

John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics

Annual Report 2012-2013

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Founding

The John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics owes its existence to the tremendous generosity of the Danforth Foundation, founded in 1927 by Mr. and Mrs. William H. Danforth. The Foundation's commitment to funding St. Louis-based initiatives is well known, and in 2009 it announced a major gift to Washington University to establish the Center. John C. Danforth, former Senator from Missouri and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, was particularly engaged in the Center's founding and remains a member of its National Advisory Board. This gift reflects Senator Danforth's specific interest in religion and politics, as set out in his 2006 book, Faith and Politics: How the "Moral Values" Debate Divides America and How to Move Forward Together (Viking).

Letter from the Chancellor



Religion and Politics—two subjects that can elicit emotion and initiate debate across all levels of our society, and two subjects that are historically bound together in American democracy. In the three years of its existence, the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics continues to fulfill its mission of providing an ideologically neutral place where dialogue on these subjects can be freely expressed, with respect for different points of view and belief systems, and with the focus always on providing excellent scholarship and encouraging relevant, thought-provoking discussion for the community.

The Center seeks to deepen the academic and public understanding of religion and politics in America. Its ongoing commitment is to consider multiple and sometimes conflicting perspectives and to contribute rigorous, unbiased standards and scholarship to these discussions. At the launch of the Center, former Senator and Ambassador to the United Nations John C. Danforth stated, "The more light that is shed on a subject, the healthier we are." The Center's goal is to shed light by encouraging and sustaining civil discourse and respectfully addressing

profound issues on which American citizens sometimes disagree.

Over the past year, the Center has certainly accomplished its mission. It has engaged the public by hosting more than 1,300 community members at a varied program of lectures by visiting professors and nationally recognized personalities. The online journal Religion and Politics celebrated its first year by garnering notable awards and more than one million page views. It has continued to recruit new faculty and staff members, increased the number of course offerings from 3 to 7, and now offers a minor in Religion and Politics for undergraduates. This past year the Center also launched the Colloquium on American Religion, Politics, and Culture. This research-oriented, community-building workshop featured 16 scholars from 12 different universities and multiple disciplines who came together to explore topical issues at the core of the Center: church/state relations, religion and secularism, the role of religion in national elections, and the rise of the Religious Right, to name just a few.

It is clear that the Center is contributing greatly to the quality and impact of our University, and it is equally apparent that its endeavors are of use, interest, and value beyond the Washington University community. We are grateful to Senator Danforth, a true visionary, whose strong belief that we can move forward together despite having divergent opinions on matters of politics and religion is an aspiration that continues to guide us.

Mark S. Wrighton Chancellor

Letter from the Center Director

The John C. Danforth Center has now completed its third full year of operations, and what a marvelous year it has been!

Two new faculty members, Mark Jordan and Darren Dochuk, joined us in the summer of 2012, along with our first postdoctoral research fellow, Anne Blankenship. In the course of the year, we hired another stellar faculty member, Laurie Maffly-Kipp, and another postdoctoral fellow, Lerone Martin, along with the Center's new Associate Director, Rachel M. Lindsey.

All the while we were building a brand new undergraduate curriculum in religion and politics; establishing a dissertation fellowship program for visiting Ph.D. students; our online journal reached more readers than ever before; and our diverse public programming drew thousands to the Washington University campus and our online streaming services.

This year, the Center hosted seven public lectures, including two accomplished figures from across the political spectrum. George F. Will's December 2012 keynote address earned us much praise and also some criticism. In February, we co-sponsored a public lecture by Sandra Fluke, whose admirers and critics were no less vocal. Research universities, like our Center itself, have always stood for the airing of truly diverse viewpoints; and in these polarized times, engaging rigorously with perspectives that challenge one's own has never seemed more urgent.

None of these achievements would be possible without the concrete support of our growing number of benefactors and donors, all of whom we have listed at the end of this report. Since the



founding gift from the Danforth Foundation and the extraordinary graciousness of Senator John C. Danforth, other gifts have increased our endowment and enabled us to do still more to increase the resources and possibilities of this innovative Center. To those who have given generously and sacrificially to the Center, know that we will use these gifts wisely and well.

This year, we have been especially humbled by the generosity of Dr. William Neaves, who established a professorship in the Center to honor his beloved and highly accomplished wife. In early 2013, Mark D. Jordan assumed the Reverend Priscilla Wood Neaves Distinguished Professorship (page 33).

I invite you to visit us online or in person, to see what we're doing, and to share your ideas about how we may do it better. We will never stop trying to improve. Thank you again for your critical feedback and support.

R. Marie Griffith

Director

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Leading

Our Commitments:

To support and enhance outstanding scholarly research on the historical and contemporary intertwining of religion and politics.

To disseminate excellent scholarship to students and the broad public by means of courses, lectures, and conferences.

To foster debate and discussion among people who hold widely different views about religion and/ or politics.



Faculty Director

R. Marie Griffith

R. Marie Griffith, the John C. Danforth Distinguished Professor in the Humanities at Washington University in St. Louis, is currently the director of the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics.

Professor Griffith earned her undergraduate degree at the University of Virginia in Political and Social Thought in 1989. She completed both her M.A. and Ph.D. in the study of religion at Harvard University. Upon earning her doctorate in 1995, she was awarded consecutive fellowships at both Princeton University and Northwestern University. In 1999, she joined the faculty at Princeton where she filled several roles. From 1999-2003, she was associate director of Princeton's Center for the Study of Religion. In 2003, she became associate professor of religion and was promoted to professor in 2005. She was later named the director for the Program in the Study of Women and Gender. While at Princeton, Griffith was awarded the President's Award for Distinguished Teaching, along with the Cotsen Fellowship for Distinguished Teaching in 2008. She returned to her alma mater, Harvard University, in 2009 as the John A. Bartlett



Professor in the Divinity School, serving as well on the faculty committee for the History of American Civilization program in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

Her first major publication was God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission (University of California Press, 1997), which examines the practices and perceptions of contemporary evangelical women. Her next book, Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity (University of California Press, 2004), explores the history of Christian-influenced attitudes and practices related to embodiment in modern America, culminating in the evangelical diet and fitness movement. These books, along with her three edited volumes-Women and Religion in the African Diaspora: Knowledge, Power, and Performance (co-edited with Barbara Dianne Savage. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), Religion and Politics in the Contemporary United States (co-edited with Melani McAlister. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), and American Religions: A Documentary History (Oxford University Press, 2007)—exhibit Griffith's varied and thoughtful scholarship.

