

CHRISTUS CULTURA

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Mission Statement

Our mission at *Christus Cultura* is to explore and highlight in innovative, cutting edge ways the intersection of Christian faith and the human experience as expressed in the study of the social sciences, including history, political science, psychology, sociology, criminology, international studies, Christian and missionary studies, and much more.

Vision

To that end, contributors to this journal present original research and solicited items—from articles and essays to book reviews and commentaries—on issues important to the Christian life as it is experienced now, in the past, or could be experienced in the future. Our scope is intentionally broad, both in terms of geography and time, as well as in content, because we seek to provide readers with a rich mosaic of the ways in which the influence of a single man, a humble carpenter from Nazareth, has continued to shape the human experience, society, and culture in profound ways. It is our sincere desire that readers will find the journal rewarding and spiritually life-enriching and that the content presented will serve, whether in profound or subtle ways, as a vehicle of the Great Commission (*Matthew 28:16-20*).

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Letter from the Editors

Greetings, Dear Readers!

The publication of this edition, the sixth of our *Christus Cultura: The Journal of Christianity in the Social Sciences* continues the tradition of highlighting the scholarly work and academic contributions of our colleagues at Evangelical Christian universities, especially across the southern region of the United States.

Because our journal has a broad focus in the social sciences, some very insightful and interesting issues are addressed in this edition, including the history of Native Americans in the colonial period, the application of Alfred Adler's views to criminal justice in complex situation, the history of Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers, as well as professional commentary on leadership and civil discourse. It is our sincere hope that readers find these articles just as stimulating as the editors did.

This year, I have seen much beauty in art and the world around me. I got my first puppy a month ago and see God's handiwork in her playful behavior. As Christians, we should I see God's handiwork and beauty in her playfulness and love. Please always be in pursuit of truth, goodness, and beauty: what is sometimes known as the Three Transcendentals. God's word is truth. His nature, character, and actions are the essence of goodness

itself. His creation and self-sacrificial love (as shown in the life of Jesus (God Incarnate) is beautiful. Each day we should focus on these positive aspects inherent in our faith.

In Christ,

Charlie Carter
Shorter University
Rome, GA
May 9, 2024

FROM PLYMOUTH ROCK TO WOUNDED KNEE: COLONIAL JUSTICE AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN

By Brenton H. Cook, Ph.D.

Bob Jones University



Image Credit: Pixabay

Looking West

The year 2020 celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of one of the most famous voyages in maritime history. On Thursday morning November 9, 1620, the 102 passengers of the *Mayflower* peered west across the pale-green waters of the Atlantic to a continent that would become their permanent home. Half of the passengers were English ecclesiastical Separatists seeking

¹ Two babies were born during the voyage, bringing the total number to 104. David Beale has compiled a passenger list divided into Separatists and Non-Separatists. *The Mayflower Pilgrims* (Greenville, SC: Ambassador-Emerald Intl., 2000), 113-22.

² William Bradford's description of North America. *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, ed.

religious freedom in a New World. Half would be dead within three months.¹

The Pilgrims' harrowing saga of survival in a "desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men"² is memorialized by millions of school children each year in Thanksgiving pageants. Images of the Pilgrims etched in stone and painted on canvas greet visitors to Washington's capital building. In Plymouth, Massachusetts a towering *National Monument to the Forefathers* celebrates the Pilgrims with personifications of liberty, law, education, morality, and faith. In Plymouth's harbor a *Mayflower* replica rocks gently in her anchorage. Plimouth Plantation, staffed by first-person actors, introduces tourists to Pilgrim life. Plymouth Rock, sheltered under a colonnaded monument, is a mecca for modern-American pilgrims seeking the origins of their country's enduring greatness. It marks the site where history and myth collide.

The storm-tossed and weary *Mayflower* passengers did not step ashore on Plymouth Rock, but twenty-four miles to the east in Provincetown Harbor on the outer arm of Cape Cod, where they also signed the *Mayflower Compact*. After refitting a shallop stored in the *Mayflower's* hull, a small landing party began exploring the coastline for a settlement site. On November 15 they sighted five or six Wampanoags and a dog retreating quickly into the woods. Pursuing the natives without success, the landing party stumbled upon several Wampanoag summer dwellings, gravesites, and cornfields. Having "brought neither beer nor water" and having "only biscuit and Holland cheese" they ransacked the Wampanoag sites—a practice they admitted was "odious."³ The next day

Samuel Eliot Morison, 1952; rpt. (NY: Alfred A Knopf), 2015.

³ The swift reduction of beer aboard the *Mayflower* and the need to discover a fresh-water source was a frequent concern of the Pilgrims. Dwight Heath, ed., *Mourt's Relation: A Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, 1622*; rpt. (Bedford, MA: Applewood

Myles Standish, William Bradford, and Stephen Hopkins discovered, buried under ground, a “fine great new basket full of very fair corn . . . with some thirty-six goodly ears of corn.”⁴ They stole the corn.

Bradford excused the theft by appealing to Joshua’s conquest of Canaan: “And so, like the men from Eshcol, [they] carried with them of the fruits of the land and showed their brethren.” Bradford then invoked divine sanction for the theft: “And here is to be noted a special providence of God, and a great mercy to this poor people, that here they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved . . . let His holy name have all the praise.”⁵

Whether Bradford considered the possibility of Wampanoag starvation, he does not say. After all, Wampanoags were “savages.” Before traversing the Atlantic, Bradford had described the dangers that awaited the Pilgrims.

[We] should be in continual danger of the savage people, who are cruel, barbarous and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage and merciless . . . not being content only to kill and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be; flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the members and joints of others by

piecemeal and broiling on the coals, [they] eat the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live, with other cruelties horrible to be related.⁶

Not until December 21 did the landing party first step ashore at the Wampanoag site of Patuxent, a site the Pilgrims renamed Plymouth. Neither Bradford’s *of Plymouth Plantation* nor *Mourt’s Relation* mentions stepping ashore on a rock.⁷ The Pilgrims were neither the first Englishmen to arrive, nor the first people to inhabit Patuxet. European traders and slavers had interacted with local Wampanoags at Patuxet since at least 1524. In 1614 English captain Thomas Hunt had anchored in Patuxet’s harbor, luring several Wampanoags to trade on board his ship. It was a trick. After engaging in “a great slaughter,” Hunt hoisted sails with twenty-seven Wampanoag captives bound for slavery in Spain.⁸

Patuxet’s Wampanoags had also been ravaged by a European-born epidemic from 1616 to 1619. Thomas Morton described the carnage: “The hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortal stroke that they died on heaps as they lay in their houses. . . . And the bones and skulls upon the several places of their habitations made such a spectacle . . . that it seemed to me a new found Golgotha.”⁹

Books, 1963), 20-21, 40, 42. Grave looting was a common practice among European explorers, especially in Peru where buried gold flowed into national coffers throughout the sixteenth century. Christopher Heaney, “A Peru of Their Own: English Grave-Opening and Indian Sovereignty in Early America,” *WMQ* 73, no. 4 (2016) 609-46.

⁴ *Mourt’s Relation*, 22.

⁵ Bradford, 66. Numbers 13:23 describes how the Hebrew spies carried away a cluster of grapes from the Valley of Eschol.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 26, 81-82. When Bradford later described how Tisquantum (Squanto), “a special instrument sent of God for their good,” saved Plymouth from extinction by teaching the English basic

horticulture, he persisted in his assessment of Wampanoags as “savages.”

⁷ Plymouth Rock was not identified as the Pilgrim landing site until 1741. For a brief history of the myth see Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower: A Story of Courage, Community, and War* (New York: Vikings, 2006), 350.

⁸ Silverman, 62-63. Bradford knew of the atrocities committed by Hunt and acknowledged the Wampanoags “offered no injury on their parts.” Nevertheless, he persistently identifies the Wampanoags rather than Hunt’s crew as “savages.” Bradford, 82.

⁹ Thomas Morton, *The New English Canaan*, ed. Charles Adams; 1637 rpt. (Boston: Prince Society, 1883), 133.

Epidemic diseases arriving with the Europeans had become a perpetual blight upon Native American nations for well over a century, severely disrupting local economies. Commenting on the plagues Francis Jennings observes, “The American land was more like a widow than a virgin. Europeans did not find a wilderness here; rather, however involuntarily, they made one. Jamestown, Plymouth, Salem, Boston, Providence, New Amsterdam, Philadelphia—all grew on sites previously occupied by Indian communities.”¹⁰

Judging the widowed site propitious for habitation, the landing party returned to the *Mayflower*. On December 25 the ship weighed anchor for her final western voyage traversing the twenty-four-mile expanse of Cape Cod Bay. After celebrating the Sabbath and exploring permanent settlement sites, a group of men set about building a Common House—and church building—at the heart of Patuxet. Winter winds were blowing, and three passengers were dead on arrival.¹¹ It was four days after Christmas, December 29, 1620.

Looking East

Plymouth Rock is indeed a monument to an indomitable will to survive, to freedom of religious expression, and to resistance to the oppressive power of a national church. But when the Pilgrim story is told exclusively from the perspective of 102 passengers looking west, it grows into myth. The story can also be told from the perspective of America’s first inhabitants looking at a European ship cresting over the horizon in the east.

Since 1970 a second Plymouth rock situated on the ridge of Cole’s Hill

overlooking Plymouth Harbor tells a very different story from the standard narrative in which the Pilgrims become the architects of a New Nation.¹² Near a statue of the Wampanoag Sachem Massasoit—who was largely responsible for the Pilgrims’ survival—a bronze plaque embedded in rock reads:

Since 1970, Native Americans have gathered at noon on Cole’s Hill in Plymouth to commemorate a National Day of Mourning on the U.S. Thanksgiving holiday. Many Native Americans do not celebrate the arrival of the Pilgrims and other European settlers. To them Thanksgiving Day is a reminder of the genocide of millions of their people, the theft of their lands, and the relentless assault on their culture. Participants in National Day of Mourning honor Native ancestors and the struggles of Native peoples to survive today. It is a day of remembrance and spiritual connection as well as a protest of the racism and oppression which Native American Americans continue to experience.

Wamsutta Frank James was one of the main visionaries for the National Day of Mourning. In September 1970, James was invited to give a speech at a state dinner in Massachusetts celebrating the 350th anniversary of Plymouth Colony. However, James was no Indian prop in a Thanksgiving pageant. Reading the Pilgrim sources through Wampanoag eyes, James declared, “the Pilgrims had hardly explored the shores of Cape Cod for four days before they had robbed the graves of my ancestors and stolen their corn and beans.” And this was merely the

¹⁰ Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 30.

¹¹ Dorothy Bradford had either fallen overboard or committed suicide while the *Mayflower* was anchored in Provincetown. See Philbrick, 377-78

for discussion. Richard Britteridge was the first to die at Patuxet, followed two days later by Solomon Prower. Beale, 136.

¹² The Pilgrims did not view themselves as founders of a new nation but, in the words of the *Mayflower Compact*, “Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James.”

beginning. James continues, “Down through the years there is record after record of Indian lands taken and, in token, reservations set up for him upon which to live.”¹³ James’s speech, judged too inflammatory by the Department of Commerce and Development, was never delivered.¹⁴ But it has served as a rallying cry for Indian justice for fifty years.

The year 1970 also marked a significant turning point in Native American historiography when Dee Brown published his seminal study, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. Hampton Sides relates that as a boy Dee Brown had grown up watching shoot-’em-up westerns with “plucky pioneers fighting off painted savages by the score.” But one day an Indian friend told him, “You know, those aren’t real Indians.” Brown began to realize that those silver-screen savages, depicted as obstacles to the advance of human civilization, were actually human beings. Brown’s book was a humane attempt to understand the conquest of the west through Indian eyes. Sides writes,

The main idea behind Brown’s book was so obvious it was radical: If Anglo-Americans had ‘won’ the West, why not tell the story from the vantage point of those who ‘lost’ it—the Apaches, the Nez Percés, the Utes, the Cheyennes, the Sioux, the Navahos? If the Eurocentric view of the saga had always looked toward the Pacific, then Brown would write the book facing east, toward the Atlantic. He always hoped people would read it with that basic orientation in mind. To Indians, after all, east was the direction all the trouble had come from.¹⁵

¹³ The full text can be found here: http://www.uaaine.org/suppressed_speech.htm (accessed 1/1/2020). James founded the United American Indians of New England in 1970.

¹⁴ Silverman, 1-21.

¹⁵ Hampton Sides, Foreword to Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of*

As important as Plymouth Rock is to European-American history, Wounded Knee is equally as important to Native-American history. The 1890 massacre of Big Foot and his fellow Lakotas at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, marks the symbolic end of the Indian Wars. When Big Foot learned that the legendary Sitting Bull had been killed, he decided to turn himself in at the Pine Ridge Reservation. Trudging across the frozen tundra in subzero weather, Big Foot’s band of 350 Lakotas (120 men, 230 women and children) encountered James Forsyth and the Seventh Cavalry, George Armstrong Custer’s former command. Sickly and coughing up blood, Bigfoot quickly ran out a white flag from his wagon.

Forsyth ordered the Lakotas to the army camp at Wounded Knee Creek, where two Hotchkiss guns were trained on them. Soldiers began disarming the Indians, stacking their weapons in a pile. Uncertain that they had collected all the weapons, the soldiers began rifling through the Lakotas’ meager possessions. Two more guns turned up, one belonging to Black Coyote who may have been deaf. What happened next is uncertain, but a shot was fired, possibly in a tussle over Black Coyote’s Winchester. The Seventh Cavalry’s Hotchkiss guns then exploded in a murderous volley of fire, tearing through both Lakotas and U.S. soldiers.¹⁶ Louise Weasel Bear recalled, “They shot us like we were buffalo. I know there are some good white people, but the soldiers must be mean to shoot children and women.”¹⁷ Hakiktawin, a young woman, said, “My grandfather and grandmother and brother were killed as we crossed the ravine, and then I was shot on the right hip clear through and on my right

the American West (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1970), xv-xvii.

¹⁶ For accounts of the massacre see Brown, 439-45. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 153-57.

¹⁷ Brown, 444.

wrist.”¹⁸ Black Elk, who attributed the battle ultimately to the white man’s gold lust—“the yellow metal that they worship and that makes them crazy”—describes what he saw.

Cavalrymen were riding along the gulch and shooting into it, where the women and children were running away and trying to hide in the gullies and the stunted pines. . . . We followed down along the dry gulch, and what we saw was terrible. Dead and wounded women and children and little babies were scattered all along there where they had been trying to run away. . . . I saw a little baby trying to suck its mother, but she was bloody and dead. There were two little boys at one place in this gulch. They had guns and they had been killing soldiers all by themselves. We could see the soldiers they had killed.¹⁹

The U.S. soldiers loaded the survivors on wagons and carted off them off to Pine Ridge. An Episcopal church opened its doors and removed its pews to shelter the survivors against an impending blizzard. The sanctuary was lit with candles and ornamented with greenery to celebrate Christmas. Behind the pulpit a banner read, “Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.”²⁰ It was four days after Christmas, December 29, 1890, exactly 270 years after the Pilgrims began building their church on Indian land.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ John G. Neihardt, ed. *Black Elk Speaks* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959), 7, 219-21.

²⁰ Brown, 445.

²¹ David Treuer tells the story of “what Indians in the United States have been up to in the 128 years that have elapsed since the 1890 massacre.” *The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee: Native America from 1890 to the Present* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2019), 1.

²² Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, 9.

