

Patterns of Religious-Ethnic Discrimination in the United
States:

Anti-Catholicism, Anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia

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Introduction

On June 14, 2016 Omar Mateen entered the Pulse Night Club, a predominately LGBT club, in Orlando and brutally murdered 49 people and seriously injured 53 others. Then Republican Party Presidential Candidate, and future 45th president of the United States, Donald Trump authored several tweets that day with the first simply stating that there had been a shooting and terrorism was a possibility. He would go on to post that he was praying for all the victims and families and ask when Americans will become tough, smart, and vigilant. Although there was no direct comment about terrorists in that tweet, it is clear from past statements and his stance on immigrant Muslims that this tweet was about Muslims and the apparent threat they pose to America and its citizens. Additionally, his last comment regarding the massacre said “Appreciate the congrats for being right on radical Islamic terrorism, I don't want congrats, I want toughness & vigilance. We must be smart!”¹ In other words, he found support for his comments on social media and found it necessary to brag about it on the same day 49 people were violently murdered. Xenophobic statements from Trump have become commonplace throughout this presidential campaign which is the reason why his tweets following the Orlando tragedy were not surprising. Trump's candidacy is an example of unintended consequences for the United States. It is clear from Trump's many anti-Muslim statements that he knows exactly what he is doing with regards to Muslims and xenophobic Americans, but the consequences are unknown. The unintended consequences will become

¹ Donald Trump, Twitter (June 12, 2016), <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump>.

particularly significant if Trump is elected president because there is no way to know how a Trump presidency will affect Muslim Americans and the way they are treated.

While Muslims are the current target of American religio-ethnic discrimination, there have been several other groups who have been targeted throughout American history. Americans have practiced religio-ethnic discrimination since the country's founding and there is no evidence to suggest that Muslims will be the last targeted group. As a result, it is important to point out that there is a pattern of religio-ethnic discrimination in the United States and the different ways many American "mainline" Protestants practice and exhibit it. In order to do that the thesis will look at the way Americans treat outsiders and how general "mainline" Protestants and their allies have used the economy, politics, the media, and religion to ensure religio-ethnic groups remain outsiders since the nation's founding.

Theory

Peter L. Berger, religion, sociology, and theology professor at Boston University, wrote

Above all, society manifests itself by its coercive power. The final test of its objective reality is its capacity to impose itself upon the reluctance of individuals. Society directs, sanctions, controls, and punishes individual conduct. In its most powerful apotheoses society may even destroy the individual.²

² Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 11.

Berger's statement is insightful, but it is exceptionally important for academics to understand and acknowledge that there are many things that affect society and its evolution. One aspect is religion. Christian Smith, sociology professor and the director of the Center for the Study of Religion and Society at the University of Notre Dame, wrote "Our believings are what create the conditions and shape of our very perceptions, identity, agency, orientation, purpose – in short, our selves, our lives, and our worlds as we know them."³ In other words, religion, non-religious beliefs, and the people who teach them shape our society and the way people view and navigate the world and their communities. People who practice a religion turn to their beliefs and their religion's leaders for guidance. As a result, religion shapes the way believers approach situations they are faced with and the people who surround them. Additionally, recognizing history's significance is crucial to the sociological discussion. Philip Abrams, sociology professor at the University of Durham, wrote

The two-sidedness of society, the fact that social action is both something we choose to do and something we have to do, is inseparably bound up with the further fact that whatever reality society has is an historical reality, a reality in time. When we refer to the two-sidedness of society we are referring to the ways in which, in time, actions become institutions and institutions are in turn changed to action.⁴

Abrams was explaining that institutions arise from history out of specific human actions and those institutions effect the behaviors and actions of future generations. In other words, past actions have a major affect on the way the

³ Christian Smith, *Moral, Believing Animals: Human Personhood and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 57.

⁴ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1982), 2.

future unfolds. History's impact on society is undeniable. The proof is in the religious-ethnic discrimination pattern that has existed since the United States' founding. Many religious-ethnic groups have faced discrimination throughout American history. Catholics, Jews, and Muslims are the three groups that we will be concentrating on, but it is important to understand that many others have also been victimized. The religio-ethnic pattern existed prior to anti-Catholicism and it is likely that it will continue once Muslims are able to successfully assimilate into the United States.

Religious-ethnic discrimination is a complicated issue that affects several social institutions. Many times when we think about anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Islam we tend to focus on just the religious aspect, however, without looking at economics, media, outsider status, and politics. Immigrants have been and continue to be exploited throughout society. As a result, it is crucial to point out the many ways religious and ethnic groups have historically faced prejudice because it has occurred time and again throughout American history. The institutions, both religious and secular, that perpetrate religio-ethnic discrimination resulted from historical incidents. The history that developed the institutions is also the historical event or events that shaped the institutions and their actions. In other words, without a certain historical timeline the Ku Klux Klan either would not exist or would look exceptionally different than it did during its height. The same holds true for the institutions which are discussed throughout the thesis.

It will quickly become evident that this is not just a historical or sociological work. Many times when we study historical events historians tend to concentrate strictly on the historical facts that have been uncovered through research. While the traditional historical view is valid, the issue is that they do not incorporate the history that is available to them. In order to gain a better understanding of anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Islam it is crucial to explore sociology. Sociology enables us to explore the possible reasons behind the people and actions that have shaped American history. As a result, several sociologists' theories and concepts have been utilized throughout the thesis. Charles Tilly, an American sociologist, political scientist, and historian, argues in *As Sociology Meets History* for the importance of the two disciplines meeting and working together because it strengthens both practices. Additionally, William Sewell, Jr., professor emeritus of history and political science at the University of Chicago, makes a similar argument in a series of essays in *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. The major difference between the two is that he incorporates a number of historical examples in order to strengthen his argument. Similarly, Philip Abrams, former sociology professor at the University of Durham, contends that historians and sociologists are more similar than many realize because events are equally important to both. Edward W. Said's work, *Orientalism*, has also proven helpful. Said, former literature professor at Columbia University, approaches history from a different viewpoint. In *Orientalism* Said discussed the orient and the ways in which European colonization affected the area, its people, and its societies. He used both history

and sociological concepts in order to explain how the world views the Orient instead. The major argument that Said attempts to make is that European colonization made Europeans and other societies view the Orient. Finally, Peter Berger partnered with Thomas Luckmann, world renowned sociologist of religion and professor, to write *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* which dealt with ideology and the way society's knowledge is developed. These books and my thesis show that there are differences in the ways historians and sociologists approach events and history, but they more alike than they are different.

Tilly states that "History is not failed sociology, and historical materials are not raw evidence awaiting sociological analysis." Furthermore, "historians conduct their inquiries according to rules that differ significantly from those sociologists follow in their own work, and which may well puzzle or surprise the unsuspecting sociologist who wanders into their territory." In other words, sociologists and historians approach research differently. As a result, sociologists do not always understand how historians go about their work. Additionally, "sociologists have commonly blundered by attempting to force large models onto history, instead of interacting intelligently with the historical evidence." In other words, historians look at things on a smaller scale, while sociologists view things differently. Tilly argues that both historians and sociologists should attempt to look at the other's disciplines and understand the ways in which they go about their work and research. He goes on to say that "Social history's perspective calling, in contrast, consists of asking what could have happened to routine social

life at major historical choice points, then considering how and why the outcomes that actually occurred won out over other possibilities.” In other words, social historians are concerned what the United States and anti-Semitism would have looked liked had Father Charles Coughlin’s radio show not found the immense popularity that it did. Tilly continues to state that “social history...takes certain features of our contemporary world as problematic and then moves back to trace the origins and transformations of those features.”⁵ This is exactly what I will do in this thesis. For instance, when Pat Robertson conducted an interview with Jerry Falwell soon after 9/11, Falwell stated

Hitler’s goal was to destroy the Jews among other things, and conquer the world. And, these Islamic fundamentalists, these radical terrorists, the Middle Eastern monsters are committed to destroying the Jewish nation, driving her into the Mediterranean, conquering the world. And, we are the great Satan.⁶

Robertson and Falwell used 9/11 as an excuse to assert their Islamophobic rhetoric which they had spoken and believed well before the terror attacks. Americans already feared Muslims as a result of the attacks and centuries of religious and social history, but what many *700 Club* viewers failed to recognize is that Robertson, Falwell, and many other evangelical Christians were already Islamophobic due to the Israeli/Palestine issue. By pointing that out we, as historians and sociologists, are able to give a reason behind the actions of people like Falwell and Robertson and the institutions that formed them. By

⁵ Charles Tilly, *As Sociology Meets History* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 6, 7, 212.

⁶ Bruce Lincoln, “Transcript of Pat Robertson’s Interview with Jerry Falwell Broadcast on the *700 Club*, September 13, 2001,” in *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11*, ed. 2, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 109.

combining sociology and history I am able to provide a possible explanation for the abhorrent actions committed by people like Donald Trump and Father Coughlin.

Sewell makes a similar argument in his book. He wrote that “it is common for historians to read social theory and to cite theorists in their written work,” but “this growing use of theory does not constitute a genuine dialogue.” He continues to argue that historians “use social theory to orient their thinking, or borrow its vocabulary in their interrogation of historical sources or in formulating their arguments.” In other words, many historians use the works of famous sociologists without fully understanding their concepts. Sewell continues to write that “Historians believe that we cannot understand why things happened as they did without figuring out the sequence in which things happened.” Additionally, “historians assume that the outcome of any action, event, or trend is likely to be contingent, that its effects will depend upon the particular complex temporal sequence of which it is part.” While the sequence of events is vitally important, it is also crucial to understand the reasons behind the events and the things or people who set them in motion. Sewell goes on to say that “Social history represented a change in subject matter, in methods, and in intellectual style” which led to a “vast enlargement of the scope of historical study.” He argues that “social history studied categories of people who had previously been ignored by historical scholarship.”⁷ I am also attempting to do this in my thesis. Currently, Americans spend a lot of time concerned about Muslims and what they could be

⁷ William H. Sewell, Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 5, 7, 27.

capable of. While there are Muslims who committed atrocities, many evangelicals intentionally ignore what Muslims actually believe and the conditions under which many of them live. In January 2015 Duke University that “Members of the Duke Muslim Students Association will chant a weekly call-to-prayer from the Duke Chapel bell tower beginning Friday, Jan. 16.”⁸ Despite the fact that the university and its students wanted and supported the change, many evangelicals spoke out against it. Franklin Graham, well known Christian evangelist and missionary, stated on CBS that

For a chapel, built by the most part by Methodist money, from the Methodist church, to be a house of worship at Duke University for the students of that university so that they could worship the god of the Bible for that chapel now to allow Muslims prayers... I think I have a problem with that and I think many other people have a problem with it.⁹

This was an attempt to become even more inclusive, but Franklin Graham and many others spoke out and the school reversed its decision. CBS and NPR covered the story, but it got very little other media attention. Additionally, neither news outlet explained why Muslims worship on Fridays or any of their other beliefs. By explaining their beliefs and practices evangelical Christians and other Americans might come to understand what Muslims actually believe. The result may be that evangelicals become more understanding and inclusive toward Muslims and their beliefs. Without historians and sociologists, who merge the two

⁸ *Duke Today* Staff, “Muslim Students at Duke to Begin Weekly Call-to-Prayer,” *Duke Today*, January 13, 2015, <https://today.duke.edu/2015/01/adhanannouncement>.

⁹ Franklin Graham, “Franklin Graham Blasts Duke University for Muslim Call to Prayer,” *CBS News*, January 15, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/franklin-graham-blasts-duke-university-for-muslim-call-to-prayer/>.

practices, it is doubtful that evangelical Americans will accept Muslims or that Muslims will be able to successfully assimilate into the United States.

Philip Abrams argues that society is crucial to history. He states that “The two-sidedness of society, the fact that social action is both something we choose to and something we have to do, is inseparably bound up with the further fact that whatever reality society has is an historical reality, a reality in time.” In other words, we make choices everyday that shape society and make history. He goes on say that “History, the interaction of structure action, is not of course something that happens only on the large stage of whole societies or civilisations.” That is particularly important for my thesis because religious discrimination often occurs to those who are not as able financially or socially to defend themselves. One theory that stands out in terms of my thesis is Abrams’ necessity theory of social welfare. Abrams defines it emphasizes “the role of social conditions regardless of ideas and opinions in bringing about social reform.” Furthermore, “In this view attention is concentrated upon the existence of circumstances – poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy and the waste of life and resources associated with them.”¹⁰ That is particularly true when we look at the poverty many immigrants live in. Along with religious discrimination Catholics and Jews faced economic discrimination as well due to their religious and immigration status. When the 18th Amendment was passed Jews were hit especially hard. Marni Davis, associate professor of history at Georgia State University, stated that “As American anti-Semitic sentiment intensified at the turn of the century, Jews’

¹⁰ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 2, 6, 12.

history in the alcohol trade acted as confirmation of suspicions about Jewish economic behavior, in ways that mirrored broader concerns about their presence in American society.” She goes on to explain that the “‘third wave’ of Jewish immigrants altered American Jewry’s relation to alcohol” in that “their orientation toward traditional religious practices prompted them to create and support an emerging kosher wine industry, which both generated employment opportunities and helped to weave Jewish religious observance into the fabric of American consumer culture.”¹¹ The alcohol industry was extremely fruitful for the Jewish community and Prohibition forced them to find other means to make a living. The law forced Jews to find different jobs which were hard to come by.

Additionally, the action theory helps to explain why Christians and lawmakers were able to pass the 18th Amendment. Philips defines it as “concentrating on the diverse ways in which problems are experienced by actual members of society and on the ways in which members of society turn their experience into competing and alternative proposals for dealing with problems and struggle to secure one solution rather than another.” In regards to the action theory Abrams goes on to say that “More generally the pattern of policy seems invariably to be shaped not just by the play and interaction of social interests and groups but by the fact that some interests and groups prove persistently more influential than others.” In other words, Christians and politicians who fought for Prohibition were able to accomplish their goal because of who they were. Jews were less influential and they were still attempting to assimilate into American

¹¹ Marni Davis, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 3, 72.

society. By discussing religious discrimination in the United States and the many problems Catholics, Jews, and Muslims faced we are able to see both the action and necessity theories.¹²

Said's main argument was that the Orient has had very little opportunity to write their own history because they have been dominated by European colonization. He utilizes concepts from famous sociologists such as Michael Foucault in order to defend and support his thesis. Said states that "the Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks." In other words, the Orient and its people have been misrepresented and, to some extent, controlled by European colonists. This concept is also applicable to Catholics, Jews, and Muslims in the United States. Due to their immigrant and religious status these groups have had to work uncommonly hard in order to represent themselves. Unfortunately, this concept is currently the case in the United States. That is particularly evident when we look at the situation at Duke University. The university soon reversed its decision due to the complaints that flooded the school. While this is just one example it is evident that Muslims have, and continue to be, represented in a very specific way by many in the United States. Muslims are vastly misunderstood in the United States in part because that is way many American evangelical Protestants want it. Said goes on to explain that "The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire." While Catholics and Jews

¹² Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 13, 14.

have been able to successfully assimilate into American society and Muslims might be able to accomplish the same thing, it is important to point out that each group has and will continue to pay a price. The price is that these groups will never be fully accepted into American society. As a result, we see that many Catholics and Jews live under the radar because they realize that if they choose not to they know all too well that what the consequences could be. One of the most important questions that can be asked about religio-ethnic discrimination is why people exhibit such harsh discrimination and why those discriminatory beliefs continue to be passed from generation to generation.¹³

Berger and Luckmann argue that “The social stock of knowledge includes knowledge of my situation and its limits.” Religious-Ethnic groups who have faced the harshest discrimination in the United States are aware of their placement and standing in the country. The authors go on to explain that “This knowledge is, of course, shared both by those who are poor themselves and those who are in a more privileged situation.”¹⁴ Berger and Luckmann’s concept is particularly true when we look at Catholicism in the 19th Century. Anti-Catholicism was most severe during the 19th Century, especially in economic terms because Catholic immigrants quickly understood where they stood in American society. In the South slave owners and businessmen chose to hire Catholics to build docks instead of using their slaves because Catholics were considered to be expendable. Noel Ignatiev, American historian and author,

¹³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 40, 202, 203.

¹⁴ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 41, 42.

quoted Frederick Law Olmstead, an American architect and journalist, who stated in regards to dock work that “The niggers are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies are knocked overboard, or get their backs broke, nobody looses anything.”¹⁵ Catholic immigrants understood that in the American South a dangerous job, such as dock work, was their only way to earn a living. The knowledge that Catholics and Jews had in the 19th Century and early 20th Century is that they will have to work in menial jobs in a society that does not want them. Additionally, Muslims are currently facing the same issue. As a result, all three religious-ethnic groups have been forced to take jobs that they do not because they have to be able to support themselves. By forcing these religious-ethnic groups to take jobs that white American Protestants thought were below them they reinforced the knowledge that both American Protestants and religious-ethnic groups already knew to be true.

Historians do not tend to use sociology in their works and the same is true for sociologists when it comes to history. That fact is a problem because both studies are tied to one another and prove useful for each one. When asked why the two fields should be combined the answer is because historians need to look at society and culture’s role in historical events. Sociologists also need to make more of an effort to look at history’s role in shaping society. Society helps us to understand why society and people react and behave the ways in which they do. That is such an important issue for academia because we see time and again that we do not receive any possible explanation as to why history occurred the

¹⁵ Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 126.

way it did. There is no doubt that we may never know why some leaders decided to make the historic choices they did, but with sociology we can look at the people and situations and see what their motivations may have been. Sociology gives the historian the opportunity to look at history and religion in different lights. History also allows sociologists to look at history and the way it has shaped society. It is crucial that two academic studies come together because it will allow both areas to be stronger in their research and works. Most historians are not required to take or learn sociology, but that fact should change because it would broaden both sides' viewpoints. For example, when we look at Father Charles Coughlin and his hours on the radio sociology and history together allow us to see how his anti-Semitism was formed and the reasons why he interpreted the Bible the way he did. That is also true when we look at Donald Trump. Sociology helps us to see how history is made and the way that historical events and people shape society after those events. The two fields should not be separated because they are crucial to one another. The more they interact the better both will become.

For many people the United States is based on the assumption that the founding fathers based the country on Protestantism and its beliefs. As a result, American culture has been shaped in a very specific way. Smith describes culture as "The intangible ideas, values, and beliefs of people (culture) counterposed against supposedly more real or hard social institutions (society)." Due to the fact that many Americans believe that the United States is a Christian nation, a specific narrative has been formed which dictates the way Americans

view themselves and outsiders. He defines narrative as “A form of communication that arranges human actions and events into organized wholes in a way that bestows meaning on the actions and events by specifying their interactive or cause and effect relations to the world.” Additionally, many Protestants view themselves as moral beings whose morality is above immigrants and non-Protestants. According to Smith morality is

An orientation toward understandings about what is right and wrong, good and bad, worthy and unworthy, just and unjust, that are not established by our own actual desires, decisions, or preferences but instead believed to exist apart from them, providing standards by which our desires, decisions, and preferences can themselves be judged.

Morality is not limited to only those people who hold religious beliefs, but it is important to understand that many religious Americans have come to believe that their morality is greater than that of others.¹⁶

The American Protestant morality that dominates the United States’ society can be helpfully explained by Sewell’s concept of schema. Sewell, professor emeritus of history and political science at the University of Chicago, explains that the schema is “Formal and informal rules and conventions that govern social life and resources, human and non-human objects that can be used to enhance or maintain power.” Schemas help to form culture and the ways in which it is practiced throughout different societies. Sewell goes on to explain that culture as practice is “The insistence that culture is a sphere of practical activity shot through by willful action, power relations, struggle, contradiction, and

¹⁶ Christian Smith, *Moral, Believing Animals: Human Personhood and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8, 20, 65.

change.” While culture and society do change over time Sewell’s culture as learned behavior is particularly important. He states that culture as learned behavior is “the whole body of practices, beliefs, institutions, customs, habits, myths, etc. built up by humans and passed on from generation to generation.” In other words, people pass down their beliefs down to the next generation, but it is also crucial to understand that the next generation will help to change culture and the way it is viewed.¹⁷

Sewell continues to explain that culture is an institutional sphere. In other words, culture is “based on the assumption that social formations are composed of clusters of institutions devoted to specialized activities.” Catholicism, Judaism, and Islam are the main institutions focused on throughout the following three chapters and the discrimination they have endured in American history. As a result, it is critical that we look at the many events that led to and added to the inequality those groups faced. Sewell defines events as “unique and contingent happenings that are subject to the vagaries of the human will.” He continues to explain eventful temporality which “recognizes the power of events in history. Social life may be conceptualized as being composed of countless happenings or encounters in which persons or groups of persons engage in social action.” In other words, events affect society’s trajectory and history’s course.¹⁸

¹⁷ William H. Sewell, Jr. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 133, 157, 161.

¹⁸ William H. Sewell, Jr. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 100, 158, 197.

Abrams' definition of event is also helpful. Abrams wrote that an event is "a transformation device between past and future; it has eventuated from the past and it signifies for the future. It is not just a happening there to be narrated but a happening to which cultural significance has successfully been assigned." Abrams' argument was that events shape society and its path. As a result, events determine the future and the way society views history. The way Abrams approached history and his concept of event was to discuss societal classes, individuals, and the ways they form society and history. He explained that classes "are made up by people in certain circumstances; the definite, externally given nature of the circumstances does not at all diminish the importance of purposeful human action." Americans, and many other peoples, are separated into classes which helps to define them in society. As we will see in the third chapter, each class views society and culture in different ways which is vastly important when we discuss the 2016 Presidential Election and its results. Abrams continued to explain the action theory of social welfare. This concept reinforces the observation that society's different classes approach situations and events differently which leads them to make distinct decisions and view history in distinctive ways. Abrams' book also helps us to understand why many American Protestants, who can be described as a class themselves, view Catholicism, Judaism, and Islam in particular way. We will see that many Protestants view these religious groups and their followers as deviant. Abrams wrote that deviance is "the assumption (or hope) that individuals could not just be bad and that the problem of explaining badness had there to be one of explaining how they

sometimes become bad.” In other words, people are not inherently bad. A person has to learn from society how to practice racism and religious discrimination. Deviant behavior has to be created and molded. The sociology of deviance is found throughout the following three chapters when we look at men such as Father Charles Coughlin and Donald Trump.¹⁹

People are taught to treat each other in certain ways, but those ways differ depending on the culture, society, and religion that surround them. In every culture and sub-culture there are certain ideologies that dictate the ways in which people view the world and treat one another. Berger and Luckmann defined ideology as something that is “taken on by a group because of specific theoretical elements that are conducive to its interest.” We see this concept play out time and again throughout the specific time periods that will be discussed. Although there are some differences between the ideologies that persist in each historical period, the evidence proves that the results have increasingly become worse as time goes on. Ideology is spread through socialization, but secondary socialization is also vitally important when we look at both ethnic and religious discrimination. Berger and Luckmann explain secondary socialization as “any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society.” Secondary socialization takes place in religious houses, schools, and through the media. The media is a particularly important medium in terms of secondary socialization because the inventions of the radio and television allowed discriminatory thoughts and ideas to be

¹⁹ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 191, 267, 268.

widespread in ways that were not possible before. However, Berger and Luckmann continue to argue that alternation is also possible. They explain that alternation

requires processes of re-socialization. These processes resemble primary socialization, because they have radically to reassign accents and consequently, must replicate to a considerable degree the strongly affective identification with the socializing personnel that was characteristic of childhood.

We have seen that, in some cases, alternation or re-socialization is possible.

This process was successful at the beginning of the 20th Century and at the end of World War II and the Holocaust. However, in order for alternation to occur the correct recipe has to be put into place. Berger and Luckmann wrote that a recipe for “successful alternation has to include both social and conceptual conditions, the social, of course, serving as the matrix of the conceptual.” In other words, certain people and situations have to come to pass in order for alternation to take place. The correct recipe has to come to be during certain time period, but the issue at hand in 2017 is whether or not the correct recipe will be developed for those who are facing religious and ethnic discrimination throughout the United States. The recipe that has helped to form the anti-Islamic rhetoric and actions over the past 15 years did not develop overnight and it has continued to grow. As a result, the recipe will be maintained and religio-ethnic groups will continue consistently face discrimination.²⁰

²⁰ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 124, 130, 157.

Michael Omi, associate professor of Asian American and Diaspora Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and Howard Winant, sociology professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara, wrote *Racial Formation in the United States* which discusses race relations, the ways in which discrimination appears, and how these groups are able to find acceptance in the United States. American Protestants in particular have found ways to do what the authors describe as othering. Othering “is used to justify subordinate status, unequal treatment, to structure oppression and exploitation in numerous ways.” The othering concept can be applied through all three chapters because we will see that Catholics, Jews, and Muslims were all considered dangerous and subordinate to American Protestants throughout American history. One reason it was important to include sociology in this work was because it is crucial to understand the trajectory that has led to religious/ethnic discrimination in American history. The authors define trajectory as “a political process, in which rising phases of motivation are followed by declining phases.” Currently we are dealing with Islamophobia which most hope is heading towards a decline as a part of its trajectory, but the problem with that is that soon another religious-ethnic group will be targeted and the process will begin again. Furthermore, Omi and Winant argue that assimilation, which is the fourth part of the race-relations cycle, is extremely important to religious-ethnic groups. The men describe assimilation as “the arrival of ‘strangers in the land,’ the resettlement of ‘the uprooted’ and the subsequent management and eventual overcoming of the consequent cultural differences.” Catholics and Jews have been able to achieve

assimilation, but Muslims are still trying to reach that point. However, history has shown us that there will come a time when the Muslim/Middle East religious/ethnic groups will be able to successfully assimilate into American society.²¹

Religion has always been a pivotally important aspect in the United States. Other than Christianity, there are too many other religions to count that exist within the United States that most people are not aware of. While Christianity has always been the major and most dominant religion in the country it is crucial to understand that others exist and that they are equally as important as Christianity. Many Americans choose to believe that the United States is a “Christian nation,” but that could not be further from the truth.

Plan of the Thesis

Catholics, Jews, and Muslims are the ethno-religious groups in the United States who have faced the most discriminatory behavior in American history. That is not to say that other groups such as Native Americans, African Americans, Japanese Americans, and Mexican Americans have not been marginalized throughout American history, but by choosing these three groups we are able to focus on both the religious and ethnic aspects that have dominated them. All three groups are made up of large numbers of immigrants which has been, and continues to be a significant issue for many Americans. In the 19th Century Irish immigrants began flooding into the country. Many came

²¹ Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 7, 12, 25.

due to the Potato Famine that hit during that time period. In American society Protestants were the majority religious group which meant that Catholics were not likely to be accepted. Catholics were not a large part of American society at the time and it quickly became clear that they would not be welcomed. What makes the Catholic case interesting and pertinent is that they are Christians who practice Christianity differently than Protestants do, but both are Christian nonetheless. Protestants and Catholics are both part of Christianity, but Protestants reject many of the sacraments as well as the papacy. The major fear for American Protestants was that immigrant Catholics had instructions from the pope to take over the country. It quickly became clear to the Catholic immigrants that they would not be accepted into American society due to their religious and immigrant status. For Catholics that was made explicitly clear in the work force. There were consistently want ads placed in newspapers, particularly in the New England area, where people were asking for house servants. The issue was that many ads specifically stated that Catholics and immigrants need not apply. This forced them to take menial jobs that did not pay well in order to survive. They also faced widespread discrimination in the media. Thomas Nast, the famous political cartoonist, consistently published discriminatory art. The way the media was used to marginalize Catholics during this time period is particularly important because newspapers were society's main source for news. By using the newspapers Nast and others were able to use that information to further Catholic discrimination.

Catholic religio-ethnic discrimination is different from Jewish and Muslim discrimination in that many Americans were taught and socialized to believe that Catholics were the enemy because they were not Protestant. Due to the long troubled and discriminatory history between Protestants and Catholics it is not surprising that they would run into trouble when Catholics began immigrating by the masses. Many times American Protestants had a predetermined opinion of Catholics which was taught to them and was part of their socialization. The media and politicians wanted their constituents and readers to believe that the Catholic faithful and the religion itself was dangerous to Protestant society, culture, and lifestyle. One thing that makes anti-Catholicism stand out is that the prejudice already existed due to the extensive history they shared. Furthermore, Catholics were also the first large religious-ethnic group to immigrate to the country which furthered the tension when it came to what Protestants thought about Catholics.

Anti-Semitism reached its peak in the years leading up to World War II. 1920-1940 saw the most discriminatory action against Jews in American history. After World War I America all but closed its borders to outsiders which included desperate and scared Jews. Many Americans believed that Jews were responsible for the Great War. Additionally, there was a long standing belief that Jews planned to take over the world which was propagated by *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Father Charles Coughlin. Many American Christians, both Protestants and Catholics, believed that Jews were solely responsible for Jesus' death which many believe is proved in the New Testament. The reason many

Catholics and Protestants believed that Jews were the enemy was because that was something they were taught for centuries by many religious leaders. As a result, documents such as *The Protocols* and religious leaders like Father Coughlin were able to find a following with many Americans. Much like Catholics, there was an attempt to force Jews out of the American economy and their lucrative liquor businesses. The 18th Amendment devastated many American Jews because that was a business that most Christians did not take part in. That, along with the Great Depression, fueled the anti-Semitic fire for many in the United States. The fact that Jews were so involved in the liquor trade gave many Christians an even greater reason to discriminate against Jews because some powerful Christians believed consuming and selling alcohol was sinful.

Furthermore, the media assisted in spreading the anti-Semitic rhetoric that was already rampant throughout the country. The radio's invention precipitated anti-Semitism in the country. In a time when most Americans, particularly those in rural areas, were unable to make it to church every week the radio revolutionized the way Americans practiced their religion and received both international and domestic news. Father Coughlin had a broad Catholic and Protestant following in his prime as he spewed anti-Semitic rhetoric. However, we also look at Henry Ford whose *Dearborn Independent* used its influence to further anti-Semitic sentiment throughout the country. There is no doubt that American anti-Semitism existed, but without precipitating factors to further the belief for Christians in the United States it is possible that Jews would have been able to assimilate sooner. However, it is important to point out that Jews have not found full acceptance in

the country. Although anti-Semitism is not as widespread as it was during the interwar era, there is no doubt that anti-Semitic Americans still exists to some extent. The difference is that Muslims are hated more and anti-Semites understand that they are not supported by the majority of Americans.

The major religio-ethnic problem that Americans are facing right now, in 2017, is the Islamophobia. Many evangelical Americans believe that Muslims are the enemy because they are considered the unknown. Muslims have been in the United States since its inception, many times as slaves. There is a lot of resistance against that fact because people do not want to believe that something they fear so much has existed in their country for so long. Islamophobia has been an issue in the United States since the 1972-1973 OPEC crisis, but it reached its climax after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. As a result, we have seen attacks on Muslims grow and become more and more violent. In the past fifteen years we have seen media outlets such as Fox News and The 700 Club attack Muslims, both the people and the religion itself, as dangerous beings. What has been uncovered throughout this process, even more so than before, is that many Americans are ignorant when it comes to the Islamic religion.

Throughout American history we have seen and complained consistently that the Bible has been misrepresented and misunderstood, but there is no question that the media and other Americans are perverting the Quran and Islamic religious documents in the exact same way. The real problem is that many Americans are not willing to learn about the faith. Since 9/11 we have seen

the FBI set up poor, marginalized Muslim Americans, workplace discrimination, and evangelical leaders fight religious freedom. While we have seen many terror attacks in the past fifteen years our society tends to ignore the way we treat Muslims. We have seen anchors from Fox News attack Muslim scholar Reza Aslan for the simple fact that he is Muslim. Even more recently we saw Franklin Graham denounce Duke University for attempting to become inclusive and accepting of their Muslim students. What is even more disturbing is that we know have a president who espoused xenophobic and anti-Muslim rhetoric throughout his successful campaign and shows no signs of changing his opinions. The reason Islamophobia is so important is because our society has abused and discriminated against Muslims for over forty years. The societal, cultural, and religious abuse Muslims have faced in the United States appears to be more intense than what Catholics and Jews faced because they are not Christians, they are from areas that than many people do not understand, and there are more media outlets which allows people to watch, read, and listen about the dangers that a Muslim population creates.

The goal of this thesis is to prove that there is a pattern of religio-ethnic discrimination in the United States since its founding and it does not show any signs of changing. If nothing else, the argument can be made that another group will be targeted after Muslims are able to achieve assimilation and harsh attacks may become even harsher. That may lead one to believe that the situation in the United States is not improving, but either staying the same or worsening. By pointing out and discussing the pattern we are able to see more clearly that the a

problem exists and that it is important that we as a society make an effort to become more accepting and educated about religions and people that we do not understand. I will conclude with some ideas as to how to move forward towards this goal.

19th Century American Anti-Catholicism

During the 19th Century European immigrants, the majority of them Catholic, flooded the United States. In a country with a Protestant majority anti-Catholicism grew with the Catholic population. Protestant Americans were extremely critical of the Catholic immigrants that arrived in large numbers during the 19th century. One critically important aspect of the United States is religious freedom, but when Catholics began entering the country in large numbers that freedom became less significant to Protestant Americans. However, anti-Catholicism proved to be more than just a religious issue. Catholics were targeted in several social areas during this time. They were faced with prejudice and bigotry in American society. Protestants considered Catholics to be less worthy and capable in most social areas due to their backgrounds. Protestants also viewed Catholics as a threat because they believed that Catholics had no allegiance to the United States government. Protestants who were seeking religious freedom established several of the 13 colonies and they feared that Catholics and other Protestants would threaten their religious goals. Like Protestants, Catholics were seeking religious freedom and the better life that America promised. However, Catholics immigrated to the United States for various reasons and just one reason was religious. For example, many Irish Catholics entered the United States between 1845-1852 due to the Great Potato Famine that plagued Ireland. In other words, Catholics were attempting to find a

better life in the United States and the reason for immigration was not purely religious. There is no evidence to prove that Catholics posed any threat to Protestant Americans, but they were viewed as threats nonetheless. Anti-Catholicism manifested itself in religion, media, politics, and economics due to Catholics' outsider status. Eventually Catholics were able to assimilate themselves into American society, but while anti-Catholicism was fading away many Protestant Americans began to focus on other groups.