Her upcoming book will be an analysis of sexuality debates in twentieth-century American Christianity titled Christians, Sex and Politics: An American History. In addition to her books, Professor Griffith has published over thirty-one articles and book chapters and has written more than twenty reviews.

Faculty

Leigh Eric Schmidt

Leigh Eric Schmidt is the Edward C. Mallinckrodt University Professor in the Humanities at Washington University in St. Louis. He joined the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics in 2011.

From 2009 to 2011, he was the Charles Warren Professor of the History of Religion in America at Harvard University, and, from 1995 to 2009, he taught at Princeton University where he was the Agate Brown and George L. Collord Professor of Religion and served as chair of the Department of Religion. He has held research fellowships at Stanford and Princeton and also through the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the Guggenheim Foundation. Schmidt earned his undergraduate degree in history and religious studies from the University of California, Riverside, in 1983 and his Ph.D. in religion from Princeton in 1987.

Schmidt is the author of numerous books, including Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment (Harvard University Press, 2000), which won the American Academy of Religion Award for Excellence in Historical Studies and the John Hope Franklin Prize of the American Studies Association. He is also the author of Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality (HarperOne, 2005), which appeared in an updated edition from the University of California Press in 2012; Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays (Princeton University Press, 1995); and Holy Fairs: Scottish Communions and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period (Princeton, 1989), which received the Brewer Prize from

the American Society of Church History. In addition, Schmidt has served as co-editor with Sally Promey of American Religious Liberalism (Indiana University Press, 2012), co-editor with Laurie Maffly-Kipp and Mark Valeri of *Practicing* Protestants: Histories of the Christian Life in America (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), and co-author with Edwin Scott Gaustad of The Religious History of America (HarperOne, 2002). Schmidt's latest single- authored book is Heaven's Bride: The Unprintable Life of Ida C. Craddock, American Mystic, Scholar, Sexologist, Martyr, and Madwoman (Basic Books, 2010).

His next book project explores how atheism and nonbelief have fared historically in American public life.



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Faculty (cont'd)

Mark D. Jordan

Mark Jordan is the Reverend Priscilla Wood Neaves Distinguished Professor of Religion and Politics in the Center. A philosopher, ethicist, and theologian, he formerly served as Richard Reinhold Niebuhr Professor of Divinity and Professor of Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality at Harvard University. He had taught earlier at the University of Notre Dame and Emory University.

Jordan earned his B.A., summa cum laude, from St. John's College (Annapolis and Santa Fe), and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. His doctoral training was in pre-modern European thought, and he has since published widely on medieval Christian texts. Jordan's work has turned more recently to religious ethics in the modern period, particularly in the United States. His recent writing and teaching pursue questions about the interactions of political and religious rhetoric, the history of sex and gender in America, and the functions of ritual in creating new identities. At the Center, he teaches a range of courses on such topics as the uses of natural law, recent theories of political and religious power, and the intellectual history of sex and gender.



Jordan's many books include The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology (University of Chicago Press, 1997), which won the 1999 John Boswell Prize in Lesbian and Gay History; The Ethics of Sex (Basil Blackwell, 2002); Telling Truths in Church: Scandal, Flesh, and Christian Speech (Beacon Press, 2003); Rewritten Theology: Aquinas after His Readers (Basil Blackwell, 2006); and Recruiting Young Love: How Christians Talk about Homosexuality (University of Chicago Press, 2011), which received the 2012 nonfiction book award from the Publishing Triangle. He has just finished a book on religion and bodily resistance in the writings of Michel Foucault, to be published by Stanford University Press in 2014. His next project reinterprets the structure of Thomas Aquinas's Summa of Theology as a guide to forgotten patterns of Christian moral formation.

Professor Jordan has received numerous fellowships and grants from organizations that include the John S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Carpenter Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Henry Luce Foundation. He has held visiting appointments at a number of schools, including the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. He has lectured in academic and public settings in North America and Europe.

Darren T. Dochuk

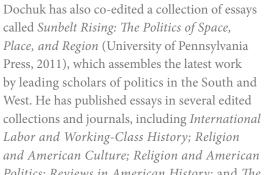
Darren Dochuk earned his B.A. from Simon Fraser University and M.A. from Queen's University in Canada before completing his Ph.D. in 2005 at the University of Notre Dame. Between 2005 and 2012, he taught courses in twentieth century U.S. political and cultural history at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana.

In 2011, Dochuk published From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism (W.W. Norton), which tracks the emergence of evangelical politics from the margins of the Depression-era "Bible Belt" South into the mainstream of California's "Sunbelt" society. It has garnered a number of awards, including The Society of American Historians' Allan Nevins Prize, American Historical Association's John H. Dunning book prize for outstanding historical writing on any subject in U.S. history, and The Organization of American Historians' Ellis W. Hawley prize for best book in post-Civil War U.S. political history. It has been reviewed in The American Historical Review, Journal of American History, Church History, and numerous other academic journals, as well as in popular magazines such as The Nation, The New Republic, Christian Century, and Time.

Politics; Reviews in American History; and The

Journal of American History. He has received extensive research support from a number of agencies, most recently the American Council of Learned Societies, National Endowment for the Humanities, American Philosophical Society, Purdue Research Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation, and the Canadian government.

In 2007-2008, he served as a research postdoctoral fellow at the Center for the Study of Religion at Princeton University, and in the spring of 2013 he was Bill and Rita Clements Senior Research Fellow at Southern Methodist University's Clements Center for Southwest Studies. Dochuk is currently working on a book project tentatively titled Anointed With Oil: God and Black Gold in Modern America. It employs grassroots sources, church and corporate archives, and the personal records of powerful industrialists to chart evangelical Protestantism's longstanding (and politically significant) relationship with the petroleum industry.





