants were not restricted to Germans whose theology was favorable to McIntire's. Articles published between 1936-1939 show a thorough engagement and concern for professing German Christians of all stripes. This is quite striking to consider because many of the groups and ministers whom the *Beacon* supported in Germany would have experienced different treatment from McIntire if they were in America. This underscores an admirable quality about McIntire, but also suggests that his commitment to American ideals trumped theological concerns. That is, the cause of liberty trumped his concern for theological purity.

Much of the way the *Beacon* reported Germany's treatment of Protestants can be understood in the framework of McIntire's belief that only capitalism and democracy could preserve religious liberty. If a government was totalitarian, eventually religious liberty would be

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<sup>39</sup> "Capitalism", *CB*, (1 December 1938): 4.

<sup>40</sup> "Are World Events Today Fulfilling Bible Prophecy?", *Christian Beacon*, (7 January 1937): 2. "Pastors Oppose Oath to Hitler", (23 June 1938): 1. Carl McIntire, *Author of Liberty*, 116.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 116-117. Also "Liberty", *CB*, (9 February 1939): 4.

threatened to the point of elimination, or corrupted beyond recognition. For instance, one particular article reported the expelling of pastors from their parishes by the German government, not because they preached the Gospel, but because they spoke against totalitarianism.<sup>42</sup> The article reported that these pastors stood for “fundamental doctrine”, which would presuppose the “five fundamentals”, but later said they were persecuted for speaking against Germany’s encroachment on religious freedom.<sup>43</sup> This suggests that McIntire viewed religious freedom as a fundamental doctrine. It is true these pastors were part of the Confessional movement within Germany, but the noteworthy highlight was their stand against totalitarianism.

One could look to the *Beacon’s* treatment of those with whom McIntire vehemently disagreed domestically and naturally formulate the opinion that their persecuted German counterparts would not be treated with civility, or compassion, but this was not the case. The *Beacon* took care in highlighting these two groups frequently. McIntire had many differences and believed these two strands of Christendom to be apostate, but this did not change the application of his fundamental belief in freedom of religion. Domestically, this was lived out with scorn, ridicule, and accusation. Internationally, when those ideologies faced persecution and death, McIntire highlighted their suffering without judgment or glee.

This was demonstrated in several stories from the reporting of a crowd of Roman Catholics silenced by the S.S. for cheering during a Cardinal’s speech to the story of the liberal German Churches being stripped of their own clergy and replaced with Nazi ministers.<sup>44</sup> There were also reports of imprisoned liberal ministers, imprisoned Bible students, Roman Catholic congregations being denied the freedom to educate children, the general loss of religious

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<sup>42</sup> “Confessional Clergy Stir Reich”, *CB*, (4 June 1936): 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 1.

<sup>44</sup> “Ovations Not Allowed to Priest in Germany”, *CB*, (12 November 1936): 1. and “Nazis Protest Catholic Celebration”, *CB*, (19 August 1937):1.

freedom for any minister who spoke against the Nazi government and the closing of German theological institutions and churches.<sup>45</sup> These stories ran without commentary or insinuation that these groups were receiving their just desserts for having turned their backs on fundamental Christian doctrine. The information was given without an obtuse Fundamentalist agenda, save the agenda of religious freedom. This is quite striking considering McIntire would later be cited as an anti-Catholic extremist by the U.S. Democratic Party because of his views concerning the Roman Catholic Church and Senator John F. Kennedy.<sup>46</sup>

Jews also factored heavily in the *Beacon's* reports of Germany's totalitarianism, including their persecution which was sometimes reported without an eschatological bent.<sup>47</sup> McIntire took interest in the plight of Jews very early as they experienced German persecution. The *Beacon's* second issue reported Jewish persecution in Germany and a potential mass exodus of Jews from Germany to other countries.<sup>48</sup> Shortly after the 1936 Winter Olympics, the *Beacon* carried an article which alleged that Germany was renewing its "anti-Semitic campaign" and that the world was not aware of this during the Olympics because the Nazis suppressed it for publicity's sake.<sup>49</sup> There was also attention given to the first Jewish World Congress meeting in which Jewish leaders came together to form a co-operative to acquire security and basic human rights in Europe.<sup>50</sup> One of the highlights from 1936-1937 was the nearly full-page cover story