Outsider Status

According to Jay P. Dolan, history professor at the University of Notre Dame and a leading Catholic historian, there were ten major Catholic immigrant groups that entered the United States, with Irish and Italians being the most predominant. Despite the growing Catholic population and their dominating presence in cities throughout the eastern shore line Protestants viewed them as outsiders. Protestants despised Catholic immigrants for several reasons that were not strictly religiously motivated. Catholics would never be equal to the Protestant faithful and they made that clear to their Catholic neighbors. The American Protestant Association made it their mission not only to alienate Catholics, but developed an outlet in order to further their cause. Catholic immigrants faced massed discrimination during the 19th century in larger cities such as Philadelphia. The American Protestant Society(APS) gathered in 1837 to develop a constitution that was blatantly anti-Catholic. The organization's intent was to express their disapproval of Catholic citizenship. Anti-Catholicism was ingrained in American culture as this point which legitimized the APS's actions to

its members. The APA published *The Protestant Quarterly Review* which was dedicated to anti-Catholic rhetoric. Without the anti-Catholic narrative the publication would not have been successful. In other words, the APA was simply putting into print the anti-Catholic sentiments that were already widespread in the country. Additionally, Anti-Catholicism was ingrained in Protestant people and their society. The Know Nothing Party, a political organization whose main theme was anti-Catholicism, argued that Catholics had no place in American society because they were not Protestant. The Party was working with the internalized moral orders in the United States that shaped anti-Catholicism. While anti-Catholicism was rather common during the 19th century their beliefs were not externalized regularly by the general public. The party's explicit anti-Catholicism aided Catholic isolation because their beliefs were rather common throughout the country. Furthermore, educational institutions appear to have been particularly exclusive toward Catholics. While there does not appear to have been any direct anti-Catholic actions taken at Harvard University, President Charles William Eliot made his opinion clear during an interview. Harvard was a Protestant institution that accepted Catholic students during the late 19th century, but President Eliot made it clear that they were not a priority for admission to the newly founded law school. President Eliot's comment to the reporter was his way of othering or excluding Catholics due to their religion.

Anti-Catholicism was a widespread issue in the United States, but Catholics in cities such as Philadelphia faced it to a larger extent. According to Katie Oxx, history of Christianity professor at Saint Joseph's University, "The

American Protestant Association began in 1837 in the lecture room of Trinity Episcopal Church, where prominent Protestant ministers gathered to rebuke the claims of Catholics to rights of citizenship in the United States.” The APA’s goal was to make Catholics outsiders even though that was already the case for many Protestants. Catholics would always be viewed as outsiders to Protestants because they were not Protestant. By expressing their dissatisfaction with Catholic citizenship the APA was saying that Catholics did not deserve to become United States citizens. This would help to further ostracize Catholics because it helped to prove to them that they were not welcome. Oxx continued to explain that “Some members even suggested Catholics were the anti-Christ, using as ‘proof’ the fact that priests were celibate and Catholics abstained from meat on Fridays, two things they claimed were ‘foretold’ in prophecy on the anti-Christ.” Claiming that Catholics were the anti-Christ would have terrified Protestants who already feared them. Protestants would have avoided their Catholic neighbors in order to escape the appearance that they were friendly with one another. In other words, Protestants would have gone out of their way to not associate with any known Catholic. While it is true that priests are supposed to be celibate and that most Catholics avoid meat on Fridays during Lent, those facts provided no proof that Catholics were the anti-Christ. There were many Protestants who believed that Catholics did not deserve citizenship and the claim that Catholics were the anti-Christ was not something the APA developed. These were claims that were fairly common in the United States. In other words, making accusations such as these was part of the Protestant culture. The APA simply

reemphasized the cultural practice for Protestants who truly believed that Catholics were evil. Catholics were already viewed as outsiders by many Protestants because they were not culturally the same and the APA's goal was to further alienate the Catholics who were flooding into the country.²²

The *Protestant Quarterly Review* was published by the APA in 1842 in Philadelphia. The *Review's* fourth volume featured several anti-Catholic articles, but the one that stood out was "The Jesuit College." The article focused on Catholic colleges and the many problems with them. It states the Jesuit College

is in our own country, essentially and inevitably a foreign institution, governed by laws enacted abroad; taught by men educated abroad; and having reference to the advancement of a cause whose centre is abroad. It is an institution whose studies are graduated to meet and sustain the dogmas of a church settled infallibly centuries ago, and which *cannot* adapt itself to the advancing state of the world.

The article's goal was to further alienate American Catholics in the university system which was already religiously segregated. The author argues that not only are Jesuit colleges not Protestant, which was clearly a problem, their professors and mission were foreign, and their mission was not furthering education. The article makes those claims because the universities supposedly wanted to advance the Vatican's cause. Even though the article does not blatantly state that the universities were attempting to further the Vatican's cause it can be assumed because the Vatican holds such importance for the Catholic Church. One major issue for Protestants was that Catholics answered to the

²² Katie Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America: Religious Conflict in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 57, 58.

Vatican and the Pope which were not American. Protestants found that threatening and used that as a way to estrange Catholics in American culture. In other words, a Catholic education was not as worthy as a Protestant education simply because it was not Protestant. The article goes on to say that “It is an institution whose studies are graduated to meet and sustain the dogmas of a church settled infallibly centuries ago, and which *cannot* adapt itself to the advancing state of the world.” In other words, the Catholic Church and its educational institutions would never be able to evolve the way Protestant institutions could because Protestants were dependent on God alone. Catholics, on the other hand, rely on the Pope and the Vatican which Protestants believed not only held them back, but made them threatening. “The Jesuit College” article embodies the narrative concept because the written message had a great effect on Catholics and Protestants in different ways. Catholics were ostracized further because a Catholic education was not considered as worthy or prestigious as a Protestant education. The article’s narrative was all too common at the time because anti-Catholicism during the 19th century was a familiar issue. The APA publicly displayed anti-Catholicism regularly, but they were not the only political group to so.²³

The Know Nothing Party, originally known as The American Party, was founded in 1849 with an anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant platform that resonated with many Americans who already viewed Catholics as a threat to American

²³ “The Jesuit College,” *Protestant Quarterly Review*, vol. 4, ed. 1 (1847), 91, <https://books.google.com/books?id=XddCAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+Protestant+Quarterly+Review&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjlkeju56rNAhWDcj4KHfcvAIYQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=The%20Protestant%20Quarterly%20Review&f=false>.

society. As a result, the party displayed its anti-Catholic bigotry on a regularly. According to Dolan “the ideology of the party was rooted in anti-Catholicism and a deep-seated hostility toward immigrants.” Furthermore, the party “believed that Protestantism defined American society” and “From this flowed their fundamental belief that Catholicism was incompatible with basic American values.”²⁴ They believed Catholics were unable to assimilate into American society because they were Catholic. Protestants were not willing to accept Catholics because Protestants were more prominent in the United States and one reason the country was established was to escape the Catholic powers that attempted to stifle their religious practices. That would have been common knowledge to Catholics during the 19th century. Catholics understood that they were unwelcome, but the Know Nothing Party made it its mission to further alienate them. Catholics immigrants were easy targets for the party because the Great Potato Famine in Ireland was in full swing in 1850 which resulted in Irish Catholics immigrating by the masses. Irish Catholics believed immigration was necessary to survive. Ciarán Ó Murchadha, leading historian of the Irish Famine, states that “On the eve of the Famine, just short of three million people were completely dependent for subsistence on the potato.” She continued to say that “As much as one-third of the entire tillage acreage in Ireland was given over to potatoes, and the signs of potato cultivation were evident in virtually every part of the country.”²⁵ When the famine struck Ireland the entire country was devastated and it forced citizens to either immigrate or starve. In other words, it did not

²⁴ Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 97.

²⁵ Ciarán Ó Murchadha, *The Great Famine: Ireland's Agony, 1845-1842* (New York: Continuum Publishing Group, 2011), 7.

matter what they would face in the United States because there were very few choices. The Irish were both immigrants and Catholics which the Know Nothing Party explicitly hated, making them immediate targets for the party. Anti-Catholicism was part of the internalized moral order in the United States and the Know Nothing Party wanted nothing more than to ensure that the moral order did not change. The Party intensified the morality of anti-Catholicism and played upon the fears of American citizens to ensure bigotry. Catholics continued to be considered outsiders during the 19th century due to organizations like the Know Nothing Party. However, the Know Nothing Party's bigotry toward Catholics did not end with the outsider status that they helped to ensure. The Party would attack them politically and among other areas which would further alienate Catholics. It is clear that several political parties and associations were vehemently anti-Catholic, but they were not alone. There were several cities, particularly in the northern states, that exhibited anti-Catholicism.

Philadelphia experienced devastating anti-Catholic riots during the 19th Century, but it was not the only one. The Orange Day Riot in New York City occurred on July 11, 1871 and it was doomed from the beginning due to the event's history. William E. Watson, history professor at Immaculata University, explained that the parade was traditionally held on July 12 to "commemorate the 1690 victory of Protestant William of Orange over Catholic... James II Stuart." Given the turbulent situation between Catholics and Protestants during that time period in England, a Protestant king taking the throne would have caused a lot of tension between the two religious communities. After almost two hundred years

the conflict between Protestants and Catholics still existed, but the riot did not occur due to 1690's history. Watson explains that the Orange Order was a Protestant order "founded in Loughgall, County Armagh, in 1796" to commemorate William of Orange's monarchy. At the 1870 parade there were riots, but the 1871 parade proved to be much more violent. In 1871 the Orange Order requested permission to march to celebrate Orange Day, but "on the advice of Democratic Party boss in Tammany Hall... the police banned the march." The police probably were concerned that violence would break out between the Protestants and Catholics as it had many times before. However, the decision was overturned by the governor due to a tremendous outcry. In order to prevent another riot the marchers were "protected by some 5,000 guardsmen and police." The parade and the commemoration was clearly a way for Protestants to further ostracize Catholics from American society. The parade resulted in "A large Catholic crowd assembled along the parade route, and various objects were hurled at the Orangemen." Soon after the 5,000 police and guardsmen "fired on the mob and in the end, more than 60 died, mainly Irish Catholic, and more than 150 were injured." While the Catholic crowd was wrong for throwing things at the marchers, the parade was meant to incite anger among the Catholic community and to further their outsider status. Eventful temporality played a major role in the 1871 Orange Day parade because without the original historical event the relationship between Protestants and Catholics on that day may not have exploded. While the riot was a significant event, the parade was a chance for Catholics to socialize and celebrate a significant historical event.

Additionally, the riot that occurred that day was a direct result of the anti-Catholicism that haunted the city. William of Orange's monarchy was incredibly important to the relationship between Catholics and Protestants because it gave them yet another reason to dislike one another. The Orange Order intentionally used the Orange Day celebration as a way to further alienate Catholics even though William of Orange's accession to the throne held very little significance to American society. The end result was devastating, but not surprising and nothing changed between Protestants and Catholics afterward. Anti-Catholicism would continue to reign in the United States well into the 20th Century.²⁶

Harvard University, a Protestant institution established in 1636, also participated in anti-Catholic sentiment in the 19th century. By the time the law school opened in 1817 the university was already considered one of the most prestigious in the country, but it was clear that Catholic applicants to the law school were not as welcome as Protestants. In 1893 Harvard's twenty first president, Charles William Eliot, was asked by a well known Catholic newspaper in Boston "to explain the absence of Catholic colleges" on the list of students accepted to the law school. According to Daniel R. Coquillette, law professor at Boston College and Harvard University; and Bruce A. Kimball, professor of educational studies at Ohio State University, "Eliot firmly denied that anti-Catholic prejudice existed at Harvard," but he continued to say that Catholic colleges "have, to a considerable extent, not been equivalent' to those 'in leading Protestant or undenominational colleges." The article made it clear that

²⁶ William E. Watson, *Irish Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. William E. Watson and Eugene J. Halus, Jr. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2015), 55, 56.

applicants from Catholic institutions would not be given equal weight in the selection process. As a Protestant university it was evident that Harvard was intentionally othering potential Catholic students. While President Eliot claimed the low Catholic acceptance rate was due to the belief that Catholic institutions were less qualified, the reality was that the Catholic applicants were equally qualified and they were denied due to their Catholicism. There is no evidence to prove that Catholic universities were less prestigious or adequate than Protestant universities, but Harvard excluding Catholics was yet another way to make Catholics outsiders. While Harvard would go on to add “Georgetown along with two other Catholic colleges in Massachusetts from which the Law School drew a number of students” Eliot only agreed to do it after the article was published and he received a letter from the Georgetown University president, a Catholic institution. Harvard’s refusal to accept Catholic students was not strictly based on religion. Additionally, many Catholic students were either immigrants or first generation Americans which was also a problem for Protestants and Protestant institutions. The university’s othering was a direct result of the anti-Catholic sentiment that already existed in the country, particularly in New England.²⁷

Political Fears

Catholics were political targets during the 19th Century and remained so until President Kennedy took office in 1961. Lyman Beecher’s *A Plea for the West* attacked Catholics’ supposed disloyalty to the United States and the

²⁷ Daniel R. Coquillette and Bruce A. Kimball, *On the Battlefield of Merit: Harvard Law School, the First Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 500.

president. Questioning American Catholic's devotion to the United States was rather commonplace for Protestants during this time period because it was a learned behavior that would continue for many years. The main issue for Catholics politically was that the Protestant elite did not trust them or their allegiances. Political anti-Catholicism was a major issue for Americans during this time due to Catholic immigrants entering the country in large quantities. The Know Nothing Party capitalized on the xenophobic and anti-Catholic fears that persisted in the United States. The party's intent was to further the othering and alienation processes that were already occurring. By 1855 the Know Nothing Party had emerged in Louisville, Kentucky and nativism had taken hold. During that year the Know Nothing Party and the Catholic democrats reached a breaking point that led to intense violence. The conflict and violence resulted from the stratification theory and the political conflict that had been rising to the surface for years. The results from what became known as Bloody Monday, August 6, 1855, were devastating for the Catholic community in Louisville and it had a lasting impact on both Protestants and Catholics politically. Samuel Morse's *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* had a huge impact on the American public due to Morse's popularity and the subject matter which was explicitly anti-Catholic. The book grabbed America's attention and helped lead to further anti-Catholic sentiment for its readers. Morse was questioning the Catholic Church's morality, not just politically, but their beliefs in general. The Vigilance Committee in San Francisco was politically motivated and the committee resulted from the Gold Rush. There was immense violence and crime

during the Gold Rush which the Vigilance Committee and many Protestants blamed on Irish Catholics. Both religious groups behavior resulted from learned behavior that resulted from the American culture of the time. Ohio 1874 saw the Geghan Act's passing which was a major victory for the Catholic people, both religiously and politically. The Geghan Act made Protestants feel threatened and resulted in rising political tensions between the two groups. While it was a great achievement for Catholics it was later repealed which set them back in the political arena. When the act was repealed the social stock of knowledge was solidified for Catholics. William C. Marion altered the lyrics to the famous song *Yankee Doodle* in a clear attack against Catholics. Given the song's popularity Marion's changes and the intent were exceptionally pointed. Marion used the semiotic codes he had at his disposal in order to further the political anti-Catholic agenda that was clearly in play during the 19th century. Thomas Nast, a political cartoonists, used his art work as means to attack Irish Catholics and the Catholic who found their way into the American political arena.

Stephen E. Maizlish, history professor at the University of Texas at Arlington, states that "to many northern Know-Nothings, the Catholic church, in addition to blocking progress, destroyed human liberty. Roman Catholicism and republicanism were 'diametrically opposed.'" He continued to say that "A clash between freedom and Catholicism was inevitable" because, "The fundamental principle of popery is, that all power is by divine appointment in the pope; the fundamental principle of freedom is, that the people are the source of the

power.”²⁸ According to the Know Nothing Party the “goal of Catholic Europe... was to spread Catholic influence in America, ‘until they reduce this free and enlightened republic to the dominion of the Roman see’ and destroy ‘those institutions which are the beacon lights of civilization and the high hope of the world.’” In other words, Catholic immigrants moved to the United States with the explicit objective to destroy the American government and allow the pope to take control. This idea was not a new one for Americans or Catholic immigrants and the Know Nothing Party made it its mission to exploit the fears that already existed. Catholic Americans were already considered outsiders and the Know Nothing Party went out of its way to continue the alienation. Protestants actively participated in othering Catholics and immigrants. Not only did Protestants fear the Catholic outsiders, but they also distrusted them and feared that they would over run the society they had worked so hard to establish for themselves. Furthermore, the Know Nothing Party exploited the anxiety American Protestants had about Catholics. The result was that the Know Nothings were elected to public office and, by holding those positions they were able to ostracize American Catholics politically and socially.²⁹

The Know Nothing Party gained immense popularity in Louisville during the 1850s. Also, German Catholic immigrants were flooding into the city during that same time which caused serious issues between the two parties. According to Gary Matthews, an independent historian, “Under normal circumstances the

²⁸ Startling Fact for Native Americans Called “Know-Nothings”, ed. Enoch Hutchinson (New York: 1855) 96.

²⁹ Stephen E. Maizlish, “The Meaning of Nativism and the Crisis of the Union: The Know-Nothing Movement in the Antebellum North,” in *Essays on American Antebellum Politics, 1840-1860*, ed. Stephen E. Maizlish and John J. Kushma (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), 175, 176.

large number of foreign-born immigrants that flocked to Louisville would be unsettling to the conservative indigenous population; however, when it coincided with the rise of nativism, agitation was inevitable.” One major issue that developed in the city at the time was that the Whig Party was fading away and the Know Nothings and nativists were gaining control of Louisville’s government which caused an immediate threat to the Catholic immigrants. Matthews continued to explain that “with the Whigs’ dominance threatened by the influx of immigrants – most of which were Roman Catholics and inclined to vote Democrat – many of Louisville’s old Whigs were joining the Know-Nothings. Given the many German Catholic immigrants the Know Nothings understood that they would have trouble winning the 1855 statewide election. Matthews went on to write that “The Whig-infused Know-Nothings of Louisville gave notice of their new power base to the Democrats during the 1855 spring mayoral and municipal magistrate elections, which were marred by sporadic violence and Know-Nothing strong arm tactics.” The August 6, 1855 election day became known as Bloody Monday due to the violence that occurred and the result was the Know Nothing Party’s overwhelming dominance in the city. He goes on to state that the “net result was the election of a Know-Nothing mayor – John Barbee – to complement a Know-Nothing- dominated city council.” The Know Nothings went out of their way to intimidate voters and incite violence on election day because they understood that they were outnumbered by Democratic Catholic immigrants. After the election “some immigrants felt that nativism had been legitimized.” The immigrants were correct because the Know Nothings forced themselves into

power. Protestants were clearly the elite class, which brings about the stratification theory. In other words, nativists Protestants were able to dominate the immigrant Catholics by using scare tactics and violence on Bloody Monday to gain the upper hand in Louisville. By forcing themselves into the political lives of Catholic immigrants they were able to affect both Protestants and Catholics in Louisville and Kentucky at large. Furthermore, Catholics were forced to accept that their rights and political privileges would slowly be limited by Protestants. The election results caused the Catholic community concern and Matthews states that "Their anxiety seemed to be justified when the newly elected city officials began to deny immigrants jobs." While Louisville appears to be one of the few cities that saw violence during an election due to the Know Nothing Party, the stratification theory occurred in many different areas across the United States due to Protestant nativism.³⁰

Samuel Morse, artist and inventor of Morse Code, wrote a book that was much like Beecher Stowe's work. He began by stating that

The first thing to be done to secure safety, is to open our eyes at once to the reality and *the extent of the danger*. We must not walk on blindly, crying 'all's well.' The enemy is in all our borders. He has spread himself through all the land. The ramifications of this foreign plot are every where visible to all who will open their eyes.

These statements were referencing the many Catholics immigrants which had entered the United States during the 19th Century. It was clear that he and many other Protestants viewed Catholics as a threat to the American government and

³⁰ Gary R. Matthews, *More American than Southern: Kentucky, Slavery, and the War for an American Ideology, 1828-1861* (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 2014), 140, 141.

the political process. According to Morse, all Catholic immigrants were conspiring in a foreign plot to take over the country. Morse went on to state that "Where Popery has put darkness, we must put light. Where Popery has planted its crosses, its colleges, its churches, its chapels, its nunneries, Protestant patriotism must put side by side college for college, seminary for seminary, church for church." In other words, Protestants must do whatever was necessary to defend their way of their life and keep Catholic immigrants from taking political control. This is yet another example of the anti-Catholic rhetoric that influential Protestants displayed during this time period. Morse was explaining to his Protestant readers that Catholic immigrants were following orders from the pope to take over the United States and that was so terrifying to Protestants because they believed that Catholics would follow the pope because he is the considered the highest authority. Protestants believed they were morally superior to Catholics because they did not have a corrupt leader. They considered Catholics to be morally corrupt and thought they would never be trustworthy because their leader was not a true moral leader. With Morse's accusations it is unlikely that American Protestants would ever trust their Catholic counterparts. Protestants believed that Catholics would never share the same morals as they did because the pope was immoral and they were required to follow him. Protestants questioned Catholic morality because Protestants believed that their morals were vastly different than Catholics. The reason Protestants feared Catholics would take over American politics was because they believed the pope and Vatican had skewed their morality so much that there was no hope that they

would ever be free of his influence. Furthermore, if Catholics had taken over the government then the United States would become as morally corrupt as the pope and his brainwashed followers around the world.³¹

In the 1870s public education was at the political forefront in the United States because Protestants did not want any Catholic influence to enter or affect the Protestant public education. According to Ward M. McAfee, history professor at California State University, San Bernardino, by 1874 Republicans had “sensed the public’s increased interests in educational issues.” By 1875 the Republican Party “succeeded in reshaping the school issue to avoid completely the racial sensitivities of the white majority while at the same time exploiting that same majority’s anti-Catholic biases.” The party’s first attempt was the Geghan Act in Ohio which was to affect the prisons, but Protestants were fearful that it would affect more areas. Republicans began in Ohio because in 1874 “the Democratic tide had swept aside not only the matter of mixed schools but also a Republican-backed state constitutional amendment forbidding any state aid to religious schools.” The state’s Democratic legislature and governor reacted by executing the Geghan Act which “required that local and state prisoners in Ohio be allowed ‘equal access to ministers and priests of all faiths.’” The bill was in response to the Republicans’ actions regarding religious schools, but the act also affected several other social aspects. One issue with the bill was that it would lead to the “dismissal of some Protestant clergy and the hiring of new Catholic chaplains” which Protestants viewed as “the termination of any hope of Roman-Catholic

³¹ Samuel Morse, *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1885), 101-102.

prisoners receiving a modicum of effective moral instruction while behind bars.” The Catholic community in Ohio had been growing consistently leading up to the 1840s which caused a great animosity for Protestants. McAfee goes on to state that “the Geghan bill subtly alerted Ohio’s shrinking Protestant majority that a Catholic takeover of public-education funds might be imminent.” The bill was a major issue for Protestants in the state because it meant that Catholics were gaining some political footing in the state which was threatening to the Protestant majority. Protestants had a social stock of knowledge that they were comfortable with and the threat that Catholicism would be legally allowed into religious schools and granting priests access to prisoners was alarming to Protestants both in and out of Ohio’s government. The Protestant’s social stock of knowledge in the United States began to change in Ohio which was terrifying notion for them because from the country’s inception Protestants had total control over the government and most other aspects of the country. The Geghan Act was one of the first major steps for Catholics in gaining some equality in the country and changing their social stock of knowledge. Catholics also had their own social stock of knowledge that was changing, but for them it was changing for the better.³²

Political cartoons were a major part of newspapers both nationally and internationally during the 19th Century. Thomas Nast was a famous caricaturists whose most well-known art was published in *Harper’s Weekly* during the 1860s. Nast’s art covered several different issues that were really important in the United

³² Ward M. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 176, 177.

States at the time and he was very in tune with the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiments that existed throughout the country at the time.



The cartoon “Kick It out Peacefully” depicts both Catholics and Mormons and the way Nast and many Protestant Americans believed them to be. Nast illustrates both religious groups as reptiles which is insulting because reptiles were considered villainous, and, to some extent they still fall under that category in some comics. In the cartoon Nast is admitting that one of the most significant facets of the United States is religious freedom which he says is guaranteed, but Protestant lawmakers should not allow Catholics the opportunity to take advantage of religious freedom. Many Protestants believed that Catholics would attempt to take over the country and that there was some sort of sinister plot that was hatched by the pope. Given the fact that Protestants were the religious group that fought for religious freedom any perceived Catholic plan to take control of the government was troublesome to them. Nast was saying that because Catholics and Mormons did not have the same values as Protestant Americans that they should not be trusted and every attempt should be made to

³³ Thomas Nast, “Kick It out Peacefully,” *Harper’s Weekly*.

keep them out of politics. Allowing Catholics into the political arena would have been a dangerous move and had it happened Protestants feared that they would not be able to control them. Nast worked for *Harper's Weekly* from 1862-1886 during which a large number of his cartoons were based in anti-Catholicism. In other words, this particular cartoon was not uncharacteristic. Nast, like most Protestants, was taught to dislike Catholics. Political cartoons like this are an example of what Sewell defined as culture as learned behavior. In other words, anti-Catholicism was part of the Protestant culture and the result was that Nast's cartoons were not surprising to either Protestants or Catholics. By the time American Catholics were accustomed to Protestant anti-Catholicism which means that it had become part of their culture. Nast was not doing anything out of the ordinary at the time.

Economic Uncertainty

Financial uncertainty was a major issue that Catholic immigrants faced during the 19th Century. When the Potato Famine hit Ireland Catholics began immigrating to the United States in large numbers. Americans feared, among many other things, that Catholics would take American jobs which would hurt Protestants exponentially. As a result, Catholics faced financial discrimination which forced them into menial, low paying jobs that American citizens did not want. It could be said that Catholics, especially Irish Catholics, were the first group to suffer American discrimination at this high level. Catholics travelled to the United States in order to obtain better lives and one way that was done was to find jobs that would allow them to move up in society. Employers made it clear

that Catholics were not welcome in their stores and that their employment applications would not be considered. By keeping Catholics in jobs that were considered less significant Catholics were not allowed to gain financial independence which was something that drew them to the United States. While financial discrimination was not the only obstacle that stood in Catholics' way it was an extremely important issue that greatly affected them.

In 2002 Richard Jensen, retired history professor at the University of Illinois, Chicago, penned an article in which he argued that ads that included "No Irish Need Apply" were a myth. He stated that

The fact that Irish vividly "remember" NINA signs is a curious historical puzzle. There are no contemporary or retrospective accounts of a specific sign at a specific location. No particular business enterprise is named as a culprit. No historian, archivist, or museum curator has ever located one; no photograph or drawing exists. No other ethnic group complained about being singled out by comparable signs. Only Irish Catholics have reported seeing the sign in America—no Protestant, no Jew, no non-Irish Catholic has reported seeing one. This is especially strange since signs were primarily directed toward these others: the signs said that employment was available here and invited Yankees, French-Canadians, Italians and any other non-Irish to come inside and apply. The business literature, both published and unpublished, never mentions NINA or any policy remotely like it. The newspapers and magazines are silent.³⁴

Jensen's article and accusations are false and that was proven when Ronan McGreevy, a reporter for *The Irish Times*, refuted Jensen's claims by researching ads in *The New York Times* from the 19th Century. McGreevy wrote that

³⁴ Richard J. Jensen, "No Irish Need Apply': A Myth of Victimization," *Journal of Social History*, no. 36.2 (2002): 405, accessed October 14, 2016, <http://rjensen.people.uic.edu/no-irish.htm>.

The newspaper has identified at least 29 examples of the phrase in its classified advertisements. A variation, “Irish need not apply,” turned up at least seven times, and there were other examples, from “No Irishman need apply” to “Irishmen need not apply” to the phrase “No Irish.”³⁵

On September 8, 2015, the day before *The Irish Times* article was released, Mark Bulik, editor for *The New York Times*, completely debunked Jensen’s claims by publishing an article where several anti-Catholic ads were available.

One ad from May 1, 1855 read

AN INTELLIGENT AND EXPERIENCED
PROTESTANT WOMAN WANTED – To take charge
of one child and do light chamber work. None need
apply except those having the highest testimonials
from their last employer.³⁶

This ad and several others from that same day display that anti-Catholicism was a large issue for New York citizens. The fact that these families and businesses needed assistance, but were not willing to accept Catholic applicants speaks volumes about their priorities. These ads made it clear that a person’s religion was far more important than their work performance. Ads like these were all too common which, at the time, forced Catholics into jobs that Protestants did not want. One way immigrants attempted to assimilate into a new society was to get a job in their community which allowed them to get to know the people they were surrounded by. Anti-Catholicism and anti-immigration were social institutions during the 19th Century and the ads that were all too common were a way the social institution was reinforced. Catholic immigrants quickly learned once they

³⁵ Ronan McGreevy, “New York Times Finds ‘No Irish Need Apply’ in Classified Ads,” *The Irish Times* (Ireland), September 9, 2015.

³⁶ Mark Bulik, “1854: No Irish Need Apply,” *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), September 8, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/08/insider/1854-no-irish-need-apply.html?_r=0.

reached the country what social institutions defined them. While all cultures and societies are governed by social institutions, what made them so different for Catholics was that they were controlled by fear and loathing which was brought on by the simple fact that they were immigrants and Catholics.

Most examples of anti-Catholicism during the 19th Century occurred in New England, but there were some incidents in the American South which are particularly interesting because slavery was still an institution at the time. Noel Ignatiev, American historian and author, wrote that “In some cases Irish immigrants were preferred to slaves, for some reasons having nothing to do with race.” He went on to quote Frederick Law Olmstead, an American architect and journalist, who stated in regards to dock work that “The niggers are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies are knocked overboard, or get their backs broke, nobody loses anything.” Slaves were extremely important economically to the South because agriculture was the most lucrative trade they had and without slaves the workforce would have been dramatically decreased. Southerners did not care whether or not Irish Catholics died while working on the docks because it did not affect them economically the way it would have had slaves been injured or killed. Ignatiev went on to explain that “When the commissioners of the (New Orleans) New Basin Canal corporation began building 1831, they knew that the mortality rate among the laborers would be high; consequently they hired Irish.” These quotes make it clear that Southerners viewed Irish Catholics as disposable because they would not have considered it a loss if they died on the job. While dock work was exceptionally dangerous Irish men agreed to take the

jobs because they desperately needed work which was not readily available to them in most cases. Ignatiev gave another example that occurred during the 1850s when “Irish were hired to build a wagon road across a swamp in southwest Louisiana, by a landowner who stated that he would not risk his slaves in the marsh.” The landowner would continue by explaining that

Surely no one would argue that in situations like these the employment of free Irish in place of black slaves, who represented a great initial outlay of capital and who could not be easily discharged when the job was completed, was the result of racial bias.

It seems that Southern anti-Catholicism was more complicated than it was in the North due to slavery. To white Southern slave owners their slaves were essential to their economy which made them indispensable. On the other hand, Irish Catholics were not financially important to Southerners because it cost less to employ them. That was important because if they lost their slaves while working on the docks or building a road they would have to pay more to replace them than they paid the Irish. Both slavery and anti-Catholicism are culture as practice examples. In other words, Southerners were willing to endanger Catholics because slavery was a part of Southern culture that they were not willing to change. American Protestants, both those in the North and the South, had power over Catholics because they believed that their rights to freedom and financial independence were more important than Irish assimilation into the country and American society.³⁷

³⁷ Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 126, 127.

Irish women also faced discrimination once they reached the country. Kevin Kenny, history professor at Boston College, wrote “Domestic service was the single biggest form of employment for Irish women in America between 1850 and 1900.” Kenny goes on to explain that “Servants worked extremely long hours, typically from four or five in the morning until nine or ten at night.” Additionally, “Although domestic service was clearly onerous, many young Irish women found it preferable to the alternatives” because “Room and board were free and employment was relatively secure.”³⁸ While Kenny’s arguments were true it is also important to understand that obtaining those jobs was not an easy task. As seen in earlier examples, there were ads that specifically stated that Irish and Catholics would not be considered. One ad stated “NURSE WANTED – To take charge of three children. A *Protestant* woman (Scotch preferred), who is fully competent in all respects. Must have exceptional references, and willing to spend the Summer in the country.”³⁹ In other words, becoming a nanny or housekeeper may have been the jobs Irish women were mostly likely to obtain, but given the ads that were likely found throughout the country these jobs would not have been easy to find. While domestic service appears to have been the most common jobs for Irish women, Kenny points out that “many took textile work into their homes or did temporary housework for others.” Additionally, “Those who worked outside the home were employed as bookbinders, peddlers, storekeepers, makers of umbrellas and paper boxes, and in the needle trades.”

³⁸ Kevin Kenny, “Labor and Labor Organizations,” in *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, ed. J.J. Lee and Marion R. Casey (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 357.

³⁹ Mark Bulik, “1854: No Irish Need Apply,” *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), September 8, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/08/insider/1854-no-irish-need-apply.html?_r=0.

Kenny continues to explain that unfortunately “Many of those who could not get work in service or sewing often had little choice but to make a living as prostitutes.” This particular statement makes it clear that Irish Catholic women could become desperate for work because there were very few options for them. While it is clear that there were some families and employers who were willing to hire and work with Irish Catholic women they were probably not accepted because they were Catholic immigrants. All Catholic immigrants were desperate for work when they entered the country, but the Irish were in a particularly difficult situation due to the mass immigration that occurred in the 19th Century. Irish Catholic women faced even greater disadvantages because they were Irish, Catholic, immigrants, and women. While Irish men were likely to find jobs on the docks or railroads women would not have been considered able enough to perform manual labor as well as men. By immigrating Catholics were required to adopt the alternation concept which forced them to find a way to socialize into a country with residents who did not want them in the country. Alternation was pertinent to Catholics because they needed to find jobs and find their way in their new communities. This process was particularly difficult for Catholics because it was made clear to them that they were not welcome. The fact that many Protestants were not willing to hire Catholics made their assimilation and re-socialization extremely difficult feats. Financial discrimination was made even more difficult for Irish Catholics due to their religion and immigrant status. However, Catholics were at a further disadvantage because they were Catholics

and immigrants and there was an obvious issue with that because Protestants were not willing to accept them in any social or cultural areas.⁴⁰

Religious Opposition

Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, faced religious discrimination in the United States which affected them in several different ways. Additionally, Protestants feared that Catholics would take over the country and religious freedom would be gone and that they would force Catholicism on them. Catholics were the first major religious group to enter the United States and pose a supposed threat to Protestants. Historically there has always been a rift between Catholics and Protestants, but Catholics immigrated to the United States in an effort to provide a better life for themselves. The problem that arose was that American Protestants were not concerned with why Catholics entered the country, but many insisted that there was a sinister plan to take over the country.