Center Founders

John C. Danforth

John C. Danforth, a partner with the law firm of Bryan Cave, developed the initial vision for the Center that is now named for him. He graduated with honors from Princeton University and earned a Bachelor of Divinity degree from Yale Divinity School and a Bachelor of Laws degree from Yale Law School. He practiced law for some years, then began his political career in 1968, when he was elected Attorney General of Missouri, his first race for public office. He was re-elected to that post in 1972. Missouri voters elected him to the U.S. Senate in 1976 and re-elected him in 1982 and 1988. Serving 18 years in the Senate, he initiated major legislation in the areas of international trade, telecommunications, health care, research & development, transportation, and civil rights. In 1999, Attorney General Janet Reno appointed him special counsel to investigate the federal raid on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. In 2004, he represented the United States as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and served as a Special Envoy to Sudan. He is the author of Faith and Politics: How the "Moral Values" Debate Divides America and How to Move Forward Together (Viking, 2006).

Wayne Fields

Wayne Fields, the Lynne Cooper Harvey Distinguished Professor of English, is the Center's founding director. He joined the English department at Washington University as an instructor in 1968, and he has since served as chair of the Department of English, dean of University College, and director of that same college's Master of Liberal Arts program. He helped establish the American Culture Studies program in 1996, and functioned as its Director until 2008; and he chaired the Democracy and Citizenship Initiative from 2008-2010. Fields is an accomplished author and frequent commentator on the subject of political rhetoric. His writings include Union of Words: A History of Presidential Eloquence (The Free Press, 1996); What the River Knows: An Angler in Midstream (University of Chicago Press, 1990); The Past Leads a Life of Its Own (Poseidon Press, 1992); and several essays. Fields has also served as a radio and television commentator and magazine columnist. He has received various teaching awards and fellowships.





Postdoctoral Fellow Staff

Anne Blankenship

Anne Blankenship earned her Ph.D. in Religious Studies in 2012 from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she specialized in American religious history. She earned a B.A. from the University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, WA and an M.A. in Religion with a concentration in History of Christianity at Yale Divinity School. Her research focuses on religious responses to injustice and associations between national and religious identities.

Her current book project, tentatively titled *Before* the Civil Rights Movement: Christian Responses to the Incarceration of Japanese Americans, will be completed this year. It will examine more broadly her dissertation topic, "Steps to a New World Order: Ecumenism and Racial Integration During the World War II Incarceration of Japanese Americans," which analyzed the responses of Protestant churches to the Japanese American incarceration, by also engaging the responses of Quakers and Roman Catholics.

Blankenship has accepted the offer to continue her appointment with the Center for the 2013-14 academic year.

Laura Delmez

As Payroll and Accounting Assistant for the Center, Laura Delmez draws on her experience in accounting and a careful eye for detail. She has significant experience with Washington University accounting systems, as well as with human resources and office administration more generally. Her previous positions include Departmental Accounting Assistant for the Office of Medical Student Education at Washington University School of Medicine and Office Coordinator for Weber Shandwick Worldwide. Laura holds a bachelor of science in mass communications from Southeast Missouri State University.





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Staff (cont'd)

Lenora Fisher

Lenora Fisher served as the Center's assistant director 2010-2013. She has considerable professional familiarity with the fields of politics and religion. She spent two years working on the Obama Presidential Campaign, where her responsibilities ranged from field organizer to religious outreach coordinator to midwest operations director. During graduate school, she interned with the Pew Forum on Religion and the Public Life and the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy. She also engaged in several cultural studies that explored topics like the role of religion in government and the influences of racism and poverty in society throughout her education. She holds a bachelor of arts from Greenville College, as well as master's degrees from both Wesley Theological Seminary and American University's School of International Service in Washington, D.C.

Hannah Hofheinz

Hannah L. Hofheinz is a Th.D. candidate in Theology at Harvard University who spent 2012-13 on staff with the Center to develop a range of special projects that reached out to a diverse array of undergraduate and graduate students at Washington University, including a lunch discussion series focusing on issues of science, religion, and politics. Hofheinz is a constructive theologian whose current research focuses at the theological intersections of politics, economics, sexuality, and knowledge. Her dissertation explores the effects of processes of writing on academic theology through a critical engagement with the Indecent Theology of Marcella Althaus-Reid. It asks whether it is in her practices of writing — her techniques and genres, as well as her writing praxis — that Althaus-Reid's indecency most substantively transforms the possibilities of contemporary theology. Hofheinz is an active member of the American Academy of Religion and currently serves on the steering committee of the Liberation Theologies Working Group of the AAR. She holds degrees from Denison University (B.A.) and Union Theological Seminary (M.Div.).





Debra B. Kennard

Debra Kennard joined the Center in 2011 and currently supports the Center as Communications Specialist. She brings a wealth of communications, marketing, and process improvement experience to her role with the Center. After earning a B.A. in journalism from Indiana University she enjoyed a career with J. Walter Thompson and GE Capital. She completed graduate work in business at DePaul University in Chicago, IL. While away from the formal workforce to focus on raising her three children, Debra worked as a freelance writer and also became very active in various community efforts including leadership roles with her local school district, her church, and volunteering with Ready Readers in St. Louis Public Schools.

Tiffany Stanley

Tiffany Stanley, who joined the Center staff in the summer of 2011, serves as the managing editor of Religion & Politics, the John C. Danforth Center's online journal. She brings a strong background in journalism and publishing, as well as in religion and politics. Prior to joining the Center, she worked as a reporter-researcher at The New Republic magazine where she wrote on topics such as Obama's faith-based outreach and the melding of the Christian Right and the Tea Party. Her freelance articles on religion and politics have appeared in, among others, USA Today, The Christian Century, Houston Chronicle, Christianity Today, and Beliefnet. She holds a B.A. in journalism and a B.A. in English from the University of Georgia, in addition to a Master of Divinity from Harvard University.





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National Advisory Board

The National Advisory Board is a group of distinguished representatives from the fields of American religion, politics, and journalism. This Board helps the Center have the greatest possible impact on current discussions relating to religion's long role in U.S. politics.