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<sup>45</sup> "German Christians Win One Battle", *CB*, (19 August 1937): 1. "Germans Jail Five Bible Students", *CB*, (26 August 1937): 1. "Catholic-Nazi Differences Increase", *CB*, (6 May 1937): 1. "Nazi Gives Excuse for Closing Schools", *CB*, Vol 2, No 21, (1 July 1937): 1. "Christianity at Stake Says Pope Pius", *CB*, (20 October 1937): 1-2. "Opposer of Nazis Forbidden to Preach", *CB*, (20 May 1937): 1. "Nazi Party Leaders Must Defend Govt", *CB*, (3 June 1937): 1. This particular article speaks of Nazi government officials being given an order to speak up during Church services if the minister says anything negative about the government. For McIntire, a staunch believer that the State had no business interfering with the operations of the Church, this would have been an egregious offense (1). "German Reich Plans Church Seizures", and "Division in Germany" New York Editorial" *CB*, (16 December 1937): 2.

<sup>46</sup> Arnold Forster & Benjamin Epstein, *Danger on The Right*, (New York: Random House, 1964): 108-109.

<sup>47</sup> "Germany to Continue Persecution of Jews", *CB*, (2 February 1930): 1.

<sup>48</sup> "Jewish Exodus", *CB*, (26 February): 1.

<sup>49</sup> "Germany Renews Anti-Jew Campaign", *CB*, (12 March 1936): 1.

<sup>50</sup> "Jacobs Trouble" Coming to Jews', *CB*, (26 November 1936): 1.

which summarized Great Britain's plan to divide the area of Palestine and allow a sovereign Jewish state.<sup>51</sup> This story articulated Britain's chief reasons for the recommendation, particularly stemming from German persecution, the rise in Jewish emigration from Europe to Israel, and the growth of Zionism.<sup>52</sup> The *Beacon* did not editorialize this article by tying it to eschatology, or prophecy, but simply printed it as a geopolitical story with great significance.<sup>53</sup>

Fundamentalist attempts to solve the End Times puzzle led to a flurry of speculation concerning Adolf Hitler. Many identified Hitler as the Beast due to the Swastika, his anti-Semitism, his influence, and the fact that he was not Italian, given the general consensus was that the Anti-Christ would be from Italy.<sup>54</sup> McIntire's *Beacon* was not so much concerned with this aspect of Biblical prophecy as it was with presenting current events and selecting those which fit McIntire's hermeneutical framework. This is most evident in his treatment of Hitler. The *Beacon* did not delve into speculation concerning Hitler as the Beast.<sup>55</sup> Hitler may not have been a specific End Times figure for McIntire, but he played into his interpretation of End Times

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<sup>51</sup> "British Recommend Division of Palestine", *CB*, (15 July 1937): 1-2, 5-7.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>53</sup> This is a complete contrast to Dr. J Frank Norris, who declared in his pamphlet *Did the Jews Write the Protocols?*, Temple Baptist Church: Detroit, 1938, that the most significant action resulting from World War I was the Balfour Declaration (1-17). It also demonstrates that McIntire was not as extreme in his views on eschatology when compared to other fundamentalists of his day. While, he fully upheld the belief (which is still seen today) that Israel literally belongs to the Jewish race, he showed more restraint in the area of pronouncing eschatological insights from time to time. He did make brief eschatological comments, but did not make sweeping statements, such as John R. Rice's declarations of the eschaton in *Sword of the Lord* during this timeframe. For an example see "European War Involving the World Foretold", *The SOTL*, (25 February 1938): 1, or "Wars and Rumors of Wars! Or, Present World Conditions in Light of Biblical Prophecy", *The SOTL*, (30 September 1938): 1.

<sup>54</sup> "Hitler and the Earmarks of the Beast" J. Frank Norris, *The Fundamentalist*, (7 October 1938): 2-3. This was a sermon in which Norris laid out the comparisons between premillennial understanding of the Beast in Revelation and how Hitler compared to his understanding of this End Times figure. "The World Being Prepared for Worship of the Beast", *Voice of the IFCA*, (March 1937): 15. "Is the Antichrist Alive Today" by W.M. Robertson, 6.

