

The Odd Couple: Theology and Science in the American Tradition

EMORY UNIVERSITY
MARCH 2004

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In 1846 Noah Porter, a Protestant minister in Connecticut, became the Clark Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics at Yale. He later ascended to a fifteen-year presidency of the university. He was a self-confident man, so much so that a visitor once found posted on his office door the following notice: “At 11:30 on Tuesday, Professor Porter will reconcile science and religion.”¹ I will make no effort this afternoon to reconcile science and religion, but I will attempt to see if a brief excursion into the history of theology in America might clarify—to some small degree—a persistent problem that continues to trouble American secondary education and American religious institutions.

In late January 2004, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* reported that State Superintendent Kathy Cox wanted to remove from the proposed biology curriculum for Georgia schools any reference to “evolution” because she considered it “a buzzword that causes a lot of negative reaction.” She would substitute the phrase “biological change over time,” since doing so would, in her view, make it easier to expose Georgia’s students to “all legitimate theories.”²

This term theory—and, even more, a distinction between theory and fact—long has assumed a prominent place in debates about religion and science in the public schools. In 1969 several members of the California State Board of Education objected to scientific guidelines for the schools that “presented evolution as a fact, not as a theory.”³ In 1980 Iowa and Texas adopted policies stating that evolution should be taught in the schools “only as a theory,” not as fact.⁴ In 1992 the Alabama State Board of Education inserted into biology textbooks the disclaimer that “no one was present when life first appeared on the earth. Therefore, any statement about life’s origins should be considered as theory, not fact.”⁵

In the same year, the National Center for Science Education lamented the growing number of attacks on the teaching of evo-

lution, noting that most of them built their case on a distinction between theory and fact.⁶ In 1995 Tennessee legislators debated a bill that would have allowed school systems to fire teachers who taught biological evolution “as fact rather than theory.”⁷ In 1999 the Kansas State Board of Education described evolutionary teaching as “speculation”—that is, as “theory, not fact.”⁸ During the 1990s serious controversies regarding evolution and creation disrupted secondary education in fourteen states, and most of the struggles turned—at least in part—on the distinction between fact and theory.⁹

I propose this afternoon to explore the historical origins of this persistent distinction between fact and theory in American debates about religion and science, and I further want to examine some of its implications. I shall argue that the prominence of the fact/theory distinction in our public schools grew out of the extraordinary and enduring influence of the sixteenth-century Elizabethan courtier Francis Bacon. By 1830 he had become an honored figure in American elite culture—a man respected as the architect of a philosophy of science that could promote unending technological progress. Further, I shall propose that Bacon’s popularity can be explained, in part, by the assumption that his philosophy of science—as it was commonly interpreted—also could protect and preserve theological truth. The Baconianism of the nineteenth-century theologians promoted a process, already under way in the sixteenth century, in which natural science transformed the meaning of religious language. By the end of the nineteenth century, natural science had become an authority and norm for theologians; and by the early twentieth century, even Protestant fundamentalists could easily accommodate themselves to the authority of science, understood in a Baconian manner. And I shall maintain, finally and somewhat paradoxically, that this accommodation of conservative Protestantism to Baconian science has, at the very least, intensified the conflicts about religion and science in the American public schools. I focus my remarks on Protestant Christians because conservative Protestants assumed the lead in the assault on evolution.

In the sixteenth century, one can find at least two ways of conceiving the relation between scientific and religious language. When John Calvin, for example, read the creation stories in Genesis, he assumed that they depicted the origins of the physical world but he read them primarily for their religious meanings. For him, they were narratives about the goodness and inscru-

table sovereignty of God, about the temptations of idolatry, and about appropriate dispositions of trust and gratitude. He did not assume that the language of the Bible had the same function as the language of science. Moses, he once said, “did not treat the stars scientifically, like a philosopher.” And for Calvin, this view of biblical language had as its correlate a conception of religious authority. He thought that the biblical narratives, read in the right spirit—that is, read with the interior witness of the Spirit—authenticated themselves, without any need for appeal to extrinsic proofs. Religious texts and traditions had authority because, when properly read, they made sense of the practice of the religious life.¹⁰

When the sixteenth-century German Athanasius Kircher read Genesis, however, he brought a different set of questions to it. Kircher was a mathematician who used geometry to determine the dimensions of Noah’s ark in order to validate the plausibility of the narrative. The authority of the biblical text rested in part on the mathematical proof that all the animals could indeed have found a place on the boat.¹¹