Jon Meacham (Chair)
Executive Editor, Random House



David L. Boren
Former United States Senator from
Oklahoma; President, University of
Oklahoma



David Brooks
Author and opinion writer,
The New York Times



John C. Danforth
Former United States Senator from
Missouri; Partner, law firm of Bryan
Cave LLP



Gerald Early
Merle Kling Professor of Modern
Letters; Director, Center for the
Humanities, Washington University
in St. Louis



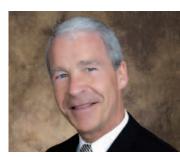
Jean Bethke Elshtain Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professor of Social and Political Ethics, Divinity School, The University of Chicago



Michael Gerson
Journalist and opinion writer,
The Washington Post



Sarah Barringer Gordon
Professor of Constitutional Law and
Professor of History, University of
Pennsylvania



Joel C. Hunter
Senior Pastor, Northland, A Church
Distributed



Edward S. Macias
Provost, Washington University in
St. Louis



Charles R. Marsh
Professor of Religious Studies,
University of Virginia



John T. McGreevy
I.A. O'Shaughnessy Dean of the
College of Arts and Letters; Professor
of History, University of Notre Dame



Eboo Patel
Founder and President, Interfaith
Youth Core



Barbara D. Savage
Professor of American Social
Thought and Professor of History,
University of Pennsylvania



Barbara A. Schaal
Mary-Dell Chilton Distinguished
Professor in the Department of
Biology in Arts & Sciences
Dean of the Faculty of Arts & Sciences



Alan K. Simpson
Former United States Senator from
Wyoming; Co-Chairman, National
Commission on Fiscal Responsibility
and Reform



Mary Stillman
Lawyer and Lecturer in Political
Science, Washington University in
St. Louis



Roberto Suro
Professor of Journalism and Public
Policy, University of Southern
California



Krista Tippett Host and Producer, "On Being" Radio Program, American Public Media



William G. Tragos
Co-Founder and Former Chairman,
TBWA Worldwide



Gary S. Wihl
Former Dean of Arts & Sciences,
Washington University in St. Louise

Washington University Executive Committee

The Executive Committee consists of Washington University faculty who advise the Center on matters of programming and resource allocation.



Iver Bernstein
Professor of History and Director of
the American Culture Studies Graduate
Program

Iver Bernstein, Professor of History and Director of the American Culture Studies Graduate Program, is a historian of the nineteenth-century United States. He earned his B.A. from Brown University and his Ph.D. from Yale. He is the author of *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (1991, 2010). His current book project, to be published by Oxford University Press, is *Stripes & Scars: Race, The Revitalization of America, and the Origins of the Civil War*. He has held fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Council of Learned Societies, among others.



Daniel Bornstein
Stella K. Darrow Professor of Catholic
Studies, Professor of History and
Religious Studies, and Director of
Religious Studies

Daniel Bornstein is the Stella K. Darrow Professor of Catholic Studies, Professor of History and Religious Studies, and Director of Religious Studies. A specialist in the religious culture of medieval Europe, particularly Italy, he has written extensively on lay piety, popular devotional movements, religious confraternities, female sanctity, parish priests, civic religion, and other intersections of the spiritual and material worlds. He is the author and editor of several publications including *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (1994), and is the editor of *Medieval Christianity* (the fourth volume of the seven-volume *People's History of Christianity, 2010*). He has translated numerous texts and has held several fellowships from the American Philosophical Society and the National Endowment for the Humanities, among others.



Randall Calvert

Thomas F. Eagleton University Professor of Public Affairs and Political Science and Director of American Culture Studies

Randall Calvert is the Thomas F. Eagleton University Professor of Public Affairs and Political Science and Director of the American Culture Studies program. His interests revolve around the application of game theory to the understanding of political institutions, such as legislative parties and constitutions. More generally, his research and teaching fields include positive political theory, American political institutions, and constitutional politics. He is the author of *Models of Imperfect Information in Politics* (1986), and of journal articles in the *American Political Science Review, the American Journal of Political Science*, and elsewhere. His current teaching and research focus on strategic processes of political communication and political argument in American constitutional development.



Adrienne Davis
Vice Provost and William M. Van Cleve
Professor of Law

Francisco School of Law; American University's Washington College of Law, where she was co-director of the Gender, Work & Family Project; and the University of North Carolina School of Law. Davis' scholarship focuses on gender and race relations, theories of justice and reparations, feminist legal theory, and law and popular culture. She has written extensively on the legal dimensions of American slavery and is the co-editor of the book, *Privilege Revealed: How Invisible Preference Undermines America* (1996).

Adrienne Davis is Vice Provost of Washington University and the

William M. Van Cleve Professor in the School of Law. A graduate of Yale Law School, she has been on the faculty of the University of San



John Inazu
Associate Professor of Law and
Associate Professor of Political Science

John Inazu is Associate Professor in the School of Law and Associate Professor of Political Science in Arts & Sciences. His scholarship focuses on the First Amendment freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion, and related questions of legal and political theory. His first book, *Liberty's Refuge: The Forgotten Freedom of Assembly* (2012), seeks to recover the role of assembly in American political and constitutional thought. Professor Inazu's work is also published or forthcoming in *Cornell Law Review, Hastings Law Journal*, and *Law and Contemporary Problems*, among others. Prior to joining the law faculty, Professor Inazu was a visiting assistant professor at Duke University School of Law and a Royster Fellow at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



Andrew Rehfeld
Associate Professor of Political Science
President and CEO, Jewish Federation
of St. Louis

Andrew Rehfeld is Associate Professor of Political Science and Professor of Law (by courtesy). He was selected in June 2012, to be president and chief executive officer for the Jewish Federation of St. Louis. His research focuses on contemporary democratic theory with related interests in the history of political thought and the philosophy of the social sciences. His first book, *The Concept of Constituency* (2005), provides a conceptual, historical and normative analysis of territorial districting. Rehfeld's current book project is titled *A General Theory of Political Representation*. His articles and reviews have also appeared in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Studies in American Political Development*, and elsewhere.