²³ <http://www.ncai.org/about-tribes/demographics> (accessed 1/6/2020). Defining

A Dream that Hasn’t Died

Many years after the Wounded Knee massacre Black Elk wrote, “I did not know then how much was ended. When I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children. . . . And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people’s dream died there.” [OB]

And yet 400 years after the *Mayflower* and 130 years after Wounded Knee, the dream hasn’t died.²¹ In 1900, ten years after the massacre, the US census counted approximately 250,000 Indians. They were dubbed the “vanishing Indian” or the “vanishing race.”²² But through the twentieth century, far from vanishing, Indian populations increased dramatically to nearly 3 million or 5.2 million through intermarriage.²³ Between 2000 and 2010 Native American populations grew by 26.7%, far outpacing the general U.S. population growth of 9.7%. Given that the median age of Indians is twenty-nine, eight years younger than the general population, dramatic population growth is expected to continue. Fifteen states now have indigenous populations of more than 100,000.²⁴ With the resurgence of indigenous populations has come a growing interest in Native American studies among historians, anthropologists, and sociologists as well as increased attention to the problems that have plagued Indian communities and reservations for decades.²⁵

Indians by blood or DNA is notoriously problematic. See Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker, 76-81.

²⁴ <https://www.thoughtco.com/interesting-facts-about-native-americans-2834518> (accessed 1/7/2020).

²⁵ A survey of demographic data is available from the National Congress of American Indians published here: <http://www.ncai.org/about-tribes/demographics>. Indians have high death rates due to tuberculosis, alcoholism, diabetes, vehicle accidents, and suicide. Indian youth have the highest suicide rate among all ethnic groups in the United States. Native-owned businesses have grown at an encouraging rate. “The number of American Indian- and Alaska Native-

Christianity among Native American peoples has also survived since colonial times. Plymouth's original church has long since disappeared, but twenty-five miles south of Plymouth stands a remarkable building: The Old Indian Meetinghouse in Mashpee, Massachusetts. The church's heritage extends to 1637 when Thomas Tupper and Richard Bourne, Congregationalist Puritan ministers, first evangelized the region's Wampanoags. Bourne, who had been ordained by John Eliot, planted a church in 1658 and set about immediately indigenizing the work. He was succeeded by a succession of Wampanoag and Pequot pastors including Simon Popmonet, Solomon Briant, William Apes, and Blind Joe Amos. The Meetinghouse stands today as "the oldest Native American church in the United States [and] as one of the oldest churches in Massachusetts."²⁶ In 1960 the Wampanoag church members adopted the following updated covenant.

Believing that we have been brought by divine grace to receive the Lord Jesus Christ, we acknowledge a special obligation to live a new and holy life, and relying on the gracious aid of our God and Saviour, we solemnly make this covenant with each other.

We will walk together in brotherly love; we will exercise a Christian care and watchfulness over each other and faithfully admonish and help one another as the need may be. We will rejoice in each other's good,

and with tenderness and sympathy bear one another's burdens and sorrows.

We will not forsake the assembling of ourselves together, nor neglect to pray for ourselves and for others. Such as may be under our care, we will endeavor to rear in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

We will seek to win our kindred and acquaintances to Christ. As stewards of the Lord, we will support a faithful, evangelical ministry among us and will seek to preach the gospel to the whole human family.

We will endeavor to live correctly in the world, denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and according to our abilities and opportunities will do good to all men. And through life, amidst evil report and good report, we will strive to live to the glory of Him who has called us out of darkness into his marvelous light.²⁷

Eighteen-hundred miles west of Mashpee among the gently rolling hills and expansive skies of South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation, Christianity also took root among the Lakota. A dilapidated cemetery situated on a storm-gullied hill overlooking Wounded Knee Creek offers a now-silent testament. The occasional visitor is greeted by a tawdry cross perched on a flimsy metal arch supported by makeshift columns of whitewashed cinder blocks and red bricks. Opposite the entrance, a long-abandoned church sits at the end of a hard-packed dirt path still visible through

owned businesses totaled 237,386 in 2007, up 17.9 percent from 2002; total receipts of these businesses were \$34.5 billion, up 28.3 percent from 2002." Also, "between 1990 and 2000, income levels rose by 33 percent and the poverty rate dropped by 7 percent, with little difference between those tribes with gaming operations and those tribes without gaming." Naomi Schaefer Riley provides both a realistic look at how U.S. policy has been destructive to Indian society and also solutions for improvement in *The New Trail of*

Tears: How Washington is Destroying American Indians (New York: Encounter Books, 2016).

²⁶ "History of the Old Indian Meetinghouse" published by the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe, Tribal Historic Preservation Department, 483 Great Neck Road South, Mashpee, MA 02649.

²⁷ Unpublished "Church Covenant" of the Mashpee Baptist Church and Old Indian Church, adopted November 19, 1960.

advancing prairie grass and yellow sweet clover. At the heart of the cemetery, a sagging chain-linked fence cluttered with prayer ribbons traces the edge of a large rectangular plot. The mass grave was dug by U.S. soldiers in 1890; here they hurled the frozen bodies of Wounded Knee victims after impudently posing with them for photographs. Surrounding the fence, rough-hewn crosses and cross-embossed headstones punctate the riot of weeds and brambles spreading across the hilltop. Lakotas have practiced Christian burial here since 1890.

And Christianity survives. Down the hill from the cemetery and across the highway, a dirt road disappears into a copse of pines and elms leading to the Wounded Knee Church of God. The church, a red-lumbered building framed in the shape of a tepee, straddles the edge of the massacre site. Established in 1939, it is one of several evangelical Lakota churches on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Its mission is to preach the gospel in a community ravaged by memory, poverty, alcoholism, meth addiction, and suicide. Since the American Indian Movement's (AIM) occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, the church has faced increasing pressure from Lakotas seeking to return to native religions. The church is a modern expression of a testimony as old as Christianity of the power of the gospel to transform the lives of the oppressed.²⁸

²⁸ Interview with Silvia Hollow Horn (wife of Pastor Stanley Hollow Horn) of Wounded Knee Church of God, January 7, 2019. For a history of the 1973 occupation see Stew Magnuson, *Wounded Knee 1973: Still Bleeding, the American Indian Movement, the FBI, and their Fight to Bury the Sins of the Past* (Chicago: Now & Then Reader LLC, 2013).

²⁹ J. Daniel Hays, *From Every People and Nation: A Biblical Theology of Race* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2003), 17.

³⁰ Walter R. Echo-Hawk writes, "By 1955, the indigenous land base had shrunk to just 2.3 percent of its original size. *Johnson v. M'Intosh* paved the way for this tragedy. Its doctrines granted enormous power

Sources of Grievance

The survival of both Native Americans and Native American churches is a summons to the church to consider future justice for a people who have not known historical justice for centuries. An ever-growing body of literature has helped the church to understand African-American slavery, segregation, and the culpability of the church in Black oppression. But comparatively little has been written from an evangelical perspective on the Indians. Christians should be informed of the numerous grievances Indians have with the history of America. They should also become aware of the church's culpability in Indian oppression.

Daniel Hays's comment on Black American Christianity offers an insightful parallel. "Black scholars identify the racial division in the Church as one of the most central problems for contemporary Christianity, while White scholars are saying 'What problem?'"²⁹ When it comes to Indians, many Christians are not only saying "What problem?" but "What Indians?"

Three principle sources of Indian grievances among several others are land, slavery, and cultural genocide.

Land

Before the arrival of European colonists, Native Nations inhabited all of North America. Their territory has been reduced by 97.7%.³⁰ One of the most grievous

over Indian lands to the US government.... By 1881, Indian landholdings in the United States had plummeted to 156 million acres. By 1934, only about 50 million acres remained...as a result of the General Allotment Act of 1887. During World War II, the government took 500,000 more acres for military use. Over one hundred tribes, bands, and Rancherias relinquished their lands under various acts of Congress during the termination era of the 1950s.... The occupation of indigenous homelands by one tribe after another was extinguished by the government through various means, including treaty cessions, coercion, wars, and outright confiscation. In *Tee-Hit-Ton v. United States* (1955), the Supreme Court allowed the

and persistent myths, from the Indian perspective, is that the United States “gifted” them their reservations. From the Indian perspective, reservations are the scraps of land that remained after three centuries of European conquest. The American Revolution of 1776 was not the birth of fifty United States stretching from sea to shining sea. Rather it was the liberation of a mere thirteen colonies from the English crown which had no legitimate claims on Indian lands in the first place.

After 1776, another century of bloody wars—including the Cherokee Wars, Northwest Indian War, Tecumseh’s War, Creek War, Seminole War, Texas-Indian Wars, Black Hawk War, Texas Revolution, Mexican-American War, Apache Wars, Navajo Wars, Paiute War, Dakota War, Red Cloud War, Comanche War, Sioux War, Nez Perce War, and Cheyenne War, among others—was required to dispossess Indians of their lands and expand the United States to its current size.

This severe reduction of their lands through war is the Indians’ principal grievance. Walter R. Echo-Hawk writes, “Land was their paramount asset. It provided their identity, culture, and religion as well as their ability to sustain themselves as indigenous peoples.”³¹ Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz says similarly, “Everything in US history is about the land—who oversaw and cultivated it, fished its waters, maintained its wildlife; who invaded and stole it; how it became a

government to confiscate aboriginal land interests with impunity. Justice Stanley Reed coldly held that the Indian right is ‘not a property right’ at all—it is nothing more than ‘permission of the whites to occupy’ territory that can be terminated ‘without any legally enforceable obligation to compensate the Indians.” *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases ever Decided* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010), 77-78.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

³² Dunbar-Ortiz, 1.

³³ David Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience*

commodity (‘real estate’) broken into pieces to be bought and sold on the market.”³² David Adams argues that the most pressing question for the new national government in the 1790s concerned “deciding the future status of Indians.” Further, says Adams, government policy was reducible to this fact: “Indians possessed the land and whites wanted the land.”³³

Whether Indians and European colonists could have peacefully coexisted on the land without war is a debated question. Indians had a fundamentally different relationship to the land than did Europeans, a relationship determined largely by horticultural differences and indigenous animals. Private ownership of tracts of land by Indians was a concept nearly as absurd as private ownership of the air or sunlight.³⁴ Many Indian nations practiced seasonal migration through the land, harvesting its natural resources during seasons of prime productivity. They also planted seasonal crops, especially corn, that did not require constant attention. They cultivated forests with fires burning away the undergrowth, creating spaces for wild game and natural food sources to flourish. When Mary Rowlandson was taken captive by Indians during King Philip’s War, she expressed amazement at her captors’ ability to survive on ground nuts and

1875-1928 (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 5. Adams writes, “The very survival of the republic demanded that Indians be dispossessed of the land. According to prevailing Lockean theory, only a society built upon the broad foundation of private property could guarantee public morality, political independence and social stability.... For early policymakers, then, a major priority was the creation of a mechanism and rationale for divesting Indians of their real estate.”

³⁴ Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 103.

wild game even after their crops had been destroyed by the colonists.³⁵

Before the Europeans arrived, the western hemisphere lacked many of the domesticable animals—sheep, cows, goats, pigs, horses, and chickens—that provided Europeans much of their food. These animals required annexation of large tracts of land for husbandry.³⁶ Indian management of forests for deer versus creating farmland for an ever-expanding colonial population soon became a major source of conflict between Indians and colonists. Virginia DeJohn Anderson argues that European livestock was a factor in “reconfiguring New World environments to suit European purposes” and contributed to the “transformation of forests into farmland.”³⁷

Colonists, especially in New England, had severely underestimated how much of their energies would be absorbed in clearing land, planting crops, and building homes. Consequently, they were forced increasingly to adopt a free-range approach to animal husbandry. Bellowing bovines and rummaging pigs crashing through their fields became a source of supreme frustration for Indians, often driving them off their lands.³⁸ The Sachem Metacomet complained that Puritans plied Indians with liquor to cheat them out of their property, and drove them off their lands by spoiling their corn with cattle and horses.³⁹ In fact, John Eliot viewed the livestock problem as one of the most significant hindrances to advancing the gospel.⁴⁰

Of course, the most famous and egregious example of chasing Indians off their

lands was the extermination of the buffalo on the Great Plains. Old Lady Horse of the Kiowas exclaimed.

Everything the Kiowas had came from the buffalo. . . . So when the white men want to build railroads, or when they want to farm or raise cattle. . . . [The Kiowas] tore up the railroad tracks and gardens. They chased the cattle off the ranges. . . . Then the white men hired hunters to do nothing but kill the buffalo. Up and down the plains those men ranged, shooting sometimes as many as a hundred buffalo a day. Behind them came the skinners with their wagons. They piled the hides and bones into the wagons until they were full, and then took their loads to the new railroad stations that were being built to be shipped east to the market. Sometimes there would be a pile of bones as high as a man, stretching a mile along the railroad track.⁴¹

By the 1870s the federal government had signed over 400 treaties with the Native Nations of North America, guaranteeing their land rights. Nevertheless, the United States constantly broke these treaties reducing Indian lands to reservations whose lack of traditional Indian resources prohibited traditional Indian ways of life and led to widespread starvation. Those reservations, in turn, have been and continue to be managed by policies that prevent Indians from enjoying the benefits of capitalism, free enterprise, and private ownership of property.⁴²

³⁵ Horace Kephart, ed. *The Account of Mary Rowlandson and Other Indian Captivity Narratives* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2005), 58-86.

³⁶ An influential study of animals and environment is Jared Diamond, *Guns Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

³⁷ Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford, 2004), 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁹ Jill Lepore, *Encounters in the New World: A History in Documents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 162-63.

⁴⁰ Silverman, 267.

⁴¹ Cited in Dunbar-Ortiz, 143.

⁴² Naomi Schaefer Riley explains several reservation dilemmas. For example, commenting on the infamous Dawes act, she writes, “There was also the 25-year waiting period before Indians actually owned

Slavery

The enslavement of the Native Nations people in the western hemisphere has garnered increasing scholarly attention since 1913 when Almon Wheeler Lauber published his groundbreaking work *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States*.⁴³ To be sure, slavery was not a one-sided affair—Lauber and other scholars have demonstrated that Indians enslaved other Indians and sold them into European markets—but it was no less excusable.⁴⁴

Estimates range, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries approximately thirteen-million Africans were enslaved and sent to the Americas, while some two- to four-million Native Americans were enslaved both in the Americas and overseas. European slavers prowled the coastal waters of eastern North America for over a century before the Pilgrims settled Patuxet. Christopher

their plot of land outright. This provision, ostensibly intended to protect Indians from selling their land to rapacious whites before Indians were judged ‘competent’ to know their own interests, had the effect of diminishing the land’s value. Imagine that you were broke and someone gave you an acre of land but told you that you had to wait 25 years to sell it. Unless you wanted to start planting vegetables tomorrow, what good would it do you? You couldn’t even use it as collateral to get a loan, because technically it wouldn’t be yours yet. These kinds of provisions have the effect of sucking the magical powers out of a system of private property.” In a second example, Riley argues that persistent confusion over property rights on reservations has prevented Indians from capitalizing on their natural resources. “Crows and Northern Cheyennes sit on some of the largest oil, gas, and coal reserves in the country. Indian reservations, Anderson and Regan note, ‘contain almost 30% of the nation’s coal reserves west of the Mississippi, 50% of potential uranium reserves, and 20% of known oil and gas reserves’—resources worth \$1.5 trillion, or \$290,000 per tribal member. Tragically, ‘86% of Indian lands with energy or mineral potential remain underdeveloped because of Federal control of reservations that keep Indians from fully capitalizing on their resources if they desire.’” *The New Trail of Tears*, 15, 19.

Columbus, who discovered the Caribbean Islands in 1492, introduced Indian slavery to Europe.⁴⁵ On his second voyage in 1495, failing to find reserves of gold, Columbus rounded up 1500 Arawaks, selected 500 who were deemed excellent specimens and loaded them on his ships. Two hundred died on the return voyage to Spain, leaving Columbus 300 to sell into slavery.⁴⁶

In the wake of Columbus’s voyages, the Spanish destruction of native cultures, and the mass enslavement of Indians, the Spanish Dominican friar, Bartolomé de las Casas, penned *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* in 1542 dispatching it to King Phillip II. Las Casas had made several voyages to the Spanish colonies in Latin America and was appalled by the devastation he saw. Concerning Hispaniola, Las Casas wrote, “The Island of Hispaniola was the first to witness the arrival of Europeans and the first to suffer the wholesale slaughter of its

⁴³ See for example: Alan Galloway, ed., *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska 2009). Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South 1670-1717* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002). Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016). Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016). Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 2010).