<sup>55</sup> A survey of the *Christian Beacon* through 1936-1939 does not bear any stories speculating Hitler as any particular "end times" figure. On the other hand, publications such as *The Voice of the Independent Fundamentalists of America* and *The Sword of the Lord* do make suppositions in that direction, even to the point of printing sermons identifying either Hitler or Mussolini as an eschatological character. Barry Hankins points out in *God's Rascal: J. Frank Norris and the Beginning of Southern Fundamentalism*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996) that Norris did not necessarily believe Hitler was the Antichrist, preferring to view this role one for a Communist (86). In *The Author of Liberty*, McIntire would identify Hitler as a type of "the Beast" and articulated his understanding that any government which denied liberty and did not operate according to Biblical principals was a type of the Beast. In that sense, he said Hitler was "the Beast", just not in the eschatological sense (187-211).

prophecy. Because McIntire believed conditions needed to become worse before the Rapture and Second Coming of Christ, Hitler was McIntire's way of showing a progression of evil in Germany and how ugly humanity became without traditional American Christianity.<sup>56</sup> McIntire advocated the slippery slope argument and Hitler fit into that scheme better than specific identification.<sup>57</sup> Since Germany was the birthplace of higher Biblical criticism and liberal scholarship, it was natural for this country to succumb to totalitarianism because traditional Christian interpretation had been rejected; this necessarily led to totalitarianism.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, it was no surprise for Hitler to be Germany's leader given McIntire's view that the State's praxis was linked to the religiosity of its leadership. McIntire used Hitler's leadership of Germany to show a progression into eschatological evil by calling him a cult leader and inferring that Germany's evil was leading human history into the time preceding the advent of the Antichrist.<sup>59</sup> McIntire later expounded his views on Hitler in *The Author of Liberty*, which gave insight into what prevented him from speculating Hitler's specific End Times' role. Instead of identifying Hitler as the Beast, he called his system of government the Beast.<sup>60</sup> McIntire laid out the basis for understanding him as a type of Beast based upon two criteria: totalitarianism and tyranny.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> "Are World Events Today Fulfilling Bible Prophecy?", *CB*, (7 January 1937): 2. This article speaks of an end times sign fulfillment by highlighting Germany's atheistic, anti-Christian government and quotes an unnamed German leader saying, "Hitler is a new, greater and a more powerful Jesus Christ" and "Adolf Hitler is the real Holy Ghost" (2).

<sup>57</sup> This idea posits that one small step in the wrong direction can lead a person/government/denomination, etc down a slippery slope to worse sins. An example of this from typical Fundamentalism during that time would be: if the U.S. were to adopt the New Deal, then a door will open up to Communism. As the U.S. adopted more social programs, Communists would begin taking positions in the government, eventually leading to a Communist state. This thinking can be found in *The Beacon*, *The Fundamentalist*, *The Voice of the Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America*, and *The Sword of the Lord*.

<sup>58</sup> "Capitalism": McIntire said, "As long as the citizens of our land have a knowledge of the Bible, the Capitalistic system will not be in danger" (4).

<sup>59</sup> "Communist Sunday Schools-Beliefs", *CB*, (9 April 1936): 1&7. This article posited that a society built on an anti-religious basis would degenerate into communism and fascism.

"Signs of the Times", *CB*, (16 April 1936): 2.

<sup>60</sup> Carl McIntire, *The Author of Liberty*: 188.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

Because he viewed Hitler this way, it prevented him from much of the End Times speculation found in other Fundamentalist publications.

In that regard, Hitler served a greater purpose than ushering in the Rapture by warning the *Beacon's* readers of the impending evil as the end times came closer. Instead of speculation about people and places, McIntire pointed to the events caused by people, in this case Hitler, to show the dangers of forsaking a Christian heritage because it furthered eschatological evil. This approach served a greater purpose for McIntire because it kept the *Beacon's* readers from too much End Times speculation and continued them on the path toward Twentieth Century Reformation to combat the evils of the day.

#### *McIntire's Solution*

What did the *Beacon* offer in the face of eschatological evil, pending war, and the influx of the “isms” of the day? McIntire championed a return to the “old fashioned” values and religious practices which made America great. He pushed his readers toward spiritual revival with the hope that a better day could come.<sup>62</sup> In one of the *Beacon's* more politically charged editorials, “Capitalism”, McIntire said, “In other words, I am trying to say as plainly as possible that what America needs is a good old-fashioned revival, a good old-fashioned Methodist revival like the Wesleys had.”<sup>63</sup> The slippery slope argument worked the opposite way for McIntire. If religious fervor increased, love for the Bible increased, then ideals such as patriotism, capitalism and democracy would stay in tact.<sup>64</sup> McIntire believed “those truly interested in protecting and maintaining liberty in this land are those who believe and defend and love the Bible as the Word