Rebecca Wanzo
Associate Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies

Rebecca Wanzo is Associate Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies. Her first book, *The Suffering Will Not Be Televised: African American Women and Sentimental Political Storytelling* (2009), examines the stories citizens must tell to make their suffering legible to the state and various other communities. Her research interests include popular culture, critical race theory, and black feminist theory. She is currently working on projects about radical feminist comix in the 1970s, the history of popular media in the United States, African American graphic storytelling, and legal and popular understandings of the relationship between civil rights law and time. She has published in a number of venues, including *differences, The Journal of Popular Culture*, and *Women and Performance*.



Engaging

"Few issues are more critical to the well being of a democracy than how religious beliefs — or the denial of such beliefs — coexist with civic virtue and of how the 'truths' of the one are made compatible with the toleration and good will required by the other."

Senator John C. Danforth

Public Events

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 2012

Redeeming the Soul of America? Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Luther King Jr., and the Promise of the Engaged Scholar

Charles Marsh, Professor of Religious Studies and Director of the Project on Lived Theology at University of Virginia

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 2012

The 'ESPN-ing' of Political Reporting

Matt Bai, Chief Political Correspondent for The New York Times Magazine

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 2012

Religion and Politics in the First Modern Nation

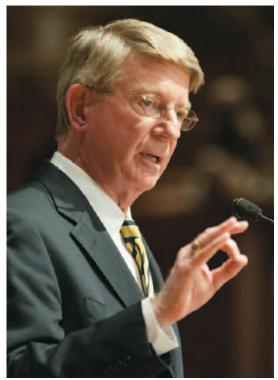
George F. Will, Syndicated Newspaper Columnist, Journalist, and Author

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 2013

Making Our Voices Heard: Women's Rights Today

Sandra Fluke, American attorney and women's rights activist

Respondent: Adrienne D. Davis, Vice Provost and William M. Van Cleve Professor of Law at Washington University in St. Louis









MONDAY, MARCH 4, 2013

Why are U.S. Prisons so Religious? The Ascendance of Faith-Based Programs in an Age of Punitive Incarceration

Tanya Erzen, Catherine Gould Chism Associate Professor in the Department of Religion at the University of Puget Sound



TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 2013

Religious Equality: American Commitment or Global Ideal?

Christopher Eisgruber, Princeton University Provost and Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Public Affairs in the Woodrow Wilson School and the University Center for Human Values



FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2013

Islam & Muslims as American Political Footballs

Arsalan Iftikhar, International human rights lawyer and founder of the Muslim Guy.com



WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 2013

Losing America, Trying for the World: The Origins of Global Protestantism

Sam Haselby, Assistant Professor of History at the American University of Cairo

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Academics/Courses

With the addition of our new faculty, and still more to be added, our course listings will continue to grow. Here are highlights of our course offerings to date, most in conjunction with the Department of History, the program in Religious Studies, and the American Culture Studies program.

Religion and American Society, 1890 to the Present

Professor: Marie Griffith

This course explores religious life in the United States. Study focuses on groups and movements that highlight distinctive ways of being both "religious" and "American," including the Americanization of global religions in the U.S. context. Major themes will include religious encounter and conflict; secularization, resurgent traditionalism, and new religious establishments; experimentalism, eclecticism, and so-called "spiritual" countercultures; the relationship between religious change and broader social and political currents (including clashes over race, class, gender, and sexuality); and the challenges of religious multiplicity in the U.S.

American Holidays, Rituals, and Celebrations

Professor: Leigh E. Schmidt

This seminar examines a variety of holidays, festivals, and rituals in American history and culture. Topics include: conflicts over Christmas, the sentiments of greeting cards, African American emancipation celebrations, Roman Catholic festivals dedicated to the Virgin Mary, modern renderings of Jewish ritual (including Hanukkah), the masculinity embodied in fraternal lodge ceremonies, Neopagan festivals, and Halloween Hell Houses. Various interpretive approaches are explored, and the intent is to broach a wide range of questions about history and tradition, gender and race, public memory and civic ceremony, moral order and carnival, through this topical focus on ritual and performance.

American Religion, Politics, and Culture: Historical Foundations

Professor: Leigh E. Schmidt

This research-oriented seminar involves in-depth historiographical investigation of leading scholarship at the busy intersections of American religion, politics, and culture. Some sessions will include a visiting scholar engaged in cuttingedge research—a feature that will allow seminar members to work with important scholars from beyond the university. Research projects may originate from seminar participants or from other scholars within the university. Possible topics include: church-state relations, religion and foreign policy, religion and civil rights, religion and the science wars, the rise of the Religious Right, and the role of religion in national elections.

Religious Varieties: Buddhism & Islam in America

Professor: Anne Blankenship

This course will explore how religious innovators and immigrants practice their faith and describe their beliefs. While most material will focus on either Buddhism or Islam, we'll discuss how religious innovation—by old and new Americans—impacts our definition of religion more broadly. How does ethnicity and national origin affect people's conception of their religions? Can cultural traits be distinguished from religious practices? How do outsiders understand those ties? We'll also consider questions about American identity and how it relates to a person's religious beliefs and heritage. What characterizes American religion? Is there any such thing as American Buddhism or American Islam? Our explorations will take us throughout St. Louis to discover its religious diversity and hear how local residents speak about and practice their faith.

Political and Religious Power

Professor: Mark D. Jordan

The last century scattered many people's hopes for rational progress in politics. Outbreaks of horror pushed a number of European and American thinkers to reconsider the relation of religious and "secular" power. This seminar reflects on just four of them: Carl Schmitt, Michel Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, and Judith Butler. We will read major texts by each of these thinkers as they ask about divine and human violence, the limits of rational government, the transformations of power, and how societies decide which lives count as human.

American Religion, Politics, and Culture: Part II

Professor: Leigh E. Schmidt

This seminar is designed as a reading-rich, discussion-oriented, community-building workshop for doctoral students, advanced undergraduate concentrators, and postdoctoral fellows. It will involve critical engagement with leading scholarship at the busy intersections of American religion, politics, and culture. For some sessions, it will include a visiting scholar at work in this area—a feature that will allow seminar members to meet directly with cutting-edge researchers from beyond the university. The seminar's ambition is to cultivate a community of inquirers engaged in the core questions that animate the Danforth Center. Possible topics include: churchstate relations, religion and foreign policy, religion and civil rights, religion and the science wars, the rise of the Religious Right, and the role of religion in national elections.