With the growing prominence of natural philosophy in the seventeenth century—symbolized by the formation of the Royal Society—theologians increasingly tried to demonstrate that the study of the physical world confirmed religious truth. The long tradition of natural theology—the effort to discern the existence and nature of God through reflection on the natural order—assumed the form of what became known as “physico-theology.” The natural theologians employed the new science to argue that evidence of design in the creation proved both the reality and the benevolence of God and the harmony between reason and divine revelation. They found this evidence of design in planetary orbits, the topography of the earth, the adaptations of birds and fishes, the intricacies of the human body (especially the eye), and a vast catalogue of other natural phenomena.¹² And the new science began to alter the interpretation of traditional religious texts. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Cotton Mather in New England was publishing scriptural commentary in which he read the opening chapters of Genesis as an exposition of the atomistic theory of matter.¹³

These patterns were firmly in place by the end of the eighteenth century. The striking innovation in the early-nineteenth century was the ascent of Francis Bacon. Americans encountered Bacon largely through the writings of the philosophers of the Scottish

enlightenment—the Scottish Common Sense Realists—and so, for the most part, they knew the Bacon who fit the philosophical aims of the Scots. Thomas Reid in Glasgow was the first to convince Americans of “the great genius of Lord Bacon” as the founder of “the strict and severe method of induction.” Dugald Stewart in Edinburgh confirmed the confidence that Bacon provided a method grounded solely in “facts” derived from “observation and experiment.”¹⁴

By 1769 Americans were reading the Scots. By 1800 the Scottish philosophy had gained a dominance that it would not lose until after the Civil War. Its Baconianism appealed to scientists, political theorists, agricultural reformers, lawyers, physicians, poets, and theologians.¹⁵ Its influence extended across almost the entire spectrum of theological parties. The Old School Presbyterian Samuel Miller at Princeton spoke for the conservatives when he argued in 1803 that the whole of eighteenth-century science had confirmed the advantages of “Lord Bacon’s plan of pursuing knowledge by observation, experiment, analysis, and induction.” The Unitarian Edward Everett spoke for the liberals when he announced in 1823 that “the Baconian philosophy has become synonymous with true philosophy.” The philosopher Samuel Tyler marveled that periodicals in the United States overflowed with expositions of Baconian method. “The Baconian philosophy,” he wrote, had generated “the most wonderful revolution . . . within the whole history of the world.”¹⁶

As the theologians understood him, Bacon taught that scientific and philosophical progress came only through the careful observation and patient classification of facts. The whole of natural philosophy, Tyler said, is “nothing more than a classification of facts and phenomena presented in nature.” Bacon taught them first that they were to distinguish clearly between “facts,” on the one hand, and “hypotheses” or “conjectures” or “theories,” on the other. The primary object of scientific method was to gather the “facts” through rigorous induction; the secondary aim was to formulate “theories” that took account of the observed data. This approach assured the theologians that science would remain within severely restricted limits. The search for the “facts” would never be complete, and “theories” would never account for all the facts, and the observed facts served as a constant restraint and check on the theories. However, Bacon also taught them that theology—at least, natural theology—could be viewed as one “branch of inductive philosophy” and that it was “founded on

the same sort of evidence” as the natural sciences. In short, scientists and theologians spoke precisely the same language.¹⁷

Nineteenth-century theological journals carried an endless array of essays on chemistry, geology, botany, and anatomy in a concerted effort to show that nature was filled with pattern and regularity and therefore with intelligence. Natural science could serve as a form of natural theology, and in this way it also could complement biblical revelation. Thus, natural science could become, even more clearly than it had been, an interpretive authority that could determine the meaning of biblical texts and religious claims.

The authority of the natural sciences manifested itself profoundly in the first great scientific crisis for American theologians: the debate over geology. In colonial America, theologians had commonly interpreted Genesis to imply that the creation had occurred about six thousand years earlier. After the Scotsman James Hutton published his *Theory of the Earth* in 1785, however, some geologists began to conceive of immense changes over a vast period. By the 1820s, American theologians—immersed in a Baconian intellectual culture—had to come to terms with time.