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<sup>62</sup> “Capitalism”, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 4. Also “Liberty, *CB*, (11 February 1937): 4.

of the living God”.<sup>65</sup> This is consistent with the view that McIntire was a man of “black and white” beliefs with no middle ground.<sup>66</sup> If citizens were Christian and loved the Bible, then McIntire believed they would love America and transform society to resemble his beloved Collingswood, a dry, friendly community, which appealed to “fine, conservative, upstanding” people due to the “Christian conduct” of its citizens.<sup>67</sup>

McIntire offered another solution to implement this ideal society – Christian involvement in politics. This extended beyond the notion that Christian citizens must be voting citizens, an idea he used when rallying people to vote to restrict liquor.<sup>68</sup> McIntire envisioned a scenario which Christians not only voted, but elected Christians into office.<sup>69</sup> He believed it was incumbent upon Christians to be involved in the entire political process from voting to holding office.<sup>70</sup> This is natural considering his view that religion determined the freedoms enjoyed by the citizenry. This also sets McIntire apart from other Fundamentalist leaders who did not present this solution in their publications.<sup>71</sup> McIntire encouraged Christians to hold office by presenting it as a Biblical mandate.<sup>72</sup> He used his hometown of Collingswood to emphasize the importance he placed on this notion. In Collingswood it was not simply the amount of churches

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<sup>65</sup> “Liberty”: 4.

<sup>66</sup> “Carl McIntire, ‘P.T. Barnum of Fundamentalism,’ Dies at 95”, *Christianity Today Online*, (25 March 2002), <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2002/11/12.0.html>

<sup>67</sup> “Collingswood”, *CB*, (29 September 1938): 4.

<sup>68</sup> “The Ballot”, *CB*, (3 November 1938): 4. Also in the same issue, “Decency Versus Lawlessness” by Walter A. Pine. This was a plea from a Methodist Episcopal pastor to “put the liquor traffic in its legitimate place – the graveyard of pagan customs” (4).

<sup>69</sup> “Collingswood”, 4.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

<sup>71</sup> This is probably the key line of delineation between McIntire and Fundamentalist leaders during this time. Out of the Fundamentalist publications surveyed for this paper, the *Beacon* is most specific in offering ideas for changing the political landscape and articulating a vision of government which is influenced and infiltrated by Christians. It is true that J. Frank Norris was very political throughout his career which Barry Hankins points out very well in “The Strange Career of J. Frank Norris: Or, How Can a Baptist Democrat Be a Fundamentalist Republican”, *Church History*, 61 (Spring 1992):373-392, but *The Fundamentalist* does not offer the types of solutions McIntire offered in the *Beacon* during this time. Norris spent much time pointing to conspiracy theories about Roosevelt and Communists preparing for a take over, than calling Christians to become involved in the process of government.

<sup>72</sup> “Collingswood”, 4.

that created a haven for Christian morality, but also that Christians were in key leadership positions, creating the ability to implement a Christian agenda.<sup>73</sup> McIntire viewed Collingswood as the ideal which could be achieved nationwide to bring America back to its Christian heritage, free of the problems he currently saw. If Christians throughout the country followed the example of Collingswood, then all society would benefit from the “civic blessings” which were “given to them because of the righteousness which has been brought to pass by the Christian conduct of the community”.<sup>74</sup> It was this idealism and hope in the midst of the troubled 1930s which led McIntire to declare, “Long live the U.S.A!”<sup>75</sup>

The problem with McIntire’s idealism was the reality of the times. The page which promoted the Collingswood ideal also featured an editorial cartoon containing a map of Czechoslovakia with “war clouds” hovering in ominous fashion.<sup>76</sup> The allure of Collingswood was not feasible given McIntire’s understanding of the End Times. This made Collingswood something to hope, wish, and work toward, but ultimately, not to expect. Reality rang true in late 1939 when war began in Europe. Americans faced a new challenge: coming to grips with potential involvement in war.