⁴⁴ Ibram X. Kendi traces the origins of racist ideas leading to slavery, focusing particularly on African enslavement. *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Nation Books, 2016). *Slave Voyages* is a collaborative research project compiling impressive data on the extent and range of Trans-Atlantic and Intra-American slavery. <https://slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/estimates.faces> (accessed 1/9/2020)

⁴⁵ John Dyson, *Columbus: For Gold, God, and Glory* (Toronto: Madison Press, 1991), 183.

⁴⁶ Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003), 4.

people and the devastation and depopulation of the land. It all began with the Europeans taking native women and children both as servants and to satisfy their own base appetites.”⁴⁷

The enslavement of native populations was not isolated to the Spanish *conquistadors* in the sixteenth century; it spread far north on English vessels to colonial New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The enslavement of war captives in New England was especially common. Wendy Warren notes, “Indian slaves in New England were, mostly, sold because they had been captured in wars, whereas African slaves were captured in wars so that they might be sold.”⁴⁸ Indian slavery also moved into the interior of the North-American continent, finally being outlawed in Colorado and Utah in the 1860s and in California in the 1870s.⁴⁹

Cultural Genocide

On June 18, 1452 Pope Nicholas V promulgated a famous bull, *Dum Diversas*, originally authorizing King Alfonso V of Portugal to engage in wholesale destruction of the Saracens. The Pope decreed: “We grant to you full and free power, through the Apostolic authority by this edict, to invade, conquer, fight, subjugate the Saracens and pagans, and other infidels and other enemies of Christ. . . . And to lead their persons in perpetual servitude.”⁵⁰ The bull served as *de facto* justification for any Christian European power to conquer non-Christian lands and enslave their inhabitants.

⁴⁷ Bartolomé de Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* ed. Nigel Griffin, 1542; rpt. (New York, Penguin Books, 1992), 14.

⁴⁸ Warren, *New England Bound*, 91.

⁴⁹ Gally, *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, 26.

⁵⁰ An English translation is available here: <http://unamsanctamcatholicam.blogspot.com/2011/02/dum-diversas-english-translation.html>.

⁵¹ Mark Charles and Soong-Chan Rah criticize the doctrine of the discovery from Navajo and South-

Two years later, the pope issued a second bull, *Romanus Pontifex*, authorizing Portugal, and by extension other European powers, not merely to seize but to occupy conquered lands. These two bulls served as the foundational justification for the Doctrine of Discovery—a doctrine which granted European countries supreme authority over any lands they discovered.⁵¹ With the stroke of a pen Europeans had the imprimatur of their highest spiritual authority to perpetually subjugate native cultures anywhere on the globe.

In the sixteenth century, Protestant nations rejected the authority of Rome’s pontiff for the authority of Scripture. In theory, the Doctrine of Discovery did not apply to Protestants. Nevertheless, some Protestants still found biblical justification for subjugating and destroying native cultures.

John Corrigan in a critical chapter, “Amalek and the Rhetoric of Extermination,” has demonstrated that the Old Testament’s call for Amalek’s destruction was often translated into a justification for Christian extermination of pagan nations.⁵² In 1630 when John Winthrop drafted his famous sermon *A Model of Christian Charity* aboard the *Arbella*, calling upon the Puritans to establish a “city upon a hill,” Winthrop also invoked God’s “special commission” to Saul to destroy Amalek.⁵³ Some Puritans took it to heart, viewing themselves as an English Israel sent into the wilderness of Canaan to destroy the Indian-Amalekite hordes.

Korean perspectives. *Unsettling Truths: The Ongoing Dehumanizing Legacy of the Doctrine of Discovery* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2019).

⁵² Chris Beneke and Christopher Grenda, eds. *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 53-73.

⁵³ <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/winthmod.html> (accessed 1/9/2020)

In 1689 the Reverend Cotton Mather, appealing to Old Testament conquest narratives, prepared the colonists for Indian genocide. According to Mather the Indians were “Devils” who threatened Puritan Israel. Invoking Moses’s wilderness prayer for Joshua’s troops, Mather exclaimed: “While you fight, we’ll pray. . . . We will keep in the Mount with our hands lifted up, while you are in the field with your lives in your hands, against the Amalek that is now annoying this Israel in the Wilderness.” To die in battle, Mather claims, “may pass for a sort of martyrdom.” In Mather’s mind, New England now belonged exclusively to the Christian colonists: “You are fighting that the churches of God may not be extinguished and the wigwams of the heathen swarming in their room.” Rising to a crescendo, Mather exclaimed:

When once you have but got the track of those ravenous howling wolves, then pursue them vigorously; turn not back till they are consumed. Wound them that they shall not be able to arise. . . . Let there be none to save them; but beat them small as the dust before the wind, and cast them out as dirt in the streets. . . . Vengeance, Dear Country-men! Vengeance upon our Murderers. Let your Courage in the name of God be daring enough to execute that vengeance on them.⁵⁴

War wasn’t the only means of destroying Indian culture. One of the most controversial chapters in Indian history is that of the Indian boarding schools. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the Indian wars in the west were winding down, new questions arose concerning the fate of the surviving “savages,” especially the children. Following the example of Richard Pratt, who founded the Carlisle Indian

Industrial School in Carlisle Pennsylvania, nearly 150 Indian boarding schools came into existence.

Indian children were removed from their native environments and assimilated into Anglo-America-style boarding schools. Their hair was cut, their clothing was discarded for school uniforms, and they were forbidden to speak their native languages. The schools also forced Indian children to abandon their Indian names. In some cases, the schools forcefully removed children from their families. In other cases, Indian parents supported the schools, especially when they were located on or nearby their reservations. Children were taught vocational and manual skills to function in White American culture.

Pratt, who on the one hand seemed genuinely concerned for the improvement of the Indians’ welfare, saw nothing redeemable in Indian culture. He remarked, “Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life. . . . Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habitat.”⁵⁵ In a convention speech given in 1892, Pratt invoked both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson as sympathizers with a vision to civilize the savage. His opening statement famously (or infamously) memorialized his agenda.

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.

Pratt’s speech proceeds to lament the unjust massacres of the Indians by U.S.

⁵⁴ Cotton Mather, *A Discourse Delivered unto Some Part of the Forces Engaged in the Just War of*

New-England against the Northern & Eastern Indians (Boston: Samuel Green, 1689), 28, 32, 34, 37, 39.

⁵⁵ Adams, 55.

troops, as well as the oppression of black slaves. “Put yourself in his place,” Pratt intoned. But Pratt had no intention of admitting Indians to full status in American society. He clarified, “We have never made any attempt to civilize them with the idea of taking them into the nation, and all of our policies have been against citizenizing and absorbing them.” Indians, Pratt proclaimed, were no more prepared for citizenship in a white society than Black Africans: “What a farce it would be to attempt teaching American citizenship to the negroes in Africa. They could not understand it; and, if they did, in the midst of such contrary influences, they could never use it. Neither can the Indians understand or use American citizenship theoretically taught to them on Indian reservations.”⁵⁶

“Kill the Indian, save the man” defined the mission of the boarding schools. But what becomes of a dead Indian who is denied citizenship in American society?

The culpability of the church

European-American colonial records exhibit contradictory language concerning Indians. On the one hand they are full of inhuman descriptions of Indians—savages, heathens, brutes, animals—as well as justifications for slavery and extermination. However, they are also full of inspirational language promoting the advance of the gospel among America’s native peoples. This language forces important questions concerning just how sincere colonists were in seeking Indian conversions to Christianity.

Englishman Richard Hakluyt’s *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* was

⁵⁶ The full text of the speech if available here: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929> (accessed 1/10/2020)

⁵⁷ Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting* ed. Charles Deane, 1584; rpt. (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1877), 3, 8.

among the most influential works calling for western colonization in the sixteenth century. Hakluyt offers as his first support, “This western discovery will be greatly for the enlargement of the gospel of Christ.” Hakluyt is optimistic: “This most godly and Christian work may be performed of enlarging the glorious gospel of Christ and reducing of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in error into the right and perfect way of their salvation.”⁵⁷

In 1624 Edward Winslow, one the original *Mayflower* passengers and third governor of Plymouth, wrote *Good News from New England* as an attempt to secure fresh recruits for the struggling colony. The first incentive he offers to prospective colonists was the advance of the gospel: “There is no less hope of convincing the heathen of their evil ways, and converting them to the true knowledge and worship of the living God, and so consequently the salvation of their souls by the merits of Jesus Christ.”⁵⁸

The Puritans, who established the Massachusetts Bay Colony centered on Salem and Boston, were equally vocal about their evangelistic intentions. The 1629 *Charter of Massachusetts Bay* declares as “the principle end of the Plantation” an intention to “win and incite the Natives of [the] country, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith.”⁵⁹ Also in 1629, a seal was designed for the colony to represent the authority granted by King Charles I to conduct colonial affairs. Used by the Puritans from 1629 to 1686, the seal features an Indian sparsely covered in fig leaves holding an arrow in his right hand and a bow in his left. A banner proceeds from his mouth with the words “Come over and help

⁵⁸ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes from New England: A True Relation of Things very Remarkable at the Plantation of Plimouth in New England*. 1623-24; rpt. (Bedford MA: Applewood Books, n.d.), 3.

⁵⁹ The full text is available here: https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/mass03.asp (accessed 1/8/2020)

us,” an obvious invocation of the Macedonian call.⁶⁰

Despite these claims, modern Indian voices have asked legitimate questions concerning the authenticity of the colonists’ stated ambitions to win them to Christ. Lakota-Sioux Richard Twiss is gracious but honest. He writes, “In the providence of almighty God, I believe it was His plan that the White man from across the great water would deliver the sacred message of Jesus to the First Nations of this continent. . . . Yet Native expressions of Christ and His kingdom are all but absent from the mainstream of the White church in America.” Twiss suggests the white man’s approach to missions “could legitimately be viewed as a kind of cultural genocide.” And mercifully, Twiss adds, “I doubt we Native people would have performed any better than the Europeans” and that “our gracious heavenly Father redeems our worst blunders and causes all things to work together for good.”⁶¹

Hakluyt’s initial call to evangelize the Indians quickly dissolves into numerous other advantages the English would enjoy through western colonization. These include advancing global trade, warding off Spanish imperialism, employing idle men, limiting the King of Spain’s dominions, demoting King Philip from his “high throne,” increasing royal revenues, growing the English navy, and finding a Northwest Passage to the Orient. Of Hakluyt’s twenty-one justifications for colonization, eleven involve besting the hated Spanish empire. Only one concerns the gospel.

Plymouth Colony, unlike the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the north or Roger Williams’ Providence Plantations to the west, never commenced serious missions

work among the Indians. Governor Bradford’s attitude toward Indian evangelization is contradictory. On the one hand he writes of “a great hope and inward zeal . . . for propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world.” But two paragraphs later he demonizes the natives as cannibals who eat people alive, as “devoid of all civil[ity],” and as “wild beasts.” “America,” says Bradford, is “vast and unpeopled,” as if Indians were inhuman.⁶²

Plymouth’s original colonists did establish friendly relationships with the Sachem Massasoit and many Wampanoags and surrounding Indian nations. Nevertheless, the Pilgrims generally followed the advice of Virginia colonist John Smith and the aggressive proclivities of Myles Standish to intimidate the “savages” by show of force.⁶³ By 1623 the Pilgrims had become embroiled in local Indian politics, and Standish and his troops had taken five Indian lives in a surprise raid. Dispatching the head of an Indian named Wituwamat, whom Standish despised, the Pilgrims returned to Plymouth with the gory trophy and hoisted it on a pike above their fort.⁶⁴ For their efforts, the Pilgrims earned for the English a new name, *wotowequenage*— “cutthroats.”⁶⁵

When John Robinson, the Pilgrims’ pastor back in Leyden, learned of the violence, he dispatched a scathing letter to Plymouth opining, “Oh, how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some before you had killed any!” Robinson’s letter demonstrates a different attitude toward the Indians from Bradford’s, calling upon the Pilgrims to adopt a “humane spirit” and to regard the “tenderness of the life of man” who is “made after God’s image.” Robinson counselled the Pilgrims against adopting the “more glorious

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<https://www.sec.state.ma.us/pre/presea/sealhis.htm> (accessed 1/8/2020)

⁶¹ Richard Twiss, *One Church Many Tribes: Following Jesus the Way God Made You* (Minneapolis: Baker Publishing Group, 2000), 27-28.

⁶² Bradford, 25-26.

⁶³ Alfred Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 46.

⁶⁴ For an account see Philbrick, 140-57.

⁶⁵ Cave, 47.

course in men's eyes" of becoming a "terror to poor barbarous people." He warned, "Where blood is once begun to be shed, it is seldom stanch'd of a long time after."⁶⁶

Unfortunately, Robinson's letter was prophetic. The battles continued "a long time after," climaxing fifty-three years later with King Philip's War. Edward Winslow's *Good News* had failed to secure new recruits for evangelizing Indians. His own son Josiah Winslow, an aggressive war hawk, commanded the army of the United Colonies (Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut) in an invasion of Rhode Island's Narragansetts.⁶⁷ In a letter to John Winthrop Jr., Josiah Winslow identified the Indians not as potential converts, but God's "scourge" to "chasten us for our sinful departings from him."⁶⁸

Another Plymouth man, Benjamin Church, led a colonial militia to track down the Wampanoag leader Metacomet (King Philip).⁶⁹ Church returned to Plymouth victoriously with a second gory trophy, hoisting the severed head of Metacomet on a pike at the colony's entrance. The desiccated prize hung over Plymouth for two decades.⁷⁰ Any dreams of evangelizing Indians by the *Mayflower* passengers had vanished in the second generation.

From a missions perspective, the Puritans were an improvement upon the Pilgrims. However, the English colonies

actually produced the fewest missionaries of all European colonial powers and devoted the least financial support to converting Indians.⁷¹ Not until the late eighteenth century did missions work begin in earnest both in England and America.⁷²

John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew Sr., and Thomas Mayhew Jr. were certainly leading Puritan examples. Several others also took up the cause including William Leveridge, Richard Bourne, Thomas Tupper, and Peter Folger.⁷³ Eliot's work among the Indians was initially successful, but complicated by the imperious power of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Eliot was told by an Indian that he initially converted because, "I thought if we did not pray, the English might kill us."⁷⁴

Relying heavily on native language speakers, especially the Wampanoag James Printer, Eliot translated and published a Natick-Algonquin Bible for the Massachusetts Indians in 1663, the first Bible printed in America. There were soon enough copies for every Indian family in New England. Lisa Brooks notes, "Within a decade, the press published ten Indigenous language texts, some of which were published in a bilingual, interlinear format to assist both Native speakers and English readers."⁷⁵ Eliot eventually produced an Algonquian translation of the Shorter Catechism, as well as translations of several doctrinal and devotional works.

Judson pioneered American foreign missions sailing for Calcutta in 1812.

⁷³ Non-evangelical interpreters see virtually nothing positive about Puritan missions and have pointed out problems with the work of men like Eliot and Mayhew. While some of their criticisms are just, their perspectives are incompatible with evangelical perspectives. See for instance George Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 21-41.

⁷⁴ Silverman, 243.

⁷⁵ Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 88.

⁶⁶ Robinson's letter of December 19, 1623 is included in Morison edition of Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 374-75.

⁶⁷ Philbrick, 265.

⁶⁸ Josiah Winslow to John Winthrop Jr. July 29, 1675 in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* vol. 1 (Boston: Mass. Historical Society, 1871), 428.

⁶⁹ John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 35.

⁷⁰ Philbrick, 338.

⁷¹ Bowden, 113.

⁷² William Carey pioneered English missions with the publication of his *Enquiry* in 1792. Adoniram

Eliot also organized Praying Towns for Indian converts or Indians willing to suspend their indigenous religious practices and explore Christianity. Between 1651 and 1675 fourteen praying towns came into existence, the town of Natick being the most successful. By 1674 approximately 1,100 Indians lived in the towns. Totherswamp, an early convert, offered the following confession to Puritan elders.