Boston became the hotbed for anti-Catholicism in 1834 when the Ursuline Sisters Convent was burned down by rioters dressed as Native Americans. The attack was brought on by a student, Rebecca Reed, who claimed she was abused while residing at the convent and Sister Mary John who escaped the convent. According to Nancy Lusignan Schultz, professor at Salem State University, "The Ursuline Sisters, an order dedicated to the education of women since the sixteenth century, had founded this convent around 1820 in Boston." The school was constructed in 1826 and housed both Protestant and Catholic

⁴⁰ Kevin Kenny, "Labor and Labor Organizations," in *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, ed. J.J. Lee and Marion R. Casey (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 357.

girls from around Boston. Rebecca Reed was a Protestant girl who attended the school, but claimed that she and the other students were severely mistreated while there. After running away from the convent Reed claimed that the nuns were going to force her to go to Canada. She wrote that “She then mentioned that the carriage was still waiting. I still declined going, for I was convinced that their object was not to carry to Mrs. G. and Priest B., but directly to Canada.” Reed’s stories led to a major uproar in Boston that led to burning the convent. As a result of Reed and Sister Mary John’s stories Boston newspapers attacked the convent and the Catholic Church vehemently. According to Schultz “Charlestown selectmen went to investigate the rumored imprisonments, but were unable to have their exoneration published before an angry mob gathered in front of the convent gates.” Schultz continues to state that

After the Mother Superior threatened the crowd, they lit a bonfire and began their attack. Thousands looked on as about forty rioters dressed like Indians broke through the front doors and began to destroy the property. Twelve nuns and about fifty terrified schoolgirls fled out the back door and took shelter at the home of a neighbor. From the windows of the house west of the convent, they watched their school go up in flames.

All the while firefighters were called, but made no effort to fight the fire once they arrived. The school was totally destroyed. Several rioters and a firefighter were indicted and tried for the fire, but they were all “acquitted or released to thunderous applause, and the victims were never compensated for losses estimated at over \$100,000.” The decisions were made despite the fact that “A committee of prominent citizens investigated the incident and established the

cause as the widespread dislike of the Catholic faith.” In other words, the Boston courts knew that anti-Catholicism was the reason behind the fire, but in exonerating all the men who were indicted the court sent a clear message to all American Catholics that they were not welcome in the city. Furthermore, Catholics came to understand that Protestants would believe horrible lies about them before they accepted the truth which was not nearly as sinister as Protestants wanted them to be. In the race-relations cycle conflict is the second step and the Charlestown Convent burning is one of the many conflicts Catholics faced and endured before they moved into the accommodation phase. The concept explains that the fourth state is accommodation which Catholics would eventually reach, but without the other three that would not have happened. The court’s actions in the case proved that not only was the average citizen anti-Catholic, but so was the court and political systems which aided in the conflict between Protestants and Catholics. While assimilation is the next step in the race-relations cycle there would be much more conflict before Catholics would be accepted into American culture and society. One obstacle was publications from well-known Protestants, particularly those who led Protestant congregations.⁴¹

Lyman Beecher was a Presbyterian minister and a cofounder of the American Temperance Society. In his book Beecher attacked the Catholic Church at its core and questioned its follower’s allegiance to the United States.

⁴¹ Rebecca Theresa Reed and Nancy Lusignan Schultz, introduction to *Veil of Fear: Nineteenth-Century Convent Tales by Rebecca Reed and Maria Monk*, ed. Nancy Lusignan Schultz (West Lafayette: Perdue University Press, 1999), ix, x, xi, 169.

He begins the section by explaining that “the Catholic religion can never acquire a permanent ascendancy in this nation by force, and a formal union of church and state; but a kingdom or nation divided against itself is brought to desolation.” Beecher was explaining to his readers that Catholic immigrants would never be able to gain power in the United States, but they would be able to divide the country which would be devastating. Beecher goes on to state that

If the Catholic religion were simply an insulated system or religious error, it might be expected to fade away without a struggle before the augmenting, overpowering the light of truth; but it has always been, and still is, a political religion, -- a religion of state.

In other words, Catholicism answered to the pope, which could be considered their head of state and their ultimate leader. As a result, many Protestants believed that the Catholic allegiance would always be to the pope and Vatican first and not to the American government. That belief made it extremely difficult for Protestants to trust Catholics because they would never be able to look to the American government for guidance and protection the way Protestants did. Additionally, Catholics were less likely to run for political office or win the position in an election because the white, male Protestant voters were very unlikely to believe that Catholic officials would not first turn to the Vatican and then to the American people. American Protestants trusted that Catholics would always be beholden to the pope which Beecher considered to be their political power. Beecher’s statements were all too common during the 19th Century habitus. By this time anti-Catholicism was part of the American culture and there was very little Catholics could do to change that fact. So Beecher’s book and statements

would not have shocked anyone, Protestant or Catholic, at the time because Protestants had distrusted Catholics for so long and Catholics knew that these circumstances would not change. As a result, very few Catholics were able to convince their Protestant neighbors that they could be trusted to help run the American government.⁴²

It was later displayed to many Americans that Catholics could not be trusted to police themselves. *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* was published in 1836 which accused a Montreal convent of terrible mistreatment that turned out to be completely fabricated. Despite the false claims the book was extremely successful and furthered the anti-Catholicism beliefs that already existed in the country. Monk wrote that “I was informed immediately after receiving the veil, that infants were occasionally murdered in the convent.” She explained that infant twins were brought to the priest for baptism which was performed, but afterward the children were murdered. According to Monk

“When he had baptized the children, they were taken, one after the other, by one of the old nuns in the presences of us all. She pressed her hand upon the mouth and nose of the first so tight that it could not breathe, and in a few minutes, when the hand was removed, it was dead. She then took the other one and treated it in the same way. No sound was heard, and both children were corpses.”

She went on to write that “The little bodies were taken into the cellar, thrown into the pit I have mentioned, and covered with a quantity of lime.” Monk’s stories would have been uncommonly disturbing to all who read the book, both

⁴² Lyman Beecher, *A Plea for the West* (Bedford: Applewood Books, 1835), 151.

Protestant and Catholic. It had a major impact on Catholics because it reinforced the sinister beliefs that Protestants had about Catholics and the way in which they treated their followers. While all Monk's accounts were disturbing what Protestants would have been bothered by the most was that the nun committed a sin which God specifically prohibits in the Ten Commandments. What was equally as troublesome was that Monk made it clear that murdering children occurred regularly at the nunnery. Monk's book would have made it even more difficult for Protestants to trust Catholics, but murder committed by a nun proved that all Catholics were sinister. Additionally, the book convinced many Protestants that the Catholic Church was corrupt from the top down. In other words, Protestants already believed that the Pope and the Catholic hierarchy were nefarious and the book was proof that they were right. Protestants also would have found the book credible because they believed that the author was a nun. The false accounts were equally as disturbing to Catholics because they looked for religious guidance from nuns and priests. Additionally, Catholics quickly understood that the book was meant to feed into the anti-Catholicism that was already so prevalent in the United States. In 1836 Catholics were attempting to assimilate into the United States as both a religion and as immigrants, mostly from Ireland. Furthermore, Catholics were outsiders because they were not Protestants which would have been a problem whether or not they were native born Americans. According R. Laurence Moore, American studies professor at Cornell University, Catholics would be outsiders in the United States

because Protestants would not be willing to accept them due to their Catholic status.⁴³

Anti-Catholicism in Philadelphia reached its peak in 1844. Throughout the summer there had been consistent violence between Catholics and Protestants, but Independence Day proved to be the breaking point for the two parties. The Native American Party, later known as the Know Nothing Party, arranged an Independence Day parade, but the Catholic community was concerned about violence. According to Lynn S. Neal, associate religion professor at Wake Forest University; and John Corrigan, religion and history professor at Florida State University, Catholics feared more violence and they “persuaded the sheriff and government to station police and militia to protect the church of St. Philip Neri.”⁴⁴ The Catholic community was fearful that the church would be attacked because it had been earlier in the year by Protestant mobs. Pennsylvania Governor David Porter allowed Catholics to begin “stockpiling weapons nearby at St. Philip de Neri Church.” The parade went off without any violence, but two days later, July 6, would see the violence which most believed was in their past. While the Catholics prepared for Independence Day Charles Naylor, a Protestant nativist, “threw himself in front of their [the Catholics] weapons” which led to his arrest and he was held in the basement of the church. As a result, the Protestant crowd “charged the church and pulled Naylor out” and “barraged the church with a battering ram and stones until a wall had been breached.” By the next day the

⁴³ Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, ed. D.M. Bennett (New York: Liberal and Scientific Publishing House, 1878), 15, 135.

⁴⁴ Lynn S. Neal and John Corrigan, *Religious Intolerance in American: A Documentary History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 51.

governor “had assembled over five thousand troops” to end the violence between the Catholics and the Protestants. It took two days for the troops to end the battle and the results were “thirteen... Philadelphians were dead and an additional fifty had been wounded. This kind of nativism was the reality for Catholics in the United States throughout the 19th Century. The Native American Party made it clear in Philadelphia and other cities that Catholics were not welcome and did everything in their power to push them out. Protestant nativists did not care why Catholics immigrated to the United States. All that mattered was that they were Catholic which meant that they were not welcome. The fact that Philadelphian Catholics knew that the Protestants might attack St. Philip de Neri church means that they understood their reality and that it was not likely to change. The sense that Catholics were unwelcome was the clear reality because Protestants were distrustful of the Catholics they considered outsiders in every sense. Oxx goes on to explain that “Anti-Catholic political party memberships increased in Philadelphia and nationally” after the riots which proved that the Catholic outsider status would not dissipate until Jews became the main target in the United States.⁴⁵

Harvard University also has an anti-Catholic history. The New England university’s anti-Catholic stance is not surprising given that it was a Protestant institution and it was unlikely at the time that Catholics would be accepted at any Protestant school. It was common practice for Protestant schools to reject Catholic applicants due to their religion, but by 1893 Catholics were beginning to

⁴⁵ Katie Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America: Religious Conflict in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 73.

push for religious equality in the education system. When the Boston newspaper asked President Eliot “to explain the absence of Catholic colleges” on the list of students accepted to Harvard’s law school the answer was already clear to most Catholics, but the Catholic community wanted Catholic discrimination to be addressed.⁴⁶ Eliot stated that Catholic colleges “‘have, to a considerable extent, not been equivalent’ to those ‘in leading Protestant or undenominational colleges.’”⁴⁷ Eliot presented no evidence to support his claim that Catholic schools were not equal academically to Protestant institutions. American Catholics had established their own schools during the 19th Century because it was clear that they would not be accepted into Protestant schools, but when Catholics wanted to attend the prestigious Harvard Law School it was a daunting task. Eliot further alienated American Catholics in October 1899 in a *Atlantic Monthly* article by stating that “There are those who say that there should be no election of studies in secondary schools, -- that the school committee, or the superintendent, or the neighboring college, or a consensus of study for the secondary school, and that every child should be required to follow it.”⁴⁸ During his tenure at Harvard Eliot imposed a number of curriculum changes which included adding electives. Eliot viewed himself and Harvard as innovative which was true at the time, but he used his idea to attack Catholics in the article. He went on to write that “This is precisely the method followed in Moslem countries, where the Koran prescribes the perfect education to be administered to all

⁴⁶ Daniel R. Coquillette and Bruce A. Kimball, *On the Battlefield of Merit: Harvard Law School, the First Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 500.

⁴⁷ Daniel R. Coquillette and Bruce A. Kimball, *On the Battlefield of Merit: Harvard Law School, the First Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 500.

⁴⁸ Charles W. Eliot, “Recent Changes in Secondary Schools,” *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1899, 443.

children alike.”⁴⁹ He continued with “Another instance of uniform prescribed education may be found in the curriculum of the Jesuit colleges.”⁵⁰ These statements would have been incredibly offensive to Catholics due to the comparison to Muslims who also faced their own religious discrimination in the United States. Not only did Eliot once again display his anti-Catholic thoughts, so did *Atlantic Monthly* by publishing the article. The magazine went further when they refused to print a rebuttal from a professor at Woodstock Seminary because “it is not the policy of the magazine to publish articles in controversy.”⁵¹ Not only was Eliot arguing that Jesuit education was less credible than Protestant schools and universities, but by comparing Catholics to Muslims he was attempting to further alienate Catholics even more because Muslims are not Christians and there have been issues between Christians and Muslims for centuries. Anti-Catholicism was common practice by this point in history and Eliot’s article was his way of othering Catholics both religiously and academically. By comparing Catholics and Muslims Eliot was justifying unequal treatment of Catholics and the way in which they worship and educate themselves. Furthermore, the comparison allowed Eliot and his readers to justify within themselves and the Protestant community the alienation that was already commonplace throughout the country.

Media

⁴⁹ Charles W. Eliot, “Recent Changes in Secondary Schools,” *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1899, 443.

⁵⁰ Charles W. Eliot, “Recent Changes in Secondary Schools,” *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1899, 443.

⁵¹ Kathleen A. Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 89.

The largest media source in the 19th Century was newspapers. In a time when news took a long time to reach the average American and was highly unreliable the newspaper was the best authority that was available. In larger cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston there was a clear bias against Catholics which was commonplace at the time. Additionally, the anti-Catholicism that existed in many newspapers found a friendly audience in the largely Protestant audience. While newspapers were the main media outlet during the 19th century it is important to remember that books, such as *Maria Monk*, were also influential. Currently media has a large impact on the way Americans view certain issues and events. While the media is crucial to the American culture and keeping the people informed about major events it is essential to understand that the authors' biases influence the public's opinions and beliefs.

Samuel Morse published a series of his anti-Catholic articles in 1835 entitled *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States*. The articles were originally published in the *New York Observer* which was a weekly religious newspaper founded by Morse. Although many Americans recognize Morse for inventing Morse code, it is crucial to realize that he was also a vehement anti-Catholic who despised Catholics due to their religion and immigration status. In the fifth chapter he wrote

It is a beautiful feature in our constitution, that every man is left to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; that the church is separated from the state, and that equal protection is granted to all creeds. In thus tolerating all sects, we have admitted to equal protection not only those sects whose religious faith and practice support the principle on

which free toleration of all is founded, but also that unique, that solitary sect, the Catholic which builds and supports its system on the destruction of all toleration.

Morse was arguing that the first amendment was being threatened by Catholics. In other words, Morse appreciated that the constitution gives Americans the right to practice any religion they choose freely, but Catholics were not only a threat to religious freedom, but to the constitution in general. His point goes back to the argument that Catholics posed a threat to the United States because they were beholden to the pope which risked everything the country was built on. He went on to write that

No one can be deceived by evidence so partial and circumscribed, while the blood of the persecuted for opinions' sake stains with the deepest tinge every page of the history of that church, aye, even while it is still wet upon the dungeon floors of Italy; while the intolerant and anti-republican principles of Popery are now weekly thundered from the Vatican, and echoed in our ears by most every arrival from Europe.

While Morse believed that the First Amendment was crucial to the United States he also believed that Catholics were threatening that by immigrating and bringing Catholicism into the United States in large numbers. The stereotype that Catholics answered to the pope above all others is one that survived in the United States well into the 20th Century. The fact that Morse was such a prominent figure throughout the country made his opinions about Catholics and immigration particularly important to Americans. Furthermore, Morse's reaction toward Catholics was especially important to Protestants because he was confirming their well-known fears about them. While Morse's articles about

Catholics and their motivations were extremely discriminatory they were not surprising because his beliefs were common among many Americans. In this particular article Morse was attempting to reinforce the belief that Catholics had terrible intentions for Protestants and Americans in general. Anti-Catholicism was a schema during the 19th Century. American Protestants may not have been aware of the damage they were inflicting on Catholics, but the schema for Catholics was a cruel one. The schema that Catholics were faced with would eventually change, but it is crucial to understand that the same rules would switch to another group and they would face the same devastation Catholics did.⁵²

Even though *Maria Monk* was pure fiction that was not common knowledge when it was published in 1836 which allowed the public to believe that her claims were true. The book was an important media source at the time because books and newspapers were the main media sources. Additionally, it was advertised as a biographical account of a nun who suffered greatly at the hands of the Catholic Church and its leaders which made it an attractive source for Protestant Americans. It was a particularly important work because it confirmed for many Protestant Americans what they already suspected which was that Catholics were evil and treated their followers with cruelty. Monk falsely reported several incidents of torture during her time at the nunnery, but the one she described with the most detail was executed on her. She explained that “On that day I had been engaged with Jane Ray in carrying into effect a plan of

⁵² Samuel Morse, *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1885), 64, 65.

revenge upon another person, when I fell under the vindictive spirit of some of the old nuns, and suffered severely.”⁵³ Monk continued by describing the scene where

I had my hands drawn behind my back, a leathern band passed first around my thumbs, then round my hands, and then round my waist and fastened. This was drawn so tight that it cut through the flesh of my thumbs, making wounds, the scars of which still remain. A gag was then forced into my mouth, not indeed so violently as it sometimes was, but roughly enough; after which I was taken by main force and carried down into the cellar.⁵⁴

This account would have been disturbing to Protestants and Catholics alike. Given that the book was viewed as a true account it may have discouraged potential nuns and priests from entering those fields. Additionally, Protestants would have viewed Catholic clergy as even more sinister than they already believed them to be. While sin is clearly something that churches teach us to avoid, it is still present and we are taught to atone for those sins. However, Monk’s alleged torture was beyond the normal punishments that were inflicted. Without knowing that the work was fiction it would have been easy to believe that the incidents she described were true. The book was published to instill fear in Americans who already distrusted Catholics because they were Catholic and, in many cases, immigrants. While there was no evidence to support Monk’s claims or that the Catholic Church encouraged torture as a means of penance for sin. The book’s intent was to encourage anti-Catholicism because the author

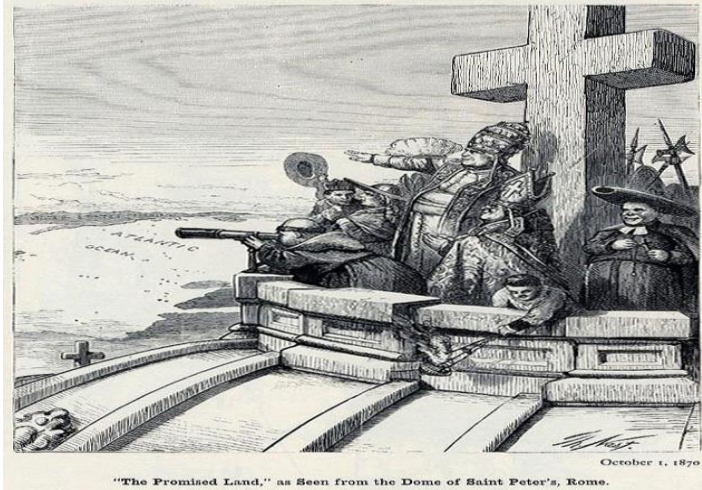
⁵³ Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, ed. D.M. Bennett (New York: Liberal and Scientific Publishing House, 1878), 145.

⁵⁴ Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, ed. D.M. Bennett (New York: Liberal and Scientific Publishing House, 1878), 146.

understood that it would be received well by Protestants who already believed that Catholics were perverse and they would influence Americans in a negative way. Anti-Catholicism was a practice which had become a learned behavior in the United States. Also, anti-Catholicism was built on a “whole body of practices beliefs, institutions, customs, habits, myths, etc, built up by humans and passed on from generation from generation.”⁵⁵ In other words, generation after generation are taught anti-Catholicism through family practices and institutions such as newspapers and magazines. While it is true that anti-Catholicism eventually died down it is crucial to understand that it would not have spread as rapidly as it did had it not been for the media and the widespread system that taught Americans anti-Catholicism.

Political cartoons were extremely important for print media and Thomas Nast was one of the most popular 19th Century cartoonists. “The Promised Land” was published on October 1, 1870. It displayed Nast’s views on the pope and the Vatican which was clearly an important topic to Catholics and the way they practice their faith.

⁵⁵ William H. Sewell, Jr. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 131.



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The image portrays the pope and several other high ranking Catholics standing on top of the Vatican in order to get the best vantage point on their target. The promised land in Nast's example is the United States and his point was that Catholics wanted to conquer the country in order to take over and force Catholicism on its residents. Pius IX was the pope at the time and there is no evidence that he wanted to take over the United States, but it did not matter who the pope was because Nast assumed Catholics would always be loyal to the pope before the president. Additionally, it appears that the group was charting their course and planning their takeover. While the notion that Catholics wanted to take over the United States is considered by most to be ridiculous, it is important to understand that it was not an absurd notion to Protestant Americans at the time because it was a common belief. Nast was aware that Americans feared Catholics and the Catholic Church and the cartoon was his way of reinforcing the idea that had been prevalent for so many years. Americans did not need to be told that Catholics were sinister because they already believed it.

⁵⁶ Thomas Nast, "The Promised Land," October 1, 1870.

However, the drawing would have reignited the controversy that was beginning to die down. Nast was vehemently anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant and his many cartoons capitalized on the beliefs that he and many other Americans shared. Given the fact that the pope was viewed as the ultimate adversary to Protestant Americans, Nast's image was particularly poignant at the time. In other words, Nast understood that his cartoon would resonate with Protestants because they already feared Catholics and the pope. To Catholics the art would have been particularly offensive because Nast was portraying the pope, the leader of the Catholic Church, as conniving. The pope is the man that Catholics look to for guidance, but what Protestants did not seem to acknowledge was that it was not necessary for all the parties to agree with one another. While Nast's cartoons were decidedly anti-Catholic the reason he gained so much popularity was because his art recognized and acknowledged the concerns, fears and beliefs that many American Protestants already held. Nast's work as a whole, but this example in particular, is an example of a second order desire. In other words, although many Americans already believed the same things Nast did regarding Catholics, he wanted to convince the others that Catholics had perverse intentions. Due to Nast's popularity his artwork reached a wide audience and was published in several newspapers and magazines. As a result, he was able to reinforce, and in some cases, convince readers that his views on Catholics were correct.

On May 8, 1875 *Harper's Weekly* published Nast's "The American River Ganges" cartoon which once again displayed his intense anti-Catholic sentiments.



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According to Robert C. Kennedy, a *New York Times* columnist, the cartoon depicts "Roman Catholic clergy as crocodiles invading America's shore to devour the nation's schoolchildren--white, black, American Indian, and Chinese. (The white children are prominent in front, the rest are in the background.)" Kennedy goes on to explain that "The public school building stands as a fortress against the threat of theocracy, but it has been bombarded and flies Old Glory upside down to signal distress." Nast's message was clear. He was depicting American children, who were not Catholic, as being attacked by Catholics because they wanted to change the way children were educated in the United States. During the 19th Century many schools were religiously based and were financed by cities and states who were equally as anti-Catholic as Nast was. Protestant Americans believed that by allowing Catholics to have more say in the education

⁵⁷ Thomas Nast, "The American River Ganges," *Harper's Weekly*, May 8, 1875.

system that they would allow their children to be corrupted and attacked by vicious Catholics. Additionally, they thought that the Catholic educators would attempt to convert the children which would be the ultimate betrayal to anti-Catholic Americans. By drawing priests as crocodiles Nast was depicting them as dangerous creatures who should be feared by Protestants. Additionally, priests were even more dangerous because they were coming after their children by requesting that the education system to be altered by allowing Catholic beliefs and practices into schools where children of different faiths attended. By 1875 Catholics were making strides in assimilating themselves into American society. Kennedy went on to write that “The Republican newspaper was vehemently opposed to what it believed was the growing political and social influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.” He continued by stating that “The publishers and staff of Harper’s Weekly, including cartoonist Thomas Nast, were mainly Protestant or secular liberals.” Given that information it is not surprising that the magazine was ready and willing to print a cartoon that was obviously anti-Catholic because that was clearly their stance. American Catholics wanted to be able to educate their children in the Catholic faith, but they had to fight Protestants, the government, and public opinion in order to do so. There were a number of people and organizations in the way of Catholic education and *Harper’s Weekly* and Nast had clear objectives which were to stop the growth of Catholic education. While Americans were able to form their own opinions about Catholics and their loyalty toward the United States, magazines and newspapers such as *Harper’s Weekly* were able to emphasize the fears that many

Protestants had concerning Catholics and their allegiances. *Harper's Weekly* and other media outlets were social institutions who were printing what was at the time considered to be relevant data. Anti-Catholicism and public education were issues that held extreme importance to Protestant Americans and the media in many instances used the anti-Catholic narrative in order to enhance their readership and further anti-Catholicism.⁵⁸

Yankee Doodle is one of the most popular American patriotic songs that still holds a lot of meaning for all Americans, but Protestants put new words to the tune in an effort to further alienate Catholics. By manipulating the words to one of the most famous American tunes Protestants were able to influence the way Catholics were viewed in the United States and further alienate them. Chris Roberts, a London librarian, wrote that Yankee Doodle was “initially popular among British forces during the War of Independence, as a mocking appraisal of American soldiers’ inability to fight (and indeed dress themselves) properly,” but at Bunker Hill “the U.S. troops themselves adopted it as a favourite marching song and threw it back at the Brits.”⁵⁹ Roberts goes on to say that “After the US gained its independence in 1776, many supplementary versus extolling the virtues of the US soldiers were added.”⁶⁰ In other words, there were several different versions of the song that found its fame at the end of the Revolutionary War, but for Americans the one that we know today is the one that gained the

⁵⁸ Robert C. Kennedy, “On This Day: May 8, 1875,” *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), 2001.

⁵⁹ Chris Roberts, *Heavy Words Lightly Thrown: The Reason Behind the Rhyme* (New York: Gotham Books, 2004), 87.

⁶⁰ Chris Roberts, *Heavy Words Lightly Thrown: The Reason Behind the Rhyme* (New York: Gotham Books, 2004), 87.

most popularity. William C. Marion altered the words of the tune in an effort to spread anti-Catholicism further which was a novel idea at the time due to the song's mass popularity and the fact that the majority of Americans, both Protestant and Catholic, were familiar with it. Marion changed the first verse to say

Come Uncle Sam, be "Wide Awake,"
Too long you have been sleeping,
Be on your guard, to crush the snake,
That round you has been creeping.
For it has almost charmed your eyes,
To such imprudent blindness,
That it could take you by surprise,
And crush you for your kindness.⁶¹

These lines are a far cry from the version that gained so much popularity, but Marion's intent was clear. While Marion does not use the word Catholic in his version it is clear that the term "snake" is referring to Catholic immigrants and their supposed evil plot to take over and destroy the United States. The verse goes on to imply that the government was not paying close enough attention to Catholic immigrants and if they were not more vigilant then Catholics would "take you by surprise and crush you for your kindness."⁶² That particular line was meant to scare the American government and Protestant people into paying

⁶¹ WM. C. Marion, "Wide Awake Yankee Doodle," in *Religious Intolerance in America: A Documentary History*, ed. Lynn S. Neal and John Corrigan (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 65.

⁶² WM. C. Marion, "Wide Awake Yankee Doodle," in *Religious Intolerance in America: A Documentary History*, ed. Lynn S. Neal and John Corrigan (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 65.

closer attention to Catholics and their supposed sinister plans. If Marion's words were not pointed enough he went on to write

Yankee Doodle, Wide Awake,
Be silent you should never,
Until you drive the popish snake,
From off the soil, FOREVER.⁶³

This verse replaced the most common chorus for the tune and is repeated several times throughout the song. It was just another reminder that Catholics were loyal to the pope, not to the American government, and that fact would never change. That idea was so poignant at the time because it was obvious decades before Marion altered the words that Protestant Americans did not trust Catholics and this was used as a reminder that they never should. In other words, Catholics would always be dangerous people because they would always be devoted to the pope and Vatican and that would never translate to American patriotism. Although there is not an exact date as to when Marion's version was published it seems to be the consensus that it was circulated during the 1840s or 1850s. By that time anti-Catholicism was well established in the United States so Marion's version of Yankee Doodle was not surprising. Marion was using semiotic codes to instill more anti-Catholicism in the United States. The claims Marion made in his verses were not new to American Protestants, but it is possible that he wanted to remind people that Catholics remained a threat as the United States inched closer and closer to the Civil War. In other words, although

⁶³ WM. C. Marion, "Wide Awake Yankee Doodle," in *Religious Intolerance in America: A Documentary History*, ed. Lynn S. Neal and John Corrigan (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 65.

the country was split over the issue of slavery they needed to remain steadfast in their efforts against Catholicism. By using semiotic codes Marion was hoping to reignite the anti-Catholic feelings that had existed in the country for decades.

Catholics were the first major religious group to face severe discrimination in the United States. There had been issues between Catholics and Protestants for over a century which is one reason Protestants helped develop the new country. Many Catholics were also immigrants which was also a problem for many Protestant Americans. Catholics, especially Irish Catholics, quickly understood that they were outsiders and that their path to acceptance would not be easy. They were made to feel like outsiders when rioters disrupted their celebrations, burned their convents, and depicted them as evil characters in political cartoons. Catholics, like most other immigrants, traveled to the United States in order to provide a better life themselves and their families. The problem they faced was that it was made clear that they were not welcome. The economic discrimination made their assimilation particularly difficult because they were paid very little and were not easily hired. As a result, many Catholics were forced to live in poverty because there was no other choice. While many Catholics had to work harder than most to gain acceptance in their new country there were some who were able to gain some prominence. Those who were able to find some acceptance found themselves interested in politics which led to more discrimination because many Protestants did not want to be led by the Catholics they disliked so much. Catholics also faced religious discrimination which widely varied. They were confronted with prejudice in schools, the work place, media,

and many other social areas. Protestants were concerned that Catholics would take over the country because they did not have any allegiance to the United States. The idea that worried Protestants most was that they were totally beholden to the Pope and not the president. In other words, if there were to be a crisis in the country Catholics would look to the pope instead of the American government. There was also concern that Catholics were going to force Catholicism on Americans. The media was also particularly cruel to Catholics. Newspapers and magazines willingly published Thomas Nast's anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant cartoons, but that was not the only media that went after them. There were authors and publishers that were anti-Catholic which was made evident by books such as *Maria Monk* and the recreation of Yankee Doodle. Anti-Catholicism was socially acceptable in the United States and was able to survive until the 1960s because they were still considered threat, which lead to more anti-Catholicism. The cycle continued and evolved because American Protestants in many societal areas were not willing to accept their differences. While Catholics faced discrimination in many different ways, they were not alone. Religious and cultural groups such as Jews, Muslims, African Americans, and Native Americans experienced prejudice in many similar ways. Discrimination has become all too common in the United States and it appears that it will continue to be a problem that many religious and ethnic groups will face.

American Anti-Semitism in the Interwar Period

Introduction

Much like Catholic immigrants foreign Jews also faced hardships and discrimination when they reached the United States. While Jews experienced many struggles throughout the early 20th century the reasons behind the discrimination and racism resulted from biblical anti-Semitism which many Christians taught and practiced. Additionally, politics and economic factors also played a role in anti-Semitic behavior in the United States. Although the Catholic Church was the original proponent of anti-Semitism, Catholics were not the only group to exercise it. Furthermore, American anti-Semitism in the 20th century was not only religious, it grew to include political fears and economic concerns. All aspects of anti-Semitism were encouraged by the media and through religious leaders, such as Father Charles Coughlin. While Christianity seems to be the catalyst for anti-Semitism it would not have grown and spread throughout the United States without secular involvement and encouragement.

Outsider Status/Immigration

Abraham J. Karp, conservative American rabbi and scholar, wrote that “Nowhere more fully than in America have the Jews experienced Emancipation and Enlightenment, which they have come to accept both as a right and as a

mandate.”⁶⁴ His assessment seems to be that Jews were not always welcomed with open arms which is completely factual. Leonard Dinnerstein, history professor and director of Judaic studies at the University of Arizona, discussed Isaac Mayer Wise, an American Reformist rabbi and author, who arrived in New York in 1846. Dinnerstein stated that Wise “urged Jews to acclimate themselves to the United States.” Additionally, Wise “sought to change the form and substance of Judaism so that outwardly it would resemble a branch of Christianity.” Wise wanted the Jewish people to encourage assimilation, but that was much easier said than done. While many immigrants are able to assimilate themselves into the United States it usually takes some time. The problem with Wise’s approach seems to be that he attempted to force the Jewish people to assimilate to their new surroundings instead of allowing it to occur naturally.⁶⁵

According to Deborah Dash Moore, director of the Frankel Center of Judaic Studies and history professor at the University of Michigan, “In the 19th century Jews immigrated to the United States, transferring many elements of European Jewish Culture,” but assimilating themselves into the new culture would prove to be more difficult than anticipated. Moore goes on to say that “the basic American premise of a voluntary community and absence of any legal authority to enforce behaviors among Jews transformed efforts to transplant Jewish religious traditions.” In other words, Jewish immigrants had to find a way to express and preserve their culture once they entered the new country. Culture is an extremely important aspect to every religio-ethnic group and the Jewish

⁶⁴ Abraham J. Karp, *A History of the Jews in America*, (New Jersey: Jason Aronson, Inc., 1997), xv.

⁶⁵ Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 26.

people were no different. In order to protect the Jewish culture Jewish immigrants “developed Jewish Community Centers (JCC’s) as well as synagogue centers that housed together worship, recreation and education.” While Jewish immigrants were not the only religious and ethnic groups to find a way to assimilate to their new society the JCC was specific to Jewish immigrants. According to the JCC website the organization “helped immigrants adapt to North American life by teaching them English, assisting their acculturation to new customs and mores, and helping them to participate fully in the civic responsibilities and opportunities of their new democratic home.” While the establishment of the JCC was vastly important to the Jewish people and the preservation of their culture it could not stop the discrimination they would face or the hardships the future would bring to them. Immigration would become increasingly more difficult the closer the United States came to entering World War II.⁶⁶

Prior to 1921 the United States border was open to whoever chose to enter, but the Immigration Act of 1921, or the Emergency Quota Law changed that. After the Great War Americans’ xenophobia was heightened. In order to limit the number of immigrants who could enter the country Congress developed the Immigration Act of 1921. Section 2 of the act states

That the number of aliens of an nationality who may be admitted under the immigration laws to the United

⁶⁶ Deborah Dash Moore, “Where We Came From: The Arcs of Judaism in America,” *The Muslim World* 104, no. 4, (2014): 404, accessed April 30, 2016.
<http://aumnicaat.aum.edu:2149/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=eec4d805-3283-406b-adff-55c1edca8161%40sessionmgr102&hid=116>.