From the time of its inception through the outbreak of war in Europe, the *Beacon* never called for preemptive action as a solution to Germany.<sup>77</sup> There were predictions of war, which was natural given the climate of the world at the time, but the general understanding in Fundamentalism was that impending world war would lead to the Second Coming of Christ. This created more fervor to save Jews from persecution, and rescue souls from hell, than to call for

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<sup>73</sup> “Collingswood a Town of Many Churches”, *CB*, (29 September 1939): 1 & 4.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>76</sup> “Collingswood”, 4.

<sup>77</sup> McIntire would later lay out a case for preemptive action against the Soviet Union in *Author of Liberty* (199-211). His reasoned that since the United States was the bastion of freedom in the world, it was “America’s responsibility...because she has the moral responsibility before God” to spread liberty throughout the world.

military action against Germany. When war did break out in September 1939, McIntire declared to his congregation “Surely, the ‘time is at hand’” and laid out his case for how Christians should understand and evaluate this war.<sup>78</sup>

McIntire’s argument for Christians to participate in war was based upon several criteria: a just cause, self-defense, and defeating evil.<sup>79</sup> He also dispelled the idea, which he associated with Modernism, that non-resistance was an option in the face of evil.<sup>80</sup> He believed this to be a “perverted” understanding of the Sermon on the Mount because of its inability to empower the Christian, or State to “overcome evil”.<sup>81</sup> He affirmed the need for Christians to be peaceful, but with the understanding that war was just when liberty was at stake, and the need for self-defense arose.<sup>82</sup> He posited that meeting Hitler with pacifism would strengthen Germany, and since preparation was underway to begin a great conquest, “the conflict is between right and tyranny, between liberty and death to the human race, the right of war is imperative, if life is to be preserved at all”.<sup>83</sup> McIntire called his congregation to see this war as a “good thing” since it would allow “right” to defeat evil, and that war on earth could never compare to the war which existed in the very depths of hell.<sup>84</sup> This meant spiritual preparation was necessary because their military uniform would not save their souls, but only Jesus.<sup>85</sup> This call for readiness with an evangelistic twist ended with another appeal to “the right, in the Scriptures” to participate in war,

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<sup>78</sup> “War and the Christian’s Relation to It”, *CB*, (14 September 1939): 3. Gerald Sittser, *A Cautious Patriotism: The American Churches and the Second World War*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) asserts that American churches during the time between the World Wars were cautious toward war and not as patriotic as during World War I (8-15). The overarching problem with his thesis is that he did not take American Fundamentalism into account. While, McIntire did not appear to want war, he never hesitated to call it good because it would defeat evil and advance liberty.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 3&6.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 3&6.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 3&6.

and closed with the prayer “may God deliver this country of America from war.”<sup>86</sup> While McIntire did not appear eager for America to be engaged in this conflict, he clearly realized the possibility, and prepared those who read and heard his message to do their patriotic duty when the time came.

### *From Old Right to New Right*

McIntire’s allusions to the End Times and warnings against encroaching government in the 1930s came and went, but the presentation and content of his beliefs could almost pass as standard fare for New Christian Right thinkers if stripped of their context. Such is the case with Richard Viguerie’s *The New Right: We’re Ready To Lead*, which laid out their defining attributes and presented material similar to the *Beacon*’s:

Hard working citizens sick and tired of high taxes and ever-rising inflation; small businessmen angry at excessive government regulations and red tape; born-again Christians disturbed about sex on TV and in movies; parents opposed to forced bussing; supporters of the right to life and against federal financing of abortions; middle class Americans tired of Big Government, Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Education tell us what to do and what not to do; pro-defense citizens alarmed by appeasement and weakness in U.S. foreign policy.<sup>87</sup>

This foundation is compatible with Carl McIntire’s thought in the late 1930s, and McIntire is useful in expressing this sentiment because he laid a foundation which the New Christian Right has built upon. The presentation of this agenda, intended to rally followers to their populist cause, is reminiscent of the way the *Beacon* and other Fundamentalist publications employed emotionally charged populist rationale to create momentum. The key difference in presentation

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>87</sup> Richard Viguerie, *The New Right: We’re Ready To Lead*, (Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1981): Introduction.

is basically that the New Christian Right has capitalized on television in addition to print and radio, whereas McIntire and others did not have that availability in the 1930s.<sup>88</sup>

There is also an undercurrent through McIntire and the New Christian Right that if one is a Christian, they will be patriotic, defend America, and be better citizens because Fundamental Christianity fosters that ethos. This was echoed by Jerry Falwell when he said:

He [Mr. Viguerie]...has described the backbone of our country – those citizens who are pro-family, pro-moral, pro-life, and pro-American, who have integrity and believe in hard work, those who pledge allegiance to the flag and proudly sing our national anthem. He has described that group of citizens who love their country and are willing to sacrifice for her. America was built on faith in God, on integrity, and on hard work. Mr. Viguerie clearly names and points out the actions of those who have not been committed to these principles and have thus led to the weakening and the humiliation of a once great America.<sup>89</sup>

This statement brought nothing new to the table of ideas. Falwell is simply recasting ideas that McIntire and the *Beacon* presented, but in the context of late 1970s/early 1980s American Politics. The New Christian Right has continued the ideas of individualism, restrained freedom, Americanism, patriotism, and old fashioned values.

Carl McIntire helps inform current studies of the New Right to see foundational New Christian Right beliefs may not be as new as some insinuate.<sup>90</sup> Some of the differences used to divide Old Right from New Right are simply issues of time and context. In the 1930s Fundamentalists faced Communism, Nazism, The New Deal, Modernism and impending war in Europe and Japan. Through time, the issues changed, but the basic biblical foundations did not.

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<sup>88</sup> Jeffrey Will & Rhys Williams, “Political Ideology and Political Action in the New Christian Right”, *Sociological Analysis*, 47.2 (Summer 1986): 160. Also *Radio, CB*, (14 September 1939), was an editorial which attributed the growth of subscriptions to *The Beacon* to the use of radio (4). It is interesting to trace the McIntire’s intertwining of the two media as he used local radio to launch *The Beacon*, and later used the national following of *The Beacon* to build the radio audience of his *20<sup>th</sup> Century Reformation Hour*. With respect to mass media, McIntire was innovative and multi-dimensional in employing types of media to grow his movement.

<sup>89</sup> Jerry Falwell, *Introduction, The New Right: We’re Ready To Lead*.

<sup>90</sup> I say that based upon an understanding of articles similar to “Reagan Political Years Paralleled Right’s Rise” by Robert Marus & Greg Warner, *Christian Century*, 121, No 3, (29 June 2004) which imply there was an element of surprise to the Religious Right as if this movement had only originated in the late 1970s (11-12). While, this is an oversimplification of their presentation, it is important to note that a segment of material does exist which does not trace the roots of the current Religious Right to some who could be considered “forefathers”, which would include Carl McIntire.

Until recently, Communism was a chief target of the New Christian Right, but now Liberalism, understood by many Right leaders to be a form of collectivism, is a target. Islamic Fascism replaced Nazism, cultural relativism and post-modernism rendered Modernism passé, and the Middle East became the new hotbed for international conflict. The issues may be different because of time and context, but the beliefs which approach, or attack the issues, remain consistent. Both the Old Christian Right and the New Christian Right emerged as movements which sensed “that sacred boundaries have been violated, that things are out of place,” and understanding Carl McIntire can help students and scholars alike to see the continuity of thought and presentation between the two movements.<sup>91</sup>

This continuity can be seen in three key areas: the view of American life, support of Jews, and understanding of prophecy. McIntire presented an American life void of the problems he believed were caused by the “isms” of the time. His answers for many of America’s problems of declining morals and encroaching government were a return to old-fashioned values and revivalism. This is often a New Christian Right response to “isms” of the day, pointing to better times, notably the 1950s, when things were different and the country was on a better path.<sup>92</sup> The charm and nostalgia of McIntire’s Collingswood has been replaced with a longing for the 1950s.

To restore this American way of life, the New Christian Right invested heavily in politics and called Christians to vote for candidates supporting their agenda. McIntire was no different.

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<sup>91</sup> Samuel Hill & Dennis Owen, *The New Religious Political Right In America*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1979): 117-118. This quote is in reference to the New Right, but is applicable to both movements. McIntire and leaders of the Fundamentalist Old Right saw themselves as raised “for such a time as this” to combat movements which upset their sense of morality and the general direction, politically and spiritually of the U.S. and world at large.

<sup>92</sup> Richard Land, “To the Cross”, *For Faith and Family*, (2 March 2006). Archived at <http://faithandfamily.com/radio/program/to-the-cross-060307> This was a sermon on declining American values and culture. In his introduction Land recalls a conversation with a reporter on what America would look like if he had his way to which he responded “1955” and then proceeded to list the reasons why the 1950s were a better day for America because the country had not strayed far from its founding path at this time. He lists reasons such as prayer in schools, the high church attendance rate and a litany of other activities which make the 1950s a more ideal time than 2006.