They did so by reinterpreting the creation accounts in Genesis and choosing one of two popular options. Some argued that each of the six days in the Genesis account of creation must have been a geological period of indefinite length. Genesis therefore described not six literal days of creation but rather six extended geological periods. This view became known as the “day-age” theory of creation. Others solved the problem by positing an immense period between what Genesis called “the beginning” and the concluding six days of creation, which they understood merely as the final stage in the creation of the species. Most of the fossils would have been deposited before the six days of the Genesis story. This view became known as the “gap theory.” In sum, most American theologians in the midnineteenth century turned to geology as a normative authority for interpreting scripture. The biblical critic Moses Stuart of Andover warned in the 1830s that they were naively trying to make nineteenth-century science determine the meaning of an ancient text—and the issue provoked a few rancorous quarrels—but most theologians went with geology.¹⁸

When Darwin published *The Origin of Species* in 1859, therefore, theologians long had been accustomed to interpreting the Bible in accord with the findings of geological science, and a substantial number adapted themselves quickly to some variant

of evolutionary theory. During the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, most Protestant theologians who wrote on the topic adopted an evolutionary conception of the natural world. The majority of them were Protestant liberals who affirmed the “modernist principle” that theologians should adapt the formulations of faith to the highest and best thought of their own era. These Protestants found in evolutionary thought a guide to redefining natural theology, reinterpreting traditional doctrines, and tracing changes within the literary strata of the Bible itself. In 1916 the theologian Arthur C. McGiffert reviewed the previous fifty years of theology in America and concluded that evolutionary science had exercised a “steadily growing control of theological thought.”¹⁹

Almost all the Protestant liberals still held to some conception of design in nature. They overlooked—or rejected—Darwin’s suspicions that natural selection suggested a random and purposeless process. Nonetheless, the liberals accepted the authority of evolutionary science and redefined theological concepts accordingly.

A number of Protestant conservatives also found it possible to accept evolutionary theory. They found encouragement in the modified Darwinism of Asa Gray, Darwin’s preeminent scientific defender in America, who tried to convince Darwin that his science was compatible with teleology and design. Like several other conservative partisans of evolution, Gray was an orthodox Calvinist who thought that even the seemingly cruel wastefulness of evolution, which dismayed Darwin, could be reconciled with traditional theology.²⁰

I am interested this afternoon, however, in the disputes that have troubled American secondary education, so my emphasis falls on religious opposition to evolution. And when we look into the background of our continuing disputes, we find once again the linkage between conservative Protestant theology and a Baconian understanding of science.

In 1874 Charles Hodge, who defended Calvinist orthodoxy at Princeton Seminary, published *What Is Darwinism?* He concluded that Darwinism was atheism. Hodge conceded that some form of evolutionary theory might be consistent with conservative theology, but he objected to Darwin on the grounds that the idea of natural selection permitted no reference to teleology. To bolster his case, he appealed to the Baconian view of science. The aim of natural science, he said, should be to “arrange and systematize the facts of the external world.” The theologian could not dispute

any “scientific fact.” “Theories,” however, were another matter. Darwin’s explanations were no more than speculative theories.²¹

The Baconian distinction between fact and theory became a commonplace of conservative Protestant thought. In 1910 the theologian George Frederick Wright wrote the essay on evolution in *The Fundamentals*. This series of pamphlets helped to give fundamentalism its name. Wright had once accepted Darwinian explanations yet eventually concluded that any scientific claim moving beyond “the barest facts of observation” could be no more than uncertain “theory.”²²

When the militant fundamentalist movement emerged in the 1920s, its proponents appealed repeatedly to Baconian understandings of science. They insisted, with unyielding repetition, that evolutionary teaching represented “theory,” not “facts.” With “facts,” they said, they had “no dispute.” They objected only to theories that moved away from “direct observation.” The founder of the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association, William Bell Riley, said that he opposed evolution because it was “theory” and not “fact,” not true science.²³ William Jennings Bryan argued shortly before the Scopes trial of 1925 that science should be understood as “classified knowledge, . . . the explanation of facts.” Darwinism was “a mere hypothesis.” He had hoped to introduce that definition into the trial itself, but Clarence Darrow outmaneuvered him.²⁴

Yet the leading figures in the fundamentalist movement still treated science, understood in a Baconian fashion, as a norm for the interpretation of scripture. Both William Bell Riley and William Jennings Bryan argued that the six days of the Genesis story were extended geological ages. Other fundamentalists, including the editor of *The Scofield Reference Bible* of 1909—the authoritative Bible for the apocalyptic wing of the fundamentalist movement—still promoted the idea of a “gap” between an original creation and the final six days.²⁵ Since, in their eyes, the language of science and the language of theology performed the same function of explaining facts, it was unthinkable that the biblical writers would not have recognized the scientific truths later discovered by nineteenth-century geologists.