States in any fiscal year shall be limited to 3 per centum of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1910.⁶⁷

In other words, only 3 percent of each nationality would be permitted to enter the country and that number was based on the number of each nationality that already lived in the country prior to the bill's passing. For example, if 10,000 peoples of Irish descent resided in the country during 1910 then only 3 percent of that number would be allowed to immigrate as of 1921. The Emergency Quota Law legitimized the xenophobic fears of Americans through law. While the law was not religiously or ethnically discriminatory, it legitimized the fears the American people already had and gave them reason to believe that their fears were well founded. This type of law would be considered a theoretical legitimization because it helped to justify and legitimate the discriminatory knowledge many Americans already had. As a result, The Emergency Quota Law helped to lead to stricter laws that would affect European Jews the most prior to and during World War II.

Immigration has always been a heated topic in the United States and the early 20th century was no exception. The reality is that immigrants will face a certain amount of adversity and discrimination when they enter the United States and that remains a reality in the United States. The reality Jews faced was unique to them particularly leading up to World War II. According to Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, author, president of the American Jewish Council, vice president of the World Jewish Council (WJC), "At the beginning of the war, almost all the

⁶⁷ U.S. Immigration Law: 1921 Emergency Quota Law, Section 2, library.uwb.edu, 5.

Jewish leaders in America agreed that the Jews of Europe should not be a ‘special case’ in terms of immigration.⁶⁸ The knowledge that Americans who shared their faith did not welcome made the reality of immigration even more daunting to those European Jews who desperately wanted to escape the dictatorial rule of Adolf Hitler.⁶⁹ While immigrant Catholics faced the same discrimination from those Americans who shared their faith, the Jewish circumstance was vastly different at the time due to the events in Europe. Furthermore, it became evermore apparent that American Jews were not willing to allow Europeans in, but they were only willing to send aid. Hertzburg goes on to explain that “The Jewish Labor Committee, which had direct links with occupied Poland, insisted that it was the duty of American Jews to send all possible help into Poland.”⁷⁰ In other words, the committee was willing to send financial aid, but nothing else. As a result, many European Jews faced an even more difficult path once they entered the United States because they understood that their fellow Jews were not welcoming either.

One of the most interesting points about American anti-Semitism was explained by Henry L. Feingold, professor emeritus at Baruch College, who wrote “For the immigrants, who often viewed anti-Semitism as part of the burden of being Jewish, such signals were mild compared with that they had experienced

⁶⁸ Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989), 294.

⁶⁹ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 1.

⁷⁰ Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989), 294.

in their former homeland.”⁷¹ In other words, anti-Semitism was so commonplace that Jews did not expect much improvement in the United States. Feingold’s idea expresses the habitus that had become all too commonplace. Bourdieu’s concept explains that people live in particular habitats and are socialized in certain ways as a result of those habitats. As a result, anti-Semitism was a part of a Jews everyday life. It seems that anti-Semitism had become such a normal thing for non-Jews, Christians particularly, that they may not have been aware that the issue was so severe. Foreign Jews were aware that they would face anti-Semitism, but they believed that it would not be to the extent that it was in Europe and Russia. Jewish immigrants thought that immigrating to America would allow them to work freely which is not something they were able to do in many European areas. The understanding was that their lives would be improved, but it was not until the interwar period that the Jewish people would grasp the severity of their situation and the need to escape Europe.

The problem for Jewish immigrants leading up to World War II was that immigration became increasingly difficult due to fear and xenophobia. The fear of outsiders that existed in the United States at the time was not aimed directly at Jews or the faith they practiced. Americans used the information they received from sources such as Father Charles Coughlin to develop their own semiotic codes. Coughlin, in a rant against President Franklin D. Roosevelt, stated that “The great betrayer and liar, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who promised to drive the money changers from the temple, had succeeded [only] in driving the farmers

⁷¹ Henry L. Feingold, *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream 1920-1945*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 1.

from their homesteads and the citizens from their homes in the cities.”⁷² While Coughlin’s statement was clearly meant to incite anger against FDR it was also blatantly anti-Semitic. Father Coughlin used the codes to spread his anti-Semitic message. He used the derogatory term “money changers” to describe the American Jewish people. While Coughlin did not develop the phrase it was something that was rather common place and he used it to construct an argument against them. Coughlin’s 1936 quote was not only an anti-Semitic statement, but a remark on politics which was also rather common at the time. It seems that Americans believed that Jewish immigrants, and immigrants in general, were taking their jobs away. That belief gave some citizens one more reason to hate Jews. The fear of Jewish political retribution was yet another form of anti-Semitism that Jews would be forced to face, but the fear grew even greater in the interwar period.

Political Fears

The interwar period was a very difficult time in the American political arena. The Great Depression put a major strain on the country both economically and politically which led to a lot of contention in Washington, D.C. and larger cities throughout the country. Due to the already tense situation and the widespread anti-Semitism there were very few options for Jews and it was highly doubtful that they would be given the opportunity to run for office if that they were interested in doing so. Books such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* helped

⁷² “Father Charles E. Coughlin,” *Social Security History*, accessed April 30, 2016, <https://www.ssa.gov/history/cough.html>.

to bring those political fears to life for Americans when it came to any possible Jewish involvement in the government. The book and its claims led to even more fear and hatred for Jews than already existed and it encompassed many sociological and cultural aspects which made them seem even more sinister. Americans also blamed Jews for political issues that were occurring internationally. Blaming Jews for political incidents worldwide made Jews appear to be a powerful entity even though those claims were unfounded. Additionally, if a Jew was willing to run for office their Judaism was used against them in one form or another. Sometimes they were not considered Jewish enough. However, that accusation was just another way to alienate them and prevent them from successfully entering the political arena. Things became even more complicated for American Jews leading up to World War II because it was becoming more and more clear that Hitler was a serious threat to Jews and many other groups, but it was difficult to gather support for their fellow Jew during that time. It was particularly difficult to find support for European immigrants and the dangers they were facing in larger American cities because, often times, they were the minority communities. As a result, it was difficult to make their non-Jewish neighbors pay attention to them and to their concern for European Jews. The political uncertainty of the time allowed people like Father Coughlin and Henry Ford to speak out against Jews freely and they exhibited their anti-Semitic beliefs often. Coughlin's way was through his radio show where he covered topics each week that affected many Americans and many times he attributed those issues to Jews and the issues they were supposedly causing for Americans. The political

situation at the time was just another way for Coughlin to alienate and vilify Jews and his tactic was extremely successful. Despite the anti-Semitic culture and beliefs that plagued the United States during the interwar period FDR had several Jewish men in his presidential cabinet which was a serious concern for many Americans. Even though it is clear that these Jewish men did not have any plans to take over the government and economy, which is what many believed, the White House received letters complaining about the appointments. Many Americans feared Jews and believed that they had the ability to devastate the American government and economy. All of these beliefs came from years of socialization and were precipitated by things like *The Protocols* and Father Coughlin. No evidence was necessary to substantiate the anti-Semitic claims that were all too common because they were already common among Americans.

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion were originally released in 1903 in Russia, but following the Russian Revolution they were brought to Western countries in 1917. It is believed that the Russian Czarist Police wrote the *Protocols*, but they claimed it was a Jewish manifesto. In 1917 the world was in the midst of the Great War which meant that many people of all religions, cultures, and nationalities were willing to read and believe the *Protocols* and the slanderous messages the authors proclaimed. In 1921 the London *Times* exposed the truth that the *Protocols* were a heinous fabrication, but this did not stop many people from believing the lies that were laid out about the Jewish people. Protocol 24 states that

Certain members of the seed of David will prepare the kings and their heirs, selecting not by right of heritage but by eminent capacities, inducting them into the most secret mysteries of the political, into schemes of government, but providing always that none may come to knowledge of the secrets. The object of this mode of action is that all may know that government cannot be entrusted to those who have not been inducted into secret places of its art.⁷³

One major objective for the *Protocols* was to instill fear and persuade its readers that the Jewish people would take over international affairs and other aspects of daily life in an effort to take over everything. While any one group gaining domination over international politics is a terrifying notion, the *Protocols'* authors wanted to make readers believe that the Jewish community wanted to take over and force their political agendas on everyone. While it is true that the Jewish faithful have specialized activities, and some of those do include politics, the economy, society, and culture, none of their agendas are as vicious as the *Protocols* claim them to be. The Great War made Americans severely xenophobic and the *Protocols* only helped to make it even more severe. The *Protocols* fed into the fears that already existed in the American people politically, religiously, and economically. While there is no proof that Jews, American or international, were planning to take control of the government, the *Protocols* gave credence to the idea that it could happen. The genius of it was the time in which the authors released the document. It was released during a time of great despair and horror internationally, and if the goal was to give credence to the anxiety that already existed about the Jewish people then the authors achieved it. In other words, the *Protocols'* authors had one specialized activity and it was to

⁷³ *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, trans. Victor E. Marsden (1934), 224.

tarnish the Jewish people even further and they succeeded in doing so both in the United States and in Europe.

On December 18, 1918 a Senate subcommittee testimony was quoted in *Literary Digest*. The witness stated that “the present chaotic conditions in Russia are due in large part to the activities of Yiddish agitators from the East Side of New York City, who went to Russia immediately following the downfall of the Czar,’ and that the East Side is a ‘hotbed of Bolshevism.’”⁷⁴ In other words, the magazine reported that without New York Jews the Russian Bolsheviks would not have been as successful as they were. According to the testimony American Jews were vital to Russia Bolsheviks and the plans they supposedly had for the United States. The idea that American Jews were assisting Russian Bolsheviks and Communists because they were part of those organizations themselves was a ridiculous notion because they knew that would further alienate them in the country. However, many Americans strongly believed Jews were plotting against them. It is possible that many Americans did not actually believe that American Jews were politically corrupt, but acted as if they did because that was the moral order that many Americans internalized at the time. In other words, the ideas people were outwardly expressing many not have been what they actually believed. Without the xenophobia that ruled many people in the United States during the interwar period the fear that Jews were Bolsheviks or Communists may not have been as powerful as they were. The external moral order may have been different than the internal moral order for many people, but the external

⁷⁴ “Religion and Social Service,” *Literary Digest*, December 18, 1918, 1, accessed May 18, 2016, <http://www.unz.org/Pub/LiteraryDigest-1919mar01-00032?View=PDF>.

moral order of the time was so strong that its influence would have been overpowering. Given the time period there were also very few ways of legitimizing or proving the magazine's claims, but for many, like Father Coughlin, there was very little need for evidence.

According to Henry L. Feingold "anti-Semitism, or at least some version of the Jewish question, played a role in virtually every major election and many local ones" and the 1928 New York gubernatorial campaign was no exception.⁷⁵ In the race between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Albert Ottinger was accused of not being Jewish enough which is an odd accusation, but one that was not uncommon. Ottinger's Judaism would have been a factor in the campaign no matter what he or Roosevelt said or did. The anti-Semitism that prevailed throughout the United States during the interwar period was so ubiquitous that any anti-Semitic comment or accusation was not surprising to any party. Anti-Semitism was one of the fundamental tools or schemas Americans used at the time. It is unimaginable that Ottinger would have been surprised by the accusation because the he American Jews in general were all too familiar with the schema non-Jews were using. While Ottinger's Jewish status probably was not what lost the election, it probably factored into the voters' decision. As we know now, Roosevelt was a political machine that would not be stopped, but that is not to say that Ottinger was not equally as capable. The time in which Ottinger and many other Jews ran for office was not a time of acceptance for them and that would not change until after World War II. In other words, it did not matter

⁷⁵ Henry L. Feingold, *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream 1920-1945* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 190.

what Jewish man ran for a political position because the schema that was exercised during the interwar period would evolve and focus on another group until later in the century.

Adam Wolfson argues in his article that 1933-1939 is the more important time period in the American Jewish case because it “gives the historian a unique vantage point on the issue” of anti-Semitism that one cannot gain when exploring the 1940s. The article focuses on Boston, a predominantly Irish-Catholic city, and the struggles the 100,000 Bostonian Jews faced at the time. The Jewish and Catholic ideologies were very much at odds with one another, particularly in terms of Nazism and Communism. When Hitler took power in 1933 the *Jewish Advocate* encouraged all of its Jewish readers to admonish Nazism and to “arouse the indignation of enlightened public opinion.” It seems that American Jews quickly understood Hitler’s dangerous rhetoric and actions, but because Jews were considered an “isolated community” in Boston and they were greatly outnumbered they were unable to “enlist the help of local elites and institutions.” Later in the 1930s when the political current turned to focus more on international affairs “The problem for Boston’s Jews was that Nazi fascism and and [sic] Soviet communism appeared to be competing ideological and political forces in Europe.” This definition applies both to Jews and immigrant Catholics because their individual ideologies fed into the fears each group had for Communism and Fascism. Wolfson goes on to quote the *Boston Pilot* as printing that “communism is ‘the major evil of our time’” which was the Vatican’s stance on the matter. The significance of the Boston Catholic ideology when it came to Communism is that

it agreed with the Church's ultimate authority. In other words, many Boston Catholics believed Communism was a greater threat to them because the Vatican deemed it to be. As a result, the blatant anti-Semitism in Europe and the United States continued because they could not get the support of the dominant Catholics despite the ample evidence against Hitler and the atrocities he was committing against the Jewish people. Catholics did not fear the Nazi ideology until it was too late.⁷⁶

It was in this social and political environment that Father Charles Coughlin became one of the most dominant and popular figures for Americans in general, but specifically for Catholics. Coughlin began broadcasting over the radio in 1926 and his following skyrocketed at the onset of the Great Depression. One major issue that has been raised about Coughlin since his fall from grace was his blatant anti-Semitic messages. Coughlin claimed in his December 4, 1938 radio address that "The Central Committee of the Communist Party, operating in Russia, consisted of 59 members among whom were 56 Jews and that the 3 remaining non-Jews were married to Jewesses."⁷⁷ This statement was not directed against American Jews, but it was political anti-Semitism that would have had an effect on American Jews because cultural creativity played a major role in the way Jews were viewed. Christians, particularly those who already feared Jews, would take Coughlin's accusation and use it further separate themselves from their Jewish neighbors. Coughlin provides no evidence to

⁷⁶ Adam Wolfson, "The Boston Jewish Community and the Rise of Nazism, 1933-1939," *Jewish Social Studies* ed. 48, no. 3, (Fall 1986) *Academic Search Premier* (accessed May 14, 2016), 305, 306, 307.

⁷⁷ Father Charles Coughlin, "Persecution: Jewish and Christian" 1938, (Detroit: WJR Radio, Radio), https://archive.org/details/Father_Coughlin.

substantiate his claims, but his Catholic and Protestant followers did not seem to care because his status as priest set him above others and established his authority. Coughlin was very creative with his accusations against the Jewish faithful, but it is important to realize that the anti-Semitism he produced was not a belief he developed on his own. Anti-Semitism was a part of the Catholic Church and something that had been taught well before Father Coughlin went over the airwaves. It was part of the social structure for Coughlin and many other Catholics. Coughlin's message intentionally fueled the anti-Semitism that already existed in the United States politically and Coughlin was aware of the consequences of his actions. Coughlin understood how deep anti-Semitism ran throughout the country and the reasons why so many Christians feared the Jewish people. Coughlin's claims also tied Jews to Communism which the Vatican had instructed its parishes to fear over Fascism. He was able to use the anti-Semitic social structure he had been taught in the Catholic Church to fuel the existing fear. While many Catholics feared Jews there were many who resented them for holding political positions.

Dinnerstein quotes a New York woman's letter to President Franklin dated from October 1934. The woman wrote

On all sides is heard the cry that you have sold out the country to the Jews, and that the Jews are responsible for the continued depression, as they are determined to starve the Christians into submission and slavery. You have over two hundred Jews, they

say, in executive offices in Washington, and Jew bankers run the government...⁷⁸

As with the majority of the anti-Semitic accusations that were made during the interwar period there was little or no evidence to substantiate the claims. While Roosevelt did have Jewish men in his administration there is nothing to suggest or lead historians to believe that Roosevelt or his Jewish administrators had anything sinister planned for the United States during his presidency. Eventful temporality proves that events in political history do not support any Jewish attempt to take governmental control in Europe or the United States. As a result, the letter's claims are based on historical fiction which many Europeans and, in this case, Americans believed to be true. Without the fabricated anti-Semitic comments and documents that already existed, the woman's letter would not have had such an impact. Unfortunately, the New York author was not the only American to believe the Jewish members of FDR's administration were running the government. Without the examples that have already been discussed and many others throughout the interwar period it is unlikely that the author would have come to her conclusions on her own. There is no doubt that eventful temporality is a powerful concept, but the history in which many Americans were using as a frame of reference for their political reactions was fabricated. Unfortunately, the anti-Semitism that plagued American Jews would continue to evolve both in politics and several other aspects of American life.

[Economic Uncertainty](#)

⁷⁸ Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 109.

The American economy and the part Jews played in it led to another form of anti-Semitism which was caused by a number of historical events throughout the interwar period. As discussed earlier, the *Protocols* disseminated heinous anti-Semitic accusations throughout Europe and the United States. The sixth Protocol focused on the way in which the Jews supposedly manipulated the international economy. Additionally, the American Prohibition and the Jews' role in it fed the growing anti-Semitism in the country. One of the most notorious anti-Semites in American history, Henry Ford, wrote the *International Jew* which was full of anti-Semitic accusations and hate speech. Just one of the economic claims will be discussed, but financial accusations that were made throughout Ford's book. Ford's allegations against the Jews were fabricated, but without symbols like the *Protocols* it is doubtful that he would have developed them on his own. Furthermore, Beth Wenger, Professor of American Jewish History at the University of Pennsylvania, discusses the Jewish plight during the Great Depression and the ways in which their struggles differed from those of Christians. The last example will explore the business success the second generation of American Jews had during the interwar period and why it led to further anti-Semitism.

Although the *Protocols* is not an American document it was widely recognized throughout the country and treated as fact. The sixth Protocol states "We shall soon begin to establish huge monopolies, reservoirs of colossal riches, upon which even large fortunes of the goyim will depend to such an extent that they will go to the bottom together with the credit of the States on the day after

the political smash.”⁷⁹ The claim the authors were making was that the Jewish people planned to take over large and successful businesses internationally in order to gain economic superiority. While Jewish monopolization was highly unlikely in the United States or any other country, it would have shaken the American people and its government in particular because monopolies had become a serious issue throughout the country. Ellis Wayne Hawley, Professor Emeritus at the University of Iowa, defines monopolies as organizations that were “concerned with questions of power, with the development, in particular, of private concentrations of economic power and with the implications of this development for a democratic society.”⁸⁰ Despite President Roosevelt’s attempts to rid the country of monopolies during the New Deal with legislation such as the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) it was still an issue due to how complicated the bill was and the hold monopolies had on the American economy.

The NIRA stated

It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to remove obstructions to the free flow of interstate and foreign commerce which tend to diminish the amount thereof; and to provide for the general welfare by promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups.⁸¹

The legislation was meant to limit the power of monopolies, but it was not very effective which meant that monopolies were still something to be concerned with.

⁷⁹ *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, trans. Victor E. Marsden (1934), 164.

⁸⁰ Ellis W. Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 4.

⁸¹ “National Industrial Recovery Act,” *National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933* (January 11, 2009): *MasterFILE Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 28, 2016), 1, <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=13&sid=20106264-345b-4736-a53d-1ec471496846%40sessionmgr4004&hid=4103>.

Although the *Protocols* were proven to be fictionalized by the *London Times* in 1921 Protocol 6 was still a troublesome accusation due to the issues that already existed. The social institutions that many Americans were socialized help to explain the sixth Protocol because the Jewish people have a history internationally of having business success. As a result, it can be viewed that economic prosperity is one goal for the Jewish people strived to achieve in their society. What made the sixth Protocol such an issue for Christians was that the supposed monopolization the Jews had in mind would have furthered that economic success in a way that Christians and the American government feared.

The 18th Amendment was passed on December 18, 1917 and stated that “the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.”⁸² Prohibition affected all Americans socially and, for some, economically. Since the law prohibited the manufacturing and sale of alcohol there was a great economic loss to bar owners, liquor store owners, and alcohol producers. While the law in no way stopped the illegal production or consumption of alcohol it did have a major economic impact and the American Jew appears to have suffered greatly socially and economically. Marni Davis, associate professor of history at Georgia State University, stated that “As American anti-Semitic sentiment intensified at the turn of the century, Jews’ history in the alcohol trade acted as confirmation of suspicions about Jewish economic behavior, in ways

⁸² 18th Amendment, *Constitution of the United States*, accessed May 29, 2016, http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_amendments_11-27.html.

that mirrored broader concerns about their presence in American society.” Davis continues by describing three distinct Jewish immigrant groups with the third being the most significant in this case. She describes the “third wave” as “Jewish immigration to the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when hundreds of thousands of Eastern European Jews arrived in American ports and cities.” She goes on to explain that the “‘third wave’ of Jewish immigrants altered American Jewry’s relation to alcohol” in that “their orientation toward traditional religious practices prompted them to create and support an emerging kosher wine industry, which both generated employment opportunities and helped to weave Jewish religious observance into the fabric of American consumer culture.” The Jewish activity in the alcohol trade was significant not only because it helped them to assimilate in their new land, but it met with their social stock of knowledge. In other words, because “in 1880, four million Jews—half of the world’s Jewish population – lived under Russian rule” and during that time “Jews were being pushed out of the Russian liquor trade, an occupation that tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of Jews had come to rely on.” The Jewish immigrants were knowledgeable about alcohol manufacturing and trade and they were able to find a similar success in the United States. While the alcohol business was not uncommon in the United States, it was evident that Americans did not want the new Jewish immigrants to enter their trade. In a time when anti-Semitism was growing throughout the United States it was evident that Christians were reluctant to do business with Jews even after Prohibition forced Jews and Christians alike to become bootleggers. The American reluctance to do

business with Jews despite Prohibition is just another example of the explicit anti-Semitism that existed throughout the United States.⁸³

Prohibition was not the only reason why economic anti-Semitism persisted. Henry Ford was one of the most successful businessmen in American history, but he was also one of the most infamous anti-Semites in the nation. The *Dearborn Independent* was a local Detroit newspaper that was acquired by Ford in 1918 and immediately became an outlet for his anti-Semitic rhetoric. Many of the newspaper's anti-Semitic articles were later published and became known as *The International Jew*. One of Ford's articles stated

The Jews created capitalism, we are told. But capitalism has proved itself ill-behaved. So now, the Jewish creators are going to destroy their creation. They have done so in Russia. And now, will the American people be good and let their Jewish benefactors do the same in America?

Ford was blaming the Jews, both in the United States and internationally, for financial depression that occurred after World War I, but Ford did not have any evidence to support his claims. Ford went on to write that "an American Jewish financier was supplying the funds which carried revolutionary propaganda to thousands of Russian prisoners of war in Japanese camps." In other words, not only were American Jews influencing the American economy, but they were also contributing financially to another way which no one wanted to see after the devastation of World War I. While Ford's claims were completely unfounded many Americans believed what Ford wrote. Ford's numerous economic

⁸³ Marni Davis, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 3, 11, 72, 73.

accusations were supported by Christians throughout the country, but it was because the anti-Semitism already existed. Influential men like Henry Ford and Father Coughlin were able to use the semiotic codes that already existed in order to exploit the anti-Semitism many Americans already believed and exhibited. In other words, if anti-Semitism was not already prominent throughout the United States it is unlikely that Ford's accusations would have found such a large and accepting audience.⁸⁴

Anti-Semitism was multifaceted, but the economic stability Jews had during the Great Depression would have encouraged further anti-Semitism. Wenger, argues that the Jewish people approached the Depression differently than Christians and

As they expanded social and cultural programs, synagogue leaders also responded to the political and social climate of the Depression, developing strategies to combat economic injustice and anti-Semitism, and even adopting New Deal rhetoric to address the problems of American Judaism.

The fact that Wenger concentrates on New York's Jewish communities is significant because, unlike the Christians in rural areas which many historians concentrate on, the majority of the Jewish people in the United States were not working farmers. As a result, Jews were less likely to suffer financially to the extent Christians did. The Jewish response was to provide aid to those who were suffering more than they were. Wenger's statement about combating "economic

⁸⁴ Henry Ford, "Jewish Testimony in Favor of Bolshevism," *The International Jew* (accessed May 30, 2016), 288-289, <https://books.google.com/books?id=cNsfsgyxDI8C&printsec=frontcover&dg=Dearborn+Independent+Arc+hives&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiWye2WpfnMAhWJjiYKHZC6CukQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=financier&f=false>.

injustice and anti-Semitism” shows that Jews at the time were aware that they would be targeted for their economic accomplishments during a time of great suffering throughout the country. Habitus helps to explain Wenger’s claims because it is clear that the Jewish business habitats were distinctly different from Christians. Not only were the economic situations different, but the Jewish people understood that anti-Semitism was a growing and evolving issue throughout the country meaning that anti-Semitism was part of the Christian habitus. Jews were concerned about an increase in anti-Semitism due to their lack of economic struggle. However, Wenger goes on to state that “As the Depression wore on, American Jews shared a collective anxiety about their future, worried about their declining economic fortunes, and feared the growth of anti-Semitism.” Jews were concerned that anti-Semitism would continue to increase as the Great Depression took a stronger hold over the country. The fear of escalating anti-Semitism was also part of the Jewish habitus because anti-Semitism was something they experienced before they immigrated to the United States and something they knew would they would still have to deal with once they entered their new country. However, Wenger goes on to point out that “Although financial stringencies halted many synagogue programs and prompted a reassessment of congregational priorities, the economic crisis ultimately furthered the integration of the secular and the sacred within New York synagogues.” In other words, New York Jews were able to offer assistance to Christians and provide things for them in a non-threatening manner that may have helped the Jews become less of a

threat in that area. As a result, the anti-Semitic feeling that existed may have begun to wane.⁸⁵

American Jews, particularly second generation Jews, were able to find business success that many Christians were seeking. As a result, the anti-Semitism they had already experienced continued to grow and thrive. Feingold stated that “poverty and exclusion are not so extreme as to erode the will to achieve, ‘have-not’ groups in America usually harbor the desire to raise themselves.” Second generation Jews would undoubtedly be considered a “have-not” group due to the circumstances under which they lived and the anti-Semitism they endured. The reason second generation Jews faced greater economic anti-Semitism was because the business success they found was greater than many other immigrant groups. Feingold goes on to state that “Most surprising was the speed with which the second generation entered the middle class.” He continues by comparing Italian-Americans to Jews who “composed 43 percent of the population of the New York metropolitan area.” Feingold proceeds to explain that “Jews consistently outpaced Italian-Americans in attaining middle-class rank” and that “In 1925, 13.2 percent of the Jewish work force was classified as white collar, compared with 2.4 percent of Italians.” Furthermore, “By 1937 two-thirds of the 34,000 factories and 104,000 wholesale and retail establishments in New York City were owned by Jews.” Feingold’s book proves that first and second generation immigrant Jews were able to assimilate into the United States economically faster than other immigrant groups. Due to the fact

⁸⁵ Beth S. Wenger, *New York Jews and the Great Depression: Uncertain Promise* (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1999), 167, 201.

that Jews found assimilation easier than other groups anti-Semitism would have increased as a result. Heightened anti-Semitism and jealousy resulted from the success Jews were able to find in cities like New York. While other immigrant groups were able to assimilate into American life easier in other areas than Jews, jealousy and anti-Semitism would have intensified during the interwar period because the Great Depression was so devastating and the evidence proves that Jews did not suffer as greatly as Christians. That is not to say that Jews did not suffer during the interwar period because anti-Semitism continued to grow in other areas of society.⁸⁶

Protestant/Catholic Opposition

Although anti-Semitism takes many forms, they are all rooted in Christian or religiously based anti-Semitism. For centuries Christians believed that Jews murdered Jesus which resulted in the eventual evolution of the hate. In other words, by the interwar period anti-Semitism was not strictly a religious intolerance. During the Great Depression Jews in the United States were hated and feared for several different reasons which evolved from Christian anti-Semitism. Christians anti-Semitism is based in the New Testament, particularly in the Gospels. John's Gospel is considered to be the most anti-Semitic of the four, so John 5:16-18 will be the example used. Smith explains that "Narratives seek to convey the significance and meaning of events by situating their interaction

⁸⁶ Henry L. Feingold, *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream 1920-1945* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 126, 127, 140.

with or influence on other events and actions in a single, interrelated account.”⁸⁷

Biblical anti-Semitism led to hatred and fear particularly in Catholics and Protestants. Martin Luther, the founder of the Protestant Church, was also an adamant anti-Semite. Luther’s anti-Semitism is an example of culture as a learned behavior because anti-Semitism was not something that people were just born understanding and doing. It is something that was, and in some circles, is still taught. In other words, although Luther’s development of the Protestant Church proves that he wanted nothing to do with Catholicism he could not escape the Catholic beliefs and anti-Semitism he was raised with. Furthermore, that was the case for many people who joined the new religious practice.

Religious anti-Semitism gave the Russian Czarist Police a lot of ammunition in writing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and out of the twenty four Protocols there were several that were religiously based. Protocol 14 is the example that fits best in this case. The *Protocols* allowed for alternation and relied on Christian primary socialization or what Christians were raised to believe in regards to Jews. Religious anti-Semitism continued throughout the interwar period and became more prevalent in colleges and universities throughout the country.

There was a documented case in 1920 at the University of Illinois which made it clear to the Jewish students that their beliefs and religious practices were not important to the school. The Christian culture was the reason behind the universities actions against its Jewish students. Anti-Semitism was a part Christian culture and the University of Illinois was not willing to recognize Jews or any other religious group other than Christianity because their culture led them to

⁸⁷ Christian Smith, *Moral, Believing Animals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 65.

believe that Jews and their religious practices were less significant than Christians. While the university's case was clearly anti-Semitic it was not the only school that allowed anti-Semitic behavior within it. Rutgers University also ignored blatant anti-Semitism on its campus and in its newspaper in 1920. Not only was anti-Semitism allowed in the university, but it appears that university officials ignored the anti-Semitic practices. Rutgers University allowed for othering. The university went out its way to ignore anti-Semitism that was exhibited by the students and administration which was extremely problematic, but all too common during that time. Lastly, Father Coughlin's December 18, 1938 broadcast will be examined. His broadcasts concentrated on the differences between Christians and Jews and Coughlin took advantage of the opportunity to display his anti-Semitic beliefs. Anti-Semitism was the reality for many Christians because of the biblical teachings. In other words, Coughlin was not alone in his beliefs, but he is the one who spoke the loudest.

The Gospel of John is the fourth and last biblical gospel and, by far the most anti-Semitic. While researching for anti-Semitic verses in John there were vastly more hits than in Matthew, Mark and Luke. John 5: 16-18 states:

For this reason the Jews persecuted Jesus, and sought to kill Him, because He had done these things on the Sabbath. But Jesus answered them, "My Father has been working until now, and I have been working." Therefore the Jews sought all the more to kill Him, because He not only broke the Sabbath, but also said that God was His Father, make Himself equal with God.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ John 5: 16-18 (New King James Version)

In the verses proceeding John 5: 16-18 Jesus heals a lame man and gives him the ability to walk but the problem with that was that he did it on the Sabbath. Exodus 20:10 stipulates that "...but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it you shall not work..."⁸⁹ Exodus is in the Old Testament which explains why the Jewish people believed that Jesus' actions were against God's laws. It did not matter that Jesus was healing ailments of His people who were suffering because they believed he was breaking one the holy laws that God handed down. This event in John's gospel is just one of several anti-Semitic verses, but, there are many others.⁹⁰ This particular verse is particularly telling because Jesus was doing what he had done for many others on several different days. The narrative concept is fitting for this example because some Christians have taken this passage and have interpreted it in a way that allows for further anti-Semitism. It is crucial to understand that there is not one correct Biblical interpretation, but the problem is that Christians all too often take one passage and interpret in a way that works best for them. The Bible is the sacred narrative for Christians which gives it great importance. Due to the fact that no one knows the Bible's true meaning the narrative can be interpreted and skewed by each reader. Narratives can be interpreted and understood to mean many different things, but the Bible is a deeply religious text that Christians desperately want to understand which makes it even more problematic. Christian anti-Semitism resulted from intentional interpretation by Christian leaders, such as St. Augustine of Hippo. Christians believed that the Biblical authors wrote the anti-

⁸⁹ Exodus 20:10 (New King James Version)

⁹⁰ See, e.g., John 8:44, Matthew 8:12, 1st Thessalonians 2:14-16, Titus 1:15-16, Matthew 23:31-35, Luke 13:1, Mark 3:6, Luke 23:1-25

Semitic texts because that was the way it actually happened even though the Bible has been interpreted in several different ways.

Traditionally Catholics are considered the most anti-Semitic Christians, but Protestants have proven to be anti-Semitic also. According to the introduction to Luther's book *The Jews and Their Lies*, "Luther's experience with the Jews was very disappointing." Luther says that he spent many years attempting to convert them, but was unsuccessful. He goes on to state that he essentially does not want to have anything else to do with the Jews because they are "...wicked, miserable people [who] do not ease trying to win over to themselves us, that is, the Christians..." Attempting to convert Jews is something that Christians have been trying to do for centuries and for some reason it seems that Luther believed he might be more successful at it than his predecessors. Further, and maybe more importantly, Luther's reformation made no attempts to change the anti-Semitic teachings that had been perpetrated by the Catholic Church. Meaning that Luther had no issue with those particular beliefs and the book makes it clear that he would continue in the Protestant Church what he had been taught in the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church was unquestionably anti-Semitic from their interpretation of the Bible to their daily teachings. As a result, Luther's anti-Semitic beliefs were a direct result of the Catholic culture. Culture as learned behavior fits for this example because not only was anti-Semitism taught throughout the Catholic Church, but it was a part of their daily lives. Due to that it is not surprising that Luther transferred the anti-Semitic beliefs from Catholicism

to Protestantism. Without the cultural practice that was prevalent in the Catholic Church it would not have shifted from one religious movement to another.⁹¹

Luther's 95 Theses pointed out all his grievances with the Catholic Church as an institution, but Luther believed in anti-Semitism because there was no evidence to dispute the church's claims. Luther's issues with the church were concerned with problems such as indulgences. The 95 Thesis prove that Luther had no issues with anti-Semitism early in his career because there is nothing in the document that suggests it. However, Luther wrote *The Jews and Their Lies* in 1543 which was much later in his life. As a result, his views had changed. But Luther's book on the Jews confirms that the great reformer was a practicing anti-Semite toward the end of his life. Luther strongly believed Jews were responsible for Jesus' death because that was what the Bible stated time and again throughout the New Testament. Anti-Semitism was such a part of the Catholic culture that there was no reason for Catholics or Luther to question those teachings while practices like indulgences were fairly new during Luther's career. Anti-Semitism was not just part of the Catholic culture, it was a Christian practice that would remain a common cultural practice until the 20th century. Anti-Semitism was fueled in the United States and internationally by literature such as *The Protocols*, which attacked Jews in several ways. Adding the *Protocols* to work from Luther only helped to exasperate the problem even further. The authors attacked Jews religiously which fueled the fire for Christian anti-Semitism.