He used the *Beacon* to call Christians to political action and said, “one of the great tragedies of our day is that Christians have withdrawn from positions of influence and leadership in our community and are turning over the affairs of State to men who are not motivated by high Christian principals which prevail in the heart and conscience of a child of God.”<sup>93</sup> Both McIntire and leaders of the New Christian Right agree that Christians should not only vote for candidates reflecting their values, but also believe Christians should enter the political arena. A plea for the role of the Christian in politics is made today on behalf of these Christian leaders wishing to bring their view of traditionalism and life into the arena of government.

The New Christian Right is also associated with supporting the state of Israel and demonstrates an affinity for Jews. McIntire provided a good framework for this mindset through his support of Jews in Germany and publicity of Zionist organizations as they moved toward establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. Like many today, McIntire taught his followers that Jews were God’s chosen people who inherited an unbreakable blessing that continued to the present and that it was incumbent upon “those who believe the Bible” to love Jews.<sup>94</sup> This is emphasized by leaders in the New Christian Right who teach that Christians must support Israel even to the point of pressuring the U.S. government to act upon these principles.<sup>95</sup> This idea did not originate when Israel became a state in 1948, but was present among Fundamentalist leaders during the

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<sup>93</sup> “Collingswood”, 4.

<sup>94</sup> “Why Christians Must Be Kind to the Jew”: 6.

<sup>95</sup> “Marching to Zion” by Donald Wagner, *Christian Century*, 120, No 13, (28 June 2003): 20-24. The article quotes Jerry Falwell speaking of the policies of President George W. Bush from the television program *60 Minutes*, “I think now we can count on President Bush to do the right thing for Israel every time” (22). This was in the context of Evangelical leaders lobbying the U.S. Government to make actions toward Israel which reflected the Dispensationalist understanding of Israel and Jews. This article itself gives a good summary of the influence of Scofield Dispensationalism from the mid-late 1800s through present times. Also: Marvin Wilson, “Zionism as Theology, *JETS*, 22:1, (March 1979): 43-44, which provides a good understanding from the viewpoint of an Evangelical scholar. One historical quibble I have with this article is that he presents the “Church as a sleeping giant” during the Holocaust when there was a vibrant movement among Fundamentalist churches reacting against Nazi Germany (34).

Holocaust. Support for Israel and Jews by the New Religious Right is simply a continuation of a foundation laid decades before.

McIntire's view of prophecy is another key linking the Old and New. The 1970s and 1980s were ripe with speculation concerning the "end days" on radio, television and Bible conference circuits. Recently, momentum in this direction has been fueled by the *Left Behind* book and movie series, which increased curiosity in "all things prophetic" and have led to interest in understanding current events as they relate to End Times prophecy.<sup>96</sup> When approaching End Times prophecy, McIntire would share many similarities with a New Christian Right leader such as Jerry Falwell, and both have expressed their views similarly: with a lack of specificity.<sup>97</sup> Most key leaders in the New Christian Right would share the sentiment that the last days have drawn nigh, but there is little specific prediction by many in key positions of influence. McIntire fell into this category in the 1930s. He "believed" the signs of Christ's coming could be found, but never made exact predictions, much like a New Christian Right leader can speak of prophecy without specificity.

Herein lies the value of studying McIntire's thought as a bridge between the Old and New Religious Right: balance. Balance is not a word associated with Carl McIntire in the few journal articles covering his career, nor was it to be found in the obituaries announcing his death in 2002.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, his views in the late 1930s provide a balanced foundation to understand the New Christian Right. Unlike some of his Fundamentalist contemporaries, McIntire's views

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<sup>96</sup> "Saving Israel For Jesus", *Nightline*, ABC Television, (4 August 2006). This segment highlighted the keen interest a good number Evangelical American Christians have with regard to events in the Middle East, how they serve to help decode End Times mysteries, and their involvement in seeking to shape U.S. policy toward Israel.

<sup>97</sup> I say this based upon the lack of material from many "more serious" New Right Christian organizations which seek to influence politics. One does not turn to Jerry Falwell for specific advice on the End Times, but turns to him for a plan to implement a Christian agenda in the U.S.. One does not turn to many of the End Times focused T.V. personalities for political advice, but rather the roadmap to Armageddon.