Christ knoweth all our hearts,
and sees what is in them. . . . My heart
feared greatly, because God was angry
for all my sins. Yea, now my heart is
full of evil thoughts, and my heart runs
away from God. . . . One man brought
sin in the World, and I am full of that
sin, and I break God's Word every
day. I see I deserve not pardon. . . . But
Christ died for us because of our sins.
And Christ teacheth us, that if we cast
away our sins, and trust in Christ, that
God will pardon all our sins. This I
believe, I can do no righteousness. But
Christ hath done it for me. . . . When I
heard, and understood my redemption
by Christ, then I believed Jesus Christ
to take away my sins.⁷⁶

Despite successes, the Praying Towns were fraught with difficulties from the beginning. They essentially created a third culture where Indian converts could no longer be Indian, nor could they be Puritan. Contemporary Indian scholar George Tinker laments, "The native converts were not only denied free social and economic intercourse

with the English communities, but they were also alienated from their home communities."⁷⁷

Unlike the Spanish Franciscans, French Jesuits, and Roger Williams, Puritans refused to live among the Indians.⁷⁸ Anticipating a host of later American ecclesiastical problems, the Puritans never took a serious interest in creating multiethnic congregations.⁷⁹ Praying towns presented Indians with an acute dilemma, "teaching them in fact to act like Englishmen" while refusing them entrance into English society.⁸⁰ Some scholars regard the Praying Towns as archetypes of the reservation systems.⁸¹ Further, evidence suggests that some Indians embraced life in the Praying Towns, not out of a desire to convert to Christianity, but as a means of preserving lands against the ever-expanding Bay Colony.⁸²

When King Philip's War engulfed New England, Eliot's mission came to an abortive end. The colonial governments determined that even Christian Indians could not be trusted. Hundreds of Praying Indians were rounded up and shipped to Deer Island in Boston Harbor and placed in what amounted to concentration camps.⁸³ Nearly half died during the winter of 1675-76 from starvation and lack of shelter.⁸⁴ Even the respected Indian convert and Bible translator James Printer was imprisoned by the Puritans.⁸⁵

King Philip's War or Metacom's War was the climactic moment in New England history. Jill Lepore describes the war as the "defining moment when any lingering, though

⁷⁶ Jill Lepore, *Encounters in the New World*, 162-63.

⁷⁷ Tinker, 27.

⁷⁸ Bowden, 116.

⁷⁹ The Puritan failure anticipates the problems evangelical churches had in the twentieth century with their refusal to admit Black congregants. See Stephen R. Haynes, *The Last Segregated Hour: The Memphis Kneel-Ins and the Campaign for Southern Church Desegregation* (New York: Oxford, 2012).

⁸⁰ Bowden, 126.

⁸¹ Jennings, *Invasion of America*, 242.

Bowden, 131. I was first introduced to this association when interviewing a Nipmuc woman at Plimoth Village.

⁸² Silverman notes, "Colonial governments guaranteed the land to Christian Indians forever in order to promote the Natives' churchgoing and other English-style reforms." *This Land is Their Land*, 246.

⁸³ Bowden, 132.

⁸⁴ Lepore, *Encounters in the New World*, 153.

⁸⁵ Silverman, 324.

slight possibility for [Indian] political and cultural autonomy was lost.”⁸⁶ Eric Shultz and Michel Tougius write, “Among the handful of seminal events that shaped the American mind and continent, King Philip’s War is perhaps the least studied and most forgotten.”⁸⁷

The war erupted when the tenuous relationship between the first generation of Plymouth colonists and Wampanoags disintegrated in the second generation. David Silverman writes, “For decades the English had by hook and by crook grasped at the Wampanoags’ lands, tributary networks, cultural autonomy, and jurisdiction. . . . Unless the Wampanoags were willing to accept this debasement, there was nothing left for them to do but fight.”⁸⁸

The war became the deadliest war (per capita) in North American recorded history—roughly twice as deadly as the Civil War and eight times more deadly than the American Revolution. An estimated thirty percent of the English population of New England perished.⁸⁹ Native American casualties were far worse.⁹⁰ The war led ultimately to a sixty to eighty percent reduction in New England’s Indian population through death, deportations of war captives into slavery, and the flight of Indians north to the Abenaki nation and west to the Iroquois nation.⁹¹

Bradford’s claim that God had given the Pilgrims “the fruits of the land” had proven prophetic. King Philip’s War led to the permanent loss of the vast majority of Wampanoag, Narragansett, Nipmuc and

Pocomtuck lands. At war’s end an impoverished Plymouth colony paid its war veterans in confiscated Wampanoag lands. For those Wampanoags who sided with the English during the war, Plymouth established small reservations at Sakonnet, Assawompset, and Titicut.⁹²

For Puritan Increase Mather, who wrote a history of the war, there was also no question; God had taken away Amalek’s Indian lands in the western hemisphere and given them to English Israel.

That the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightful possession, have at sundry times been plotting mischievous devises against that part of the English Israel which is seated in these going down of the Sun, no man that is an inhabitant of any considerable standing can be ignorant.⁹³

From Plymouth Rock to Wounded Knee, the question was always the same: Who owns the land? King Philip’s War was the colonists’ deadly answer, an answer that foreshadowed two centuries of devastating loss for those Indians looking east at ship after ship sailing across the vast horizon. Shultz and Tougius write, “[The war] became the brutal model for how the United States would come to deal with its native population. Later names like Tippecanoe, Black Hawk’s War, the Trail of Tears, the Salt Creek Massacre, the Red

U.S. history as if the future existence of the United States was a foregone conclusion. This was not a war between the U.S. and Indians, but between British colonists and Indians. *King Philip’s War: Civil War in New England 1675-1676* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 1-6.

⁹² Silverman, 348-49.

⁹³ Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England* in Richard Slotkin and James Folsom, *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip’s War 1676-1677* (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 86.

⁸⁶ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, Knopf, 1998), 3.

⁸⁷ Eric Shultz and Michel Tougius, *King Philip’s War: The History and Legacy of America’s Forgotten Conflict* (New York: WW. Norton, 1999), 1.

⁸⁸ Silverman, 296.

⁸⁹ Colin Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2004), 121.

⁹⁰ Shultz and Tougius, 5.

⁹¹ Philbrick, 332. James Drake cautions against the popular claim that it was the most-deadly war in

River War, and Wounded Knee all took place under the long, violent shadow of King Philip's War."⁹⁴ Jill Lepore writes, "King Philip's War never ended. In other times, in other places, its painful wounds would be reopened, its vicious words spoken again."⁹⁵

Colonial Christian Voices for Indian Justice

The history of the European conquests of native nations is a dreadful specter. Christians' culpability is evident even in a casual reading of their own sources. But there were also Christian voices who called for Indian justice. Pilgrim Pastor John Robinson was such a voice as was Bartolomé de Las Casas. John Eliot also was appalled by his fellow Puritans' behavior both during the bloody war and its aftermath when Puritans and Pilgrims began rounding up Indians and shipping them off to slavery in the Caribbean.

In 1676, fifty-six years after the arrival of the *Mayflower*, the *Seaflower* sailed away from Plymouth carrying a cargo of 180 Indian slaves from their native lands.⁹⁶ Increase Mather expressed a vengeful, if sanctimonious, satisfaction that the wife and son of King Philip—whose severed head would come to rest on a pike in Plymouth—were among the Plymouth captives awaiting deportation. Mather wrote, "His squaw and his son were taken captives, and are now prisoners in Plimouth. Thus hath God brought that grand enemy into great misery before he quite destroy[s] him. It must needs be bitter as death to him, to lose his wife and only son (for the Indians are marvelous fond and affectionate towards their children)."⁹⁷

John Eliot was not so callous. When he learned of the enslavement of war captives, he dashed off a petition to the governor and council of Massachusetts Bay. His letter offers

a clear link between fighting for Indian justice and advancing the gospel.

That the terror of selling away such Indians, unto the lands for perpetual slaves . . . is like to be an effectual prolongation of the war and . . . as may produce we know not what evil consequences upon all the land. Christ has said blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy, [but] this usage of them is worse than death. . . . The design of Christ in these last days, is not to extirpate nations but to gospelize them.

Eliot's letter continues, pressing upon the Puritans their stated reasons for coming to New England and insisting that Indian enslavement was antithetical to Christ's gospel.

When we came, we declared to the world. . . . that the endeavor of the Indians conversion, not their extirpation, was one great end of our enterprise in coming to the ends of the earth. My humble request is, that you would follow Christ's design in this matter to promote the free passage of religion among them and not to destroy them. To send them away from the light of the gospel which Christ hath graciously given them unto a place, a state, a way of perpetual darkness to the eternal ruin of their souls is to act contrary to the mind of Christ. . . . To sell them away for slaves is to hinder the enlargement of his kingdom.

Eliot concludes, "The Country is large enough, here is land enough for them and us too."⁹⁸

Thomas Mayhew Sr. and Thomas Mayhew Jr. who planted Christianity among the Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard and

⁹⁴ Shultz and Tougius, 1.

⁹⁵ Lepore, *The Name of War*, xiii.

⁹⁶ Philbrick, xiv.

⁹⁷ *A Brief History of the War*, 136.

⁹⁸ Lepore, *Encounters in the New World*, 153-54.

Nantucket, were also clarion voices in defense of America's native inhabitants. The work they began at Martha's Vineyard and that spilled over to Nantucket and to Mashpee on the mainland proved remarkably vibrant through the centuries and has survived to the present.

David Silverman suggests several factors that would seem to explain this enduring legacy of Wampanoag Christianity. First, the Mayhews took the time to learn the "very difficult, irregular, and anomalous Wampanoag language."⁹⁹ Second, "missionaries universally acknowledged their need for the support of Indian leaders."¹⁰⁰ Third, on Martha's Vineyard "Wampanoags were the dominant power."¹⁰¹ Fourth, borrowing from Paul's strategy with the Greeks in Acts 17, the Mayhews used existing Wampanoag ideas of God to introduce Christianity. In consultation with an Indian convert named Hiacoomes, Mayhew drew from "an obscure Notion of a greater god than all, which they call *Manit*."¹⁰² Fifth, large numbers of Indians began to convert to Christianity when, not Mayhew, but "Hiacoomes convinced them that Mayhew's words were truthful."¹⁰³

In summary, the Mayhews evidenced a humane respect for Indians and their culture as well as a genuine belief in the possibility of Indian forms of Christianity. The Mayhews had not come to occupy the Indians' land or send them off into slavery, but to unite with them in Christian worship respecting, as much as possible, their indigenous context.

By 1670 Hiacoomes became pastor of the Wampanoag church, John Tackanash served as teacher, and John Nahnoosa and John Momatchegin became ruling elders. Silverman observes, "Embracing Christianity

was not cultural suicide. . . . The praying Indians appropriated Christianity to secure their collective future as Takemmies, as Aquinnahs, and as Wampanoags. . . . The missionaries' confidence in them speaks volumes."¹⁰⁴

The most famous New England colonial voice calling for justice for the American Indian was that of Roger Williams who found himself at odds with the Puritan establishment nearly as soon as he arrived in America. Williams rejected the Puritans' claim to be English Israel with a divine sanction to conquer Indian territory as Joshua conquered Canaan. Rather, Williams insisted that the Indians were the rightful owners of the land, and colonists ought to purchase land from the Indians at a fair price if they were going to live on it. Williams feared the Puritan experiment would disintegrate into the worship of an unholy Trinity—"profit, preferment, and pleasure"—and that "God land" was fast becoming "as great a God with us English as God Gold was with the Spaniards."¹⁰⁵

When Williams's views rankled too many Puritans, they expelled him from the colony. Williams went to live with the Narragansetts, where he learned their language and culture. Out of that experience, Williams wrote *A Key into the Language of America*. William's *Key* is not merely a tool for deciphering native languages, but is also a guide for understanding and appreciating Indian culture and promoting Indian justice. Williams's attitude toward the Indians is profoundly different from so many of his Pilgrim and Puritan counterparts. He wrote, "My soul's desire was to do the native good,

⁹⁹ David J. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard 1600-1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 19.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 48, 62.

¹⁰⁵ Roger Williams to John Winthrop Jr., May 28, 1664 in John Bartlett, ed., *Letters of Roger Williams 1632-1682* (Providence: Narragansett Club, 1874), 319.

and to that end to have their language, which I afterwards printed.”¹⁰⁶

In the *Key*, one of the first problems Williams addresses is the problem that automatically biased so many colonists against the Indians: What do we call them? Williams identifies the derogatory names used by the English including savages, wild-men, aborigines, pagans, barbarians, and heathen. Williams then inquires into what names Indians give themselves, immediately raising their social status. He then identifies several proper names that should be used to address the Indians. Williams even comments on the appropriateness of the term “Indian.” He writes, “They have often asked me, why we call them *Indians*. And understanding the reason, they will call themselves *Indians*.”¹⁰⁷

Williams also addresses the question of Indian origins. He respectfully records the Indians’ origins stories—even where he disagrees with them. He listens to their discussions of their Great God *Cawtantowwit*, the Creator. When the Indians come to view the English God as superior for having given them clothing, books and letters, Williams is careful to point out that the English too were once without the accoutrements of civilization, identifying with the native plight and cautiously drawing them to the gospel. Williams also clarifies that indeed the Indians are derived from both Adam and Noah, humanely identifying all peoples in solidarity as part of a single human race.

Some of Williams’ scholarship, especially his inquiries into how the Indians arrived in the Americas, is dubious. But the tenor of his work is motivated by a desire to find common ground between Indians and Christians. Michael Auerbach summarizes

¹⁰⁶ Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America: Or An Help to the Language of the Natives in that Part of America called New England* 1643; rpt. (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1936), [n.p.].

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Daisy Martin, ed., *Defining Documents in American History: Exploration & Colonial America*

Williams’ attitude toward the Indians: “The American Indians possessed a singular nobility and culture distinctiveness which, although considerably different from English culture and traditions, was worthy of respect.”¹⁰⁸ John Barry writes in a similar vein “If there was an underlying theme to the book . . . it was its identification of commonalities between all peoples.”¹⁰⁹

Survival

My purpose in this article has not been to demonize the Pilgrims, Puritans, or any Christian group. Much could be said in defense and celebration of William Bradford and Plymouth Plantation or of the Puritan dream of a City on a Hill. Nor has my purpose been to idolize the Noble Savage who lived in a pre-Columbian Edenic paradise only to be destroyed by European plagues, guns, and slavery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much could be said in criticism of Indian violence, immorality, indigenous slavery, and religion. Original sin is, after all, a universal human condition. Polemical histories of either Christianity or indigenous peoples are equally irresponsible.

Responsible history neither glamorizes nor demonizes the history of the church but tells the truth about what happened and equips the church to learn from failure and make wise future choices. Responsible history also requires us to examine alternative perspectives when we have allowed cherished perspectives to grow into myths. Silverman puts it well: “Serious, critical history tends to be hard on the living. It challenges us to see distortions embedded in the heroic national origin myths we have been taught since childhood. . . . Yet it also has the capacity to help us become more humble and humane.”¹¹⁰

(1492-1755), vol 1. (Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, 2013), 158.

¹⁰⁹ John Barry, *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul: Church State, and the Birth of Liberty* (New York: Viking, 2012), 286.

¹¹⁰ Silverman, *This Land is Their Land*, 1.

When we evaluate the Puritans and Pilgrims for who they were—European colonists occupying the lands of indigenous people—rather than who we might wish they were—missionaries seeking the conversion of indigenous peoples—we are able to be more objective in our assessment. Consider for example a simple comparison between the missionary Jim Eliot, pierced by a Huaorani spear on a riverbank in Ecuador, and colonist Myles Standish brandishing the head of Wituwamat on the tip of a spear in Plymouth. Missionaries come to evangelize; colonists come to survive.