⁹¹ Martin Luther, *The Jews and Their Lies*, 4, 8.

The *Protocols* continued to accuse the Jewish people of plotting against Christians and their faith. What made the *Protocols* so effective throughout the world was that the authors attacked multiple aspects of society in ways that made people fear Jews because they supposedly wanted to take over society. What made Protocol 14 so scary for Christians was its claim that Jews wanted to take over all religion. Protocol Number 14 states:

When we come into our kingdom it will be undesirable for us that there should exist any other religion than ours of the One God with whom our destiny is bound up by our position as the Chosen People and through whom our same destiny is united with the destinies of the world. We must therefore sweep away all other forms of belief.⁹²

In other words, the authors are stating that Jews worldwide believe that they should not tolerate people of any other religion. This is just one of the ways the authors were arguing that the Jews believed that they are superior. Steven L. Jacobs, history professor at the University of Alabama, and Mark Weitzman, director of government affairs and the director of the Task Force Against Hate and Terrorism for the Simon Wiesenthal Center at the Houston Holocaust Museum, broke down and analyzed all twenty four Protocols and explained the argument and then went on to refute each Protocol. In refuting the 14th Protocol Jacobs states that the “Reference to the ‘Jewish God’ as somehow different from the One God worshipped and venerated by generations of Christian faithful is spiritually, theologically, and historically false.” This is because the “God of Israel is worshipped, venerated, adored, and revered by both Judaism and

⁹² *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, trans. Victor E. Marsden (1934), 189-190.

Christianity.” He further argues that there continues to be misunderstandings between Jews and Catholics, the principles, such as the Ten Commandments, of their faiths continue across “cultural, denominational, and historical lines” and the Jewish principles “are not incompatible with...the foundation of Christian faith” It is ridiculous to believe that the Jewish people would like to rid the world of all different religions, namely Christianity, because a great majority of their beliefs are one in the same and that is irrefutable. Alternation is a particularly important concept in this case because Christians already feared Jews due to political and economic situations, but religious anti-Semitism was different because Christians were angry with Jews for killing Jesus and the *Protocols* only intensified that the fear that already existed. Additionally, it provided more reasons for Christians to fear Jews. Protocol 14 gave Christians reason to believe that the Jewish people were out to get them. Religious fear of Jews required alternation for Christians and the Russians knew exactly what to write in order to accomplish alternation. Given that the *Protocols* were published at the beginning of the interwar period it is easy to understand that Christians, specifically American Christians, would have been fearful of any possible outside threat. Jews fit that description because the majority of those who lived in the United States had immigrated fairly recently and were still considered outsiders. The *Protocols* validated all the fears American Christians already had about Jews, but they were able to alternate the Christian perception because they already hated Jews for religious reasons. The Christian hatred for Jews made the alternation process easy because there would be nothing more terrifying for Christians than for Jews to

eliminate Christianity. Furthermore, religious anti-Semitism was exhibited in everyday life in the United States. There is no reason to believe that anti-Semitism was not something that Jews had become accustomed to in their daily lives.⁹³

Anti-Semitism also existed in American universities during the interwar period. While colleges and universities were willing to accept Jewish students they were not willing to accept their beliefs or make exceptions for the religious differences between the Jewish and Christian students. The University of Illinois exhibited religious anti-Semitic behavior in 1920 when a Jewish student “requested permission to use the school’s athletic fields which were closed on Sundays.” The Dean of Men’s response to the request was that “this is a Christian country established upon Christian traditions and this is an institution backed largely by Christian communities.” The athletic fields were closed on Sunday because Sunday is the Sabbath for Christians. The issue was that Jews observe the Sabbath on Saturday meaning that they would not have been able to use the field on Saturdays for religious reasons. However, that did not matter to the Dean of Men or university officials. To the university and its officials closing campus on Sundays was just a part of their culture. To Christians Sunday was the day to attend church and reflect and it did not matter that the Jewish culture was different than their Christian neighbors. Dinnerstein goes on to state that “the sharply nationalistic focus of the United States in the decade after World War I had no tolerance for deviants of any kind and Jews were simply not Christians.”

⁹³ Steven Leonard Jacobs and Mark Weitzman, *Dismantling the Big Lie: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Jersey City: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 2003), 84-86.

In other words, because Jews clearly were not Christian some Christians were not willing to accept them because they did not fit into their idea of what culture was supposed to be. Furthermore, Christians did not want the Jewish people to fit into their culture and Christians were not willing to evolve in a way that would allow Jews to fit into it. Christians truly believed the United States is a Christian nation and due to that belief they did not consider Jews worthy of being a part their culture or country. This belief was extremely common and the University of Illinois' actions were not distinct because anti-Semitism was culturally acceptable.⁹⁴

The University of Illinois was not the only school to exhibit anti-Semitic behavior during the interwar period. In 1917 Rutgers University's anti-Semitic practices became public knowledge when a synagogue committee addressed several concerns. One concern was that the dean "rebuffed repeated requests to address the routine defacing or removal of public notices belonging to a Jewish religious group, the Menorah Society."⁹⁵ Additionally, in April 1920 the university's anti-Semitism continued to be exhibited in a public manner when the student newspaper, *Targum*, published several anti-Semitic letters. According to Michael Greenberg; chair of the history department at College of Staten Island, City College of New York, and Seymour Zenchelsky; professor at Rutgers University, the letters concerned "a refusal by the interfraternity council to accept

⁹⁴ Leonard Dinnerstein, "Antisemitism in Crisis Times in the United States: The 1920s and 1930s," in *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis*, ed. Sander L. Gilman and Steven T. Katz (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 216.

⁹⁵ Michael Greenberg and Seymour Zenchelsky, "Private Bias and Public Responsibility: Anti-Semitism at Rutgers in the 1920s and 1930s," *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 301, accessed June 4, 2016, http://aumnicat.aum.edu:2060/stable/pdf/368195.pdf?_a=1464837734740.

Phi Epsilon Pi, which had a preponderance of Jewish members.”⁹⁶ The authors explain that another letter “acknowledged the injustice, but added that most students believed that ‘everything should be done to discourage Jews from coming to Rutgers.’”⁹⁷ Furthermore, the synagogue committee “proposed remedial measures to President Demarest” which “requested that he publicly denounce statements ‘ridiculing and insulting Jews,’ and that “Rutgers should proclaim that it encourages the presence of ‘students of other faiths, creeds, or color.”⁹⁸ The authors go on to say that President Demarest did meet with the committee, but “we find no sign that he accepted the committee’s remedies.”⁹⁹ Othering and excluding Jews occurred on the campus by the administration and President Demarest who intentionally ignored the anti-Semitic actions of its students. By choosing to look in the other direction when the anti-Semitic actions became clear the administration supported the unequal treatment that was exhibited on campus on several occasions. The Jewish students were attempting to assimilate and participate in the college experience, but the university made that exceedingly difficult. Furthermore, by all but ignoring the synagogue council’s concerns and recommendations Demarest proved that he did not take them seriously and their involvement in the matter was unwarranted. While anti-

⁹⁶ Michael Greenberg and Seymour Zenchelsky, “Private Bias and Public Responsibility: Anti-Semitism at Rutgers in the 1920s and 1930s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 301, accessed June 4, 2016, http://aumnicat.aum.edu:2060/stable/pdf/368195.pdf?_id=1464837734740.

⁹⁷ Michael Greenberg and Seymour Zenchelsky, “Private Bias and Public Responsibility: Anti-Semitism at Rutgers in the 1920s and 1930s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 301, accessed June 4, 2016, http://aumnicat.aum.edu:2060/stable/pdf/368195.pdf?_id=1464837734740.

⁹⁸ Michael Greenberg and Seymour Zenchelsky, “Private Bias and Public Responsibility: Anti-Semitism at Rutgers in the 1920s and 1930s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 302, accessed June 4, 2016, http://aumnicat.aum.edu:2060/stable/pdf/368195.pdf?_id=1464837734740.

⁹⁹ Michael Greenberg and Seymour Zenchelsky, “Private Bias and Public Responsibility: Anti-Semitism at Rutgers in the 1920s and 1930s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 302, accessed June 4, 2016, http://aumnicat.aum.edu:2060/stable/pdf/368195.pdf?_id=1464837734740.

Semitism was widespread both in the university and society at large, it is crucial to understand who helped to disseminate anti-Semitic beliefs.¹⁰⁰

As we know, the Catholic Church not only taught anti-Semitism, but they were also vocal anti-Semites in the early 20th century. Father Coughlin became famous for his anti-Semitic rants and the Vatican allowed it to continue throughout the interwar period. The broadcast from December 18, 1938, is one of the many anti-Semitic speeches in his collection. Coughlin stated that

The doctrine of Aryanism, preached by the National Socialists Party, has been subjected to the severest criticism because directly and indirectly it teaches that men of Aryan blood are superior to all Aryans. But the doctrine of the Messianic people, which conceived the idea that, as a people, the Jews are the chosen of God, the deliverers of the human race, and therefore, the superiors of all mankind. That doctrine is equally obnoxious.¹⁰¹

Coughlin's claim was particularly harsh because he compared a Nazi doctrine to the Jewish doctrine which states that they are the Chosen People. While there are many Christians and Jews who believe that Jews are the Chosen People Coughlin's claims were still harsh. 2 Samuel 7: 23 is just one of the passages that declare Jews to be God's Chosen People.¹⁰² It states:

And who is like Your people, like Israel, the one nation on the earth whom God went to redeem for Himself as a people, to make for Himself a name—and to do for Yourself great and awesome deeds for

¹⁰⁰ Michael Greenberg and Seymour Zenchelsky, "Private Bias and Public Responsibility: Anti-Semitism at Rutgers in the 1920s and 1930s," *History of Education Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1993): 301-302, accessed June 4, 2016, http://aumnicat.aum.edu:2060/stable/pdf/368195.pdf?_a=1464837734740.

¹⁰¹ Father Charles Coughlin, "The Christian and the Jewish Concepts of the Messiahs" 1938, (Detroit: WJR Radio, Radio), https://archive.org/details/Father_Coughlin.

¹⁰²See e.g. Exodus 19:5, Deuteronomy 14:2, Psalms 105: 8-15, 1 Chronicles 17: 20-21, 1 Kings 10: 9

Your land before Your people whom You deemed for
Yourself from Egypt, the nations, and their gods?¹⁰³

Despite Coughlin's outlandish anti-Semitic claims many Christians bought in and it did not matter that he lacked evidence to back his statements and accusations. Coughlin was attempting to alter reality in order to further his agenda and he was able to accomplish that goal because of his status in the Catholic Church. Christian reality included anti-Semitism and it had for centuries, but Coughlin was attempting to alter it and convince his followers that Jews were more sinister than they already believed. Christians already feared and hated Jews and Coughlin's broadcasts fueled the fire throughout the interwar period. Fear of Jews existed in several areas throughout the United States and religious anti-Semitism was the reality for Christians and Jews. As a result, Coughlin's anti-Semitic messages helped to further the distortion of reality that Christians already had concerning the Jewish people. Coughlin's claims in this broadcast were particularly heinous, but it was obviously a false accusation. Christians were so willing to allow their reality to be altered because they hated Jews before Coughlin gained prominence. Reality for Christians was being altered during the interwar period in regards to Jews because they feared outsiders and that is what they considered Jews to be. By adding religious concerns to the fears that already existed Coughlin was able to further alter the Christian reality.

Media

¹⁰³ 2 Samuel 7:23 (New King James Version).

During the interwar period the print media and radio broadcasters were also guilty of anti-Semitic rhetoric. The media had such an impact on Americans during the interwar period because it was the first time in American history that news and entertainment were easily accessible. However, in cases like Father Coughlin's, information received through the radio was not always reliable. However, the *Protocols* also played a part in the media's distrust of Jews like they had in many other anti-Semitic aspects. The *Protocols'* authors were attempting to instill fear of Jews throughout society and stating that the Jews would not only influence the media, but that they would also take it over would have been deeply disturbing to Christians. Although anti-Semitism was part of the news it also found its way into American fiction. In F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* there is description of a Jew that is highly unfavorable and describes the way many Americans viewed their Jewish neighbors. He wrote that "A small, flat-nosed Jew" with a "large head" and "two fine growths of hair which luxuriated in either nostril."¹⁰⁴ Fitzgerald's description would have been considered relevant data to his readers because Jews were considered outsiders during the interwar period. Smith explains "It is our assumptions and beliefs that tell us what is relevant data and not, under what conditions, and why."¹⁰⁵ Christians would have considered the *Protocols* relevant data because they believed that Jews were dangerous. Additionally, Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* was full of anti-Semitic articles written by Ford himself. Ford was able to use the newspaper to further his anti-Semitic agenda during the interwar

¹⁰⁴ F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1925), 69.

¹⁰⁵ Christian Smith, *Moral, Believing Animals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 52.

period and he was very successful at it for many years. In other words, Ford was attempting to alter the anti-Semitic reality for his readers which would not have been a difficult task. The radio was also exceptionally influential during the interwar period because it allowed the American public the easy access to the news and media in general that they had never had before. Father Coughlin took full advantage of the new technology and used it as means to spread his anti-Semitic messages. In Father Coughlin's broadcast he utilized a religious liturgy which further convinced Christians in their anti-Semitism. In this example Coughlin uses scripture to further his anti-Semitic argument which would have made his accusations easier to believe. Coughlin's sermons and broadcasts were just one way anti-Semitism was taught in the United States. Anti-Semitic literature was also fairly common during this time.

One significant aspect about the *Protocols* was the authors' ability to make Jews the enemy in every societal aspect. Protocol 12 was not an exception to the rule. The twelfth Protocol states that

Literature and journalism are two of the most important educative forces, and therefore our government will become proprietor of the majority of the journals. The will neutralize the injurious influence of the privately owned press and will put us in possession of the tremendous influence upon the public mind.¹⁰⁶

This was particularly important to Christians because newspapers were the principle news source prior to the radio. If the Jewish people were able to gain control of the newspapers they would have the power to distort or lie to the public

¹⁰⁶ *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, trans. Victor E. Marsden (1934), 184.

about what was actually occurring in their communities and nation. The result would have been that Christians would not have had any faith in that news they were receiving was actually true or reliable. Anti-Semitism was part of Christian society during the interwar period and the *Protocols'* authors were able to exploit the fear that Christians already had. They were able to bring new fears to those who were already fearful and the fictional threat to the media would have added yet another reason to fear. The *Protocols* were an example of culture as creativity because they exploited Jewish misconceptions and added to those falsehoods. By stating that the Jews wrote the *Protocols* they were creating a reality for Christians that they were more than willing to believe. It did not matter to the readers or the authors that it was a total work of fiction because they wanted to believe the worst about Jews. The Russian authors were creating more reasons to hate the Jews because no one wanted the Jews to take over every aspect of society. It did not matter to Christian readers that the *Protocols* were pure fiction because anti-Semitism and the belief that Jews were outsiders was already a wide spread belief. Creating more reasons for anti-Semitism was not a difficult task.

Anti-Semitism was also widely used in popular American literature. Due to the fact that anti-Semitism was so prevalent during the interwar period it would not have been considered odd for authors to describe Jews in an unflattering manner. F. Scott Fitzgerald, one of the most renowned authors of the time, displayed his anti-Semitic beliefs in *The Great Gatsby*. Fitzgerald describes Mr. Wolfsheim, a Jewish gambler, as "A small, flat-nosed Jew" with a "large head"

and “two fine growths of hair which luxuriated in either nostril.”¹⁰⁷ Most Americans would have considered this description of Mr. Wolfsheim as relevant data because that was the way Jews were viewed at the time. As a result, Americans probably would not have given much thought to Fitzgerald’s characterization of the Jewish character. Not only did Fitzgerald’s description of Mr. Wolfsheim meet the American expectation, but the career he gave the character was equally as bad as the physical aspects. Mr. Wolfsheim was a gambler which would have been considered an abhorrent career and Fitzgerald made it clear that he agreed with that. Fitzgerald wrote that “Mr. Wolfsheim’s nose flashed at me indignantly. He turned around in the door and says: ‘Don’t let the waiter take away my coffee!’ Then he went out on the sidewalk, and they shot him three times in his full belly and drove away.”¹⁰⁸ Not only were Jews considered easily recognizable in American society, but some were believed to be immoral and deserving of punishment. Fitzgerald’s description was relevant at the time because it was how most people viewed Jews. There was nothing surprising about the characterization because it was commonplace throughout Christian society.

The *Dearborn Independent* was the newspaper out of Dearborn, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit, which was purchased by Henry Ford in 1919. Ford used the newspaper as an anti-Semitic pulpit. Throughout the 1920s Ford disseminated several anti-Semitic letters and articles accusing Jews of heinous conspiracies which later become known as *The International Jew*. The articles have been

¹⁰⁷ F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1925), 69.

¹⁰⁸ F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1925), 70.

compared to the *Protocols* due to the nature of his accusations. The article “The Jews and the ‘Religious Persecution’ Cry” begins by stating that

No intelligent Jew in the United States ever was asinine enough to declare that the Jewish Question is a religious question and that THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT’s investigation of that question constituted “religious persecution.” No Jew known beyond the next street has ever ventured such a silly charge. But it is apparently all that remains for the “Gentile fronts” to shout about. From what can be learned from them they are for the most part men of no religion themselves and they use the term “religious persecution” as a red flag which they think will stir people into action. It is rather curious how the cry of “religious persecution” is used to evoke the spirit of persecution against alleged persecutors.

In other words, Jewish persecution did not have anything to do with religion which is completely false. While anti-Semitism was multifaceted, it was a Christian issue at its core. Ford was an intelligent businessman who knew that his accusations would incite fear and anger in his readers. He went on to say that

the fact is that while there is no ‘religious persecution’ of the Jews, there is very much real religious persecution by the Jews. That is one of the outstanding characteristics of organized Jewish life in the United States, its active, unceasing, powerful and virulent attacks upon any and all forms of Christianity.

Ford, like Father Coughlin, offered no evidence to support his claims, but there is ample documentation to confirm Christian anti-Semitism. These accusations were an attempt at alternation. Henry Ford was a trusted American leader and given the anti-Semitic climate that already existed throughout the country it was not a stretch for people to believe his claims. The reason Ford was able to successfully claim that anti-Semitism was not religiously based was because the

alternation was already in process due to World War I. While religion has always been the key factor in anti-Semitism there is no doubt that Christians became concerned that Jews were going to take over other aspects of society. Ford's *International Jew* was able to further the alternation process for Christians. There is no doubt that Henry Ford was an anti-Semite, but without the *Dearborn Independent* his anti-Semitic beliefs would not have reached the large audience that it did. The radio, however, allowed for anti-Semitic rhetoric to reach even more people because more people had access to a wider variety of news and entertainment.¹⁰⁹

The invention and subsequent popularity of the radio allowed Coughlin to reach a wide range of people in many areas throughout the country. The radio opened up a new world for the people because it provided entertainment, news, and religious programs that were not previously available before, particularly to those people who lived in rural areas throughout the country. Father Coughlin took full advantage of the radio and its mass popularity to preach anti-Semitic messages to a wide audience of Christians. On November 13, 1938, toward the end of his popularity, he delivered "Our Christian Hope" which was one of his most blatant anti-Semitic broadcast during his career. He asked

Do they remember the words spoken by Christ of old to the Pharisees? These leaders of the Jewish people, who had repudiated the supernatural social order of God, were endeavoring to obstruct the Messiahs because He made converts amongst the Jews. They boasted that they were descendants from

¹⁰⁹ Henry Ford, "The Jews and the 'Religious Persecution' Cry," *The Dearborn Independent*, http://www.jrbooksonline.com/Intl_Jew_full_version/ij43.htm.

Abraham. Despite their royal lineage, the Master branded them with the statement: (John viii; 44) “You are of your father, the devil, and the desires of your father will do” – as if to say, “You are not of Abraham. You are not of God. You are the group whose descendants will continue to work against God.”¹¹⁰

This message was unique for Coughlin because he used scripture to aid in his explanation which was something he rarely did. Furthermore, he quoted from John which has already been established as one of the most anti-Semitic Biblical books. Coughlin used this passage as a way to reinforce the religious liturgies that Christians already had. While there is much book to John’s Gospel than anti-Semitism the anti-Semitic aspects are what Coughlin concentrated on. Christians were taught to read and believe the Bible and their religious leaders. As a result, the Christian listeners would not have been troubled by Coughlin’s use of this passage. The use of scripture was unquestionably part of the religious liturgy that Christians held so close. Coughlin was attempting to tap into the religious liturgy and the anti-Semitic beliefs that already existed for many Christians. Father Coughlin was simply using the tools he had to accomplish his goal which was to further anti-Semitic fears. By using religious liturgy, which Christians were already familiar with, Coughlin trusted that his Christian listeners would further buy into the anti-Semitic rhetoric that he had been preaching and acting out for over a decade.

Anti-Semitism was one of the most notorious and powerful forms of hatred and fear in American history. While it is crucial to understand that anti-Semitism

¹¹⁰ Father Charles Coughlin, “Our Christian Hope,” in *Anti-Semitism in America: 1878-1939*, ed. Gerald N. Grob (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 24.

was originally religiously based, by the 1920s and 1930s it ran much deeper and encompassed more than religion. After World War I Americans became extremely xenophobic and fearful of the unknown which resulted from the horrors that they had come to know. As immigrants continued to enter the country, many of them Jewish, fear of the unknown continued to grow. This was particularly important when it came to Jewish immigrants because Jews would have been targets regardless of their religion or intent. Outsiders were feared and distrusted prior to the Great War, but the events of the war and the fear it caused intensified the xenophobia and anti-Semitism. Americans also worried about Jews in the political arena because some believed that President Roosevelt allowed them to take over the New Deal and, to some extent, create legislation that Christians were not happy with. While Roosevelt did have Jews in his cabinet there is no evidence to support claims that the Jewish members held more power than anyone else in the government, but the reason there was so much fear was because Jews were considered outsiders which was problematic. Economically Jews held some power that recent Christian immigrants in particular had not been able to achieve. Second generation immigrant Jews found success in the alcohol trade and other business ventures which was problematic for Christians who had arrived during the same time period. Christians blamed Jews for the Great Depression and came to distrust them further because they did not suffer the same economically as many Christians did. While Jews were employed in very different areas economically than Christians were it did not seem to matter to the angry people who were devastated by the financial depression. Anti-

Semitism began as a religious issue. Christians were taught to believe that Jews were responsible for Christ's death and they had the Bible to support their claims. Father Coughlin used his position in the Catholic Church to further his anti-Semitic beliefs. While Coughlin was the most vocal he was not the only one. There were organizations throughout the country that blatantly discriminated against Jews due to their religion. While some of the most powerful anti-Semites in the country claimed religion did not have anything to do with their hatred it is hard to imagine that it could have originated in any other way. The media also played a role in sustaining anti-Semitism. Men like Henry Ford and Father Coughlin were able to use newspapers and the radio in order disseminate their anti-Semitic beliefs. The media proved to be a powerful tool for anti-Semites. Anti-Semitism had existed in the United States for decades, but Jews caught the majority of the blame for a number of problems that plagued the country during the interwar period. Americans were looking for someone to blame for the fear, uncertainty, and economic despair that came about after World War I and Jews were an easy target for them. While Jews faced anti-Semitism at high level during the interwar period religious hate and discrimination were not limited to Jewish immigrants. African Americans were targeted later in the 1950s and 1960s, but Muslims will be the next religious group discussed because the discrimination against this group has reached a new level in recent years.

Islamophobia in the Present Day

Since the September 11, 2001 terror attacks Islamophobia has greatly increased. Islamophobia was an issue prior to the attacks, but 9/11 made many Americans view Muslims as threats to the United States which has led to far more discriminatory incidents than before. While there is no doubt that Muslim extremists were responsible for the attacks and the thousands who were murdered that day, many Americans' reactions reflected increased xenophobia and discrimination. Both newly arrived immigrants and Muslim Americans were targeted in harsher and crueler ways than before. The fear is that all Muslims are

extremists. Additionally, 9/11 is still relevant because attacks are continually occurring in the Europe, the Middle East and, to some extent, in the United States. The result is that peaceful Muslims in the country are targeted regularly. Muslims are just the next religious group in the United States to face discrimination which is an unfortunate pattern in American history. In recent years Muslims have faced many similar issues that Catholics and Jews faced earlier in American history. The difference between the three groups is the reason behind Islamophobia. September 11, 2001 immediately changed the way American Christians approached Muslims. There was fear that Irish Catholics would initiate violence and that Jews would corrupt the American government and economy earlier in American history, but Americans feared that Muslims would not only bring war to the United States but that they would also destroy America through jihad and terror. As a result, Christians in particular believe that they have to find ways to protect themselves and the country from all Muslims. It is also important to note that the time in which Islamophobia has taken hold the way people receive and process information has drastically changed compared to the 19th Century and the interwar period. Not only is information easier to access, but American society has evolved in ways that Catholics and Jews did not have to contend with.

Outsider Status

September 11, 2001 immediately changed the climate for Muslims in the United States. It is true that Muslims throughout the country had been alienated for many years leading up to the terrorist attacks, but the attacks instilled fear of

Muslims in Americans because they came to believe that all Muslims were possible terrorists. While there is no denying that there have been several terror attacks since 9/11 the problem that Muslims and Americans are facing is that many believe the actions of a few represent the whole population. Politicians, the media, and many other Americans have made it their mission to alienate Muslims or perceived Muslims because they do not understand them or the reasons behind their immigration and actions. Muslims have become outsiders in the United States because many Americans choose to believe that they have terrible intentions and they have very little desire to understand the customs and beliefs of their Muslim neighbors. According to a survey from the Pew Research Center, only 16% of Americans 67 and above view Muslims favorably, while those age 44-66 are at 41% favorability and those 33 and below are also 41%.¹¹¹ Muslims had the lowest rating among all religious groups which is not surprising given the examples that will be presented. Additionally, it is doubtful that in the two years since the survey was published that the numbers have improved. The poll proves that a significant percent of the population believes that Muslims are problematic in the United States. Donald Trump has taken advantage of the discontent that exists and many of his followers have views similar to those who were surveyed.

Muslim Americans faced immediate consequences after 9/11 which included alienation. On September 13, 2001 Pat Robertson conducted an interview with Jerry Falwell where the men explicitly furthered the separation between Christian and Muslim Americans who were already at odds with one

¹¹¹ "How Americans Feel About Religious Groups," (Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C., 2014) 1, <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/07/16/how-americans-feel-about-religious-groups/>.

another. Both Robertson and Falwell expressed several inflammatory comments throughout the interview, but the one that was the most disturbing came from Falwell when he stated that

Hitler's goal was to destroy the Jews among other things, and conquer the world. And, these Islamic fundamentalists, these radical terrorists, the Middle Eastern monsters are committed to destroying the Jewish nation, driving her into the Mediterranean, conquering the world. And, we are the great Satan.¹¹²

Despite the fact that the vast majority of Muslims in the United States had nothing to do with the terrorist attacks statements like these insinuate that all Muslims hate Christians and the United States. While that has been proven time and again not to be the case groups such as Fox News and the *700 Club* continue to publish statements that make extremely disturbing arguments. By comparing Muslims to Hitler and stating that millions of Muslims want to rid the world of Christians and Jews Falwell was attempting to instill fear in Christians and painting Muslims as evil doers. Falwell and Robertson knew that most Americans are familiar with the Holocaust and the millions of Jews that were murdered due to Hitler's actions. As a result, both men understood that this statement would incite fear and hatred among Christians because many would and have come to believe that Muslims want nothing more than to initiate jihad in the United States. The problem with that claim is that most Americans do not understand what jihad actually means which begets even more fear. According to The Islamic Supreme Council of America jihad "can refer to internal as well as

¹¹² Bruce Lincoln, "Transcript of Pat Robertson's Interview with Jerry Falwell Broadcast on the *700 Club*, September 13, 2001," in *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11*, ed. 2, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 109.

external efforts to be a good Muslims or believer, as well as working to inform people about the faith of Islam.”¹¹³ However, the way many American Christians understand the term is that Islam is seeking to force non-Muslims to convert which is a misconception. That is not to say that similar claims have not been made by others, but what makes Falwell’s claim so important is that he was a highly recognized and a renowned religious leader in the evangelical Christian community. Falwell and Robertson were able to confirm for many Christians that they should fear Muslims as a result of 9/11 and the fact that the interview was conducted two days after the attacks is particularly important. Robertson and Falwell used 9/11 to further their Islamophobic beliefs and to further alienate Muslims. In other words, there was a clear Muslim prejudice for Robertson and Falwell before 9/11 and they used the attacks to justify their beliefs. Without the event it is very unlikely that the *700 Club* would have found an audience that was so willing to hear and accept their message, but the attacks initiated a Muslim alienation that is still occurring in 2016. Furthermore, we will see later that the *700 Club* is still broadcasting Islamophobic stories because they still resonate with evangelical Christians.

2008 was a particularly difficult year politically for the Muslim community. President Barack Obama made history by being the first African American to run for president and shattered barriers when he was elected. However, his candidacy was not without controversy. The accusation that has caused the most

¹¹³ Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani and Shaykh Seraj Hendricks, “Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept of Islam- What Jihad Is, and Is Not,” The Islamic Council of America, <http://islamicsupremecouncil.org/understanding-islam/legal-rulings/5-jihad-a-misunderstood-concept-from-islam.html?start=9>.

disruption came from Andy Martin, “a Chicago based internet journalist and author of the book *Obama: The Man Behind the Mask*.”¹¹⁴ According to Jim Rutenberg, media columnist and former political correspondent for *The New York Times*, “The most persistent falsehood about Senator Barack Obama’s background first hit in 2004 just two weeks after the Democratic convention speech that helped set him on the path to his presidential candidacy” which resulted from Martin’s press release about Obama that was picked up by FreeRepublic.com.¹¹⁵ During the 2008 campaign Martin’s accusation that Obama was a Muslim took hold of the United States and caused an uproar within the Republican Party. Martin would go on to discuss his thoughts about Obama on Fox News. Obama moved to Chicago from New York to work as a community organizer which was controversial for Martin. According to Martin “a community organizer in Barack Obama’s case was somebody that was in training for radical overthrow of the government.”¹¹⁶ In other words, Obama was preparing to take over the American government as a part of a Muslim plot. Martin’s allegations were obviously Islamophobic and he presented no evidence to support his claims. It is clear almost eight years later that President Obama is not a Muslims and he is not plotting against America with other Muslims. Martin’s claim was meant to be used as a scare tactic for Americans and he was successful. After September 11, 2001 Americans viewed Muslims as fearsome and distrustful. By 2008 Islamophobia had intensified throughout the country and Martin’s

¹¹⁴ Andy Martin, interview by Sean Hannity, *Sean Hannity America*, Fox News, October 2008.

¹¹⁵ Jim Rutenberg, “The Man Behind the Whispers About Obama,” *The New York Times* (Manhattan, NY), October 12, 2008.

¹¹⁶ Andy Martin, interview by Sean Hannity, *Sean Hannity America*, Fox News, October 2008.

allegations were not just an attack on Obama, but on Muslims in general because he understood that many Christian, Republican Americans would buy into his claims which would lead to his ultimate defeat in the presidential race. While Martin's claims were unsubstantiated it did not matter to many Americans because Islamophobia was already part of American society. Martin had two goals in mind when he commented after Obama's 2004 speech and went on Fox News. One was to create controversy around Obama's candidacy. He was extremely successful in that endeavor because many Americans took his accusation and believed it wholeheartedly. Secondly, Martin wanted to alienate Muslims even further which worked to a great extent. Many Americans had already succeeded in othering Muslims after 9/11, but Martin brought the Muslim issue back to the forefront in the public's mind and created even more fear by claiming that not only was Obama a Muslim, but that he wanted to control the government in order to further a jihadist plan that did not exist. Othering for Muslims was taken even further by Martin's accusations because it was made clear that a Muslim was not welcome in the White House and it solidified to Muslims that they were still unwelcome in the United States. While Martin's claim began the major Obama controversy, his claim was not the only one. Rumors that Obama is a Muslim and that he was radicalized at a Madrasa have all been debunked, but there are still many conservative evangelical Christians who believe them.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ See, e.g., <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2007/dec/20/chain-email/obama-attended-an-indonesian-public-school/>.

While Martin attempted to alienate Muslims in politics they have also faced discrimination by major corporations such as Disney. Since 9/11 American Muslims have faced discrimination in the job market and Disney's case gained national attention due to its mass popularity. The case that appears to have drawn the most attention occurred at Disneyland when Imane Boudlal was suspended for wearing a hijab, the traditional headscarf for Muslim women. According to the Huffington Post, Imane "realized she could wear her hijab to work after studying for her US citizenship exam."¹¹⁸ It appears that Boudlal never requested permission to wear the hijab while working as a hostess because she did not know it was an option. While the media only concentrated on the hijab issue the lawsuit makes it clear that there were issues with coworkers and Disney management prior to 2012. The lawsuit states that Boudlal began working at a Disney restaurant as a hostess in April 2008 and she experienced ethnic and religious discrimination from the very beginning. The lawsuit claims that she was referred to as a "terrorists, 'camel,' and 'Kunta Kinte."¹¹⁹ Her coworkers went further by stating that "Arabs are terrorists, that she speaks the terrorist language and that she was trained to make bombs."¹²⁰ Additionally, Boudlal repeatedly reported the harassment to her managers, who admitted there was a problem, but who never took any action and then one manager instructed her to "stop

¹¹⁸ Kathleen Miles, "Imane Boudlal to Sue Disney Over Wearing Muslim Head Scarf at Work," *The Huffington Post*, (New York City, NY), August 13, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/08/13/imane-boudlal-sue-disney-muslim-head-scarf-hijab_n_1772967.html.

¹¹⁹ Mark D. Rosenbaum and Anne Richardson, "Boudlal v. Disney," (ACLU, 2012), 3, https://www.scribd.com/document/102757854/Boudlal-v-Disney#fullscreen&from_embed.