<sup>98</sup> *Christianity Today Online* labeled him the "P.T. Barnum of Fundamentalism" in an obituary which announced his death and summarizing his career.

of totalitarianism and Big Government were devoid of the conspiracy theories with which he was later associated.<sup>99</sup> He also provided a more palatable view of End Times prophecy by not delving into specific speculation concerning names or dates.<sup>100</sup> His constant presentation of ideas such as freedom, capitalism, tolerance, patriotism, strong national defense, and other views shared by the New Christian Right are presented in an articulate, logical manner with rationale for why they are correct.<sup>101</sup> Though McIntire's style was confrontational and blunt, he used the *Beacon* in a way that stressed the importance of the idea over sensationalism in presentation.<sup>102</sup> Since ideas were treated this way, they serve the researcher in understanding foundational Old Christian Right beliefs and how they relate to corresponding New Christian Right beliefs. McIntire's nostalgic editorial "Collingswood" in September 1939 also serves as a mirror for the way many in the New Christian Right view the 1950s. McIntire pointed his readers to see Collingswood as the ideal for which to strive, much like the call toward the American 1950s can be witnessed today. This captures the combination of concern, optimism, Americanism, patriotism and

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<sup>99</sup> See "The Revolution in America – Are We Passing Under Dictatorship?", *The Fundamentalist*, (2 February 1934): 3-4, & 6. This sermon by J. Frank Norris presents a conspiracy within the Roosevelt administration to create a totalitarian government that will abolish the U.S. Constitution and put a world dictatorship into place. Also: "What Will Happen in 1935?", *The SOTL*, (4 January 1935) promotes a sermon by John R. Rice which alleged the New Deal would bring the Socialists and Communists together to form a totalitarian U.S. government (1-3). Throughout the late 1930s, *The Beacon* does not print a single article which alleges any sort of internal U.S. government plot to implement this sort of scheme.

<sup>100</sup> "Signs of the Soon Coming of Christ", *The SOTL*, (28 June 1935): 1&4.

<sup>101</sup> "Tolerance", *CB*, (29 June 1939) an editorial which attacked liberal religious leaders pleas for tolerance in the name of Christian charity as being wrong in light of the intolerance toward false religion practiced by Jesus. It also says "it is interesting to observe that in this day the so-called Liberals- especially those who of their liberality and tolerance – are equally intolerant of the offence of the cross" and later goes to accuse the Northern Presbyterians of being intolerant of views which are not as tolerant as their own (4). "July 4<sup>th</sup>", *CB*, (1 July 1937): 1&4. This editorial highlights the Christian foundations of the United States, then leashes into how organized labor is contrary to a patriotic understanding of the country, as well as being contrary to Scripture. Also "Independence" by Eleanore Wigfield, *CB*, (29 June 1930): 4. This was an editorial cartoon with depicting the Liberty Bell with the words from Romans 8:2, "The law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death", which is essentially pointing to an understanding that the U.S. was founded upon these types of principals as a Christian nation and calling *The Beacon's* readers to a sense of patriotic love for their country. "War and the Christian's Relation to It", 6. "Pacifism", *CB*, (10 February 1938), which "calls out" pacifist Christians and their resistance to requests by President Roosevelt to strengthen the U.S. military in preparing for a potential war. McIntire calls this type of pacifism "false" and says "Christian people should not be deceived by the pious, pagan propaganda..." (4).

<sup>102</sup> "Preacher Burns Nazi, Soviet Flags on Isle" *The Fundamentalist*, (10 June 1938): 3-4, 7-8. Reprinting *Detroit Evening Times*, 6/6/38. This article showed pictures of a revival which Norris was preaching at an Americanism Rally and had someone on stage burn Nazi and Soviet flags.

worldview which both movements share as their operating framework, and even strengthens their connection. There is much insight to be gained by studying Carl McIntire's earliest thought, how it shaped his outlook on world events, and how it helps make sense of ideas and values presented by the New Christian Right. More effort must be put into researching Carl McIntire because he provides a wealth of information, and is an untapped resource which would aid in tracing the development of American Christian thought from the Depression Era through current times. A new effort in this direction will provide better understanding of the New Christian Right's combination of religion, Americanism, and politics in its efforts to change and influence culture as it was echoed long ago with McIntire's cry of "Long Live the U.S.A.!"

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