An Intellectual History of Sex and Gender

Professor: Mark D. Jordan

When did sexuality begin? Is it safe to assume that gender constructions are universal and timeless? In this course, we will engage with a broad range of readings that serve as primary texts in the "history of sexuality and gender." Our aims are threefold: to analyze the literary evidence we have for sexuality and gender identity in Western culture, to survey modern scholarly approaches to those same texts, and to consider the ways in which these modern theoretical frameworks have become the most recent set of "primary" texts on sexuality and gender.

Academics/Religion and Politics Minor

The religion and politics minor is an interdisciplinary program that brings together resources from the Danforth Center on Religion and Politics with relevant offerings from Religious Studies, Political Science, Anthropology, History, American Culture Studies, African American Studies, English, and Women/Gender Studies. Designed to complement the major fields of study above, the minor also aims to augment the undergraduate education of those considering postgraduate professional programs in public policy, education, law, medicine, or social work. The religion and politics minor provides the opportunity for exploring in sustained ways how religion and politics have intersected in American culture, both in historical and contemporary terms. As part of the program, students may examine any number of issues such as church-state relations, religion's role in shaping gender and sexuality debates, religion and electoral politics, public conflicts over the nexus of religion and science, or religion's entwining with reform movements (from abolition to temperance to civil rights to environmentalism).



Academics/Colloquium

The Center initiated a colloquium in the 2012-13 academic year to foster discussion of new scholarship in the broad domain of American Religion, Politics, and Culture. It was designed to serve as a research-oriented, community-building workshop for doctoral students, postdoctoral fellows, advanced undergraduates, and allied faculty. Some weeks the focus was work of those within the Washington University community; for other sessions, the gathering hosted a scholar from beyond its immediate ranks.

Fall 2012

SEPTEMBER 13

Laurie Maffly-Kipp, Religious Studies, University of North Carolina at Chape1 Hill

SEPTEMBER 27

Abram van Engen, English, Washington University in St. Louis

OCTOBER 4

Kathryn Lofton, American Studies/ Religious Studies, Yale University

OCTOBER 18

Anne Blankenship, Postdoctoral Fellow, Danforth Center, Washington University in St. Louis

OCTOBER 25

Ted Smith, Candler Divinity School, Emory University

NOVEMBER 1

Margaret Garb, History, Washington University in St. Louis

NOVEMBER 8

Corinna Treitel, History, Washington University in St. Louis

NOVEMBER 29

Lerone Martin, Eden Theological Seminary

Spring 2013

JANUARY 24

Hannah Hofheinz, Harvard Divinity School/ Danforth Center

JANUARY 31

Tisa Wenger, Yale Divinity School

FEBRUARY 7

Steven Miller, University College, Washington University in St. Louis

FEBRUARY 2

John Schmalzbauer, Religious Studies/ Sociology, Missouri State University

MARCH 28

David Hackett, Religious Studies, University of Florida

APRIL 4

Richard Callahan, Religious Studies, University of Missouri

APRIL 18

Charlotte Walker-Said, Lentz Fellow in Peace Studies and Human Rights, Webster University

APRIL 25

Sam Haselby, History, American University in Cairo

Students

"Throughout my time here, I have witnessed the power of conversation that the Center fosters through embracing controversial topics in a neutral way, and how this allows for the enrichment of learning. I am fortunate to be a part of this process as this exposure to civil discourse certainly helps prepare me for my future."

Lainey Schmidt Class of 2015

"I believe that the Center is so unique because it allows students to frame religion and politics, very sensitive and personal subjects, in an academic context. The Center breaks the taboo of separating religion and politics in order to look at their powerful roles and their overlap in history and today's society. An important component of higher education is to learn how to approach subjects from a different angle or an alternative perspective. I believe that the Danforth Center is on the forefront of doing so in the fields of Religion and Politics."

Erica Beach Class of 2014 "I've found that the Center on Religion and Politics offers much more than just several renowned authors with a lot of experience in the humanities. Each faculty member is devoted to passing on their wisdom to students. Not only have I learned a lot from the Center's professors, but I've also gained inspiration to advance my studies in the humanities. I would recommend all students enroll in a class with one of these professors, in addition to participating in some of the Center's various events and programs. Although the Center is still new and not yet well known to Washington University's student body, I believe the Center will quickly gain a well-established position as a center for intellectual development for students."

Tyler Yates
Class of 2016





Online Journal

The John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics launched its online journal, *Religion & Politics*, in May 2012. Its goal is to serve the Center's broader mission of promoting the public understanding of religion's intersection with politics in the U.S. by attempting to reach a broad audience both within and beyond the university community. It publishes pieces from a wide range of diverging viewpoints, rather than sticking to a single one. The tagline, "fit for polite company," underscores the civility that we bring to the discussion of these often heated topics. We solicit writers from a range of fields, including journalism, the arts and humanities, and the social sciences.

The journal had a banner year in 2012-2013, surpassing one million pageviews and reaching nearly a quarter of a million unique visitors. In April, it was recognized as an Official Honoree at the 17th Annual Webby Awards in the category of best Religion and Spirituality website. Hailed as the "Internet's highest honor" by *The New York Times*, the Webby Awards, presented by the International Academy of Digital Arts and Sciences (IADAS), is the leading international award honoring excellence on the Internet. This year, Webby Awards received 11,000 entries from all 50 states and more than 60 countries worldwide. Honorees are selected for recognition based on excellence in content, structure and navigation, visual design, functionality, interactivity, and overall experience. *Religion & Politics* was honored alongside On Being With Krista Tippett, CNN Belief Blog, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, and HuffPost Religion.