Yet Native American Christianity, like the Native Americans themselves, also survived the colonial experience. Four of Eliot's fourteen praying towns survived, albeit "economically distressed, demoralized, and significantly reduced in size."¹¹¹ Henry Bowden writes, "The remarkable thing is that the Puritan brutalities did not lead the Praying Indians to abandon Christianity altogether. Almost half the Massachusetts converts survived the maelstrom with their faith intact, however disillusioned they may have become with their white coreligionists."¹¹² Likewise, commenting on the Narragansetts who were evangelized by Roger Williams, James Warren writes, "Detribalization put an end to the tribe only in the eyes of the law. A loose form of tribal organization was maintained through the Narragansett Christian church, which had emerged in the Great Awakening of

religion in America in the 1740s and remains a powerful force in Narragansett life today."¹¹³

Among the Wampanoags, Christianity proved resilient. In 1727, Experience Mayhew, great-grandson of Thomas Mayhew Sr., penned *Indian Converts*, including 128 short biographies of Wampanoag Christians on Martha's Vineyard. His intention was to place before his readers "these examples of piety . . . concerning the efficacy of God's grace on the heart of our Indians; by which it appeareth, that they have such knowledge, convictions, faith, repentance, and other graces of the Holy Spirit, as do accompany salvation."¹¹⁴ Christianity among the Wampanoags also proved to be highly confessional. Even while the Puritans devalued the role of conversion narratives as prerequisites for church membership and admittance to communion, the Indians kept up the practice.¹¹⁵

From the Wampanoags of Cape Cod to the Lakota of Wounded Knee, Christianity has survived as a small but vital force in Indian life. One cannot help but wonder: if the New-England colonists had listened to those few Christian voices calling for Indian justice, might the future history of the United States have looked very different? Perhaps the history of the church might not be so scarred today by a long and inexcusable history of Indian and Black oppression under slavery and segregation.

However, it is never too late to listen to wise voices from the past and chart a better

¹¹¹ Tinker, 33.

¹¹² Bowden, 133.

¹¹³ James A. Warren, *God, War, and Providence: The Epic Struggle of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians against the Puritans of New England* (New York: Scribner, 2018), 250.

¹¹⁴ Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts: Or Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard in New England 1727* (London: Samuel Gerrish, 1727), xiii.

¹¹⁵ Silverman, *This Land is Their Land*, 364. Before the Great Awakening, many Puritan churches

were following the practice of Solomon Stoddard, grandfather of Jonathan Edwards, and permitting unregenerate individuals full access to the communion table. Despite the vibrancy of Wampanoag faith, Experience Mayhew was unconvinced that his fellow English colonists fully appreciated native forms of Christianity. Silverman argues, "[Mayhew's] English neighbors did not want to respect Indians as fellow Christians because they knew what came next: they would feel pressure to treat Native people with dignity." *Ibid.*, 365.

course for the future. In 1647 Roger Williams penned an impassioned letter to John Winthrop Jr.

Concerning Indian affairs, reports are various; lies are frequent. Private interests, both with Indians and English are many; yet these things you may and must do. First, kiss truth where you evidently, upon your soul, see it. Second, advance justice though upon a child's eyes. Third, seek and make peace, if possible, with all men. Fourth, secure your own life from a revengeful, malicious arrow or hatchet.¹¹⁶

Roger Williams would agree; the church should indeed look again at that ship cresting over the eastern horizon 400 years ago and humbly reevaluate our cherished perspectives and let myth yield to responsible, instructive history.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CRIMINAL OFFENDER: AN ADLERIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Psychological theorist Alfred Adler used an all-encompassing approach to

psychology in his theory of Individual Psychology. This report is aimed at aspiring forensic psychologists seeking to comprehend Adlerian's perspective on the psychology of the criminal offender as it examines the causal factors of criminal behavior through the lens of Alfred Adler. The paper begins by examining Alfred Adler and the critical components of Individual Psychology. From this foundation, the report delves into the concepts that underlie criminal behavior from an Adlerian perspective. Some of the concepts discussed include pampered and neglected children, inferiority, physical handicap, social influence, and family dynamics such as birth order. The report then turns to Adlerian Psychotherapy, which includes an explanation and a discussion of the treatment and prevention of criminal behavior. Additionally, the paper discusses the overlap between the Adlerian concept and a Christian worldview. Finally, the report concludes with a general discussion of the points outlined in this paper.

Keywords: Alfred Adler, individual psychology, criminal behavior, inferiority

When attempting to understand the causes of criminal behavior, criminologists and forensic psychologists generally draw from the disciplines of sociology, psychology, and biology (Paradis, 1995). In the realm of psychology, Kovacsiss and Linebach (2022) offer that criminal behavior can be examined through various psychological theories, such as "Psychoanalytic, Behavioral, Cognitive, Personality, [and] Intelligence" (p. 24). These theories scientifically explore an individual's thought and behavioral process.

Psychological theorist Alfred Adler did not attach himself to one factor or theory outlined above. Adler developed his own theory called Individual Psychology, which

¹¹⁶ Williams to John Winthrop Jr., May 28, 1647 in John Bartlett, ed., *Letters of Roger Williams*, 147.

provides an interconnected and comprehensive approach to psychology (Emmons & Belangee, 2018). This report discusses Alfred Adler and the essential elements of Individual Psychology, followed by an analysis of the concepts that drive criminal behavior from an Adlerian perspective. The paper covers various points to qualify Adlerian's explanation of criminal behavior, including pampered children, neglected children, inferiority, physical handicaps, social influence, and relationships within the family, such as birth order. The report then shifts its focus to Adlerian Psychotherapy and explains how it can be used to treat and prevent criminal conduct. Additionally, the paper discusses the overlap between Adlerian concepts and a Christian worldview. Finally, the report concludes with a review of the significant points covered in the paper. In its totality, this article intends to comprehensively examine the origins and treatment of criminal behavior through the perspective of Alfred Adler's Individual Psychology.

Alfred Adler and Individual Psychology

Alfred Adler, an Austrian psychologist, lived from 1870 until 1937. He is most recognized for founding the Individual Psychology theory and his advancements in psychotherapy. He was from the era of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung; however, he did not subscribe to their psychological theories. Freud took a structured personality psychoanalytic approach to psychology, whereas Adler took a holistic approach (Adler & Brett, 2009; Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015; Shon & Mansager, 2021). Adler established a think tank that would later be known as the Society for Individual Psychology (Shon & Mansager, 2021).

Individual Psychology

Individual Psychology is based on the notion that the meaning of life revolves around the inherent human trait of inferiority; and that our lifelong goal is to overcome this mental state by adopting an individual lifestyle belief grounded in the reality that the person is a member of humanity, who finds purpose and self-worth in cooperating and contributing to the greater good of human society through interactions with others in shared experiences (Adler & Brett, 2009; Emmons & Belangee, 2018; Lamberson & Wester, 2018). In Adlerian thought, infants are born helpless and dependent on others, which coincides with the innate feeling of inferiority, which the child will strive to conquer throughout their entire lives (Adler & Brett, 2009; Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015; Emmons & Belangee, 2018; Shon & Barton-Bellessa, 2015). According to Adler, at age five, children begin to develop their *lifestyle* belief, which can be described as the child's worldview that self-worth and personal significance are discovered when one focuses on others, rather than oneself, and positively contributes to society, i.e., *social interest* (Adler & Brett, 2009; Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015; Emmons & Belangee, 2018; Shon & Barton-Bellessa, 2015). Emmons and Belangee (2018) further described a person's lifestyle interconnecting with social interest as an "outward display of that inward sense of belonging and acceptance" (p. 138).

Parenting serves a crucial role in shaping a child's lifestyle belief from an early age, supporting them to develop resilience against feelings of inferiority and encouraging them to pursue success, as demonstrated by their social interactions and contribution to society (Emmons & Belangee, 2018; Lamberson & Wester, 2018). Contribution to society can be broken down into three significant areas of life or life task: meaningful social (friendship) interaction and contributions, meaningful occupational (work) interaction and contributions, and meaningful

intimate (love) relationships (Adler & Brett, 2009; Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015; Shon & Mansager, 2021). There are two main ways in which people respond to these three significant areas of life: "socially useful or socially useless ways" (Shon & Barton-Bellessa, 2015, p. 96). As Adler and Brett (2009) examine, in order to respond in a socially useful way a person must have developed a proper lifestyle belief and contribute in a meaningful way to society, at work, and in their intimate relationships, i.e. marriage and family. On the contrary, for a person to respond in a useless way, they fail to contribute meaningfully to society, at work, and in their intimate relationships, exacerbating their feeling of inferiority.

Psychology of the Criminal Offender

An Adlerian perspective of the psychology of the criminal offender can be explained when the offender never developed a proper lifestyle belief; therefore, they were ill-equipped and suffered a distorted view of reality that disabled them when confronting the challenges of contributing meaningfully to the three significant areas of life, which led them, consciously or unconsciously, to a feeling of uselessness as they succumbed to their feelings of inferiority (Adler & Brett, 2009). Feelings of uselessness and inferiority and a distorted view of reality contribute to an antisocial mindset that results in criminal behavior (Adler & Brett, 2009; Emmons & Belangee, 2018). According to Adlerian theory, Shon and Mansager (2021) added that when individuals experience increasing feelings of inferiority, they may turn to criminal behavior to compensate and boost their sense of self-worth.

Adler believed that criminal offenders failed to develop their lifestyle beliefs correctly, in part because of the misguided influences of their parents (Emmons & Belangee, 2018; Shon & Barton-Bellessa, 2015). According to Emmons and Belangee

(2018), "negative life events, such as divorce, abuse, or neglect and the resulting effects, including sadness, worry, fear, and malnourishment, can have lasting repercussions" (p. 135) with children during these formative years. Adler felt the family is where children develop their understanding of community and relation towards others, and when this does not happen, they are prone to criminal behavior (Shon & Mansager, 2021).

Pampered and Neglected

Kovacsiss and Linebach (2022) suggested that Adler believed parents who pampered or neglected their children did not learn to cooperate with society correctly and, as a result, developed a self-centered view of life which was particularly prone to manifesting future criminal behavior. According to Shon and Barton-Bellessa (2015) pampered children often develop an entitled attitude and learn to demand what they want from others and expect to receive it, as their personalities tend to be self-absorbed, egotistic, and dependent on others. According to Shon (2022) anger, a prevalent factor in many crimes, arises in pampered individuals who feel society fails to fulfill their demands.

A neglected child may become defensive, suspicious, and untrusting of others and, according to Shon (2022), often feel anger since they attribute their abuse to society and subsequently seek retribution. Shon (2022) notes that "Pampering, abuse, and neglect as a source of anger that fuels a deep-seated grievance [inferiority] against the world leads to nearly identical consequences" (p. 114). These people may act upon their anger and believe that society owes them for their misfortunes, taking what they feel is rightfully theirs from others (Shon & Barton-Bellessa, 2015). This kind of action leads to criminal behavior involving "money, property, sex—because they have never experienced the 'good life' and feel justified in taking it" (Shon, 2022, p. 114). When these criminal

offenders were children, they developed distorted lifestyle beliefs that put them at odds with society and their relationships. Shon and Barton-Bellessa (2015) suggest that those who have been pampered and neglected may lack the necessary social and relationship skills to fit in with society and may over-correct or under-correct by either striving for superiority through exploiting others or avoiding life responsibilities, all of which are manifestations of a disenchanting view of society.

Inferiority

According to Lamberson and Wester (2018) in Adlerian thought, the lifelong dilemma of inferiority can be a normal motivating factor in one's life who strives for success. People reflect on their societal role by comparing themselves to others and living a well-formed lifestyle belief; such comparison can be positive, motivating, and healthy. As stated previously and further addressed by Lamberson and Wester (2018) living a self-seeking, ill-formed lifestyle belief, when people compare themselves to society, they find it a self-defeating negative experience and further look to displace blame on others for their shortcomings. As Barton-Bellessa et al. (2015) explained, "To overcome feelings of inferiority, an individual would create an imagined ideal situation of perfection, what Adler called fictional final goal" (p. 37). This false goal serves as a twisted rationale and motivation that prompts the criminal offender to engage in criminal activities (Adler & Brett, 2009).

Handicap, Social Influence, and Family Dynamics (Birth order)

According to Barton-Bellessa et al. (2015) Adler identified handicap, social influence, and family dynamics as three areas that tend to intensify the feeling of inferiority. In the case of being physically handicapped a person may be limited in performing certain

task and develop a perspective "that others should take care of them, to make their life easy" (p. 38). Instead of navigating their challenges and making a contribution to society, they opt to depend on society's resources. Similarly, social biases and economic disadvantages might impede an individual's achievement. While some people overcome these barriers, some use them as an excuse not to achieve, as they blame society for their disadvantages (Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015).

According to Kovacs and Linebach (2022) Adler believed that family dynamics and birth order influence the development of inferiority sentiments. Adler performed considerable research on how birth order affects personality (Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015). According to Adler, birth order adds to feelings of inferiority, which at an elevated level is linked to criminality (Shon, 2022). For example, Shon and Mansager (2021) observed that Adler noted the youngest child is susceptible to being pampered and, therefore, has a higher probability of developing a feeling of inferiority. In summary, family dynamics, pampered and neglected children project feelings of inferiority, which subsequently leads to criminal behavior (Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015).

Adlerian Psychotherapy Explanation

One must understand some fundamental concepts of Adlerian thought when reflecting on Adlerian Psychotherapy as it relates to treatment to criminal offenders. According to Watts and Bluvshstein (2020) Adler believed people have free will and are primarily responsible for choosing their lifestyle beliefs, and congruently, people view themselves through their relations with others. Watts and Bluvshstein (2020) define Adler's view in modern psychological terms as a "Relational Constructivist perspective... it affirms that people must be understood contextually because it is in our relationships

that we understand ourselves, others, and the world around us” (p.102). Adlerian Psychotherapy is a balance of focusing on the person and their relationship to the environment around them (Watts & Bluvshstein, 2020).

Treatment

Adler suggests that a person's distorted lifestyle beliefs cause criminal behavior and that individuals have free will. Therefore, a person can reconstruct their own lifestyle beliefs through therapy and positively contribute to their relationships with society, work, and others (Adler & Brett, 2009; Watts & Bluvshstein, 2020). A therapist will utilize a comprehensive approach to identify the patterns, beliefs, and goals that constitute an individual's lifestyle beliefs (Watts & Bluvshstein, 2020). Subsequently, the therapist will collaborate with the individual to reconstruct new, adequate lifestyle beliefs and provide them with the necessary tools to overcome any feelings of inferiority or obstacles that are impeding their relationships with others (Adler & Brett, 2009; Watts & Bluvshstein, 2020). According to Emmons and Belangee (2018), the Adlerian Psychotherapy approach can also be used in family counseling. However, Adlerian treatment's focus is always person-centric and unique to the individual (Stein, 2020).

Prevention

Adler identified the genesis of the criminal offender as the improper development of the child's lifestyle belief during the formative years of their childhood (Adler & Brett, 2009). Parallel to these years, the child spends twelve years in the K-12 school system. From an Adlerian perspective, Emmons and Belangee (2018) recognize that the school is in a prime position to identify a child at risk of developing an inadequate lifestyle belief, specifically by observing the child's behavior. Children like this may

exhibit issues with conduct at the extreme end of the behavior continuum. For instance, children may display signs of deep withdrawal and antisocial behavior, progressing to excessive physical and verbal abuse against their classmates and school staff (Emmons & Belangee, 2018). Such behavior may be characterized by some as a mental illness, which, according to Emmons and Belangee (2018), "When left untreated, mental illness in adolescence increases these young people's odds of displaying violence, enduring failure in school, becoming involved in the criminal justice system, losing critical developmental years, and even committing suicide" (p. 135). The focus of Emmons and Belangee's (2018) research centered around a call for a paradigm shift in schools to look deeper into child misbehavior for signs of lifestyle belief abnormalizes and thereby break the chain of the child's progression away from criminal behavior. Emmons and Belangee (2018) offered some treatment suggestions, including providing more school counselors and mental health professionals and referral services for the child and family.