¹²⁰ Mark D. Rosenbaum and Anne Richardson, "Boudlal v. Disney," (ACLU, 2012), 3, https://www.scribd.com/document/102757854/Boudlal-v-Disney#fullscreen&from_embed.

complaining.”¹²¹ The major issue was that the managers understood the harassment Boudlal was enduring was wrong, but chose to do nothing. Despite continued reported provocation from April 2008 to August 2012 it appears that Boudlal continued to work diligently. The lawsuit goes on to allege that “Ms. Boudlal determined that she would permanently wear a hijab so as to act faithfully in accord with her religious beliefs.”¹²² The Quran states

And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands.¹²³

In other words, it is important for Muslim women to remain covered because that is what they believe God commanded them to do. Boudlal asked her supervisors if she could begin wearing a hijab on August 11, 2010 which was the first day of Ramadan. After waiting two months her request was denied “stating that wearing the hijab in her current position violated Disney’s ‘look’ policy” and that it would “negatively affect patrons’ experiences.”¹²⁴ The lawsuit goes on to state that she made repeated attempts to compromise with Disney by “offering to wear a hijab matching the colors of her uniform and even bearing a Disney logo,” but they

¹²¹ Mark D. Rosenbaum and Anne Richardson, “Boudlal v. Disney,” (ACLU, 2012), 3, https://www.scribd.com/document/102757854/Boudlal-v-Disney#fullscreen&from_embed.

¹²² Mark D. Rosenbaum and Anne Richardson, “Boudlal v. Disney,” (ACLU, 2012), 3, https://www.scribd.com/document/102757854/Boudlal-v-Disney#fullscreen&from_embed.

¹²³ Sura An-Nur 24:31, (The Qu’ran), translated by Abudullah Yusuf Ali, (Elmhurst: Tahrike Tarsile Qu’ran, Inc., 2012), 904-905.

¹²⁴ Mark D. Rosenbaum and Anne Richardson, “Boudlal v. Disney,” (ACLU, 2012), 4, https://www.scribd.com/document/102757854/Boudlal-v-Disney#fullscreen&from_embed.

were all denied.”¹²⁵ The Huffington Post reported that when Boudlal did where her hijab “she was told to take it off or work ‘backstage’ where customers couldn’t see her.”¹²⁶ Additionally, she was “sent home at least seven times without pay for wearing her hijab to work.”¹²⁷ Disney’s actions in this case make it clear to Muslims that they will not be treated fairly due to their religious and cultural status. The discrimination against Boudlal and her faith is an example of Abram’s two sidedness of society because Islamophobia has become an institution in the United States that shows no signs of changing. Islamophobia alienates Muslims in the work force and many other aspects of American society. Abram’s goes on to argue that in order for an institution to change actions have to be taken. In other words, companies, such as Disney, have to stop discriminating against Muslims in order for the Islamophobia to change. While Boudlal’s case is the one that gained the most media attention The Business and Human Rights Resource Centre (BHRRC), an organization that tracks human rights policies in over 6000 companies and 180 countries, lists several other cases. The company lists eight cases from 2010 alone.¹²⁸ Additionally, the BHRRC list several lawsuits from 2016.¹²⁹ By listing these incidents the organization is attempting to call attention

¹²⁵ Mark D. Rosenbaum and Anne Richardson, “Boudlal v. Disney,” (ACLU, 2012), 4,

https://www.scribd.com/document/102757854/Boudlal-v-Disney#fullscreen&from_embed.

¹²⁶ Kathleen Miles, “Imane Boudlal to Sue Disney Over Wearing Muslim Head Scarf at Work,” *The Huffington Post*, (New York City, NY), August 13, 2012,

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/08/13/imane-boudlal-sue-disney-muslim-head-scarf-hijab_n_1772967.html.

¹²⁷ Kathleen Miles, “Imane Boudlal to Sue Disney Over Wearing Muslim Head Scarf at Work,” *The Huffington Post*, (New York City, NY), August 13, 2012,

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/08/13/imane-boudlal-sue-disney-muslim-head-scarf-hijab_n_1772967.html.

¹²⁸ See, e.g., <https://business-humanrights.org/en/documents/recent-allegations-of-workplace-discrimination-against-muslims-in-usa>.

¹²⁹ <https://www.business-humanrights.org/regions-countries/americas/usa>.

to the nationwide problem of Islamophobia. Until companies learn to respect the Islamic faith as much as they do other religions these types of incidents will continue to occur.

On January 13, 2015 Duke University released a statement that “Members of the Duke Muslim Students Association will chant a weekly call-to-prayer from the Duke Chapel bell tower beginning Friday, Jan. 16.”¹³⁰ The announcement went on to explain that “The chant, called the “adhan,” announces the start of the group’s jummah prayer service, which takes place in the chapel basement each Friday at 1 p.m. The service is open to the public.”¹³¹ While Duke is a private university which was founded by Quakers and Methodists NPR reported that “More than 700 of the university [sic] 15,000 undergraduate and graduate students identify as Muslim.”¹³² In other words, the university was attempting to be more inclusive due to the many religions that attend the school. When the university announced the change Franklin Graham, well known Christian evangelist and missionary, reacted immediately. Graham appeared on CBS News on January 15 where he stated

For a chapel, built by the most part by Methodist money, from the Methodist church, to be a house of worship at Duke University for the students of that university so that they could worship the god of the Bible for that chapel now to allow Muslims prayers... I

¹³⁰ *Duke Today* Staff, “Muslim Students at Duke to Begin Weekly Call-to-Prayer,” *Duke Today*, January 13, 2015, <https://today.duke.edu/2015/01/adhanannouncement>.

¹³¹ *Duke Today* Staff, “Muslim Students at Duke to Begin Weekly Call-to-Prayer,” *Duke Today*, January 13, 2015, <https://today.duke.edu/2015/01/adhanannouncement>.

¹³² Krishnadev Calamur, “After Saying Yes, Duke Nixes Muslim Call to Prayer from Chapel Bell Tower,” *The Two Way: Breaking News from NPR*, January 15, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/01/15/377535894/duke-reverses-course-on-muslim-call-to-prayer-from-chapel-bell-tower>.

think I have a problem with that and I think many other people have a problem with it.¹³³

He would go on to say that “If they want to worship they can certainly worship. No one is saying that they can’t worship how they want to worship their god.”¹³⁴ Graham is saying that because Duke University is a Christian school that Muslims should not be allowed to worship in their religious areas. He does not mention in the interview or in any other media outlet that Duke has been hosting Islamic services in the chapel for some time. The thing that was going to be different from any other Friday on campus was that the Muslim students were going allowed to perform a traditional call to prayer. Duke is attempting to further facilitate a working and peaceful relationship between the different religious groups that practice on the campus. NPR points out that “though the chapel is identified by the school as a Christian church, it previously has hosted Hindu services and Buddhist meditations.”¹³⁵ This makes it clear that Graham either does not have an issue with those religious groups practicing in the chapel, or is ignorant to them, but it is most likely that his real issue is with Muslims only. Graham continued with “They don’t open up their mosques for us to have Christian services. I can’t go Saudi Arabia or any other Christian and use a mosque for a Christian service. And nowhere in the Middle East will they open up

¹³³ Franklin Graham, “Franklin Graham Blasts Duke University for Muslim Call to Prayer,” *CBS News*, January 15, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/franklin-graham-blasts-duke-university-for-muslim-call-to-prayer/>.

¹³⁴ Franklin Graham, “Franklin Graham Blasts Duke University for Muslim Call to Prayer,” *CBS News*, January 15, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/franklin-graham-blasts-duke-university-for-muslim-call-to-prayer/>.

¹³⁵ Krishnadev Calamur, “After Saying Yes, Duke Nixes Muslim Call to Prayer from Chapel Bell Tower,” *The Two Way: Breaking News from NPR*, January 15, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/01/15/377535894/duke-reverses-course-on-muslim-call-to-prayer-from-chapel-bell-tower>.

a mosque for Christians to worship in.”¹³⁶ Graham’s argument about the Middle East is not useful for the Duke case because the situation in the Middle East is vastly different than the one in the United States. There are plenty of instances throughout the United States where Christians and other faiths are willing and able to come together and celebrate different holidays and religious events without incident. Due to Graham’s vehement objection and several other complaints from Christian groups Duke reversed their decision. Duke’s intention was all too clear, but it is also clear that Graham was looking to alienate Muslims at the university because he believes they are a threat to Christianity. Graham has a very specific ideology and he intends to ensure that evangelical Christian ideology and Muslim ideology remain polar opposites. Graham’s reaction to Duke’s announcement explains his evangelical Christian ideology which is the most important thing to him and many others. By insisting that that Muslims and Christians worship separately Graham is alienating Muslims even further despite the fact that Duke made an effort to help Muslims successfully assimilate into American society.

It has become clear throughout the 2016 presidential race that Donald Trump has an anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant agenda which is meant to alienate Muslims in the United States. At his Columbus, Ohio rally on November 23, 2015 Trump said “During a speech recently, I said that I saw in parts of New Jersey, Jersey City... I saw people getting together and in fairly large numbers

¹³⁶ Franklin Graham, “Franklin Graham Blasts Duke University for Muslim Call to Prayer,” *CBS News*, January 15, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/franklin-graham-blasts-duke-university-for-muslim-call-to-prayer/>.

celebrating as the World Trade Center came tumbling down.”¹³⁷ The problem with his claims is that he has not been able to offer any substantial proof. He went on to quote a Washington Post article published on September 18, 2001 which stated that

In Jersey City, within hours of two jetliners' plowing into the World Trade Center, law enforcement authorities detained and questioned a number of people who were allegedly seen celebrating the attacks and holding tailgate-style parties on rooftops while they watched the devastation on the other side of the river.¹³⁸

While the article was very disturbing to those who read it what Trump left out was that the newspaper later revised their story. Glenn Kessler, a fact checker for *The Washington Post*, would later quote both reporters from the original article. Serge F. Kovalski stated “I certainly do not remember anyone saying that thousands or even hundreds of people were celebrating.”¹³⁹ Kunkle would continue to say that “I specifically visited the Jersey City building and neighborhood where the celebrations were purported to have happened. But I could never verify that report.”¹⁴⁰ After Kessler’s article and several others from ABC and CNN Trump held with his previous statement despite the fact that there is no evidence to

¹³⁷ Donald Trump, “Columbus, Ohio Rally,” November 23, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reBkHeQdiy4>.

¹³⁸ Serge F. Kovalski and Frederick Kunkle, “Northern New Jersey Draws Probers’ Eyes,” *The Washington Post*, (Washington, D.C.), September 18, 2001.

¹³⁹ Glenn Kessler, “Trump’s Outrageous Claim That ‘Thousands’ of New Jersey Muslims Celebrated the 9/11 Attacks,” *The Washington Post*, (Washington, D.C.), November 22, 2015. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nidal-hasan-sentenced-to-death-for-fort-hood-shooting-rampage/2013/08/28/aad28de2-0ffa-11e3-bdf6-e4fc667d94a1_story.html.

¹⁴⁰ Glenn Kessler, “Trump’s Outrageous Claim That ‘Thousands’ of New Jersey Muslims Celebrated the 9/11 Attacks,” *The Washington Post*, (Washington, D.C.), November 22, 2015. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nidal-hasan-sentenced-to-death-for-fort-hood-shooting-rampage/2013/08/28/aad28de2-0ffa-11e3-bdf6-e4fc667d94a1_story.html.

support his claims. Trump is aware that his Islamophobic interests are resonating with his supporters and by repeating the statements and developing new ones he is intentionally alienating Muslims. 9/11 is still a subject that evokes strong emotions for Americans and by claiming that Muslims were celebrating the attacks Trump was aware that Americans would be angered. Trump was and continues to use his Islamophobic rhetoric in order to further his own interests throughout his campaign. Furthermore, his actions seem to have a distinct purpose in that he wants to destroy any possible acceptance that Muslims have gained since 9/11. By claiming that Muslims were celebrating the 9/11 attacks he is justifying the fears that Americans already have for Muslims. To many Americans it does not matter that Trump does not have any evidence to support his claims because Americans have a clear prejudice that Trump is playing upon. While Trump is clearly Islamophobic there have been several incidents since 9/11 that make him credible to his followers. One incident occurred in 2009 on a military base.

On November 5, 2009 Nidal Hasan, a Muslim Army captain and psychiatrist went on a shooting rampage at Ft. Hood, TX where he killed 13 people and injured 30 more. According to *The Washington Post* and several other media outlets “Hasan had exchanged emails with a leading al-Qaeda figure in which he asked whether those attacking fellow soldiers were martyrs.”¹⁴¹ Additionally, he “gave a presentation to Army doctors discussing Islam and

¹⁴¹ Billy Kener, “Nidal Hasan Sentenced to Death for Fort Hood Shooting Rampage,” *The Washington Post*, (Washington, D.C.), August 28, 2013. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nidal-hasan-sentenced-to-death-for-fort-hood-shooting-rampage/2013/08/28/aad28de2-0ffa-11e3-bdf6-e4fc677d94a1_story.html.

suicide bombers and said Muslims should be allowed to leave the armed forces as conscientious objectors to avoid ‘adverse events.’”¹⁴² Despite the fact that the FBI was alerted to the emails and Hasan’s disturbing presentation neither the FBI nor the Army took any steps to investigate or remove him from the military. As a result, Pat Robertson attacked the entire Muslim community during a broadcast of the *700 Club*. Terry Meeuwsen, *700 Club* co-host, asked “When you have someone in your ranks who is openly Muslim and making connection to Al-Qaeda why is nothing done about that?”¹⁴³ Robertson answered with

In this case it was political correctness. We don’t dare speak out against somebody who’s of the Muslim faith. Of course Muslims can serve in the armed forces. Of course radical Muslims from Al Qaeda and others can come in to our secret services. Of course they can. We can’t discriminate against anybody. That’s nonsense. A society deserves the right to protect itself.¹⁴⁴

It is clear from this segment and several others that Pat Robertson and the *700 Club* believe that all Muslims are extremists. It has been proven time and again that is not the case, but every time a terrorist strikes Robertson uses it as a means to further alienate American Muslims. In this case Robertson is arguing that Muslims should not be allowed to serve in the military or any other government position for fear that they could be a terrorist. While there is no doubt that the Army and the FBI did not take the proper steps after being alerted about

¹⁴² Billy Kener, “Nidal Hasan Sentenced to Death for Fort Hood Shooting Rampage,” *The Washington Post*, (Washington, D.C.), August 28, 2013. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nidal-hasan-sentenced-to-death-for-fort-hood-shooting-rampage/2013/08/28/aad28de2-0ffa-11e3-bdf6-e4fc677d94a1_story.html.

¹⁴³ Pat Robertson and Terry Meeuwsen, *The 700 Club*, November 10, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wvtTKvuuAcg>.

¹⁴⁴ Pat Robertson and Terry Meeuwsen, *The 700 Club*, November 10, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wvtTKvuuAcg>.

Hasan what Robertson neglected to point out is that there are many Muslims who serve in the military without participating in any terrorist organizations. In fact, according to a poll from ABC News there are roughly 2.2 million active duty and reserve members of the U.S. military who identify as Muslim, but they point out that of the “2.2 million in uniform, active or reserve, 400,000 service members have not self-reported their faith. So the total number of Muslims currently serving in the U.S. military is likely higher.”¹⁴⁵ However, “There are 5,896 self-identified Muslims currently serving in the military, according to the Department of Defense.”¹⁴⁶ In other words, there over 5,000 Muslims who are currently serving in the military without incident. Robertson repeated history during this segment because he had a very similar segment following 9/11. According to Omi and Winnart there are four stages to the race-relations cycle: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. The authors are arguing that in order for a group such as Muslims to become assimilated into American culture and society the three things that come before it must occur. The problem with the *700 Club*’s approach to Muslims is that they have not moved past the conflict stage which alienates Muslims because, in this case, evangelical Christians who hold similar beliefs to Robertson are not willing to back down and allow the Muslims around them to assimilate into the United States. Robertson and many other evangelical leaders have made their beliefs about Muslims clear, but it is

¹⁴⁵ Mariam Khan and Luis Martinez, “More than 5,000 Muslims Serving in U.S. Military, Pentagon Says,” *ABC News*, December 8, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/5000-muslims-serving-us-military-pentagon/story?id=35654904>.

¹⁴⁶ Mariam Khan and Luis Martinez, “More than 5,000 Muslims Serving in U.S. Military, Pentagon Says,” *ABC News*, December 8, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/5000-muslims-serving-us-military-pentagon/story?id=35654904>.

important to point out that they are not the only group that has made Muslims feel like outsiders in the United States. Politicians have discriminated against Muslims time and again and, given that it is currently an election year, Islamophobia has been a major discussion topic.

Political Fears

Muslims have faced discrimination since the late 19th century, but the tensions between Muslims and many religious Americans increased exponentially on September 11, 2001 when the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were attacked. After the attacks the American government and its people quickly turned on Muslims without any regard for the fact that the vast majority of them had nothing to do with the terrorists who executed the attacks. Prior to 9/11 Muslims were able to assimilate rather well into American society, but their lives changed drastically. According to Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, associate professor of religion and humanities at Reed College, Muslims were able to participate in the conflation theory which “functioned as a matrix into which others could define their own identities in order to lay claim to America’s progress and to help reshape America’s national identity.”¹⁴⁷ In other words, prior to 9/11 Muslims were able to create their own identities in the United States because they had come to be viewed by Americans as immigrants who posed no serious threat to American society. Governmental agencies such as the FBI immediately began investigating people of Middle Eastern descent with no regard

¹⁴⁷ Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 99.

to whether or not they were actually Muslim and with very little evidence to substantiate their claims. The events that have occurred in the years following 9/11 have led to outlandish claims against President Obama by Donald Trump, who has surprisingly been elected president. Trump has used the animosity between Muslims and other Americans to his advantage and has spouted Islamophobic rhetoric throughout his campaign. The support for Trump has been vast and surprising to many, but the reason he continues his anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric is because he continues to find support.

2008 also brought one of the most disturbing events for American Muslims which occurred in Newburgh, New York when FBI informant Shahed Hussain approached four African American Muslim men. According to Ann Larabee, English professor at Michigan State University, Hussain approached James Cromitie, a poor drug dealer and Walmart employee. Hussain first reached out to Cromitie at his mosque and introduced himself as a Pakistani jihadist. Hussain immediately began lying to Cromitie stating that his name was Abdul Rehman and that his father was from Afghanistan and that he had visited. Larabee goes on to say that "Hussain reported that Cromitie had threatened to 'do something to America.'" As a result, the FBI began an investigation named Operation Redeye without confirming any evidence that Hussain provided. The investigation was named for "the use of secret video recording, during which Hussain spent months attempting to talk a very reluctant Cromitie into terrorist acts." It is important to point out that Cromitie did express that he resented the government and Jews, but there is nothing to suggest that he would have taken action without Hussain's

prompting. In order to finally bring Cromitie into the terrorist plot he promised him things like “a BMW, \$250,000, a Caribbean vacation, and his own business.” Cromitie finally agreed to participate in the fabricated plot after Hussain made several promises to him. Three other African American Muslims were brought into the plot, all who were in desperate financial situations. The plot was to “bomb a Bronx synagogue and Jewish center and fire Stringer missiles at military cargo planes at Stewart Airport.”¹⁴⁸ Larabee made sure to point out that Cromitie was not the mastermind behind the plot. Hussain was the puppet master who planned the bombings and taught the four men to how to operate all the necessary equipment. Despite the fact that Hussain instructed the four men in how to pull off the plan he ended up installing the bomb himself. All the explosive devices were provided by the FBI and when the four men were arrested they all faced several charges which included conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction. When the case went to trial the defense’s strategy was entrapment because there appeared to be very little evidence that the four men would have developed the plan on their own. The *New York Times* makes it clear that the trial was troublesome from the beginning. On June 14, 2010

The judge, Colleen McMahon, excused potential jurors on Monday and criticized the prosecutors for being late in giving the defense an investigator’s report suggesting that the men — a group of ex-convicts and drug offenders — were incapable of

¹⁴⁸ Ann Larabee, *The Wrong Hands: Popular Weapons Manuals and Their Historic Challenges to a Democratic Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 154.

carrying out a complex attack without the informer, a fast-talker who was on the government payroll.¹⁴⁹

Larabee goes on to state that despite the lack of evidence and problematic trial the men were still found guilty. Judge McMahon vehemently disagreed with the defense's behavior in the case, but gave the men the mandatory minimum. The judge went on to say "Only the government could have made a 'terrorist' out of Mr. Cromitie, whose buffoonery is positively Shakespearean in its scope."¹⁵⁰ In other words, she did not believe that the Newburgh Four were capable of planning or executing the terrorist plot, but she was forced to impose a sentence due to the jury's decision. Despite the jury's decision it is clear that the FBI did not check the facts before pursuing the Newburgh Four. There were a number of legal actions that should have been taken by the FBI before a sting operation was pursued and it does not appear from the evidence that any preliminary action was taken after Hussain reported back to the FBI. These four men were clearly desperate and, as an authority figure, Hussain made every effort to take advantage of their situations. These events occurred in 2008 well after many Americans had formed the beliefs and fears about Muslims and it seems that Hussain and the FBI meant to further the fear and bring even more suspicion to Muslims. The Newburgh Four incident helped to further the gap between Muslims and the American government. Not only did it give people a reason to fear Muslims, even though it is extremely doubtful that they could have pulled any of it off, but it proved to Muslims that the government could not be trusted. In

¹⁴⁹ William Glaberson, "Newburgh Terrorism Case May Establish a Line for Entrapment," *The New York Times* (Manhattan, NY), June 15, 2010.

¹⁵⁰ Ann Larabee, *The Wrong Hands: Popular Weapons Manuals and Their Historic Challenges to a Democratic Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 155.

other words, it widened the separation between the two and helped to shape a bigger sociopolitical conflict.

The 2016 presidential campaign was particularly interesting for the Republican Party due to the outlandish and controversial comments that have been made by Donald Trump. However, Ted Cruz, who was one a frontrunner until late in the race, made his own Islamophobic comments. The Islamophobic rhetoric that both Cruz and Trump spouted time and again was fueled by a number of terrorist attacks that took place in the previous year, both nationally and internationally. Cruz's press release that addressed the Brussels terror attacks on March 22, 2016 stated

We will do what we can to help them fight this scourge, and redouble our efforts to make sure it does not happen here. We need to immediately halt the flow of refugees from countries with a significant al Qaida or ISIS presence. We need to empower law enforcement to patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized.¹⁵¹

Ted Cruz capitalized on the Brussels attacks and attempted to defend his comments when he went on *CBS This Morning* the next day. Early in the interview anchor Charlie Rose showed a clip of New York City Police Commissioner Bill Bratton reacting to Cruz's comments and stating that "He doesn't know what the hell he's talking about. To be quite frank with you, I took great offense at that statement. I have almost a thousand Muslim officers in the NYPD. Ironically, when he's running around we probably have a few Muslim

¹⁵¹ Ted Cruz, Press Release, March 22, 2016, https://www.cruz.senate.gov/?p=press_release&id=2617.

officers guarding him.”¹⁵² After Cruz reacted to the statement Rose asked “It couldn’t be because he simply thinks that patrolling Muslims neighborhoods is a bad thing to do?” Norah O’Donnell would go on to ask Cruz how many Muslims are in America and his response was “I don’t know the number off the top of my head.” O’Donnell continued to ask “So, you are saying that law enforcement should surveil a number of Muslims and you don’t even know how many Muslims in America? There are three million Muslims in America.” Cruz went on to discuss European Muslim neighborhoods and the problems that have developed from those as a means to defend his comments. However, O’Donnell would counter Cruz’s argument about Muslim ghettoization in Europe by saying “That’s not a similar problem we have here in the United States.” Cruz argued that it is a similar issue in the United States, but when O’Donnell asked him to name one Muslim community in the country he was not able to do so. Gayle King then stated that “There are so many people that say that your comments are decidedly anti-Muslim and that you are playing right into the hands of ISIS. That you’re giving them ammunition to come after us, to really take action against us.” Cruz’s response was that “Islamism is a political and theocratic philosophy that commands its adherents to wage violent jihad, to murder infidels, which they define as everybody else.” King interrupted to say that “You’re painting one community with one brush.” Cruz’s statement was clearly political and it is unlikely that he had any concern about the repercussions it would have for American Muslims. Islamophobia has become a learned cultural behavior in the

¹⁵² Bill Bratton, interview by Charlie Rose, Gayle King, and Norah O’Donnell, *CBS This Morning*, CBS, March 23, 2016.

United States which has become even more widespread during this year's presidential campaign. By making comments like these Cruz and, as we will see, Trump are adding fuel to the fire in ways that are many times unsubstantiated. Cruz in both the press release and the CBS interview was able to verify fears that many Americans have about Muslims. Especially those who already exhibit Islamophobic tendencies and behaviors. It seems that Cruz was attempting to capitalize on American fears in order to earn more votes and popularity for himself leading up to the Republican National Convention and election. Although Cruz was not successful with his presidential run it is clear that he was on the right track because Trump, who is making similar claims, became the Republican nominee and was later voted President of the United States.¹⁵³

On November 19, 2015 Trump was interviewed by Hunter Walker, national correspondent for Yahoo News. The interview covered several topics, but the responses that caused widespread outrage were those that pertained to Muslims. When asked about the Paris attacks, which occurred on November 13, 2015 Trump "vowed to take an aggressive approach with Muslims here in the United States and suggested there should be a national effort to monitor mosques."¹⁵⁴ According to Hartford Institute for Religion Research "The US Mosque Survey 2011 counted a total of 2,106 mosques; as compared to the year

¹⁵³ Ted Cruz, interview by Charlie Rose, Gayle King, and Norah O'Donnell, *CBS This Morning*, CBS, March 23, 2016.

¹⁵⁴ Donald Trump, interviewed by Hunter Walker, Yahoo News, November 19, 2015.

2000 when 1,209 mosques were counted.”¹⁵⁵ In other words, Trump’s proposal is preposterous because it would take unprecedented amounts of law enforcement in order to accomplish that. Additionally, it is highly unlikely that surveilling all American mosques would produce any real results. Walker would continue to ask “whether this level of tracking might require registering Muslims in a database or giving them a form of special identification that noted their religion. He wouldn’t rule it out.”¹⁵⁶ While to some Trump supporters having Muslims wear an identification badge would make them more comfortable it is a terrifying concept to many others. The reason the proposal is so absurd is because it is one measure Hitler took against Jews prior to World War II. Not only have Muslims and non-Muslims alike found that to be an extremely offensive proposal, but it would have unprecedented consequences for Muslims. If Trump’s proposal were to come to fruition there is reason to believe that there would be other measures taken against Muslims as a result. While it is highly unlikely that Trump’s idea will ever become law it makes it clear that Trump’s Islamophobia is extreme and that he is willing to take actions similar to those Hitler took early on. The schema Trump is using in this campaign has been highly successful because Islamophobia has become a staple in American society. As a result, Trump is using that to his advantage in an attempt to gain power which would allow him to introduce measures such as identification badges. In other words, Trump has

¹⁵⁵ Ihsam Bagby, “Report Number 1 from the US Mosque Study 2011,” *The American Mosque 2011: Basic Characteristics of the American Mosque Attitudes of Mosque Leaders*, no. 1, (2012): 4, doi: <https://www.cair.com/images/pdf/The-American-Mosque-2011-part-1.pdf>.

¹⁵⁶ Donald Trump, interviewed by Hunter Walker, Yahoo News, November 19, 2015.

found support with his Islamophobic rhetoric because his followers believe that his ideas will be helpful for Americans.

On December 7, 2015 Trump released a statement which resulted from the San Bernardino terrorist attack that occurred on December 2. In the statement he quoted a poll from the Center for Security Policy (CSP). The CSP is an anti-Muslim organization that is located in Washington D.C. and is considered to be an extremist group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). According to the SPLC the CSP is “Known for its accusations that a shadowy “Muslim Brotherhood” has infiltrated all levels of government and warnings that ‘creeping Shariah,’ or Islamic religious law, is a threat to American democracy.”¹⁵⁷ It is clear that the CPS is not a reliable source of information, but Trump still quoted and cited them in his statement. Trump stated that

Most recently, a poll from the Center for Security Policy released data showing "25% of those polled agreed that violence against Americans here in the United States is justified as a part of the global jihad" and 51% of those polled, "agreed that Muslims in America should have the choice of being governed according to Shariah."¹⁵⁸

The poll was released on June 23, 2015 and began by stating that

The numbers of potential jihadists among the majority of Muslims who appear not to be sympathetic to such notions raise a number of public policy choices that warrant careful consideration and urgent debate, including: the necessity for enhanced surveillance of

¹⁵⁷ “Center for Security Policy,” *Extremists Files: Southern Poverty Law Center*, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/center-security-policy>.

¹⁵⁸ Donald Trump, “Donald Trump Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration,” December 7, 2015, <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-statement-on-preventing-muslim-immigration>.

Muslim communities; refugee resettlement, asylum and other immigration programs that are swelling their numbers and density; and the viability of so-called “countering violent extremism” initiatives that are supposed to stymie radicalization within those communities.¹⁵⁹

CSP’s poll is necessary because they are attempting to show that Muslims are a serious problem in the United States. It is an important poll because they are reaching uninformed Americans who truly believe that Muslims are dangerous. As a result, Trump is able to use CSP’s polls because there are Americans who trust their work. This statement makes it abundantly clear what the CSP’s stance on Muslims is. As a result, it should come as no surprise that Trump used the poll in his Islamophobic press release. Trump went on to read the statistics from the poll the same day when he held a rally on the USS Yorktown in South Carolina and claimed that the CSP is a “very highly respected group of people.”¹⁶⁰ The problem with that statement and the statistics the group published is that the CSP is not a highly respected group and the evidence of that is in the fact that they are listed by the SPLC as an extremist organization. However, Trump understood that most of his followers would not be aware of that and, even if they were, they probably would not have cared. Trump is successfully using Muslim immigration as a major issue for his campaign. The event concept proves that without Muslim immigration, which has increased exponentially, there would be very little for Trump to discuss. Trump understands that Muslim immigration is

¹⁵⁹ “The Muslim Brotherhood in America, Understanding the Shariah Threat Doctrine,” *Poll of U.S. Muslims Reveals Ominous Levels of Support for Islamic Supremacists’ Doctrine of Shariah, Jihad*, Center for Security Policy, June 23, 2015, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/06/23/nationwide-poll-of-us-muslims-shows-thousands-support-shariah-jihad/>.

¹⁶⁰ Donald Trump, “Candidate Donald Trump Rally in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina,” CSPAN, December 7, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKPu3vF0naA>.

the political point that matters most to his followers and by continuing to spout Islamophobic rhetoric he ensures that he remains relevant in the presidential race.

Trump continued his Islamophobic behavior when comments appeared on Twitter on June 12, 2016 right after Omar Mateen entered the Pulse Night Club, a predominately LGBT club, in Orlando and brutally murdered 49 people and seriously injured 53 others. Trump authored several tweets that day with the first simply stating that there had been a shooting and terrorism was a possibility. He would go on to post that he was praying for all the victims and families and ask when Americans will become tough, smart, and vigilant. Although there was no direct comment about terrorists in that tweet, it is clear from past statements and his stance on immigrant Muslims that this tweet was about Muslims and the apparent threat they pose to America and its citizens. Additionally, his last comment regarding the massacre said “Appreciate the congrats for being right on radical Islamic terrorism, I don't want congrats, I want toughness & vigilance. We must be smart!”¹⁶¹ In other words, he found support for his comments on social media and found it necessary to brag about it on the same day 49 people were violently murdered. Xenophobic statements from Trump have become commonplace throughout this presidential campaign which is the reason why his tweets following the Orlando tragedy were not surprising. Trump’s candidacy is an example of unintended consequences for the United States. It is clear from Trump’s many anti-Muslim statements that he knows exactly what he is doing

¹⁶¹ Donald Trump, Twitter (June 12, 2016), <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump>.

with regards to Muslims and xenophobic Americans, but the consequences are unknown.

On July 28, 2016, during the Democratic National Convention, Trump used social media again to tear down Muslims. That night Khizr Khan stood with his wife on stage to honor their fallen son, Capt. Humayun Khan, with a speech. Captain Khan, according to *POLITICO*, “ordered his soldiers to hit the dirt while he moved forward to stop the bomb-laden suicide car that would kill him instantly.”¹⁶² Khizr Kahn opened his speech by explaining that he and his family immigrated to the United States and his reasons for doing so. He explained that “Our son, Humayun, had dreams of being a military lawyer. But he put those dreams aside the day he sacrificed his life to save his fellow soldiers.”¹⁶³ Donald Trump criticized the Kahn’s during an interview with George Stephanopoulos, anchor for CBS, a few days later. Trump’s response to the speech was “His wife, if you look at his wife, she was standing there. She had nothing to say. Maybe she wasn’t allowed to have anything to say.”¹⁶⁴ While there are many rules that Muslim women live with, the restrictions vary greatly. Trump’s assumptions about Kahn’s wife are disturbing and Islamophobic. It is clear from the interview that Trump knows nothing about the family so his comments were not only inappropriate, but they were offensive to the Kahn family, their fallen son, and to

¹⁶² Michael Hirsh, “The Tragedy of Hunayun Khan,” *POLITICO Magazine*, August 4, 2016, <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/08/humayun-khan-khizr-iraq-war-combat-gold-star-214143>.

¹⁶³ “Khizr Kahn’s Speech to the 2016 Democratic National Convention,” *ABC News*, July 28, 2016, <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/full-text-khizr-khans-speech-2016-democratic-national/story?id=41043609>.

¹⁶⁴ Donald Trump, interviewed by George Stephanopoulos, *ABC News*, July 31, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9yi-rb6_qi0.

Muslim women in general. Stephanopoulos continued by asking Trump what he would say to Captain Kahn's father. He said "Well, I'd say we've had a lot of problems with radical Islamic terrorism."¹⁶⁵ Trump did say that he wishes Mr. Kahn the best of luck, but he had nothing to say about his fallen son. Instead he wanted to discuss Islamic terrorism which had nothing to do with the Kahn family or the speech. Most people would have shown some sympathy and gratitude toward the family, but Trump continued to insult not only the family, but Muslims in general. Later Trump would accept a Purple Heart from the family of a non-Muslim soldier which makes it appear as if he only cares about soldiers who are not of Muslim decent. Trump is using necessity theory because he continuously emphasizes what he considers to be the Muslim problem. Without the Muslim and immigration issues he would have very little or nothing to discuss which makes his Islamophobic comments and beliefs necessary to his campaign. The reason he gave an Islamophobic answer to Stephanopoulos's question is because he needed to remind people of one of his most important campaign messages.