Religion & Politics Fit For Polite Company

List of Featured Articles 2012-13

A Moral Guide to Obama's Foreign Policy by John D. Carlson

Black Churches Send "Souls to the Polls"

by Jeff Brumley

Book Culture and the Rise of Liberal Religion

by Matthew S. Hedstrom

Can Atheists and Muslims Support Freedom of Conscience Together?

by Qasim Rashid and Chris Stedman

Post-Racial America? The Tangle of Race, Religion, and Citizenship

by Judith Weisenfeld

The End of DOMA and the Dismantling of the "Straight State"

by Sarah Barringer Gordon

Theology Has Consequences: What Policies Will Pope Francis Champion?

by Mary E. Hunt

Under Hillary Clinton, the State Department Pursued Greater Religious Engagement

by Amy Frykholm

Unrepresentative: How the NRA and Planned Parenthood Failed Recent Tests

by Michael Peppard

What Does Shari'a Really Mean?

by Krystina Friedlander

What Ever Happened to the Common Ground on Abortion Reduction?

by John Gehring

What Graham Crackers Can Teach Us About Whole Foods

by Dana Logan

What Romney Wouldn't Say

by Randall Balmer

When Was the Last Time a Rabbi Prayed at a Presidential Inauguration?

by Rachel Gordan

Why I Fight Against Same-Sex Marriage

by Eric Teetsel

Masthead

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Director, John C. Danforth Center

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We are deeply grateful to the many contributors who have given generously to the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics in our earliest stage of development. Their gifts directly support the Center's research projects, faculty mentorship of undergraduate and graduate students, our postdoctoral fellows, our online journal, and our varied public programming. Thank you for making possible our many endeavors.

The Danforth Foundation

The John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics owes its existence to the tremendous generosity of the Danforth Foundation, founded in 1927 by Mr. and Mrs. William H. Danforth. The Foundation's commitment to funding St. Louis-based initiatives is well known, and in 2009 it announced a major gift of \$30 million to Washington University to establish the Center. John C. Danforth, former Senator from Missouri and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, was particularly engaged in the Center's founding and remains a member of its National Advisory Board. This gift reflects Senator Danforth's specific interest in religion and politics, as set out in his 2006 book, Faith and Politics: How the "Moral Values" Debate Divides America and How to Move Forward Together (Viking). Center Director Marie Griffith holds the John C. Danforth Distinguished University Professorship that was established as a part of this generous founding gift. We thank Senator and Mrs. (Sally) Danforth, and the Danforth Foundation, for their tremendous generosity and continuing encouragement of the Center.



Dr. William B. and the Reverend Priscilla Wood Neaves

In the fall of 2012, William B. Neaves, an emeritus trustee at Washington University in St. Louis, established a professorship for the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics in honor of his wife, Priscilla Wood Neaves. The Reverend Mrs. Neaves is a former Methodist minister with a personal interest in the role of gender in religion and politics. William Neaves has served on the Washington University Board of Trustees since 2003 and is a current member of the National Council for the School of Medicine. In addition to this generous gift to the Danforth Center, the couple is donating Wood Neaves's library containing books on gender and religion to Olin Library.

Mark D. Jordan, a member of the Center Faculty, holds the Reverend Priscilla Wood Neaves Distinguished Professorship that was established by this generous gift. We thank Dr. William B. and the Reverend Priscilla Wood Neaves for their extraordinary support of the Center and of Professor Jordan, in particular.



Contributors

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Looking Forward

As our faculty and student numbers grow, the Center will expand in ways that are most appropriate to our scholarly and public mission. As we look ahead, we will continue working to attract constituencies from across the political spectrum: audiences both local and national, liberal and conservative, and holding a wide range of views on religion.

We will continue to value intellectual rigor as well as moral courage in facing very tough issues and refusing simplistic solutions.

Our programming will remain inclusive, in the sense of engaging a truly broad and diverse range of viewpoints and people without elevating a single one.

We intend to make a significant impact on undergraduate and graduate education at Washington University and to foster excellence through our rotating postdoctoral and dissertation fellowships, as well as visiting faculty.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we aim to play a role in improving political discourse in the United States, and raising the understanding of religion's long and complex role in our nation's social and political life.

New Appointments/Faculty

Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp

We are delighted Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp will join the Danforth Center on Religion and Politics July 1, 2013, as a distinguished professor. Maffly-Kipp's research and teaching focus on African American religions, religion on the Pacific borderlands of the Americas, and issues of intercultural contact. In April of 2012, Maffly-Kipp presented a lecture at the Center titled: "The Long Approach to the Mormon Moment: The Building of an American Church." Both her wealth of knowledge and her care for students will greatly enrich the Center and Washington University. In the words of Marie Griffith, Director of the Center on Religion and Politics: "We are tremendously fortunate to have recruited someone of Laurie's immense talent and commitment to the Danforth Center. Renowned as a scholar, a teacher of both undergraduate and graduate students, and a University citizen, she is an extraordinary addition to the Washington University campus and the broader St. Louis community."

Maffly-Kipp's publications are many and include: *Religion and Society in Frontier California* (Yale University Press, 1994), where she explored the nature of Protestant spiritual practices in Gold



Rush California; articles on Mormon-Protestant conflicts in the Pacific Islands, African Americans in Haiti and Africa, and Protestant outreach to Chinese immigrants in California; a recent volume of essays entitled *Practicing Protestants*: Histories of Christian Life in America, 1630-1965 (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) with Leigh Schmidt and Mark Valeri; and a co-edited collection of essays about Mormonism in the Pacific World, Proclamation to the People: Nineteenth-Century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin Frontier, (University of Utah press, 2008). Most recently she authored Setting Down the Sacred Past: African-American Race Histories (Harvard University Press, 2010); American Scriptures, a Penguin Classics anthology of sacred texts (Penguin, 2010); and Women's Work, a co-edited collection of writings by African American women historians (Oxford University Press, 2010). Currently she is working on a survey of Mormonism in American life that will be published by Basic Books.

Maffly-Kipp will come to the Center from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where she has taught in Religious Studies and American Studies since 1989. She earned her B.A., *summa cum laude*, from Amherst College in English and Religion, and completed the Ph.D. in American History at Yale University (1990). She is the recipient of numerous fellowships and grants, including a grant for a collaborative project on the History of Christian Practice from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., fellowships at the National Humanities Center, and an NEH Fellowship for University Professors.