Of course, not every proponent of fundamentalism discussed the matter in these sedate terms. The 1920s revivalist Billy Sunday announced, in his typically understated way, that any theologian who accepted the idea of biological evolution was “a stinking skunk, a fraud, a hypocrite and a liar.” As Sunday exhorted: “I do

not believe that my great, great grandfather was a monkey with a tail wrapped around a coconut tree.” Sunday reminds us that the debate was not uniformly about definitions of science.²⁶

In 1923, however, the dispute entered a new phase. In that year, a Canadian Seventh-day Adventist named George McCready Price—a graduate of the University of New Brunswick who taught high school in an isolated village on the Gulf of St. Lawrence—published *The New Geology*. Price believed that the standard conservative means of relating Genesis to geology—the day-age and the gap theories—compromised the authority of scripture. He wanted to reverse the relation and to interpret geology in the light of a literal reading of scripture. He argued, therefore, that the earth was little more than 10,000 years old, that the universal flood described in the book of Genesis laid down the fossils, and that these truths would disprove evolutionary theory, since they would not allow sufficient time for evolution to have produced the multitude of existing species.²⁷

Price insisted that a truly Baconian science would prove his case. Baconian induction, he said, was “the scientific method.” He proposed a “Baconian study of geology,” an “inductive geology” for which theories would be “subordinated to facts.” The “methods of Bacon” would subvert every form of evolutionary thinking. The authority of “sound Baconian science” would come to the aid of theology. Price dedicated one of his books, *The Fundamentals of Geology*, to “Lord Francis Bacon . . . who realized . . . the true objects of natural science [and] the methods by which it should be pursued, as well as its limitations.”²⁸

His notions of a young earth and a universal deluge—ideas dismissed by earlier conservative theologians—gradually won adherents among Protestant fundamentalists, who also adopted his admiration for Francis Bacon. In 1961 Henry Morris—an engineer at Virginia Polytechnic Institute—and John C. Whitcomb—a Bible teacher at Grace Theological Seminary in Indiana—published *The Genesis Flood*, which carried Price’s ideas into a wider sphere. Their book reproduced his arguments about a young earth and a universal deluge that deposited the fossils. It also affirmed a notion of biblical inerrancy that required belief in a literal six-day creation. Morris later proceeded to produce a textbook in biology that defined science, in Baconian terms, as “observation and experiment on present processes.”²⁹

By 1970 Morris was calling their position “scientific creationism” and he was making it increasingly clear that his flood geol-

ogy served as an authority for religious claims. Nonetheless, he also became quite willing to detach his creationist science from any explicit reference to the Book of Genesis. During the 1970s, working with a strategy devised by a law student at Yale, Wendell Bird, who became the counsel for Morris's Institute of Creation Research in San Diego, Morris and his growing number of allies argued that scientific creationism was science, not religion. The goal was to get scientific creationism into the classroom by presenting evolution and creation as "competing scientific hypotheses," both of them defined as "theories" that took account, in different ways, of the same facts. To the American courts, scientific creationism certainly sounded like religion. In truth, though, it was a form of religion authorized by a Baconian view of science. Morris still assumed—even though this assumption dropped from view in the legal cases—that geology would confirm the account of creation in Genesis. In other words, early-nineteenth-century Baconian science authorized the assertion of biblical authority.³⁰

When the University of Chicago theologian Langdon Gilkey testified in 1981 against a law requiring that "creation science" be taught alongside evolution in the public schools of Arkansas, he noted the way that scientific creationists described scientific method. They define science, he observed, "as a body or collection of facts, as composed of what are here termed 'facts of science,' the 'data of science,' that is, facts uncovered by scientific inquiry. . . . Scientific theories are, therefore, those explanations that 'explain scientific facts best.'" "This is the ground," he added, "on which they can make the surprising claim that the theory of the creation of the world by God out of nothing is a scientific theory," namely that it "explains" these "facts of science."³¹ What Gilkey did not notice was that this way of distinguishing between "fact" and "theory" represented largely an unbroken continuation of the Baconian tradition that became deeply entrenched in American culture in the early nineteenth century.