Christian Worldview

Individual Psychology emphasizes the importance of cooperating and contributing to the greater good of human society. When a person fails at this task, they experience chaos and are susceptible to criminal behavior (Adler & Brett, 2009). At least in part, it is telling that Adler's observations on this point parallels a Christian worldview. As we read Gaudium et Spes (1965), "God, Who has fatherly concern for everyone, has willed that all men [humanity] should constitute one family and treat one another in a spirit of brotherhood" (para, 24). Adler's Individual Psychology observed one's call to contribute to the greater good of society as a sound psychological concept fundamental to his theory. Christianity views Adler's scientific concept as a principle of natural law authored

by the Christian God. All principles of natural law are based on truth, and its origin is only and always with God. When humans take it upon themselves and attempt to create their own self-defined natural laws and their own truths, this delusional thinking is met with suffering, disorder, turmoil, and crime. Adler may refer to this thinking as a form of a distorted "fictional final goal" (Barton-Bellessa et al. 2015, p. 37). The idea that a human can create their natural law (reality), in itself, is against natural law. The many principles of natural law can be found in the bible and observed in our everyday lives. The author of humanity has divulged to us who we are and how we must act in accordance with our design, i.e., natural laws. We were created by love to love; in God's image and likeness, we are called to be a self-gift for others. To serve as Christ served us. Jesus commanded us in Matthew 22:39, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (English Standard Version Bible, 2001). Jesus taught us to love as we are one body, as brothers and sisters in Christ, and that when we sin against one, we sin against all, which separates us from God and jeopardizes our salvation. As Christians, we are called to build on the body of Christ and unite with Him in the Trinity in Heaven. Adler does not deny the correlation between his concept and a religious view of cooperation as he wrote, "Individual Psychology arrives at the same conclusion in a scientific way and proposes a scientific method to achieve it" (Adler & Brett, 2009, p. 22).

Conclusion

In review, Alfred Adler, the founder of Individual Psychology, believed humans struggle with inferiority their entire lives (Adler & Brett, 2009; Emmons & Belangee, 2018). At age 5, the child starts to develop a worldview (lifestyle) and, when properly formed, will find purpose in positively contributing meaningful ways to society, their occupation, and their intimate relationships

(Adler & Brett, 2009; Barton-Bellessa et al., 2015; Emmons & Belangee, 2018; Shon & Barton-Bellessa, 2015). When doing so, they feel useful, which minimizes their struggle with feelings of inferiority (Adler & Brett, 2009; Shon & Barton-Bellessa, 2015). Adler believed that when a person's lifestyle belief is not formed correctly, therefore self-focused, it is then they act in antisocial ways that leads to criminal behavior (Adler & Brett, 2009). Adler contributes to pampered and neglected children, physical handicaps, social influence, and family dynamics as possible conditions that heighten the feeling of inferiority that distorts the lifestyle belief that leads people to criminal behavior (Adler & Brett, 2009; Barton-Bellessa et al., (2015); Emmons & Belangee, 2018; Shon, 2022). Adler offers Adlerian Psychotherapy as a possibility for people to reconstruct their lifestyle beliefs towards an altruistic view of contributing positively to society's greater good (Emmons & Belangee, (2018); Watts & Bluvshstein, 2020). Such Adlerian thought coincides with a Christian worldview that all of humanity is a member of the body of Christ and that we are called to contribute to society (Adler & Brett, 2009; English Standard Version Bible, 2001; Gaudium et Spes, 1965). In conclusion, Adler offers a sound explanation of criminal behavior and steps to treat and prevent it.

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LEADERSHIP

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Abstract

In this paper, leadership is emphasized through the lens of a mid-sized local police agency. The police agency has a problem with morale due to past leadership prior to new leadership coming into the agency. An educational understanding of leadership would help in the completion of new leadership that has a profound impact on leader-follower relations. The path-goal theory will be understood throughout the learning process to assist in the implementation of new leadership. Understanding the core values of the department with an emphasis on trust is essential because trust in the leadership has been lost due to prior leadership strategies that have led to low morale. Understanding followers is a crucial part of the new leadership strategy. Being of service as a leader will be the newfound strategy that will have an impact on the overall morale of the

organization by way of giving the followers a voice and implementing the followers within the leadership process throughout the department.

Keywords: Communication, decisions, relationships, strength, trust

Leadership

Leadership is comprised of many different components that are altered to form the leadership needed for every organization. When leadership has failed, the byproduct is low morale. Considering there is a low level of trust in leadership within the organization, trust must be obtained prior to moving to other motivational strategies within the department. Path-goal theory can be used to acquire trust to motivate employees to reach certain goals within the community. To help in the acquisition of trust, a leader-member exchange approach can help mitigate the lack of trust and let the employees understand that their point of view is relevant. Core values within the organization can set a precedent for the morale of the organization. The core values within the organization will consist of trust, fortitude, compassion, and professionalism. The followers within the organization must understand the authenticity of the leadership and understand that the new leadership is genuine and real. The new leadership will have a broader understanding of servant leadership and how it is advantageous to the leadership and the follower to serve rather than demand actions. Law enforcement is continually changing due to the perceptions of the community, and the changing law is based on perception, making it crucial for the organization to be able to adapt to problems.

It is vital that the organization has an understanding of its followers. You cannot have leaders without followers (Kouzes & Posner, 2017). Unfortunately, being a follower is considered negative when compared to being a leader. In many cases, people are

taught this through cultural norms such as sports and athletics (Kouzes & Posner, 2017). For the organization to implement an effective leadership strategy, the organization will introduce an educational program for leaders and followers for all employees to have a better understanding of the new leadership and how this leadership will transform the organization through values and ethical understandings for both leaders and followers.

Implementing Effective Leadership

For an organization to implement effective leadership, there must be an understanding of how leadership is defined and described within the organization. Defining leadership will be a rather challenging task because, in many instances, leadership can be seen as words such as democracy and love (Northouse, 2019). The definition of leadership for the organization in question will be defined within the educational process as the practice of a process that involves all people within the organization to motivate and influence, not to command but to have a commonality of ethics, values, and overall goals. In the educational process within the organization, leaders will not be described as born, but rather, people are thought to become leaders within the organization. Considering the organization will use a servant leadership style, it is essential to understand that a servant leader does not come naturally (Claar et al., 2016). However, some attributes are inherited that can be considered traits that are impactful for leaders to have, such as the look of a leader being tall and intimidating (Afrianty, 2020).

Trait leadership takes the position that an individual is born with certain attributes that form a leader. The trait perspective is that the individual is born with characteristics that will make them a leader (Northouse, 2019). Unique factors can be seen in height or other physical features such as a square chin that

give people surrounding the persona perspective of a leader based on physical features. When leadership is described in a manner that is considered a trait, it is seen as a property that different people have, making leadership only possessed by certain people, and others cannot possess leadership without certain qualities (Northouse, 2019). There is no solid answer to whether leaders are made or born due to mixed views (Afrianty, 2020).

Process leadership is considered the context of the leadership and the followers within the organization (Northouse, 2019). The process of leadership is available to everyone and is not limited to genetics within people that make leaders; rather, leaders can be made through a process. Process leadership focuses on a leadership style that includes servant leadership, learning organizations, and principal leadership principles (Nawaz & Khan, 2016). Considering that the organization needs to have more trusted leadership, the servant leadership style is a more advantageous approach to raising morale. Servant leadership is seen to encourage and focus on anxieties or lack of trust, which is the case for this organization, which will take care of and nurture the followers within the organization. The needs of the follower must be emphasized because the well-being of the follower will make way for more social responsibility (Nawaz & Khan, 2016).

The Ranking Structure

The ranking structure within a policing organization, in most cases, is a military structure. Within a military structure, certain types of leaders may have more power than others. The perspective of the people within the United States is that the U.S. police force has changed from friendly civil servants to Robocop figures who enforce the laws the government deems viable (Goleman, 2018). Today, there is a military-like structure to policing. The Department of Defense has

created the atmosphere for this military structure (Goleman, 2018). As the perspective of the people is shifting to wanting a more community-based policing, there is a need for better leadership that has fewer emphases on the ranking structure. Not only will this help with community relations, but there will also be a higher likelihood of gaining trust among the followers (Goleman, 2018).

Two leadership strategies will have an impact on the militarized ranking structure within the department: assigned and emergent leadership. Whenever there is a ranking system such as a militarized system where there are low-level supervisors who work in conjunction with the followers, and as the ranking progresses, there is less contact with the followers, this form of leadership is called assigned leadership. The other form of leadership is called emergent leadership. Emergent leadership exists when a leader emerges due to the people responding to a person (Northouse, 2019). For example, an assigned leader can be seen as a team leader, plant manager, a corporal within a policing organization, and a director (Northouse, 2019). One of the problems with assigned leadership is that, in some cases, the person who is assigned as the leader of the team or the unit within the department does not always become a leader (Blue, 2018).

Considering the department has a problem with the leadership structure of the past, there needs to be a change in perception. When the followers of the organization have a perception of an individual member of the department that has become the influencer, the person is considered within the perception of the employees as a leader whether the employee has the title of leader or not. Therefore, the department must understand who the influencer within the department is and promote the person into a leadership role, as long as the influences are advantageous to followers and the organization.

Communication can have a positive impact on

the department. Therefore, using emergent leadership will grow over time through a vast amount of communication. As the leader emerges, there will be a large amount of verbal involvement, being informed, seeking other options and new ideas, which will lead to emergent communication (Northouse, 2019).

Some considerations must be understood while contemplating leadership styles, such as assigned and emergent leadership. Personality plays a role in the emergence of leadership (Northouse, 2019). Many top executives within big business in the United States have similar personality traits (Holmes et al., 2021). The personality traits that lead to a higher probability of becoming a leader are dominance, intelligence, confidence, and being critical of their performance (Northouse, 2019). As time progresses, the department will develop different perspectives based on the community and the actions of the nations. For example, several higher-profile cases that involve police decisions, whether justified or not, have an impact on organization morale. Rankings within the organization have some merit; however, considering the problems with trust and leadership ranking, they will have little effect on the perceptions of followers due to the negative impact of the past leadership structure. Leadership should emerge as trustful to have a lasting impact on the follower.

Power and Leadership

Within law enforcement, there is an alert perception of power. Power can cause a person to have a different perception of the people around them. People react to having power, in many cases negatively, due to the perception that people are beneath them, which causes a person to treat people wrongfully (Isenman, 2016). However, the concept of power is relevant to leadership because power and leadership are part of the

influence process (Northouse, 2019).

Leaders are in a unique space because they have the ability to influence others, whether negatively or positively. Law enforcement officers have a large amount of power because an officer can influence a person's free will. Leaders within law enforcement have power over officers to influence how they behave and their daily duties.

Even though a leader has a large number of followers, it does not necessarily mean their leadership strategies are advantageous. In some cases, leadership can be poor and operate based on power and fear (Dahm & Greenbaum, 2019). When a person has a leadership role, there is power over others. However, in some cases, the followers may not trust the leader or think the leader is not forthcoming, leading to less power over others. The use of power is what can make a great leader stand out compared to a leader who uses their power to make a negative impact (Northouse, 2019). In some cases, fear through power can be seen as a positive attribute as long as the leaders are not using the power for their own advances but rather using their power for the advancement of the overall organizational goals (Dahm & Greenbaum, 2019). However, as history has shown, power and the negative attributes that manifest when leaders are pushing their own agenda rather than overall benefits can lead to a toxic and destructive environment (Northouse, 2019).

As leaders gain power and more followers through fear, many toxic events can be seen throughout history. For example, Hitler and Alexander the Great used fear tactics to obtain followers and lead people through the lens of their own personal agendas rather than what the overall population wanted (Northouse, 2019). However, in some cases, fear can be a benefit to an organization. Fear, when there is a relationship with the leader that is positive prior to the manifestation of

fear, can lead to positive results from followers (Dahm & Greenbaum, 2019). The fear should not be at the level of Hitler or Alexander but moderate fear of failing the leader. In some cases, fear can manifest out of respect for a leader. As the department grows, the leaders who are chosen should show their power in a positive light but also show there are repercussions for wrongful actions to imply a positive fear of failure.

There are several types of power within leadership. Also, some people influence leaders and, therefore, have more power over followers than those with little to no influence on leaders. Referent power is based on the followers. The followers have a liking to the leader through the identification of the leader through teachings (Northouse, 2019). Referent power can be seen as the association with others or a group (Sanchez et al., 2016). Expert power is based on the follower's perception of the leader and whether the leader has the cognition to understand the job and organization (Northouse, 2019). Expert power is also seen as a constituent of opinion leadership, which focuses on the opinions of leaders (Savolainen, 2021). Opinions from leaders have an influence on followers if they are considered to exploit expert power. Legitimate power can be seen in formal jobs, such as in the case of a judge (Northouse, 2019). In many cases, legitimate power can be seen within law enforcement officers, even though they are not in a formal setting; the officer has the power to take away freedoms from people.

Rewards are beneficial within an organization to offer to exceptional employees. Reward power refers to when leaders have the power to provide rewards for hard work (Northouse, 2019). Reward power does have the ability to influence followers through mediating rewards for the followers who are influenced (Raven, 2017). As beneficial as rewards are within an organization, there can be a political agenda to

influence employees, creating a negative atmosphere and loss of trust. Coercive power is having the capacity to punish followers within the organization (Northouse, 2019). A coercive leader achieves the notarization of possible deleterious coordinating influences (Landa & Tyson, 2017). Information power is the passion for knowledge that others in the organization need, such as a supervisor who has information about promotions (Northouse, 2019).

Leader Behaviors

Considering that the organization had a problem with past leadership, a questionnaire will be beneficial, such as in the Ohio State Study, to understand leadership behaviors and have a full understanding of the behavior of past leadership. The research found that followers responded to two leader types of behavior: initiating structures and considerations (Northouse, 2019). Initiating behaviors are basically task behaviors such as organizing work, defining role responsibilities, and scheduling work activities (Northouse, 2019). Consideration behaviors are when leaders have a relationship that includes camaraderie and respect, trust, and relations between followers and leaders (Northouse, 2019). The study found that there is a mixture that has the most promise of having the widest range of effectiveness. Both behaviors have the best form of leadership (Northouse, 2019). Considering the past problematic leadership, understanding behaviors as they relate to followers is crucial to gaining trust. Path-goal theory is the integration of considerations and structure into behaviors that can lead to an effective leadership style (Phillips & Phillips, 2016).

Path-Goal Theory

Path-goal theory in the scholarly community is seen as an established comprehensive leadership model (Phillips & Phillips, 2016). It is essential within the law

enforcement community that followers stay motivated and accomplish goals. When there is a lack of trust from past leadership and low morale, there is a higher probability that followers will not have the motivation to follow the new leadership. It is crucial for the new leadership to focus on motivation and the nature of overall work within the organization. The new leadership must have a focus on employee needs and motivation.

Considering the department will need to implement an educational aspect to lead, the path-goal theory will have an impact on the educational process. The educational aspects will need to be managed. Path-goal theory is seen as a superior leadership strategy within educational services (Olowoselu et al., 2019). However, the strategy could show signs of problematic results due to the educational aspect within a policing agency. Path-goal theory emphasizes the relationship between the leader's style and the characteristics of the followers that are within the department or organization (Northouse, 2019). Every department is different because the followers will have different needs to have a higher probability of motivation. The path-goal theory will give more leadership styles that meet followers' motivational needs (Northouse, 2019).

How can path-goal theory help the department? Path-goal theory leadership creates an atmosphere for motivation due to an increase in the number of payoffs that the followers will obtain for their work within the department (Northouse, 2019). Another aspect that helps in the motivational level of employees is the path that one can take to get to the payoffs of the goals that have been set within the organization. The department should have a clear definition of the goals that need to be accomplished and how the employee can complete the goals. With the use of path-goal theory, there can be a motivation for the officers to stay within the department. Considering the lack of past

leadership, the use of path-goal theory will be advantageous to the employees and the leaders to create a higher probability of motivation through the use of a clear understanding of values, goals, and performance. Getting officers to stay within the department is crucial. Communication styles impact whether an employee will stay or leave (Northouse, 2019).