Lerone A. Martin

Lerone Martin will join the Center as the second postdoctoral fellow for the 2013-14 academic year. Lerone earned his B.A. from Anderson University in Anderson, IN and his Master of Divinity Degree from Princeton Theological Seminary before completing his Ph.D. at Emory University in 2011. From 2010-2013, Lerone was Assistant Professor of American Religious History and Culture at Eden Theological Seminary in Saint Louis, MO, where he taught courses in American and African American religious history. After his year at the center, Lerone will join the faculty of Wake Forest University as Assistant Professor of African American Religions. Lerone will teach a seminar for the center exploring historical aspects of African American religion in the spring of 2014.

Lerone is currently completing a book project with New York University Press entitled Preaching on Wax: The Phonograph and the Making of Modern American Religion. The monograph tracks the role of the phonograph in the shaping of American religion, culture, and politics during the first half of the twentieth century. In support of his research, Lerone has received fellowships from the Louisville Institute for the Study of American Religion, Emory University's Howard Hughes Medical Institute, The Fund for Theological Education, and Princeton University's Program (now Center) for African American Studies.

Lerone currently serves on the American Academy of Religion Steering Committee for the Afro-American Religious History Group as well as the Committee on Teaching and Learning. In the past, he has worked as a research consultant for continuing education and recidivism at New York's Sing Sing State Prison as well as an instructor at Georgia's Metro State Prison. His commentary and writing have appeared in popular media outlets such as CNN, Religion Dispatches, Charisma, The Saint Louis Post-Dispatch, and The Atlanta Journal Constitution.



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New Appointments/Associate Director

Rachel M. Lindsey

Rachel Lindsey will join the Center as our new Associate Director, effective July 1, 2013. In this position, Dr. Lindsey will have direct oversight of the Center's curricular developments, the new minor in religion and politics, and student programming, among other areas.

Rachel earned the B.A. from Missouri State University in 2006 and the Ph.D. from Princeton University in 2012, where she was also a graduate student affiliate in the Program in American Studies. Rachel is a historian of religion in America who has teaching and research interests in visual and material culture, religion in media and technology, race, and gender. She has taught courses on religion in American history, introduction to world religions, as well as a graduate seminar in material culture studies of American religion.

Her current book project, A Communion of Shadows: Vernacular Photography and Religion in Nineteenth-Century America, explores Americans' eager incorporation of innovative visual technologies into their visual habits, mourning practices, self-definitions, and biblical

sensibilities during the tumultuous period of American history stretching from 1839 through the end of the century. Her work approaches photographs as material artifacts that require attention to their circumstances of production, circulation, and beholding as well as the visual field within the compositional frame. Rachel is a contributor to the blog *Religion in American History*.

Rachel received an Andrew C. Mellon Dissertation Completion Fellowship and taught in the religion department at Florida State University before coming to Washington University in St. Louis. She is a Research Affiliate with the Initiative for the Study of Material and Visual Cultures of Religion at Yale University.

New Appointments/Graduate Students

2013-14 Dissertation Fellows

Emily Johnson and Rachel Gross are the recipients of our inaugural Dissertation Fellowships for the 2013-2014 academic year. Fellows will spend the academic year in residence at the Center with most of their time devoted to dissertation research and writing. They will also contribute to the Center's intellectual life by organizing an event or conference of interest to the broader University and St. Louis community and will participate in the Center's colloquium.

Rachel Gross

Rachel Gross is a Ph.D. candidate in the Religion in the Americas program in Princeton University's Religion Department. Her work focuses on twentieth-century and contemporary American Jews, particularly the ethnographic study of contemporary Jews, the visual and material cultures of American religions, and the role of space and place in the formation of religious communities.



Emily Johnson is a Ph.D. candidate in the History Department at Yale University. Her work focuses on the intersections between religion, politics, and gender among conservative evangelical Protestants in the late twentieth century United States.





Visiting Graduate Students

Hannah L. Hofheinz is a Th.D. candidate in Theology at Harvard University. Her work explores the effects of processes of writing on academic theology through a critical engagement with the Indecent Theology of Marcella Althaus-Reid.

Sherrema Bower is currently working on her Ph.D. in the Anthropology of Religion from the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand. Her current research focuses on crosscultural comparisons between two Pentecostal denominations in two countries, New Zealand and the U.S.





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Coming Events

Below is a sample of events planned for 2013-14. Please check our website at rap.wustl.edu for the most current list.

Fall 2013

SEPTEMBER 12, 2013

Center Open House and Faculty Reception

SEPTEMBER 25, 2013

Immigration Panel Discussion

This event addresses the current status of our nation's immigration crisis and explains why faith-based organizations are active in this humanitarian and political arena. Panel speakers will include Ruth Melkonian-Hoover of Gordon College; Richard Land, the outgoing president of the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention; Ryan Fitzpatrick, an attorney at the Interfaith Legal Services for Immigrants; and Marilyn Lorenz, co-founder and program director of St. Louis Inter-Faith Committee on Latin America and board member of Missouri Immigrant & Refugee Advocates.

OCTOBER 21, 2013

Wallace Best Public Lecture

Professor Wallace Best, Princeton University, specializes in 19th and 20th century African American religious history.

NOVEMBER 18-21, 2013

Danforth Distinguished Lecture Series: David A. Hollinger

Preston Hotchkis Professor Emeritus at University of California Berkeley, David Hollinger specializes in the intellectual and ethnoracial histories of the United States since the late nineteenth century.

Spring 2014

FEBRUARY 27, 2014

Guido Calabresi Public Lecture

Sterling Professor Emeritus of Law and Professorial Lecturer in Law at Yale Law School, Guido Calabresi was appointed U.S. Circuit Judge in 1994.

MARCH 27-29, 2014

"Beyond the Culture Wars: Recasting Religion and Politics in 20th Century America"

This academic conference will feature a keynote lecture by James Kloppenberg of Harvard University. Senior and junior scholars will present papers that address the conference's two main aims: to take stock of recent advances and points of exchange in the historical study of U.S. religion and politics, and to introduce fresh, integrated scholarship that maps out new directions in this burgeoning field.



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