Economic Uncertainty

In 2008 the United States faced its most devastating financial crisis since the Great Depression. Michael Lewis, nonfiction writer and financial journalist, wrote *The Big Short* which explained how and why the economy crashed. The book was made into a movie by Adam McKay which starred Steve Carell,

¹⁶⁵ Donald Trump, interviewed by George Stephanopoulos, *ABC News*, July 31, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9yi-rb6_qi0.

Christian Bale, Ryan Gosling, and Brad Pitt. At the end Gosling explained that “The banks took the money the American people gave them and used it to lobby the Congress to kill big reform. And then blamed immigrants and poor people.”¹⁶⁶ His point was that, much like when Jews and other immigrants were blamed during the Great Depression, immigrants and Muslims are being blamed currently. Muslims and immigrants have been accused throughout history of taking jobs from American people who also desperately need them. During his presidential run, Trump threatened to deport all immigrants who are illegally in the country. While there were several reasons for Trump’s proposed plan, one major reason was the job situation in the country. As a result, even more tension has built up between immigrants and naturalized Americans. 2008 was a particularly difficult year for Muslims due to the Obama rumors and the economic crash which was added on to the intensified anti-Muslim sentiment after 9/11. However, even though the job market has improved over the last eight years Muslim discrimination in the work place has continued throughout the United States.

Trump has promised during his campaign that he will deport all illegal immigrants. Many of those would include Muslims who Trump believes are taking jobs from hard working Americans. While many Americans believe Trump’s initiative is appalling, Russell Berman, a senior associate editor for *The Atlantic*, wrote “GOP leaders in Congress have spent the last two months trying—and failing—to roll back protections for millions of undocumented immigrants, children

¹⁶⁶ Charles Randolph and Adam McKay, *The Big Short*, author: Michael Lewis (December 2015), 215.

included.”¹⁶⁷ Berman discusses a study published by the American Action Forum (AAF), a nonprofit issue advocacy group based in Washington, D.C. that promotes politically right public policy. The AAF wrote

We examine the budgetary and economic implications of alternative strategies to addressing undocumented immigrants. In particular, we focus on the implications of immediately and fully enforcing current law, and find that it would be fiscally and economically costly.

The AAF goes on to state that “The federal government would have to spend roughly \$400 billion to \$600 billion to address the 11.2 million undocumented immigrants and prevent future unlawful entry into the United States.” In other words, if the American government attempted to deport all illegal immigrants legally it would cost American tax payers billions which the AAF is stating would not be an economically sound choice for either Americans or immigrants.

Additionally, the AAF states that deporting illegal immigrants would “shrink the labor force by 11 million workers and reduce real GDP by \$1.6 trillion.”¹⁶⁸ In other words, deportation would drastically reduce the American workforce which would also deplete the economy. Trump’s plan seems appealing to many evangelical Christians who are following his lead because they do not understand the consequences it would have for them and the economy. While many Americans believe that deporting millions of illegal immigrants would open up jobs for struggling citizens, they do not recognize that immigrants are holding jobs that

¹⁶⁷ Russell Berman, “The Conservative Case Against Enforcing Immigration Law,” *The Atlantic* (Washington, D.C.), March 6, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/03/the-conservative-case-against-enforcing-immigration-laws/387004/>.

¹⁶⁸ Ben Gitis and Laura Collins, “The Budgetary and Economic Costs of Addressing Unauthorized Immigration: Alternative Strategies,” The American Action Forum, March 6, 2015, <https://www.americanactionforum.org/research/the-budgetary-and-economic-costs-of-addressing-unauthorized-immigration-alt/>.

Americans do not want. In other words, without the Muslim and Mexican workforce, Trump's two major targets, many companies and employers would face serious economic distress. Trump and many Republicans are attempting to enforce a particular mode of production. The division of labor in the United States is blatantly obvious to many immigrants because they understand that they are far less likely to find a job than white, Christian Americans. Abrams states that "the division of labour is made to work to the advantage of some and the disadvantage of others."¹⁶⁹ This has been proven time and again in the United States because we continually see Muslims and Mexican immigrants who are turned down due to their immigrant and religious statuses. As a result, many are forced to take jobs that no one else wants. The AAF shows that deporting millions of immigrants would be terrible for the American economy, but Trump has proven that he wants to ensure the mode of production and the division of labor are firmly in his hands.

The prevailing mode of production and the division of labor has led to serious poverty in many immigrant neighborhoods. An article in *The Islamic Monthly*, an independent, nonreligious magazine based in the United States, published an article that argues exactly that. Khaled A. Beydoun, an associate law professor at the University of Detroit Mercy School of Law and senior affiliated faculty at the University of California-Berkeley Islamophobia and Research Documentation Project, wrote an article for the magazine in which he states that

¹⁶⁹ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1982), 36.

Attention on the victimization of Muslim American bodies and communities is not scarce. However, little, if any, analysis has been dedicated to the disparate impact American Islamophobia – in both private and public form – has on poor and working class Muslim American communities. A population that, according to recent research, accounts for nearly half of Muslim America.¹⁷⁰

Beydoun uses research from the Pew Research Forum to make his case. The Pew Forum published a report on August 30, 2011 which showed that many Muslims in the United States struggle financially. The report states that “45% of Muslim Americans now report having total household income of less than \$30,000 a year, compared with 36% of the general public.”¹⁷¹ According to Beydoun the report dispels a few stereotypes about Muslims. First, the 45% proves “the trope that the population is an upwardly mobile, socioeconomically well-situated demographic.” Second, the report dismisses the idea “that Muslim Americans are a ‘model minority’ when compared to the Muslim diasporas in Europe.” In other words, many liberal or progressive Americans believe that Muslims who immigrate to the United States are less dangerous than those in European countries which allows them to prosper more than others. While it is true that many other Americans are living in poverty, the point is that Muslims are far more susceptible to it because employers discriminate due to their immigrant and religious statuses. As a result of the employment discrimination that Muslims face in the United States many, both those born in the states and immigrants, are

¹⁷⁰ Khaled A. Beydoun, “Poor and Muslim in ‘War on Terror’ America,” *The Islamic Monthly* (Cambridge), May 25, 2015, <http://theislamicmonthly.com/poor-and-muslim-in-war-on-terror-america/>.

¹⁷¹ “Muslim Americans: No Signs of Growth in Alienation or Support for Extremism,” (Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C., 2015), 13, <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/Muslim%20American%20Report%2010-02-12%20fix.pdf>.

living in poverty. Beydoun goes on to write that “much like poor people at large, their existence and experiences are largely unheard, ignored, and unaddressed.” That is particularly true for Muslims because many Americans want to believe that they are dangerous. The result is that they are far less concerned about the fact that almost half of Muslims in the country are struggling financially. Hegemony is the most fitting concept for this because the white American majority dominates Muslims in all cultural aspects. Hegemony is something that Muslims are especially used to due to reasons that Said laid out throughout his book. Financial discrimination hits immigrant Muslims particularly hard because they travel to the United States to find better lives for themselves and, instead, they are consistently turned away by a society that has deemed them all to be dangerous and unworthy of the American dream.¹⁷²

It has been proven that Muslim discrimination in the United States is a serious issue which has escalated since 9/11. While many Muslims face workplace discrimination women appear to be more likely to experience it due to the hijab that they wear. Many Muslim women believe that the hijab is something that they are religiously obligated to wear which is similar to the yarmulke many Jewish men wear. The reason women face greater discrimination than men due to the hijab is because it draws a lot more attention to them and immediately designates them as Muslim which many Americans are uncomfortable with. There have been several reported incidents where Muslim women have faced discrimination in the workplace, but one case that has gained a lot of attention is

¹⁷² Khaled A. Beydoun, “Poor and Muslim in ‘War on Terror’ America,” *The Islamic Monthly* (Cambridge), May 25, 2015, <http://theislamicmonthly.com/poor-and-muslim-in-war-on-terror-america/>.

Samantha Lauf's. Lauf wore a hijab to a job interview at Abercrombie & Fitch which NPR describes as "the preppy, mall-based retailer." NPR goes on to explain that "Abercrombie famously employs a 'Look Policy' that lays out in exacting detail what its 'sales models' can wear when they're helping customers or folding clothes on the sales floor. According to Lauf the manager who interviewed her told her that she met all requirements for the position and that she would receive information about an orientation a few days later, but that call never came. When Lauf asked a friend who was employed at the store why she was not hired the friend explained that "the higher-ups said that her headscarf violated the chain's Look Policy."¹⁷³ During a court appearance the manager who interviewed Lauf stated that she was not allowed to hire Lauf due to the hijab. This was despite the fact that she testified that Islam is a recognized religion and that she recommended that Lauf be hired. The lawsuit was brought up as part of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act which states

to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or (2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees or applicants for employment in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Gene Demby, "Supreme Court Looks at Abercrombie & Fitch's Hijab Discrimination Case," *NPR*, February 25, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/02/25/388999509/supreme-court-looks-at-bercrombie-fitchs-hijab-discrimination-case>.

¹⁷⁴ "Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm>.

Abercrombie & Fitch is not claiming that Elauf was not hired because she is a Muslim, but because the hijab does not meet their “look policy.” The final result was that the Supreme Court sided with Elauf and the company was ordered to pay “\$25,670 in damages to Elauf and \$18,983 in court costs.”¹⁷⁵ It is also important to point out that the company has faced several other lawsuits regarding this issue prior to the Elauf case. In other words, the hijab issue has been problematic for the company for several years.¹⁷⁶ As a result, it is clear that Abercrombie & Fitch has an Islamophobia issue that, despite two prior lawsuits, has not been addressed at a corporate level. Additionally, this is not the only company that has discriminated against Muslims. In fact, it is pointed out previously that many other companies are behaving in similar ways. The knowledge of subject races concept is just one reason for Islamic workplace discrimination. Many Americans believe that they are uncommonly knowledgeable about Muslims, their circumstances, and their intentions. Although the knowledge many Americans have about Muslims is pure fiction, that knowledge has resulted from the management or power that Americans and Europeans have had over them for decades. Said wrote that “knowledge gives power, more power requires knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control.” He goes on to write that the subject race is a race that is “dominated by a race that knows them and what is good for them

¹⁷⁵ “Press Release: Abercrombie Resolves Religious Discrimination Case Following Supreme Court Ruling in Favor of EEOC,” U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, July 28, 2015, <https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/release/7-28-15.cfm>.

¹⁷⁶ See, e.g., <https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/release/9-1-10.cfm>, and <http://www.today.com/money/abercrombies-look-policy-gets-slammed-judge-over-hijab-8C11126082>.

better than they could possibly know themselves.”¹⁷⁷ In other words, knowledge is an incredibly powerful tool that can be used to help and to hurt. However, the information that many Americans have received has been misleading and, in some cases, completely false. As a result, the power that many Americans have over Muslims, and immigrants in general, has led to discrimination in several cultural and societal areas. While knowledge does lead to power it is imperative that factual information is disseminated. Due to the fact that many Americans believe that Muslims are dangerous and destructive to the United States many Americans use their power over them to discriminate against them. The problem with the power white, evangelical Christians have over Muslims is that presenting different information to them and changing the power dynamics is going to be a daunting task. Additionally, the power some Americans have over Muslims does not stop with the job market. Religious discrimination is also a result of the power that comes from the knowledge that evangelical Christians have gained over the years.

Religious Opposition

There are many evangelical Protestants throughout the United States. While we see that evangelical Protestants are the group that tends to exhibit the most religio-ethnic discrimination, it is important to point out that they do not represent all Protestants. The evangelical Protestants who are discussed throughout the thesis, particularly this chapter, are the ones that are vocal proponents of Islamophobia. As a result, we see people like Pat Robertson and

¹⁷⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 35-36.

Franklin Graham use their popularity in order to teach and reiterate their Islamophobic beliefs. It is important to make it clear that these men and others like them do not represent all Protestants, but it is equally important that we recognize and discuss Robertson and Graham due to their influence and beliefs.

Muslims have faced extreme religious discrimination for decades, but it became even more intense after 9/11. The attacks have come from renowned religious leaders and are reminiscent of Father Coughlin's Jewish attacks. While Coughlin was not the only Christian religious figure to attack Jews, he was the most prominent. Muslims are facing the same issues with the major difference being that evangelical Christians are able to access media and the public at large easier than Coughlin and others at the time. Billy and Franklin Graham are two of the most well-known evangelical Christians in the United States. Franklin, in particular, has made his positions on Muslims and the Islamic faith clear. Franklin was interviewed by Campbell Brown, a former CNN anchor, on December 10, 2009. Brown began by stating that Graham "got a lot of flak after 9/11 because you said that Islam in your view was an evil and a wicked religion." The two discussed a speech in which President Obama explained that Islam is a peaceful religion. Brown asked if that was a mistake for the president. Graham responded with

we have many Muslims that live in this country. But true Islam cannot be practiced in this country. You can't beat your wife. You cannot murder your children if you think they've committed adultery or something

like that, which they do practice in these other countries.¹⁷⁸

Sura An-Nisaa 4:34 states

Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because God has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (the husband's) absence what God would have them guard. As to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill conduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly).¹⁷⁹

The Quran is very clear in this verse, but what Graham neglected to point out is that many Muslims do not subscribe to this and are not involved in abusive relationships. While there is no doubt that there are some Muslims who do interpret this verse literally, it is also important to understand that there several biblical verses that instruct violence against others for breaking laws which most Christians do not adhere to. The problem with Graham's statement is that he assumed that spousal abuse occurs in most Muslim marriages due to passages such as the one above. Brown went on to ask "But is that all Islam means to you because there's certainly many people who, you know, define themselves as Muslim who don't practice in those extremes?" Graham refuted by saying "That's right, Campbell, and they would like to get out of Islam." When Brown argued that it is not true that Muslims want to convert presumably to Christianity Graham argued "No, no. I said many of them would like to get out, but you cannot change from Islam. If you're a Muslim and you change your religion, you can be killed."

¹⁷⁸ Franklin Graham, interviewed by Campbell Brown, *CNN*, December 10, 2009, <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0912/10/ec.01.html>.

¹⁷⁹ Sura An-Nisaa 4:34, (The Qur'an), translated by Abudullah Yusuf Ali, (Elmhurst: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, Inc., 2012), 190.

Graham was arguing that even if Muslims do want to convert they would be in danger because their strict families or governments would not allow them to do so. While that may be true in some cases it is crucial to understand that Muslims who wish to convert are not the only people who face retribution when they choose to do so. Graham was attempting to convince Americans that Islam is a violent religion which is vastly different from Christianity. Additionally, Graham has a very clear ideology. By stating that Muslim men abuse their wives he was furthering his ideological agenda which was exceptionally anti-Muslim. Graham explained that he has spent a lot of time in Muslim nations where he has come to know and love Muslims, but that does not seem to be the case because he appears to believe the worst of the Islamic faith and its followers.¹⁸⁰

On August 22, 2011 someone wrote in to the *700 Club* and asked “Does the Bible say where the antichrist will come from?” Robertson admits that the Bible does not say specifically, but he goes on say “I think the antichrist is Islam.” Meeuwssen asked if “it’s a system more than a person?” Robertson answered

Well it’s both. It’s centered on Muhammad who defied Jesus. He said Jesus wasn’t the son of God. I mean that’s antichrist. And I think the system is the antichrist system because they are trying to destroy the Jews. And there’s a hatred of Christians and Jews.¹⁸¹

Sura At-Tauba 9:30 states

¹⁸⁰ Franklin Graham, interviewed by Campbell Brown, *CNN*, December 10, 2009, <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0912/10/ec.01.html>.

¹⁸¹ Pat Robertson and Terri Meeuwssen, *The 700 Club*, August 22, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5e_unOit5VA.

The Jews call 'Uzair a son of God, and the Christians call Christ the son of God. That is a saying from their mouth; (in this) they but imitate what the unbelievers of old used to say. God's curse be on them: how they are deluded away from the truth?¹⁸²

In other words, Christians and Jews do not know the truth because they believe in God and not Allah. While there are many people who believe that Christians, Jews, and Muslims do not believe in the same god it is crucial to point out that they all believe in the same entity. The problem with Robertson's statements is that he is condemning Muslims for this particular passage. He believes that because Jews and Christians do not believe in Allah that Muslims hate them. While there are some Muslims who hate Christians the fact that they are not Muslims may be only one problem, but there are many other issues that have developed in the past that have intensified the bad relations between the three religions. On the other hand, there are countless Muslims who respect and appreciate Jews and Christians despite the fact that they believe differently. The problem with Pat Robertson is that he has no desire to better understand Islam or its adherents. As a result he is willing to pervert Islam and teach Christians who watch the *700 Club* that Islam and those who practice it are the antichrist. Robertson perverts Islam on a regular basis and presents biased and distorted views of Muslims just as often. The *700 Club's* many segments that concentrate on Muslims and Islam is a narrative which they have been using time and again for years. Robertson is willing to pervert Islam because he understands that his narrative is an effective tool. With the Islamophobic narrative Robertson does not

¹⁸² Surah At-Tauba 9:30, (Qur'an), translated by Abudullah Yusuf Ali, (Elmhurst: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, Inc., 2012), 448.

present the entire story to his viewers and the effect is that viewers gain a distorted view of Islam and Muslims. Furthermore, Islamophobia becomes even more of an issue because many *700 Club* viewers probably will not research or question Robertson's beliefs and statements. As a result, Robertson is able to pervert Islam even further.

Robertson continued his anti-Muslim rhetoric in 2012 when a viewer asked why Muslims supposedly get so upset when someone insults their faith. On September 12 Robertson stated that

He (Muhammad) took his favorite wife when she was either eight or nine years old and he was fifty-three and he began having sexual relations with that eight or nine year old child. Now we call that pedophilia in this country, but with him it was like a holy act.¹⁸³

The wife he was discussing was explained in the hadith Sahih Al-Bukhari which is different from the Quran, but the hadiths are exceptionally important in the Islamic faith. Aisha's story is true, but what Robertson does not point out is that there were major differences between what is considered socially acceptable now and what it was considered then. From the hadith it appears that the marriage was arranged which was not uncommon at the time. Additionally, there is no way to know whether or not Aisha was actually as young as Robertson claims. While the hadith states that she is nine years old it is possible that she was actually older. The reason that is possible is because, like the Bible, there is no way to verify the stories. Robertson's intention with this segment was to demonize Muhammad in the eyes of the evangelical Christians who watch his

¹⁸³ Pat Robertson, *The 700 Club*, September 12, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qmgAipZEvQ>.

show and follow his religious lead. By proclaiming that Mohammad was a pedophile Robertson was attempting to show Christians that Mohammad was an evil man. Robertson wanted to appeal to his viewers' morality which tells them that pedophilia is wrong. He was using Christian morality because he knew that what the viewers' reaction would be and he understood that they would judge Muhammad and Muslims as a result.

While Robertson has used his platform for Islamophobic speeches many times he is not the only celebrity to do so. When Barack Obama announced his presidential candidacy in 2007 it was immediately evident that he would face many obstacles. The main one was his supposed Islamic beliefs. Andy Martin's false accusations sparked a controversy that is still relevant today. The problem that haunted most Americans was that they believed that a Muslim would not only be able to effectively run the country, but that he had sinister plans for the United States. During this year's Republican National Convention Antonio Sabato, Jr., actor and model, said in an interview with ABC News that Obama has made many choices that he would not have made. When Amna Nawaz asked Sabato for an example he stated that "First of all, I don't believe the guy is a Christian." Nawaz asked "Why is it that you don't believe that President Obama is a Christian? This is a man who regularly attends church services with his family." Sabato responded by denying that Obama and his family attend church. When asked why Sabato does not believe that Obama is a Christian he responded with "its in my heart." Grandson asked "Do you think it's necessary for a person, male or female, to be a Christian in order to be an effective

president? And if so, how do you rationalize that with what the Constitution says about separation of church and state?” Sabato admitted that Granderson had a point, but “at the same time, this country was based on rules that actually go back to the Bible.” In other words, Sabato is claiming that the United States is a Christian nation, and as such, only Christians should be allowed to hold the presidential office. These statements are extremely problematic and highly prejudice not only to Muslims, but also too many non-Christians. Religion is an extremely important topic for many Americans and it seems that if someone as important as the president is not a Christian, particularly a Protestant, then they are not trustworthy enough to run the country. While Sabato is attacking Obama for supposedly not being a Christian, religion in politics has haunted Jews and Catholics throughout American history. As a result, Sabato’s attack on Obama has become all too common because religious discrimination in politics is a well-documented problem. Additionally, Sabato’s interview and the views that he shares with evangelical Christians is what Sewell described as cultural contradictory. In other words, it does not matter that the Constitution clearly states that church and state should be separate because they believe that Obama’s religious beliefs do not line up with theirs. The problem with that is that most Americans do not understand the Islamic faith and they have no desire to do so. They also leave out the fact that the United States is made up of immigrants who practice many religions other than Christianity.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Antonio Sabato, Jr., interviewed by Amna Nawaz and LZ Granderson, *ABC News*, July 18, 2016, <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/video/actor-antonio-sabato-jr-trump-40686053>.

Fox News and its anchors are notorious for Islamophobic stories which have become more and more common since 9/11 and even more so in 2008 when Barack Obama began his presidential run. On the Hannity Report from January 14, 2016 Sean Hannity interviewed Imam Abdul-Karim, the resident Imam of the Muhammad Islamic Center of Greater Hartford (MICGH), and Dr. Zuhdi Jasser, the founder and president of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy (AIFD). Hannity presented multiple passages from the Quran that can easily be taken out of context. The first example was Surah 5:33 which states “Indeed, the penalty for those who wage war against Allah and his messenger and strive upon Earth [to cause] corruption is none but that they be killed or crucified or that their hands and feet be cut off from opposites or that they be exiled from the land.”¹⁸⁵ As explained in previous chapters the Bible and the Torah have been manipulated time again by Christians and many other groups in order to further their own agendas. Hannity is doing the same thing with the Quran during this segment. Like the Bible, it is crucial that you read the passages that precede and follow it because that is the only way to understand the scripture’s meaning. However, it is exceedingly clear that Hannity chose the passages very carefully for a particular purpose. When he asked Dr. Jasser to explain his thoughts on the passages he stated

these [extremist] movements that have been fueled by petrol dollars that dominate the leadership of our Muslim community, are exclusivist translation, literal interpretations that take passages that the Islam that I

¹⁸⁵ Sean Hannity, “The Hannity Report,” *Fox News*, January 14, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2016/01/14/how-radical-islam-has-recently-impacted-america/>.

learned is more through an American lens of equality,
of modern ideas.¹⁸⁶

In other words, there is not a correct interpretation of the Quran because, like the Bible, it has been translated many times and each person is free to decipher it as they please. Surah 5:33 comes near the end of the Cain and Abel story which stays true to the Biblical story. Many Christians and non-Christians know that Cain murdered Abel and this passage is describing the ramifications of the murder. According to the footnotes written by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, a British-Islamic scholar who translated the Quran to English, this passage meant that “You will be in spiritual torment” as a result of your actions.¹⁸⁷ The Shurah’s author is explaining that Cain will be punished for murdering his brother. When taken out of context it is true that the passage can be interpreted to mean something sinister, but that was not the intent. Dr. Jasser was attempting to explain to Hannity that many Muslims interpret the Quran differently from one another, but Hannity does not care. Hannity would go on to say “But that is where they're getting their radicalism from. They're taking it literally.”¹⁸⁸ The problem with this statement is that, even though Hannity may have some knowledge about radical Islam and how they interpret the Qu’ran, he does not interview any radical Muslims which gives the audience a false understanding of Muslim beliefs and practices. Hannity was making discriminatory assumptions about Muslims and misinterpreting the Quran. Islamophobia has become a common circumstance.

¹⁸⁶ Sean Hannity, “The Hannity Report,” *Fox News*, January 14, 2016,

<http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2016/01/14/how-radical-islam-has-recently-impacted-america/>.

¹⁸⁷ Surah Al-Maida 5:33, (The Qur’an), translated by Abudullah Yusuf Ali, (Elmhurst: Tahrike Tarsile Qur’an, Inc., 2012), 251.

¹⁸⁸ Sean Hannity, “The Hannity Report,” *Fox News*, January 14, 2016,

<http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2016/01/14/how-radical-islam-has-recently-impacted-america/>.

In other words, discrimination against Muslims has become so common in the United States that it is now part of American culture and society. As a result, Muslims, both American citizens and recent immigrants, must assimilate to these circumstances if they are to live in the United States. Hannity's interpretation of the Quran is an example that is all too common for American Muslims because Islamophobia has been espoused time again throughout the last decade.

Franklin Graham also used the Orlando Massacre to persecute Muslims. In a Facebook post from June 15 he was angered by President Obama's statements about the shooting. He wrote that "What Omar Mateen did was following the teachings of the Koran."¹⁸⁹ Graham's statement is no surprise given his history is Islamophobic statements and speeches since 9/11. His argument is that the reason many Muslims have become terrorists is because the Quran teaches violence. While there are passages that contain violence what he neglects to explain is that there are also several that express peace towards Muslims, Christians and Jews. Sura Al-Baquara 2:62 states "Those who believe (in the Qur'an), and those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), and the Christians the Sabians, any who believe in God and the Last Day, and work righteousness, shall have their reward with their Lord: on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve."¹⁹⁰ In this passage Muhammad is respectful of those who believe differently than him, but the way readers interpret passages is key. While there are passages that appear to expound violence it is likely that people are

¹⁸⁹ Franklin Graham, Facebook, (June 15, 2016), <https://www.facebook.com/FranklinGraham/timeline>.

¹⁹⁰ Sura Al-Baquara 2:62, (The Qu'ran), translated by Abudullah Yusuf Ali, (Elmhurst: Tahrike Tarsile Qu'ran, Inc., 2012), 33-34.

misinterpreting those scriptures or using them as a means to further their extremist agendas. Mateen's actions have been classified as the worst mass shooting in United States history, but Graham used the event as a means to make Muslims appear ever more dangerous to evangelical Christians who follow Christian leaders such as Graham, Falwell, and Robertson. We have previously seen a Muslim state that the extremists are evil, but insist that they are not true Muslims because true believers do not believe that violence is necessary.

Graham uses the Bible to further his own agenda and he does the same thing to the Quran. Although he does not directly quote the Quran it is not necessary that he does because many evangelical Christians who follow him will take him at his word instead of performing their own research. In other words, Graham and many other Christians choose to believe that Muslims are evil because they are not Jewish or Christians. Graham is purposefully othering Muslims with his statements and actions. Many Christians view Muslims as religiously subordinate and they treat them as such. When Graham states that terrorists and extremists are following the Quran when they carry out violent acts he justifies himself to his many followers and alienates Muslims who have shown no aggression. By explaining the supposed violence in the Quran, Graham is able to convince evangelical Christians even further that Muslims are sinister and force Muslims even further away from the assimilation and acceptance they need.

Media

American media is filled with outlets who are clearly biased toward one political side or the other. Fox News' inclination has become abundantly clear

since 9/11 which has led to several Islamophobic stories. There have been more anti-Islamic stories on media outlets such as Fox News and the *700 Club* since the terrorist attacks than can possibly be discussed here. While there are plenty of media outlets that produce news that is not prejudiced toward one group or the other they do not get as much air time or attention as CNN, Fox News, NBC, and the *700 Club* do because their stories are able to draw more attention from a larger group. In the past the American media has presented evidence simply for its viewers to take in and form their own opinions, but now media has become so biased toward one party or religion that the stories are presented in a way in which it reaches the audience that they want to reach.

Reza Aslan, author, religious studies scholar, and producer, appeared on Fox News on July 26, 2013 to promote his book *Zealot: The Life and Times of Jesus of Nazareth*. The interview was conducted by Laura Green who began the interview by asking “Now I want to clarify: You are a Muslim, so why did you write a book about the founder of Christianity?” In other words, why would you write about Jesus if you are not a Christian? Aslan responded by saying

Well, to be clear, I am a scholar of religions with four degrees, including one in the New Testament, and fluency in biblical Greek, who has been studying the origins of Christianity for two decades, who also just happens to be a Muslim. So it's not that I'm just some Muslim writing about Jesus. I am an expert with a Ph.D. in the history of religions.

With this response Aslan made it clear that he is more than qualified to research and write about Jesus and, given his credentials, there is no reason why his intentions should be questioned. Green went on to quote John Dickerson, who

wrote an op-ed piece for FoxNews.com about the book, which said “It’s not an historian’s report on Jesus. It’s an educated Muslim’s opinion about Jesus. He says its conclusions are long-held Islamic claims — namely that Jesus was a zealous-prophet type who didn’t claim to be God.” Aslan again attempted to make it clear to Green that his book had nothing to do with his status as a Muslim. He said

That’s actually not what Islam claims about Jesus. My book about Jesus overturns pretty much everything that Islam thinks about Jesus as well. And to be clear, I just want to emphasize this one more time. I am an historian, I am a Ph.D. in the history of religions. This isn’t a Muslim opinion. This is an academic work of history, not about the Christ or about Christianity, for that matter. It’s about an historical man who walked the earth 2,000 years ago in a land that the Romans called Palestine.

Despite Aslan clearly explaining the book’s premise and his credentials Green and the Fox News producers did not want to hear anything he had to say. Instead, Green continued to attack his work and his credibility for the simple fact that he is a Muslim. The entire interview was Islamophobic and extremely prejudice against Aslan. Fox News had no interest in Aslan’s work for the simple fact that he is a Muslim which, in their opinion, gives him no right to publish a historical work about Jesus. They were not upset that someone wrote about Jesus. They were angered by the fact that a Muslim with a PhD wrote about Jesus and questioned their Christian beliefs. This was Fox News’ way of othering Aslan because he is not a Christian and it was important to them to point that out. The interview sent a clear message to the Muslim community that Fox News does not accept them or appreciate their religion. Unfortunately, since 2013 the

network has not changed its views and opinions on Muslims which has led to continuous viewing from both politically and religiously conservative viewers.¹⁹¹

Sean Hannity aired a special edition of the *The Hannity Report* on January 14, 2016 during which time Hannity showed statistics from a poll conducted by the CSP. As noted earlier when Trump quoted from the same poll, the CSP is recognized by the SPLC as a hate group which should give pause to the millions of Americans who watch Fox News regularly. Hannity quoted the statement “I believe that violence against those that insult the prophet Muhammad, the Qur’an, or Islamic faith is sometimes acceptable.” The question the CSP asked regarding this statement was “Should Muslims in the U.S. have their own courts or tribunals in America to apply shariah law or should they be subject to American laws and courts?”¹⁹² According to the poll, 29% agreed and 61% disagreed. Hannity interviewed Imam Abdul-Karim from the MICGH, and Dr. Jasser from the AIFD. Hannity showed several passages from the Quran that were extremely inflammatory and that were chosen for that exact reason. He asked the Imam to respond to the passages and the poll. The Imam stated that “First of all, we don't really agree with that particular poll. That particular poll was denied as being shoddy according to the "Washington Post." In other words, the CSL is not a highly respected organization and neither is their polling information. Hannity refused to recognize that the report was flawed. Hannity went on to ask

¹⁹¹ Reza Aslan, interviewed by Laura Green, *Fox News*, July 26, 2013, https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2013/07/29/fox-news-must-apologize-to-reza-aslan/?utm_term=.8d6ec044c257.

¹⁹² “The Muslim Brotherhood in America, Understanding the Shariah Threat Doctrine,” *Poll of U.S. Muslims Reveals Ominous Levels of Support for Islamic Supremacists’ Doctrine of Shariah, Jihad*, Center for Security Policy, June 23, 2015, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/06/23/nationwide-poll-of-us-muslims-shows-thousands-support-shariah-jihad/>.

the Imam “are you saying we don't have a problem with radical Islam?” The Imam responded by saying that “We have a problem with people who are claiming Islam as a tool to do bad things in the world, yes, we do.” In other words, the Imam is arguing that the passages chosen by the show had been taken out of context and that the interpretations are not correct. Hannity’s argument was that extremist Muslims are using the Quran to justify their violent acts. Hannity’s issue is that neither of the men argued that the Quran was being interpreted the correct way. In fact, they both agreed that extremists are manipulating the Quran for their own purposes. Furthermore, history has shown that had the conversation been based on the Bible Hannity and all other Fox News anchors would have defended it and their interpretation. The major issue with Fox News and their approach to Muslims is that they refuse to recognize that most Muslims are peaceful and have no ill intent for the United States or the Christians that reside in the country. Fox News has developed their own reality which many Americans prescribe to. Islamophobia is a phenomenon and a reality that has existed in the United States for over a decade and Fox News has made it their mission to further Islamophobic sentiments that are prevalent throughout the country.¹⁹³

The network continued their Islamophobic attacks when President Obama made his first visit to a mosque on February 3, 2016. The next day Fox News had a panel discussion about the appearance and the ways in which Obama offended Christians and why he constantly defends Muslims over Christians.

¹⁹³ Sean Hannity, “The Hannity Report,” *Fox News*, January 14, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2016/01/14/how-radical-islam-has-recently-impacted-america/>.

Meghan McCain stated in her introduction that Obama's purpose was to "denounce anti-Muslim bias and refute Islam's connection to terror."¹⁹⁴ The network went on to show a clip from the speech where President Obama stated that

you've seen too often people conflating the horrific acts of terrorism with the beliefs of an entire faith. And of course, recently, we've heard inexcusable political rhetoric against Muslim Americans that has no place in our country.¹⁹⁵

They went on to show a clip where Obama said "let me say it as clearly as I can, as President of the United States: You fit in here -- right here. You're right where you belong. You're part of America, too."¹⁹⁶ McCain continued by saying "Unfortunately, this president doesn't view Islamic terror as an existential threat."

Eric Bolling stated that

2015 was the most violent deadly year for Christians around the world. Like in modern history, not just recent -- modern history, 7,100 Christians were killed for faith-related reasons. But I haven't heard him talk about that very much, and I'd like to see him address that, as well as how defensive he gets with Muslim -- with the Muslim faith being attacked, as well.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Meghan McCain, "The Five," *Fox News*, February 4, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2016/02/04/hillary-clinton-still-believes-in-vast-right-wing-conspiracy/>.

¹⁹⁵ President Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President at Islamic Society of Baltimore," (presentation, Baltimore, MD, February 3, 2016), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/02/03/remarks-president-islamic-society-baltimore>.