To fully implement path-goal theory within the leadership strategies of the department, there must be a full understating of the rather complex theory. Path-goal theory has different types of leaders' behaviors that have different impacts on followers (Ohs, 2017). There are many different leadership behaviors. However, certain behaviors are particular within path-goal theory. Directive leadership has similarities that are seen within the initiating structure in the characterization of a leader as a leader who gives followers instructions (Northouse, 2019). Directive leadership shows higher effective rates of commitment from the followers than other leadership styles (Mukherjee & Mulla, 2021). Being a directive leader can lead followers on a clear path to their goals with little to no understanding of expectations and a clear focus on what is needed within the job. Support from leaders can go a long way in the changing of the perceptions of followers. When a person has support, there is a higher probability of the creation of trust within the workplace (Mineo, 2014).

Humans have needs, and emotions play a significant role in a person's everyday decision-making and whether they will stay at an organization. However, leaders can meet the needs of the employees and make it likely for a person to stay with the organization. A leader needs to be supportive, friendly, and approachable to meet human needs (Northouse, 2019). If there is more support for the followers within the organization, there is a higher probability the workplace will become pleasant, and the organization will be

able to retain employees, making the organization more positive overall. With more support and a pleasant working environment, followers will have the perception of leaders being equals, which will create confidence and better decision-making practices. The status of followers and leaders will change and become more advantageous to the department overall.

Participative leadership shares the decisions that are made within the organization by speaking with the followers to obtain ideas and perceptions on the subject matter (Northouse, 2019). Participative leadership is seen to have a positive relationship between job satisfaction and overall fun considerations within the workplace (Chan, 2019). With the use of participative leadership styles, there is a higher likelihood of better unit performance throughout the department. Achievement-oriented leadership is created by the leader making challenges for followers to perform to push the followers to the highest levels (Northouse, 2019). Achievement-oriented leadership is transformational and is seen in several organizational leadership models today (Behrendt et al., 2017). Every situation is different within the department, and leaders must employ either one or all of the path-goal leadership styles to have the benefits. Path-goal theory is not a locked-in leadership style but rather a leadership style that can change to meet the needs of the followers and the organization (Northouse, 2019).

How will Path-Goal Theory Work Within the Department

Path-goal theory has several benefits that can help the department become more productive while easing the problems of past leadership. To implement the path-goal theory of the leadership strategy within the department, it is crucial to understand the behaviors of the followers within the organization. Overall, there will be various demands within the department due to the changing perspectives of the citizens and the

followers; therefore, path-goal theory will provide the framework for choosing the leadership that is needed for the demands (Northouse, 2019). Considering the negative leadership in the past, motivation will be needed for the new leadership. Expectancy theory will be integrated through path-goal theory to induce motivational principles within the department.

Negative Aspects of Path-Goal Theory

There are some negative aspects of path-goal theory. One of the weaknesses of path-goal theory is the overall complexity of the theory, with all the different aspects of leadership and all the moving parts of the overall theory. The leaders will have to understand and maintain the complexities of the overall activities as the organization transforms through time (Nader, 2019). A leader must be able to make predictions and, within these predictions, have an understanding of what leadership style is appropriate for the followers. If the prediction is not made correctly, there is a higher likelihood the leadership strategy will fail and lead to a negative follower perception (Northouse, 2019). Some leaders may not be able to make proper predictions due to the ranking structure within the department. However, with a different leadership strategy, the people with the most understanding of predictions for the future can be promoted. Path-goal theory does not have much research regarding all of the strategies throughout the theory. In today's world, gender is a high priority due to the differing perceptions of men and women. Path-goal theory does not consider gender differences (Northouse, 2019).

Servant Leadership

There will be many different leadership styles within the department. However, as leaders within the department are trained, there must be a basis of services at the

forefront of the overall training program. Servant leadership is oxymoronic in many ways due to the leadership style being backward to many leadership strategies (Northouse, 2019). The department must have a vast understanding of servant leadership because, within the past years, many departments have been having trouble with the construct of the theory development due to a lack of coherence (Eva et al., 2019).

The servant leader begins by wanting to be of service (Northouse, 2019). A police department is a place of service. Therefore, leadership strategies should be built at the forefront of service and should be less authoritarian. A servant leader puts the followers' needs and wants before their own, making sure the followers have what they need to accomplish the daily mission. The department must have an implementation to support the needs of the followers to gain trust and to manifest the followers being taken care of rather than used as a tool to get the job done. It is important to understand that not only in being a servant leader but also a leader within the law enforcement community, the person has a social responsibility to be cognitive of people who have not and people who do not have as much as others (Northouse, 2019).

The characteristics of a leader are important to understand because the success of the leader will proliferate to the follower and then onto the organization as a whole. The industry that the leader is in plays a significant role in determining the characteristics needed for a leader and whether a servant leader will be advantageous to the people and the organization (Bavik, 2020). There are 10 characteristics of a servant leader. Listening is vital because communication is critical in sending and receiving messages (Northouse, 2019). Empathy is emotional intelligence in the way of understanding one's perspective and being in one's shoes (Northouse, 2019). Healing is a manner in which a leader can

make someone whole and care about the followers (Bavik, 2020). Awareness is the understatement of the physical, social, and political environments (Bavik, 2020). Persuasion is convincing others of change (Northouse, 2019). Conceptualization is the ability to have a vision of the organization (Northouse, 2019). Foresight is the ability to predict the future (Northouse, 2019). Stewardship refers to the leader taking responsibility for actions (Northouse, 2019). Giving people the ability to grow is essential within servant leadership strategies. Building the community within and outside the department is crucial to growing the departmental influence in the community and within the followers within the department. Servant leadership, if used properly, will help gain trust within the department to help mitigate the perception of bad leadership in the past within the department.

Followers

If there are not any followers, there will not be leaders. Followers are one of the most essential parts of any organization. Followers play a significant role in leaders and leadership strategies. However, all too often, people have the perception that being a follower is a negative aspect due to leaders being seen as the most essential aspect of any organization or even sports team (Northouse, 2019). In many instances, the leaders are studied to understand their impact on an organization. However, it is beneficial to study the followers and their perspectives to have a full understanding of their impact on the organization and how the leaders impact the followers' perspectives. To have a full understanding of followers, there are some illustrations to follow. The impact of the followers' characteristics on the behaviors of other followers, the impact of followers and their leaders, and the impact of the fellowship of followers and leaders (Northouse, 2019). For the department to have a positive

perspective on followership, several practical exercises can be created. The department must have the perception that without followers, the job would not get done. The department should not be top-heavy, meaning too many leaders with very few followers. The followers must be recognized and told what they mean to the department. A follower will work in the best interest of the values of the department as it is implemented in the department as a whole. Followers should have the ability to challenge the leaders to be engaged and active in the conversations about the mission of the department. Followers should support their leaders and are equally important as the leaders within the organization (Northouse, 2019). As the followers follow the leader, there should be a direct line of learning from leader to followers and followers to their leader (Northouse, 2019). If the followers are recognized within the organization, there is a higher likelihood of trust and overall satisfaction within the department.

Biblical Worldview

Working together as leaders and followers is crucial in maintaining a productive department. The Bible helps in the understanding of the importance of working together. Whatever you do, work heartily (Colossians 3:23, ESV). Earning trust through management strategies will help in the transgression to new leadership and overall satisfaction of the department as a whole. People learn the importance of trust through the Bible and how the Lord is trusted within all peoples' hearts. Commit your way to the Lord (Psalm 37:5, ESV). Leaders have a massive impact on the perceptions of the followers. Jesus shows people the importance of leadership as the followers were led throughout the stories of the Bible. Jesus came and said to them, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son

and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you” (Matthew 28-20, ESV).

Conclusion

The department is lacking in trust. Followers and leaders must come together to implement a proper strategy to facilitate trust and overall confidence within the leadership. The leaders within the organization will be trained on an educational basis within a classroom setting. Considering morale is at an all-time low within the department due to past leadership, trust will be within the core values of all leadership strategies. Working with the followers through a leadership lens to give the followers a voice will have a positive impact on the morale within the department. Multimethod leadership styles will be thought of as a constructive leadership plan for the future of the department. There are multiple units within the department, making it necessary to understand multiple leadership styles. Plath-goal theory is necessary for goal orientation and motivational understanding. Servant leadership is vital to give the followers a voice. Trust will emerge as the followers understand their importance, and leaders and followers will work together for a common goal to have core values in trust within the department and the public.

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CIVIL DISCOURSE

By Jared Linebach

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As humans, we tend to focus on the differences between us, particularly when we are vying for the same position or post. We like to highlight our individuality because it makes us feel special, set apart (sanctified). The reality, though, is that we are more alike than most of us care to admit. Uncivil discourse tends to highlight our differences with the person with whom we are speaking rather than focusing on the differences between our position on the topic about which we are speaking. “We all view the world through the lens of our own identities” is the prominent psychological viewpoint. This may be true which is why it is so important to have our identity securely in Christ. Many others done a nice job of illustrating the biblical components of civil discourse. I will focus on some of the psychological components of civil discourse from a biblical worldview.

The prevailing “wisdom” of today’s psychology provides a picture of what civil discourse should look like. Social psychologists, psychiatrists, and public policy faculty point to characteristics such as (1) demonstrating respect for the ideas and opinions of others, (2) listening to and engaging with others, (3) focusing your disagreement on the topic not the person, (4) employing empathy, (5) accepting that you are not always right, (6) truthfulness, (7)

fruitfulness (that is a productive discourse), and (8) reciprocity: that is, exchanging ideas for mutual benefit. At first glance, these seem to be in alignment with a biblical worldview; as though modern psychology is merely saying “be more Christian in your conversations”. It is true that we can all show more empathy, express clearer truth, and focus on others more than ourselves but there is an inherent devaluing of humanity in the psychological “wisdom”.



Image Credit: Pixabay

According to the experts who gave the list I just read you, respect for others does not, in all cases, mean a respect for the inherent value of humanity but rather for the value of your words and ideas. In this, I am valuing what you can conjure (or create) rather than who created you. I can value your thoughts without valuing *you*. Similarly, truthfulness does not mean a standard of objective truth but rather “truth” as I see it: a subjective truth and you cannot tell me that my truth is wrong. These are just a couple of the ways our society has started down the right path but gets the motivation behind the sentiment wrong.

Discourse that is civil goes deeper than simply not being openly combative or saying

something that is not offensive. There have been plenty of times when I have heard something stated that I completely agree with but the tone or presentation in which it was shared was uncivil. We come face-to-face with this uncivility when our desire (or need) to be right clouds our thinking. The way truth is shared matters. Christ’s example in sharing truth is one of “meek and lowly in heart” (Matthew 11:29). Other translations replace “meek” with “gentle”. Either way, the idea here is of Christ’s compassion for the hearers of his words. This is not merely an outward appearance of civility, but a heart that is bent toward, or even, led by compassion for others. So, too, should our speech be if we claim to be Christians: little Christ’s.



Image Credit: Pixabay

What we see in many political advertisements today, and from very early in our nations history, is the inducement of fear and anger. As emotions go, fear and anger are

some of the strongest motivators. If you are looking to motivate someone to act, creating a common threat builds cohesiveness. There is power in cohesion which brings us together and can result in two outcomes depending on the group selected. The first outcome relates to engaging those with whom we disagree. This outcome may result in a great appreciation for the differences between us and a realization of the abundant similarities between us. It makes us more sympathetic and willing to consider their viewpoint rather than making assumptions about the beliefs of the other person. The second outcome relates to engaging those with whom we already agree. If we surround ourselves with people who agree with us, we tend to have our opinion strengthened and, in some cases, made more polarized or extreme (not that we see that in our political landscape today).

Since the narrative that we hear from the world is that Christians are unloving, we tend to shy away from sharing truth for the fear that we will be perceived as a poor representative of Christ. Do not let the motivating emotion of fear win, so long as we are sharing the truth of Christ in the love of Christ, we are following the great commission.

IF JESUS CHRIST WERE AMONG THEM, THEY WOULD DECEIVE HIM: RELIGION AMONGST ANGLO-SCOTTISH BORDER REIVERS

By Chance Crosier

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“I curse thair heid and all the haris of thair heid; I curse thair face, thair ene, thair mouth, thair neise, thair tounge, thair teith, thair crag, thair schulderis, thair breast, thair hert, thair stomok, thair bak, thair wame, thair armes, thair leggis, thair handis, thair feit, and everilk part of thair body, frae the top of thair heid to the soill of thair feit, befoir and behind, within and without.”¹¹⁷

This is but a short sample of the rambling curse that Gavin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, hurled at the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers in 1525. Leading up to this manicure of cursing, and lasting for a substantial time afterward, much was done by the English and Scottish governments that pushed those living in the Anglo-Scottish Border Marches to ride, raid, and reive across the borderlands in a desperate attempt to survive. The bishop’s curse conclusively excommunicated all those who had, or would,

¹¹⁷ Gavin Dunbar, “Monition of cursing 1525” in *The Steel Bonnets: The Story of the Anglo-Scottish*

Border Reivers, ed. George Macdonald Fraser (New York, 2015) Appendix I.

take part in border raids. This action, however, did not stop the raids. The lack of impact of being excommunicated was not because the reivers did not believe in the Christian God, or that they were not a religious people, because they were. The curse rolled off of the reivers without any effect because the men and women of the Anglo-Scottish Border Marches were in a constant fight for survival and this fight would lead to the creation of a lawless people without the luxury of heading the church.

There was no greater detriment to a Borderer's practice of his faith, and no greater push to lawlessness, than the consistent wars waged between England and Scotland. Beginning in 1286 with the death of Scottish King Alexander III, England and Scotland would be in perpetual violent struggle for over 300 years.¹¹⁸ Throughout these wars, battles, and raids, it does not appear to have mattered which side was marching to war against the other, the armies would burn, pillage, and kill along their way. For an area that should have been rife with trade and prosperity between two countries, and had been a frontier trudging its way towards civilization, the Border Marches were set back to the stone ages with the constant wars and battles that took place there.¹¹⁹ One of the main reasons for this set back was that victory was often declared by one side or the other while neither side ever won decisively enough to ensure that peace was peaceful. England and Scotland spent the better part of 300 years battering each other with most of the suffering occurring in the Border Marches.

These wars turned the Border Reivers into what they were, hard people who were

doing everything they possibly could to survive. When their crops were burnt and livestock taken or slain by passing armies, they raided and stole livestock from others. When their homes were destroyed, they rebuilt, rarely building permanent hard structures, but instead using material that was easier to rebuild with.¹²⁰ As the Scottish Wars for Independence raged, and later the multiple other battles drawing armies back and forth across the borders, the people of those borders suffered. From that suffering, however, came a strength that built a lifestyle based upon survival that would come to be a menace for the English and Scottish crowns until those crowns were united.

Due to the consistent chaos in the Border Marches caused the fighting between England and Scotland, it would be easy to conceive that, during this time, religion would have been the steadying force in the lives of the borderers. This, however, was not the case. The churches of England and Scotland had allowed the houses of worship on the borders to fall into such a state of disrepair that they were unusable. This was expressed by Sir Ralph Eure, the Warden of the Middle March in 1596, as he explained his frustrations with the government's inability to bring the reivers back to God.¹²¹ This sentiment was expressed again between England and Scotland during that same year in a treaty signed between the two making it a priority to reestablish churches and ministers throughout the borders to "inform the Lawless people of their duty, and to watch over their manners."¹²² These correspondence and treaties show that the governments of the two realms finally realized that the church had lost

¹¹⁸ George Macdonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets: The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*, (New York, 2015) 21.

¹¹⁹ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, 28-29.

¹²⁰ Alistair Moffat, *The Reivers: The Story of the Border Reivers*, (Edinburgh Scotland, 2011) 60.