In 1982 a Gallup poll revealed that 44 percent of Americans—nearly a quarter of whom were college graduates—believed that "God created man pretty much in his present form at one time within the last 10,000 years." Gallup has continued to ask the question every two to four years. In 1997 44 percent of Americans still believed that God created human beings pretty much in their present form "within the last 10,000 years." Three years ago, the Gallup pollsters heard the same thing.³² Now, few of these Americans would have defended this form of creationist

theology because they wanted to support an early-nineteenth-century Baconian conception of science. The cultural battles related to evolution have not been about differences in scientific method. The opponents of evolutionary theory have worried primarily about the authority of scripture, conceptions of human nature, and the moral implications of scientific conclusions.

Throughout the 1990s, however, the leading figures in the battle to get evolution out of the classroom—or to get creationism into it—consistently appealed to distinctions popularized in America by the early-nineteenth-century Baconians. And the turn to “scientific creationism,” like the Baconianism that preceded it, altered significantly an older understanding of religious authority. Intent on preserving a religious vision of the world, the scientific creationists—like the antebellum Baconians—have in effect agreed that religious claims must be, in some sense, “scientific” or else they are meaningless.

Something of the same point might be made about the most recent form of creationist science. In the mid-1980s, a small number of American scientists—who had little patience with ideas of biblical infallibility, flood geology, or a young earth—began to form an alliance around the idea of “intelligent design.” They argued that irreducible complexity at the level of cell biology, or the findings of biochemistry and genetics, called into question Darwinian explanations and required the hypothesis of intelligent design in the natural world.³³

Few, if any, of them were Baconians in their understanding of science; none of them had any interest in confirming the stories in Genesis. Nevertheless, some of them seem to share the Baconian insistence that religious claims rest on “the same kind of evidence” as scientific claims and that the two kinds of claims share the same logical status. And for some of them, as for the earlier Baconians, the authority for the religious claims rests ultimately in science.

America’s cultural conflicts about evolution during the past forty years have revealed not only the continuing popular force of religious conservatism in America but also the honorific status of “science” in American religious communities. Among religious liberals and conservatives alike, and even among fundamentalists, science long has functioned either as an implicit norm or as an explicit authority.



Notes

¹Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977) 203.

²Mary MacDonald, "Georgia May Shun 'Evolution' in Schools," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, January 29, 2004, A1; Mary MacDonald, "Word Purge Defended," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, January 30, 2004, A1.

³Steven V. Roberts, "Evolution Stirs West Coast School Debate," *New York Times*, October 12, 1969, 72.

⁴Dena Kleiman, "Foes of Evolution Theory Ask Equal School Time," *New York Times*, April 7, 1980, D10.

⁵Peter Applebome, "Seventy Years after Scopes Trial, Creation Debate Lives," *New York Times*, March 10, 1996, 22.

⁶Ronald Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998) 10.

⁷Peter Applebome, "Senate in Tennessee Backs Ten Commandments' Posting," *New York Times*, February 23, 1996, A12.

⁸George Johnson, "It's a Fact: Faith and Theory Collide over Evolution," *New York Times*, August 15, 1999, WK1.

⁹Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America*, 9.

¹⁰John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, two vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960) 1:14:161–62, 181; William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 124.

¹¹Janet Browne, "Noah's Flood, the Ark, and the Shaping of Early Modern Natural History," in *When Christianity and Science Meet*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) 115.

¹²The classic texts were William Ray's *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation* (1691) and William Derham's *Physico-Theology* (1713).

¹³Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984) 41, 167; Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1590–1728* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) 290; Cotton Mather, *The Christian Philosopher* (London: E. Matthews, 1721) 7, 85.

¹⁴Thomas Reid, "An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense," in *The Works of Thomas Reid*, three vols. (New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1822) 1:313–17; Dugald Stewart, "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," in *Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, two vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1854) 2:52; Dugald Stewart, "Outlines of Moral Philosophy," *ibid.*, 2:6.

¹⁵Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977) 24–25.

¹⁶Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, two vols. (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1803) 1:202; Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science*, 3; Samuel Tyler, *A Discourse of the Baconian Philosophy* (Frederick City MD: Ezekiel Hughes, 1844) 1.

¹⁷Tyler, *Discourse of the Baconian Philosophy*, 46, 64, 132; Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science*, 111, 113.

¹⁸E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2003) 182–85.