¹⁹⁶ President Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President at Islamic Society of Baltimore," (presentation, Baltimore, MD, February 3, 2016), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/02/03/remarks-president-islamic-society-baltimore>.

¹⁹⁷ Meghan McCain, "The Five," *Fox News*, February 4, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2016/02/04/hillary-clinton-still-believes-in-vast-right-wing-conspiracy/>.

There are a couple of problems with the opening statements from McCain and Bolling. First, there is no evidence to substantiate McCain's claim that President Obama does not view Islamic terror as a threat. Additionally, it seems that McCain and the other panelist believe that Muslims pose an existential threat to Christians because they think that Muslims want nothing more than to murder Christians. While it may be true that 7,100 Christians were killed for religious reasons that does not mean that Islam poses an extensional threat to all Christians. Not only did the hosts not provide any evidence to prove their claims, but they neglect to point out that it is unlikely that those deaths were all at the hands of Muslims. Secondly, the president's speech was not about ISIS or, the number of Christians whom Bolling claims have been killed throughout the world. Obama makes it very clear in his opening remarks that conversations between different faiths are crucial in the United States. He stated that "With interfaith dialogue, you build bridges of understanding with other faith communities -- Christians and Jews." In other words, when different faiths are able to communicate openly and accept one another that is the best possible outcome for all parties. Obama continue to discuss anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Mormonism which have all occurred in recent American history and the impact they have made. He said

And so if we're serious about freedom of religion -- and I'm speaking now to my fellow Christians who remain the majority in this country -- we have to understand an attack on one faith is an attack on all our faiths. And when any religious group is targeted, we all have a responsibility to speak up. And we have

to reject a politics that seeks to manipulate prejudice or bias, and targets people because of religion.¹⁹⁸

Brian Kilmeade responded with “He (Obama) said an attack on one religion is an attack on all religions. And that would have been a perfect time to say, for example, your number, 7,100 Christians, have been killed, and that's what we feel about that, and that's what we've got to build, is tolerance.”¹⁹⁹ First, Fox News offered no evidence that the supposed Christian genocide occurred. Secondly, Obama was not discounting past discrimination against Christians. In fact, he acknowledged it in the previous quote. Obama’s quote was pointing out that religious discrimination is an issue in the United States and that many other religions have faced the same intolerance as Muslims are currently experiencing. Fox News has been exhibiting Islamophobia for over a decade and they continue to do so because they have a vast audience who share the same beliefs as the network. Islamophobia is a learned behavior in our culture and Fox News and its viewers have been utilizing and growing that culture since 9/11. Furthermore, the network has facilitated for many the belief in the conservative culture that Muslims are sinister and that they should fear them.

President Obama and Vice President Biden hosted the Easter prayer breakfast on March 30, 2016. During the breakfast the president and vice president discussed the Brussels terror attacks. Hannity discussed Obama’s speech on his show and attacked it which has become the norm for Hannity and

¹⁹⁸ President Barack Obama, “Remarks by the President at Islamic Society of Baltimore,” (presentation, Baltimore, MD, February 3, 2016), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/02/03/remarks-president-islamic-society-baltimore>.

¹⁹⁹ Meghan McCain, “The Five,” *Fox News*, February 4, 2016, <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2016/02/04/hillary-clinton-still-believes-in-vast-right-wing-conspiracy/>.

the other Fox News anchors. Hannity showed a statement from a March 29, 2016 interview with *The Atlantic* where Obama stated that

You have some on the Republican side who will insist that what we need is the same moral clarity with respect to radical Islam. Except, of course, communism was not embedded in a whole bunch of cultures, communism wasn't a millennium-old religion that was embraced by a whole host of good, decent, hard-working people who are our allies²⁰⁰

In other words, Cruz and Trump should not compare radical Islam to Communism because they are not comparable. Islam is a centuries old religion and the majority of its followers have proven time again that they are peaceful and that the religion itself is peaceful. The two guests for the segment were Imam Mohammad Ali Elahi, spiritual leader of the Islamic House of Wisdom (IHW), and Pastor Robert Jeffress, a Fox News contributor. This segment occurred days after the Brussels attacks which gave Hannity and Jeffress even more ammunition than usual. Hannity asked the Imam "Are radical Islamists evil and are they a clear and present danger to the free world?" He responded by asking both Hannity and Jeffress to stop saying radical Islam because "it is either radical or Islam. It can't be both. Radical Islamism is a big lie." He would go on to say "Yes, ISIS is evil. Islam is not evil. Evil is ignorance. Evil is injustice. Evil is prejudice. Evil is racism." In other words, the Imam is arguing that terrorists and ISIS who proclaim that they are Muslims should not be dignified as that because they are not following the Quran and Muhammad's teachings. As a result,

²⁰⁰ President Barack Obama, interviewed by Jeffery Goldberg, "Obama on What Trump and Cruz Get Wrong About Islam," *The Atlantic* (Washington, D.C.), March 29, 2016. <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/03/obama-doctrine-goldberg-communism-islamism-isis/475833/>.

Hannity and other Americans should stop referring to ISIS and other terrorist groups as radical Islam because the term is not reflective of the Islamic religion. Hannity continued by claiming that “There are people in your religion that strap bombs and are very comfortable strapping bombs on their own children and hijacking airplanes and telling people that if they kill innocent men, women and children in the name of Allah that Allah will reward them with 72 virgins.” It is clear in this segment and in many others that Hannity is not interested in what Muslims have to say or what they actually believe because he firmly believes that all Muslims are dangerous. Hannity would go on to ask the same question. The Imam responded by saying that “radical Islam is evil because they are not Islamic. When I receive a letter from KKK, they threaten me to death, I don’t consider them representative of Christianity.” His argument is that the KKK has proclaimed itself to be a Christian organization, but he does not judge all Christians by the acts of one group which means that Christians should not judge Muslims either. Both Hannity and Jeffress agreed that the KKK is abhorrent, but they refuse to acknowledge the Imam’s point. There was a clear lack of respect for the Imam from both Hannity and Jeffress because he is a Muslim. Hannity and the other Fox News anchors have their own explanation for the terror attacks that took place in Brussels, Paris, Orlando, and the many other cities worldwide. Most Americans, both Christians and non-Christians, have developed their own explanation for terrorism and Fox News’ explanation for all the horrific acts is that all Muslims have sinister intents. Due to the network’s popularity it is clear that there are many Americans who believe think the same way.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Sean Hannity, “Hannity Report,” *Fox News*, March 30, 2016.

While Fox News is notorious for their anti-Muslim, stories they are not alone. The *700 Club* is equally Islamophobic. Their Islamophobic stance became evident in the days following 9/11. On September 13, 2001 Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell addressed the terror attacks on the *700 Club*. Robertson opened the discussion saying that

We lay naked before these terrorists who have infiltrated our country. There's probably tens of thousands of them in America right now. They've been raising money. They've been preaching their hate and overseas they have been spewing out venom against the United States for years. All over the Arab world, there is venom being poured out into people's ears and minds against America.

While it is true that there are foreign Muslims who despise Americans for many reasons, Robertson's statement was inflammatory to Muslims who have lived in the United States peacefully for many years. Robertson had no legitimate evidence to prove his claims that there were thousands of Muslims in the United States who were raising money for terrorist plots and organization. Robertson made it clear with his introduction and continually throughout the interview that his mission with the interview was to alienate Muslims despite the fact that 9/11 had already accomplished that. Falwell would begin by comparing 9/11 to Pearl Harbor and compare Muslims to Hitler. He said

Hitler's goal was to destroy the Jews among other things, and conquer the world. And, these Islamic fundamentalists, these radical terrorists, the Middle Eastern monsters are committed to destroying the Jewish nation, driving her into the Mediterranean, conquering the world. And, we are the great Satan.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rV9n0kwE56Y>.

In other words, the Muslim goal is to rid the world of Jews and Christians similar to the way Hitler attempted to exterminate European Jews. The problem with those claims is that the men made a blanket statement about Muslims in general that were completely unsubstantiated. While there is clear evidence that many Muslims in the Middle East are unhappy with America's involvement in Israel it is unfair to claim that the entire Muslim community has extremist connections or wish to tie themselves with extremists. In fact, Muslim Americans have made it clear time and again that they abhor the 9/11 attacks and the many terrorists attacks that have occurred since. Falwell and Robertson were equating the actions of a few with the whole. While the *700 Club* is not the only group that speaks against Muslims, it is crucial to point out that they hold an important place in America's Christian society because people view them as religious leaders. As a result, many Christians trust the opinions of the *700 Club* and their representatives. The *700 Club* is what some Christians would describe as the ideal type. Not because they are what most people would consider ideal, but because they are what many Christians would consider ideal. In other words, they are the ideal type because they have solidified themselves as Christian allies and one of the ways they have accomplished that is by demonizing Muslims despite the fact that the large majority of Muslims in the United States have proven their loyalty and commitment to peace. They are the ideal type because they have a loyal audience despite their disturbing messages.²⁰²

²⁰² Bruce Lincoln, "Transcript of Pat Robertson's Interview with Jerry Falwell Broadcast on the *700 Club*, September 13, 2001," in *Holy Terrors: Thinking about Religion after September 11*, ed. 2, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 180-109.

On July 14, 2016 Pat Robertson reacted to the massacre at the Pulse Night Club in Orlando. During this segment on the *700 Club* Robertson condemned President Obama, the LGBTQ community, and Muslims for the murders. His intense Islamophobia became evident once again when he stated that “radical Islam is in the religion of Islam. It is deeply embedded in the writing of Muhammad. It is in the Quran.”²⁰³ The nightclub massacre was the perfect opportunity for Robertson and *700 Club* members to attack the LGBTQ community and Muslims because they have exhibited time and again their hatred for both. While evidence proves that the gunman was a Muslim the problem with Robertson’s statement is that he is associating the entire Muslim population and their beliefs with the horrific acts of one man. While there is violence described within the Quran it is crucial to remember that the same exist in the Bible.²⁰⁴ Robertson does not offer any evidence to support his claim which is important to point out because the show has a large following who trust him as a religious leader. John Jessup, a *700 Club* correspondent would continue to state that “ISIS and other Islamists groups believe and teach that homosexuals are people they consider worthy of death and terror itself has a greater goal.”²⁰⁵ While there are several passages in the Quran that are clearly against homosexuality that does not necessarily mean that every Muslim interprets those passages the same way.²⁰⁶ It is further explained in the segment that in many Muslim countries that

²⁰³ Pat Robertson, *The 700 Club*, June 14, 2016, <http://www1.cbn.com/video/700club/2016/06/14/the-700-club-june-14-2016>.

²⁰⁴See e.g. Quran 9:5, Quran 9:29, Quran 2:217.

²⁰⁵ Pat Robertson, *The 700 Club*, June 14, 2016, <http://www1.cbn.com/video/700club/2016/06/14/the-700-club-june-14-2016>.

²⁰⁶See e.g. Quran 7:80-84, Quran 26:165-166, Quran 4:16.

homosexuality is a crime. While that may be true the show made no effort to speak to Muslim Americans who may think and believe differently when it comes to homosexuality. They go on to say that ISIS and other groups are celebrating the shooter for targeting the gay night club. What they leave out is that Muslims who disagree with homosexuality were not the only ones who viewed this massacre in a positive light because there are many Christians, including Pat Robertson, who believe that homosexuality is a sin. The argument the anchors were attempting to make was that the shooter was involved in an extremist group like ISIS, but there is no evidence to support that. The issue with the *700 Club's* approach to Muslims is that they assume that all Muslims are radical which is extremely discriminatory toward the millions of Muslims who are peaceful and protest that Islam is a peaceful religion. Islamophobia has become a way of life or schema in the United States since 9/11. The *700 Club* is aware of the fact that Islamophobia is prevalent among many Christian Americans who watch the show regularly. As a result, anti-Muslim rhetoric is something that is espoused regularly on the show. Events like the Orlando massacre give the *700 Club* a chance to further alienate Muslims and their agenda. In other words, if Islamophobia was not a topic that people did not want to hear about then the show and its anchors would find other topics to discuss and most likely would focus on attacking another group.

Islamophobia is not showing any signs of fading away like anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism have for the most part. While there are still hate crimes that occur against several different religio-ethnic groups Muslims are facing the

harshest of the hate. While 9/11 is the reason that many Islamophobes came to the forefront in the United States it is not the only reason and it is important to point out that it was an issue prior to the attacks. Until non-Muslims, particularly evangelical Christians, are willing to learn about and accept their Muslim neighbors there is very little evidence to suggest that they will be able to successfully assimilate into American society in the near future.

Conclusion

Religious-Ethnic discrimination has been an issue in the United States throughout country's history. The earliest group would be Native Americans and the people who are currently facing some of the worst hatred are Muslims and Jews. In the 19th Century European immigration spiked exponentially. Many European immigrants were Catholic which resulted in the first wide spread discriminatory era in American history. Additionally, their Catholicism meant that they would not be welcomed in the majority Protestant society. There was a long and complicated history in Europe between Catholics and Protestants which was one reason why Catholics were not welcomed in the United States. Once Catholics were able to successfully assimilate into American Protestant society the next religio-ethnic group to be targeted were Jews. Jewish discrimination in the United States was different from Catholic discrimination because many Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, believed that Jews murdered Jesus. The long standing belief and a devastating world war led to an anti-Semitic culture and society in the United States in the early 20th Century. Anti-Semitism was more widespread during this time due to the radio's popularity. There were also several prominent men who made it their goal's to spread anti-Semitic sentiment throughout the country. As time has passed and we entered into the 21st Century American media grew tremendously. The emergence and popularity of television, the internet, and social media has allowed many different stories and opinions to reach the public. Muslims have become the newest targets of religio-ethnic discrimination which the media has helped influence. Like Catholics and Jews, many evangelical Protestants believe that Muslims pose a major

threat to the United States and all aspects of American society. There is a clear discriminatory pattern that has a long history in the United States. Europeans immigrated to and formed the United States in order to gain religious, societal, and political freedom, but it soon became evident that outsiders would not be welcomed.

The United States Constitution clearly states in the First Amendment that

Freedom of religion, speech, and the press; rights of assembly and petition Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.²⁰⁷

In other words, religious freedom is laid out in one of the important legal and historical documents in the United States. However, the way in which many evangelical Protestants interpret the First Amendment is very different from the way others do. That is especially true in the American South and the Plain States. Evangelical Protestantism is rampant in both regions and it rules the culture and society in many ways. As a result, many evangelicals are hesitant to welcome those who practice another religion. In many southern cities and towns there are several churches that have different Protestant denominational influences. While there are non-Protestant and non-Christian houses of worship they are few and far between and much less noticeable than Protestant churches. While there is no doubt that Protestants have the lawful right to practice their religion freely it is evident that, to some, that only belongs to them.

²⁰⁷ 1st Amendment, *United States Constitution*, accessed February 11, 2017.

That is not to say that there are not many Protestants who believe that everyone has the right to practice their religion freely. In fact, there are many American Protestants who work tirelessly to defend that right for their Muslim, Jewish, and Catholic neighbors. Many Protestants act as if the First Amendment exists solely to protect them, but that is not the point. We need to remember that the search for religious freedom is one of the most common reasons people immigrate to the United States. It is also important to remember that religious freedom was also one of the most important factors that was considered when Americans were fighting for their freedom. As a result, it is hypocritical for American society to treat other religious and ethnic groups as if their search for religious freedom is not valid. Until our society realizes that religious freedom was not exclusively meant for Protestants then the First Amendment's true intent will never be realized.

As we know, the religious-ethnic group that is facing the greatest discrimination in 2017 is Muslims. While Muslims have been targeted since the early 1970s, the discrimination and bigotry that Muslims faced increased after September 11, 2001 because they quickly became the scapegoats for the terror attacks. On October 10, 2016 a mosque in New Jersey was vandalized and defaced with Islamophobic and pro-Trump rhetoric. According to Christopher Mathias, political journalist for *The Huffington Post*, "Police say they've arrested a 20-year-old man for spray-painting anti-Muslim messages and the words "Donald Trump" on a Muslim community center in Bayonne, New Jersey, early Friday morning." Mathias explains that Jonathan Huffey

is accused of spray-painting a slew of hateful messages — including “Fuck Muslims,” “Fuck ISIS,” “Fuck Allah” and “Fuck Arabs,” as well as “Donald Trump,” the name of the Republican presidential nominee — on the exterior wall of the Muslim Community Miraj Center, located in the basement of a Catholic elementary school.

The fact that the Muslim organization is in the basement of a Catholic elementary school is crucial because it means that not only were Muslims affected by the hate crime, but so were the Catholic students and administrators at the school. While this appears to be an isolated incident in the New Jersey city it is possible that Huffey was motivated by the Muslim community’s wish to build a mosque. However, it is important to point out that this hate crime and this act of vandalism is not the only one that occurred in the United States. Mathias goes on to explain that “A report earlier this year from the Council on American-Islamic Relations found 78 instances in 2015 where mosques were targeted for vandalism, arson and other types of destruction — a nearly 400 percent jump from 2014.

Additionally,

a recent report from the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino, documented at least 260 hate crimes targeting Muslims in 2015 — a nearly 80 percent rise from 2014 and the greatest number of such crimes in any year since 2001.

These numbers are disturbing, but not surprising. However, the numbers probably would surprise many people because the stories are not widely covered. The fact that the mainstream media does not cover stories and statistics like these means that they are easily ignored and covered up. By not bringing these issues to the forefront American Protestant evangelicals are able to

continue to believe the stereotypical and false beliefs and accusations that persist about Muslims.²⁰⁸

On January 23, 2017 *The Huffington Post* published an article, written by Mathias, that listed the six most common stereotypical false beliefs that many Americans believe are true about Muslims and their beliefs. The article states that

After the 2015 terror attack in Paris, when Donald Trump and other GOP presidential candidates were ratcheting up their anti-Muslim political speech, we started a running list of Islamophobic acts. Sadly, in less than two months, the list became so long the webpage often wouldn't load.

Due to the fact that hate crimes against Muslims are often ignored in the United States by both many Americans and the mainstream American media. *The Huffington Post* named their research the "The Islamophobia Project which was "committed to tracking anti-Muslim violence, vandalism, discrimination, public policy and political speech throughout 2016." Throughout the process the news outlet set up a hotline and email which enabled people to call in reports of Islamophobia. Mathias wrote that

Having tracked hate for a year, we're able to see that people who disparaged Muslim Americans are mostly reading from the same old script. It's possible even to look at our project as a kind of how-to guide for anti-Muslim bigotry — a list of six "rules" of Islamophobia in America.

²⁰⁸ Christopher Mathias, "New Jersey Muslim Center Defaced with 'Donald Trump,' Racist Graffiti," *The Huffington Post*, October 14, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/bayonne-mosque-vandalized_us_58013157e4b06e047594c812.

The six “rules” were:

1. Muslims are not American
2. All Muslims are Terrorists
3. Pork is to Muslims as a Crucifix or Garlic is to Vampires
4. All Brown People are Potentially Muslims, and are Therefore Potentially Terrorists
5. Islam is Not a Religion, It’s a Violent Ideology
6. There’s a Secret Muslim Plot to Take Over and/or Destroy the United States and/or Western Civilization from Within

Despite the fact that none of these “rules” are true about the Islamic religion and most Muslim followers there are many Americans who believe that Muslims are dangerous people and that their religion is just a cover for sinister plans. Muslims are considered “others” and “outsiders” which makes them a major target.

However, Mathias points out that Islamophobia is

ubiquitous in the daily lives of Muslim Americans. It’s when a Muslim mom tells her daughter to maybe not wear the hijab today. It’s a Muslim father having to explain to his children that no, they’re citizens, they can’t be deported. It’s how almost every Muslim in a movie is depicted as a terrorist, and it’s why cable news channels only ask Muslims if they condemn terrorism.

In other words, discrimination is so commonplace for many Muslims in the United States that they do not appear to be surprised when they are targeted. As a result, many Muslims tend to go out of their way to avoid drawing attention to themselves. By doing this Muslims are able to live under the radar to a certain

extent. Additionally, it is important to point out that Muslims are not alone in this. We have seen Catholics, Jews, and several other religious-ethnic groups participate in the same behavior in order to protect themselves from the discrimination they have grown accustomed to.²⁰⁹

While most immigrants face religio-ethnic discrimination in some form once they reach the United States it is important to point out that we know that the majority are able to find acceptance and assimilate. We have seen Catholics and Jews successfully assimilate into American society and it is likely that Muslims will be able to do the same. One reason we see less anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism currently because other generations were taught that treating Catholics and Jews badly and with contempt is wrong. Due to that historical pattern we can expect that Muslims will also find acceptance because my generation will teach the next that Islamophobia is wrong. Unfortunately, we have not reached that point yet so we are stilling seeing Islamophobia and it is likely that it will continue in the years to come.

Catholics, Jews, and Muslims are the main topics of the thesis, but it is crucial to understand that they are not the only groups to have faced this. If nothing else, the information that is presented throughout proves that there is a discriminatory pattern that exists and will continue to exist in the future because many Americans are uninformed and unwilling to accept others. One major issue with American society is that many are firmly either conservative or liberal or

²⁰⁹ Christopher Mathias, "6 Rules of Islamophobia in America," *The Huffington Post*, January 23, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/islamophobia-america_us_587cf491e4b0e58057ff98e0?

Republican or Democrat. As a result, we see time and again that people in our society are so firmly based in one worldview that they refuse to see another's side. The 2016 Presidential Election is a good example. While there are many reasons why conservative Americans voted for President Trump, there is also a subsection of society that voted strictly along party lines. This also holds true for liberals and Democrats. Until Americans are willing to listen to what other sides have to say and accept those opinions and beliefs as valid then it is doubtful that anything will improve. American society needs to be more tolerant toward those who do not think, believe, feel, and act in the same they do. One way in which that can be done is for both Democrats and Republicans to come together, accept their differences, and work together to come up with solutions on immigration, religion, terror attacks, and a myriad of other topics.

Peter Gottschalk, author and religion professor at Wesleyan University, wrote that

Popular representations tend to treat discrimination as though it is some sort of disease that simply requires the inoculation of enlightened education or familiar contact in order to remedy it. In some instances and for some individuals, this may be exactly the right 'cure.' However, the fact that... neighbors have often turned against neighbors suggests that matters more complex and difficult to address have often been at play. Some opine that it is the very existence of religion itself that is responsible. They optimistically suggest that if only religions would disappear, discrimination would evaporate.

He goes on to explain that "Too many sad moments in American history (and that of other nations) prove this to be naïve and reflect that religion often serves as

the flashpoint for conflicts involving many other ingredients.” Gottschalk hit the nail on the head with this point because, while religion may be a contributing factor in religious-ethnic discrimination, it is in no way the only one. One issue we see time and again as history repeats itself in the United States is that evangelical Protestants have a pattern of using their religious beliefs to discriminate and alienate their non-Protestant and non-Christian neighbors. Many Protestants seem to have a hard time understanding that there is not one correct or set interpretation or meaning for the Bible. The reason that we do not know for certain what the Bible’s authors meant is because it has been translated several times and no one that is currently living was there to experience those events. Religion is one piece to the puzzle when we look at discrimination and the reasons behind it, but there is nothing in the thesis or the research that was used in it to suggest or prove that religion is the root of all the problems. However, the major issue that appears time and again among American Protestants is that they tend to insist that Protestantism is the only answer. As a result, we see more and more evangelicals who insist that that other religious beliefs are wrong and those who practice and believe them are evil. In Catholics’ case Protestants believed that the pope was leading the charge to take over the United States. When we look at Jews there were many Americans who believed that Jews were responsible for Jesus’ death which was a result of incorrect New Testament interpretation. Now we see evangelical Protestants accusing Muslims of committing mass jihad as a result of the false belief that murder and jihad is something the prophet Muhammad instructed them to do. False beliefs about

religion are all too common in the United States. One reason for that is because many believe that the United States is a Christian nation and that Protestants should have priority over others. As a result, many Americans who believe that Muslims are dangerous believe that because they are unwilling to look past their own beliefs and what they have been taught. Until evangelical Protestants are willing to look at their beliefs and those of others in a different way religious discrimination will never change and the past will continue to repeat itself. Furthermore, it is crucial that religious organizations learn about one another and are willing to work together in order to better themselves and their shared communities.²¹⁰

Gottschalk goes on to explain that “many have to actively work backwards from the negative attitudes they considered commonsensical, challenging each assumed presupposition and being willing to buck accepted truths among their family and friends, with possible negative ramifications for doing so.”²¹¹ When many people enter college the classes and the experience ask them to reevaluate their beliefs and thoughts about religion, politics, and the society that surrounds them. As a result, during and after college we see many people’s views change from the society in which they were raised. For many young adults college gives them the opportunity to leave their home and to meet and socialize with many different many who come from diverse backgrounds. As a result, opinions and beliefs sometimes change due to those experiences. However,

²¹⁰ Peter Gottschalk, *American Heretics: Catholics, Jews, Muslims, and the History of Religious Intolerance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 2-3.

²¹¹ Peter Gottschalk, *American Heretics: Catholics, Jews, Muslims, and the History of Religious Intolerance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3.

opinions and beliefs clash when college students reenter their old environments. For example, people who are raised in strictly conservative households and family units there are often issues because we are exposed to different viewpoints and people who think and view the world differently than we do. However, we tend to accuse others of being close-minded and unwilling to see the other person's point. While that is a valid complaint it also needs to be acknowledged that both sides can behave in the same manner. While reading this thesis and the views expressed within there may be areas in which people do not view the situation in the same way, but it is important to remember that the research provided proves the point and, as a result, are valid. Until both sides are willing to accept the viewpoints of those around them then it is not likely anything will change.

On January 27, 2017 President Trump signed an executive order entitled *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorists* which quickly became known as the "Muslim ban" throughout the country. While it is important to point out that this executive order was not written as a permanent ban on immigration from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, and Libya, all Muslim majority countries, it is problematic due to Trump's Islamophobic rhetoric throughout his presidential campaign. Like most bills and laws that are either presented to Congress or signed as an executive order it is rather vague. One of the most important things that needs to be explained, but is not explained in the order, is that there is a rather thorough vetting process for immigrants in the Middle East. The order proposes that vetting process be changed or that some additions are added, but

it does not give the reader any idea as to what those changes might be.

Additionally, Section 5 B states that

Upon the resumption of USRAP (the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program) admissions, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Homeland Security, is further directed to make changes, to the extent permitted by law, to prioritize refugee claims made by individuals on the basis of religious-based persecution, provided that the religion of the individual is a minority religion in the individual's country of nationality.²¹²

The problem with that section is that all the countries that are included in the order are Muslim majority. By making this statement the order is stating that Muslims, because they are the majority, would not be included. This means that any non-Muslim religion, for example Christianity, would take priority. While no religion or religious person should face persecution it also is not right to exclude Muslims who are just as or more susceptible to persecution. Many Americans may not have noticed this section and if they did they may not have taken issue with it, but this section further proves to Muslims, both in the United States and those who wish to enter, that they are not welcome.

Section 10 is even more disturbing and problematic. With the subject Transparency and Data Collection Section 10 states the following:

- (a) To be more transparent with the American people, and to more effectively implement policies and practices that sever the national interest, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Attorney General, shall, consistent with applicable

²¹² President Donald Trump, *Executive Order: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist*, Section 5 B, (January 27, 2017).

law and national security, collect and make publicly available within 180 days, and every 180 days thereafter:

- (i) Information regarding the number of foreign nationals in the United States who have been charged with terrorism-related offenses while in the United States; convicted of terrorism-related offenses while in the United States; or removed from the United States based on terrorism-related activity, affiliation, or material support to a terrorism-related organization, or any other national security reasons since the date of this order or the last reporting period, whichever is later;
- (ii) Information regarding the number of foreign nationals in the United States who have been radicalized after entry into the United States and engaged in terrorism-related acts, or who have provided material support to terrorism-related organizations in countries that pose a threat to the United States...
- (iii) Information regarding the number and types of acts of gender-based violence against women, including honor killings, in the United States by foreign nationals...²¹³

There are several issues with this section. While none of the issues laid out in this section are things that we should want to occur in the United States, the problem is that that Trump wants to produce and publish a list of possible criminals who happen to be Muslims. One issue with this is that if we are going to publish and publicize the names of possible Muslim criminals then it is only right and fair to publish the names of abusive spouses and Americans who commit heinous crimes. The major point is that native born Americans should be held to the same standards as those immigrants who are attempting to escape dangerous situations in their home countries. It is crucial that we understand that Muslims immigrants are not the only people Americans should fear. There are

²¹³ President Donald Trump, *Executive Order: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist*, Section 5 B, (January 27, 2017).

Americans who are committing hate crimes and who are take part in terror activities around the country, but there are people who choose to look in the other direction. The major difference in these situations is that the media chooses not to recognize them the majority of the time.

The Centre for Research on Globalization, an independent research and media organization based in Montreal, used information from the START Globalization Terrorism Database a group that tracks terrorism worldwide that began in 1970, in order to conduct their own research about Muslim terrorism.

The article states that

We counted up the number of terrorist attacks carried out by Muslims. We excluded attacks by groups which are obviously not Muslims, such as the Ku Klux Klan, Medellin Drug Cartel, Irish Republican Army, Anti-Castro Group, Mormon extremists, Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation, Jewish Defense League, May 19 Communist Order, Chicano Liberation Front, Jewish Armed Resistance, American Indian Movement, Gay Liberation Front, Aryan Nation, Jewish Action Movement, National Front for the Liberation of Cuba, or Fourth Reich Skinheads.

They also

counted attacks by Al Qaeda, the Taliban, Black American Moslems, or anyone who even remotely *sounded* Muslim ... for example anyone from Palestine, Lebanon or any other Arab or Muslim country, or any name including anything sounding remotely Arabic or Indonesian (like "Al" anything or "Jamaat" anything).

The group discovered that there were approximately 2,400 terror attacks in the United States within the START database. Only 60 were carried about by

Muslims. That means that “approximately 2.5% of all terrorist attacks on U.S. soil between 1970 and 2012 were carried out by Muslims.”²¹⁴ While this study took place in 2013 and there have been severe terror attacks since then, it is still relevant. According to Aurelie Corinthios, writer and editor for *People Magazine*, there have been 15 terror attacks committed in the United States since 2013. While seven of these attacks were committed by Muslims the rest were committed by non-Muslim American citizens.²¹⁵ Yes, terror attacks have occurred in the United States and they have been devastating, but it is crucial to understand that non-Muslim Americans have committed more hate crimes and terror attacks than Muslims and that is what Corinthios points out. The media and Trump have spent the majority of their time focusing on Muslim attacks and ignoring the hate crimes which are becoming more and more frequent.

One reason American evangelical Protestants believe so many terrible things about Muslims is due to the fact that they are ignorant and uninformed about their Muslims neighbors and their Islamic faith. If someone educated in religions other than Christianity were to ask a Christian what the five pillars of Islam are it is highly unlikely that they would know. While knowing that information is not crucial to understanding Muslims and their beliefs, it is important because many evangelicals get their information from extremely biased sources such as the *700 Club* and *Fox News*. As a result, the information they

²¹⁴ “Non-Muslims Carried Out More than 90% of All Terrorist Attacks in America,” Centre for Research on Globalization, (May 1, 2013), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/non-muslims-carried-out-more-than-90-of-all-terrorist-attacks-in-america/5333619>.

²¹⁵ Aurelie Corinthios, “How Many Terror Attacks in the United States Have Been Carried Out By Immigrants from the 7 Banned Muslim Countries?” *People Magazine* (New York, NY), January 29, 2017, <http://people.com/politics/donald-trump-refugee-muslim-ban-terrorist-attack-us-statistics/>.

are receiving is not the entire truth which results in false ideas and assumptions about people and religious beliefs that they do not understand. If Americans were willing to research and learn about Muslims and others who are facing discrimination then there is a strong possibility that more people would be willing to accept newcomers. The question is why are more Americans not willing to learn about these religious-ethnic groups? Until there are more Americans, particularly Protestant evangelicals, who are willing to educate themselves about those whom they do not understand it is extremely unlikely that the cycle of discrimination will end. In fact, after Muslims are able to successfully assimilate into American society like Catholics and Jews have another group, possibly a group that has been targeted in the past, will be found.

While the thesis concentrates on Protestant religio-ethnic discrimination it is also important to point out that there are times when sometimes those who assimilate become the discriminators. The best example of this is the Catholics and their treatment of the Jews during the interwar period. However, Catholics are not the only religious group that has persecuted others. We know that there are anti-Catholic and Islamophobic Jews and Islamophobic Catholics, but they do not get a lot of attention because they do not make a lot of noise. Additionally, there also Muslims who hate Jews and Christians for any number of reasons. There is no doubt that evangelical Protestants are not the only groups that that discriminate against others the reason the thesis concentrates on the evangelicals who discriminate is because they are the most prominent and garner the most attention within the country.

History teaches us that immigrants come to the United States, both legally and illegally, for several reasons. Politics, religion, economics, and war are just a few, but many Americans seemed to have lost interest in why millions of people from around the world try to enter the United States every year. Many times immigrants are looking to live in a country where they will feel safe and they have to freedom to practice their religion without persecution and danger. The problem with this is that many Americans like to claim that religious freedom and safety are one of the many reasons that makes the United States a great nation, but the issue is that their actions speak louder. There are many who claim that the United States is a Christian nation, but they choose to ignore that there are many different religions that are practiced in the United States. Our legal system has many more Christians in it than it does Muslims and Jews which is just one reason why Americans wanted to believe that President Obama was Muslim. There is nothing substantial or legitimate to prove that Catholics, Jews, or Muslims want to destroy the United States and Protestantism, but that has not and probably will not keep them from being targeted well into the future. Despite Trump's executive order and what it could possibly mean for the Muslim nations that are both included and ignore the fact of the matter is that immigrants, both Muslims and non-Muslims will continue to enter the country. It is important to point out that immigration laws are outdated and should be amended, but until lawmakers are willing to approach the situation in a way that makes real change it is not likely that anything will improve politically. Furthermore, it is crucial that evangelical Protestants find a way to accept and learn about those who believe

differently than they do. The real question is why are evangelical Protestants not willing to learn about the non-Protestant and non-Christian neighbors? This thesis does not answer that question or many others, but the point is to prove to people through research and evidence that there is a serious problem in the United States that has been occurring in a cyclical manner since the 13 Colonies were established. Until we, as Americans, are willing to treat each other with respect then the discriminatory cycle will continue and Catholics, Jews, Muslims, African Americans, Native Americans, and many other religious-ethnic groups will continue to be targeted.

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