¹²¹ Ralph Eure, "Eure to Burghley 1596" in *The Border Papers: Calendar of Letters and Papers*

Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1894) 130.

¹²² William Lord Bishop of Carlisle, "Queen Elizabeth 1596", in *Leges Marchiarum*, ed. William Nicolson, (London: 1705), 104.

its footing in the borders to a point where action needed to be taken.

Without places of worship in place on the Border Marches, and ministers to lead the worship, the religious monarchies of England and Scotland lost their grip on the souls of the borderers and, thus, the borderers themselves. The churches along the Anglo-Scottish borders did not just crumble on their own, and those who led the borderers in their spirituality did not just walk away from their duties on the border. Along with the consistent warfare being waged, The Reformation was the second greatest contributing factor towards the decline of religious practice in the Border Marches, while Henry VIII was the single most contributing individual. The Reformation created spiritual confusion among the God fearing throughout Europe. The borderers did not have the luxury of navigating these new religious requirements as they were in a desperate fight to survive day to day conditions. Adding to the already brutal struggle of those living on the borders, Henry VIII would send armies into the border lands burning and ransacking in a rough attempt to arrange a marriage between Mary, the next ruler of Scotland, and his son Edward.

The Reformation was the explicit split of Protestant Christianity from Catholicism which had been the ruling religion on the British Isle since the Saxon Invasion. Beginning in England, the Reformation could not leave Scotland unaffected nor the rest of the British Isles.¹²³ Even more dangerous to Henry VIII, and his drive for reformation, than his local citizenry was the Anglo-Scottish Border Marches who had already established themselves as being more loyal to those of the same surname than any royal authority.¹²⁴

¹²³ Clare Kellar, *Scotland, England, and the Reformation, 1534-61*, (New York, 2003) 11.

¹²⁴ Clare Kellar, *Scotland, England, and the Reformation, 1534-61*, (New York, 2003) 13.

¹²⁵ Clare Kellar, *Scotland, England, and the Reformation, 1534-61*, (New York, 2003) 16.

This understanding of border nature led to the correct assumption by Henry's government that the borderlands would do as they wished instead of conforming to a new religious rule. Thus, the Borderlands, and those who dwelt there, became a barrier to Henry VIII's vision of complete religious reformation as an unreformed Scotland, or even border region, would allow those who opposed the reforms a stronghold on the island.¹²⁵ Henry's regime could not allow the borderers to affect the progress of his reforms, though his actions in the 1540's relating to the "Rough Wooing" is what ultimately helped to destroy what little bit of religious faculties were left in the borderlands.

In the early 1540s Henry VIII was determined to see the young Queen of the Scots, Mary, wed his only son and heir, Edward. Henry had been thwarted in this endeavor by the Scottish monarch James V and his continual diplomatic binding of Scotland to France.¹²⁶ While Henry VIII had an outward treaty of peace with James V, he would still often ferment rebellion on the Scottish borders against the King of Scotland by paying border reivers of Scottish surnames to raid into their own homeland.¹²⁷ In what was supposed to be a meeting between James V and Henry VIII to arrange the marriage of Edward and Mary, James slighted Henry, pushing him to lose patience and began harassing the Scots in an attempt to lure Scotland into declaring a war.¹²⁸ These course set towards war occurred in spite of Sir Ralph Sadler's desperate attempts to properly arrange the treaty and marriage, quell the ill will between the two countries, and focus instead on religious wellbeing of English and Scot, including those living in the Border

¹²⁶ Elizabeth A. Bonner, "The Genesis of Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of the Scots" (1997) 37.

¹²⁷ J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII: Volume 1*, (Cambridge, 2015) no. 549.

¹²⁸ Elizabeth A. Bonner, "The Genesis of Henry VIII's 'Rough Wooing' of the Scots" (1997) 50.

Marches.¹²⁹ The frustration that Henry VIII felt towards his own northern border lands, beginning with his push for reformation, was now being focused on the whole of Scotland and boiled over into cross border fighting that would push the borderers into desolation and violence, and further from any church or religious practices.

As Henry pushed incursions into the border territories, the border churches, those that still existed, suffered. As the English armies made their way through the borders, churches were destroyed. Such was the case with Annan Kirk in Dumfriesshire in 1542.¹³⁰ During these raids by the English army, the Scottish surnames were also raiding heavily and destroying churches, such as the Armstong's who took credit for the destruction of 35 parish churches in Scotland.¹³¹ While these actions may seem absurd during a time when religion was such a factor in people's lives, Henry VIII was set on beating Scotland into submission politically, while also pushing those who lived in the Border Marches into line with his reformation to solidify its hold on the isle. Henry VIII had always seen Scotland and the Border Marches as a thorn that needed dealt with and this was his opportunity to bring them all into submission and under his rule.¹³²



Henry VIII, Image Credit: Pixabay

The Reformation in the North of England and in Scotland, including the Border Marches, continued during this brutal suppression. In Scotland and England, John Knox was making a name for himself. Knox, born in East Lothian Scotland in 1505, would grow into a key figure of the Reformation by the mid 1540's, pushing the Protestant Articles through to Glasgow and growing Protestantism in Scotland.¹³³ Knox wrote and spoke about the Border Marches, along with those who lived there, though not in depth, describing them as being disobedient.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Sir Ralph Sadler, Arthur Clifford, and Sir Walter Scott, *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret*, (Edinburgh, 1809) 138-140.

¹³⁰ Anthony Goodman, "Religion and Warfare in the Anglo-Scottish Marches" (1992) 259.

¹³¹ Goodman, "Religion and Warfare", 259.

¹³² Claire Etty, "A Tudor Solution to the 'Problem of the North'? Government and the Marches Towards Scotland, 1509-1529." (2002) 213.

¹³³ John Knox and David Laing, *The Works of John Knox* (Edinburgh, 1895). 9-11.

¹³⁴ Knox, *The Works*, 210

There is no mention in Knox's work, however, that he himself ever did anything to change the conditions of the religious turmoil in the border regions. Knox appears to have been focused on the larger picture of the Reformation in the higher levels of government and mass populations of England and Scotland showing, once again, that the religious welfare of those living on the borders was not a priority.

After the Rough Wooing by Henry VIII and the early parts of the Scottish Reformation, the Anglo-Scottish Border Marches were still placed in the middle of fighting and little care was shown towards the borderers' spiritual wellbeing. On the English side of the border, religious ideologies were still in flux. Edward VI carried on his father's protestant vision and continued to move the country in the reformation of churches. Mary I, upon her succession to the throne in 1553 tried desperately to reverse the progress made towards Protestantism by her father and brother during their reigns. This undoubtedly threw the borders into even more confusion as Mary established a strict crackdown on anything protestant in England. With this consistent flux in what were allowed religious practices and beliefs in England, while bleeding over into Scotland, it is easy to see how the borderers, who were focused on survival, could disband from all aspects of organized religion in their own lives.

When Elizabeth I ascended to the English throne in 1558, the established religion of England once again changed, reverting back to Protestantism. At the same time, Mary Queen of Scots was in France as queen consort of that country after marrying the French King. These two rulers would lead England and Scotland to the last battle between the two before being united under one crown. Mary's country was being ruled by regents in her stead while she was in France and one John Knox, discussed earlier,

was questioning whether her subjects had any actual cause to follow her as she was catholic, and Scotland had reformed.¹³⁵ Elizabeth eyed the possibility of Mary coming back to Scotland with suspicion as it could further legitimize Mary's claim to the English throne and she could appeal to the Catholics left in the country, mostly in the north near the border. This issue would come to a head and once again the border lands would be caught in the middle of a regal and religious battle.



Mary Queen of Scots, Image Credit: Pixabay

Mary returned to Edinburgh in 1561 and Elizabeth saw an opportunity for there to be a lasting peace between the two countries, as

¹³⁵ Knox, *The Works*, 173.

there had been for some years prior.¹³⁶ Peace may have been possible if it had not been for Mary's poor choice in husbands, leading her lords to unite against her. By choosing to marry a Catholic, Mary pushed her reformed lords away as they saw this as an attempt to undo all the reformatory work that had been done in Scotland.¹³⁷ Further missteps by Mary, the murder of her husband and relatively quick marriage to another, drove a wedge further between her and the Scottish lords, ultimately ostracizing her and pushing her into the arms of the English crown and leaving her young son as the King of Scotland. While Mary was in prison in England, Catholic English lords rose up one last time in a desperate attempt to place her on the throne of England and put an end to The Reformation. While there would be no major battles, this plot raised the Border Reivers yet again and caused even more confusion and violence in an already troubled area.

As James VI came into his own as King of Scotland, he and Elizabeth would begin focusing more on the border with the understanding that James would be the heir to the English throne and unite the two countries. In doing so, Elizabeth put more and more pressure on James to secure the border.¹³⁸ To do this, Elizabeth emphasized the rebuilding of churches and pushing more leaders of the faith into the borders to bring the unruly reivers back into the rule of the church and state. When James VI/I finally united Scotland and England under one crown after the death of Elizabeth, the religious war that had plagued the island was finally over. James, however, would brutally pacify the Border Marches in his attempt to truly unite the countries.

While wars and battles raged in the Anglo-Scottish Border Marches due to the

actions by the English and Scottish monarchies, the religious well being of those dwelling in the Marches was an afterthought. As armies rode back and forth over the border, burning and pillaging as they went, those who lived there developed their own brutal way of life in order to survive. There is little to no evidence that these men and women had forsaken Christianity and God in any way. There is, however, plenty of evidence to support the notion that they had less time for organized religion than even it had for them. In a time when a church was expected to be a place where a person could go for safety, churches were destroyed. When religious leaders were supposed to be leading people towards God, they were to busy arguing about how that God should be worshipped. The age of the Border Reiver was chaotic, it was made far worse with the chaos of the Reformation occurring at the same time as the height of the power of the Reiving surnames. These hard men and women did not abandon their God, but they did abandon the church and government that had abandoned them.

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The Most Beautiful Disaster: How God Makes Miracles out of Our Mistakes

Author: Hope Carpenter

Publisher: FaithWords, 2021

**Reviewed by Andrea Stiles, M.A., Shorter
University**

Hope Carpenter opens her tell-all, self-help book with an appeal to the reader to allow her to share her story of faith, faltering, failure, and restoration to shed light on what she believes her experiences have taught her that might prove helpful to others who find themselves in their own disasters. Hope is married to megachurch Pastor, Ron Carpenter,

and she copastors with him in their church that they started many years ago in Greenville, South Carolina called Redemption Church. Hope's tale of being at the center of a thriving internationally known ministry while struggling inwardly with a sense of insecurity and discontent gives an eye-opening account of how a person can live what she refers to as a "double life." The book weaves together themes from both psychology and Christianity throughout as she discloses the process of navigating the fallout from years of carrying on a private romantic affair while simultaneously being involved in ministry. It is both a cautionary and compassionate call to readers to pay attention to their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors with honest and intentional care to avoid the pitfalls of sin.

Hope was raised in a two parent, Christian household and says she came to saving faith in Christ at the age of eight. She describes her parents as strict and caring and details how they set very high standards for her and for her brother. She explains that though she knew their intentions were pure their methods kept her in a perpetual state of anxiety, always fearful of not obtaining perfection. She says that she learned to perform at her best and not to show negative emotion. She describes her brother as "bookish" and says comparison to him where she came up short happened in the home and school leaving a mark on her of feeling inferior.

Hope met and fell in love with Ron who was called to ministry, and she believed because of their love and shared calling they would "go out and save the world." She explains that soon after marrying she found herself unsatisfied, anxious, and confused, yet she kept it all to herself and performed all the duties of wife, mother, and pastor's wife appearing to others that all was well. She explains that the longer she presented herself

to the world in ways that conflicted with her true feelings, the more discontented she became. In her thirties, she developed friendships with some other women that she would go out with and “have fun” in ways the church would not approve, yet she said it gave her a sense of freedom and enjoyment, so it grew into more and more deviation from Christian ideals. Eventually, she started having an affair.

Hope recounts a trauma she suffered at the age of fifteen wherein she was raped on a date with a young man. The shame, humiliation, and confusion that resulted from that had a profound impact on her emotionally, and because of her parents’ high expectations and strict moral beliefs she did not feel she could disclose to them what had happened to her. She blamed herself for it and was afraid they would blame her as well though she did nothing to provoke the young man nor to encourage any improper behavior. She refers to how she dealt with the rape as burying it deep inside herself.

Consumed with guilt over the affair, Hope approached her husband with the truth. He was deeply hurt, but he forgave her, and they stayed together and continued in ministry. It wasn’t too long, though, before she entered another affair with a different man. The affair went on for a long time – again she carried on in ministry while leading the double-life as adulteress. The guilt finally broke her, and she confessed it all to Ron. This time he told her to leave. His trust in her was severed, and he did not intend to attempt reconciliation.

Hope did not know what to do or where to turn. Some friends knew of a place where she could go and live for several months in a therapeutic environment, seclude herself from the outside world, receive counseling, and attempt to piece herself back

together and devise a plan to move ahead with her life. She describes how devastated she was when she was faced with the harsh reality that she had broken her family apart, put their ministry in jeopardy, and lost herself somewhere along the way. In counseling, she was taught to view her poor adult decisions as the result of her unhealthy childhood and rape. From this point in her telling, there is an interweaving of psychological theory and scripture. She is careful to take responsibility for the choices she made as an adult. However, it is consistently followed up with explanations from developmental, cognitive, and social psychology.

The main thrust of Hope’s claims is that adult behaviors are strongly influenced by lessons from childhood. These claims are rooted in psychology – not scripture. She talks some of sin, but it seems to take a back seat to the psychological explanations that she details. What is clear from her narrative is that she felt pressure to be perfect in her childhood and that carried over into her adult life in the public/church eye, and she was unsatisfied within herself. She claims that her “rebellious” behaviors that included drinking and having affairs in adulthood were efforts to feel better emotionally, though it all led to what she called disaster.

She is careful to caution the reader to notice red flags, particularly becoming obsessed with oneself, tone of irritability, having secrets, and having friends who join or encourage destructive behaviors. She refers to many characters in scripture who failed morally, and she does a good job of acknowledging the amazing grace that God gives and His enduring love that redeems when those who have strayed return to Him in repentance. Her time in counseling away from all distractions proved beneficial for her coming to understand herself better, to take responsibility for the hurt she had caused, and

for repentance. She describes how she fasted and prayed and battled doubts and fears. She lost a lot of weight and was desperately lonely for her husband and family. She maintains that she always loved her husband even during the time she was unfaithful. She knew him well enough to believe that once he moved her out of their home it was unlikely he would ever have her back, but she prayed he would reconcile despite her doubts.

After eight months of separation, Ron called Hope and told her The Lord had told him not to abandon her. She said she wept with relief and knew that God had given her a miracle. She and her husband began a long journey that led to genuine healing. Even their ministry was salvaged and she and her children reconciled.

Much is explained by Hope about the experience of being a person in ministry. The high-profile nature of the international, mega-church made for a very public scandal when Hope and Ron had marital separation due to infidelity. Hope has used the writing of this book to open a discussion of the reality of sin and suffering in the lives of all people. Though all do not sin in the same ways, all sin, and all families have seasons of strife, disappointment, loss, heartache, and challenge. Rather than leaning as heavily on psychology as Hope did for explanation of how she ended up making the poor decisions she made, it could, perhaps, suffice to acknowledge that in a fallen world, we all must grapple with sin, temptation, and failures of our own as well as of those we love. We all equally need the grace, mercy, forgiveness, and love that God so faithfully gives. Maybe there are also lessons to be drawn from Hope's story concerning the current structure of church and ministry. The audience for her book was intended to be church-going Christians.

The Most Beautiful Disaster is an easy read with some useful information for those interested in personal stories of overcoming. The use of narrative therapy is evident in how Hope pieces together her personal experience considering both counseling and scripture. It leaves the reader with the gift of hope for families who have fallen apart; hope that they, too, may mend and heal if all are willing to forgive and reconcile.