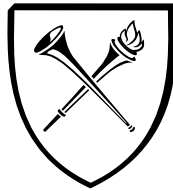
- ¹⁹Jon Roberts, *Darwinism and the Divine in America: Protestant Intellectuals and Organic Evolution, 1859–1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) 117; William Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1976) 2–11; Lyman Abbott, *The Theology of an Evolutionist* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1897) 16–30, 50–66; Arthur Cushman McGiffert, “The Progress of Theological Thought during the Past Fifty Years,” *American Journal of Theology* 20:3 (July 1916): 321.
- ²⁰Asa Gray, “Natural Selection Not Inconsistent with Natural Theology” (1860), in *Darwiniana*, ed A. Hunter Dupree (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1963) 118–26.
- ²¹Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, 1874) 10, 18; Charles Hodge, *What Is Darwinism?* (London and Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1874) 131, 141, 176–77.
- ²²Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists: The Evolution of Scientific Creationism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 32; George Frederick Wright, “The Passing of Evolution,” in *The Fundamentals*, ten vols. (Chicago: Testimony Publishing, 1910) 5:20.
- ²³Numbers, *The Creationists*, 50, 65; Leander Keyser, “Concerning Evolution,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1927, E10; “Evolution Theory Called ‘Nonsense,’” *New York Times*, July 13, 1938, 11; William Bell Riley, *The Antievolution Pamphlets of William Bell Riley*, ed. William B. Trollinger Jr. (New York: Garland, 1995) 74–75.
- ²⁴William Jennings Bryan, “The Origin of Man,” in *In His Image* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1922) 94; William Jennings Bryan, “Text of Bryan’s Proposed Address in the Scopes Case,” in *The World’s Most Famous Court Trial: State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes: Complete Stenographic Report . . .* (Cincinnati: National Book Company, 1925) 323; Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America’s Continuing Debate over Science and Religion* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) 237.
- ²⁵Riley, *Antievolution Pamphlets*, 130; C. I. Scofield, ed., *The New Scofield Study Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967; first edition published as *The Scofield Reference Bible*, 1909) 1–2.
- ²⁶Roger A. Brunns, *Preacher: Billy Sunday and Big-Time American Evangelism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992) 126, 128.
- ²⁷See George McCready Price, “Q.E.D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation” (1917) in *Selected Works of George McCready Price*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers (New York: Garland, 1995) 104, 217.
- ²⁸Price, “Q.E.D.,” 198; George McCready Price, *The Fundamentals of Geology* (Mt. View CA: Pacific Press, 1913), dedication, 239–40, 252; Numbers, *The Creationists*, 76, 90–91.
- ²⁹John C. Whitcomb Jr. and Henry M. Morris, *The Genesis Flood: The Biblical Record and Its Scientific Implications* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1961) 1, 328, 331, 448; Numbers, *The Creationists*, 241.
- ³⁰Numbers, *The Creationists*, 242–43, 319.
- ³¹Langdon Gilkey, *Creationism on Trial: Evolution and God at Little Rock* (San Francisco CA: Harper & Row, 1985) 26–27.
- ³²Richard Severs, “Poll Finds Americans Split on Creation Idea,” *New York Times*, August 29, 1982, 22; “The Creation,” *U.S. News & World Report*, December 23, 1991, 59; Larry A. Witham, *Where Darwin Meets the Bible: Creationists and Evolutionists in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 274.
- ³³Witham, *Where Darwin Meets the Bible*, 67, 127.

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THE NINTH DISTINGUISHED FACULTY LECTURE

25 MARCH 2004
EMORY UNIVERSITY

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TO: UNIVERSITY TRUSTEES AND FACULTY

FROM: STACIA BROWN
ASSISTANT TO THE UNIVERSITY SENATE

DATE: FEBRUARY 7, 2005

This booklet features the Ninth Distinguished Faculty Lecture, delivered on March 25, 2004, by E. Brooks Holifield, Professor of American Church History, Candler School of Theology.

The University Senate prints the Distinguished Faculty Lecture for distribution to University trustees and faculty. We hope you find it useful to have a published copy of these addresses by some of Emory University's eminent scholars.

The Tenth Distinguished Faculty Lecture, titled "Life Together: How Housing Laws Define America's Families," will be delivered by Frank F. Alexander, Professor of Law, Founder and codirector, Law and Religion Program, on Thursday, February 7, 2005, at 4:00 p.m. in the Winship Ballroom, Dobbs University Center.

