

The church preaches eugenics: a history of church support for Darwinism and eugenics

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A review of the history of the eugenics movement finds a major source of support was from the churches and ministers, the very ones who should have opposed it on the grounds that it is contrary to basic Christian teaching. In view of the harm that the doctrine has caused in Germany, the United States and other countries, it is obvious to most all persons today that it was wrong to support it. The extent of and reasons for church support of eugenics are discussed in some detail.

Eugenics is the application of Darwinism to produce a ‘superior race’ by the state controlling human reproduction. Those judged more fit are coerced or bribed to produce more children, and those judged less fit are coerced or bribed to produce fewer children by forced sterilization or other means. According to a historian at the American Ethics and Public Policy Center, Christian Rosen Ph.D., the goal of eugenics was to control evolution from the blind slow process of nature to the intelligent, deliberate and purposeful guidance of evolution by intelligent humans.¹ The most well known example of the application of this policy was in Nazi Germany, but it was also applied in the United States and other countries. The United States passed several laws requiring the sterilization of certain people, which were upheld by the Supreme Court in the 1927 case of *Buck vs Bell*.² These laws also restricted the immigration of ‘inferior races’ such as Jews into the United States. As a result, many Jews perished in the holocaust—many who may have found safety in America. Some even arrived at our shores only to be sent back to Germany to perish in the concentration camps.² Eugenics theory relied heavily on not only Darwinism, but also Darwin’s ‘tree of life’ view with its ‘extensive system of branches, representing the ever-increasing complexity of earth’s many species.’³ Eugenics was a means to facilitate the further growth of this tree—specifically the advancement and evolution of the human race or, as eugenicists expressed it, the betterment of mankind.

Eugenics theory concluded that hereditary explanations could account for a wide variety of social problems, from crime to laziness, drinking and everything in between.⁴ The many branches of the eugenics tree included sex hygiene, radical sex reform, and birth control. In America eugenics translated primarily into encouragement of the superior humans (white Anglo Saxon Protestants for example) to have large families, and encouragement of inferior humans (Poles, Russians, and other Slovaks, and, of course, blacks) to have small families or no families at all.⁵ To enforce this policy, extensive campaigns to sterilize ‘inferior humans’

were carried out to reduce the polluting of the American melting pot with inferior races.⁶

The church’s acceptance of eugenics

The church’s response to Darwinism and the eugenics movement is not only well documented, but also provides much insight into the results of uninformed and uncritical acceptance of science theory. To understand the creation-evolution conflict it is imperative to review the history of how and why so many Christian ministers embraced the eugenics movement. Many churches that rejected evolution and held to a creation worldview opposed eugenics. Most churches that fall into this category are what Rosen calls evangelical or fundamentalist. Conversely, churches that accepted evolutionary theory, commonly the liberal or mainline churches, not only readily accepted eugenics but often actively worked toward eugenic solutions to social problems.⁷ Watson concluded that eugenics ‘was embraced with particular enthusiasm by those who would be termed the “liberal left”.’⁸

The conservative churches were ‘not necessarily hostile to reform or to science, but as the materialistic philosophy of evolutionary theory grew, they became more intransigent in their insistence on biblical infallibility.’⁹ Rosen defines conservative Protestantism as belief in biblical inerrancy, the belief in the rebirth, and a commitment to proselytize others.

Conversely, the so-called liberal and modernist churches viewed conservative churches that rejected Darwinism and eugenics as ‘the intellectual equivalents of canopic jars; full of the desiccated remains of their elders’ views of culture and science’, incapable of addressing the major concerns of modern society.⁹ The liberals believed, as expressed by Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch, that modern theology ‘must always embody the best thought of its age or its age will seek religion outside of theology.’¹⁰ A common rationalization used by Christians to embrace Darwinism was described by Gallagher as follows:

‘George Perkins, like most Congregationalists, found a reconciliation in “Christian Darwinism”. This interpretation of evolution assumed that natural selection was the instrument of God’s creation, and the continuing force of natural selection in the present was evidence of God’s ongoing immanence in both human and natural history. The human mind and “soul” became the material expression of selection forces modifying nerve tissue into an organ capable of reason, foresight, and imagination.’¹¹

Furthermore, understanding life from a Darwinian perspective was for Christian Darwinists, such as Perkins, as

‘... much an expression of his religious faith and his Protestant commitment to human progress as it was a scientific endeavor. Teaching Sunday School at the College Street Congregational Church and teaching university students zoology, geology, and anthropology served in complementary ways to fulfill his Christian obligation. ... [t]he Christian Darwinists of George Perkins’s generation found the idea of human “creation” by means of natural selection self-validating. ... History, religion, and biology became fused in Christian Darwinism. ... Perkins used classic Christian Darwinian texts in his biology classes and apparently incorporated that perspective into his anthropology course.’¹¹

Some ministers who were decidedly conservative in doctrine championed what were then considered ‘liberal causes’ such as eugenics.¹² Because some conservatives and almost all mainline Protestants, supported eugenics, Rosen concluded that

‘Protestants proved the most enthusiastic and numerically powerful group of religious participants in eugenics movements. Supporters ranged from high-ranking clerics to small town ministers in the Methodist, Unitarian, Congregational, Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches. Furthermore, a substantial number of theological leaders embraced Darwinism.’^{13,14}

Nonetheless, the Protestants, Jews, and Catholics that became involved in eugenics ‘overwhelmingly represented the liberal wings of their respective faiths’.

Catholics resisted eugenics longer than many Protestant denominations—*Catholic World* magazine published articles condemning eugenics as far back as 1870. One 1870 article reviewed Galton’s book, *Hereditary Genius*, concluding that it was defective in logic, insufficient in methods, and ignored the central Catholic teaching that ‘all men are born with equal natural rights’.¹⁵ Pope Pius XI ‘unequivocally condemned eugenics’.¹⁶ Likewise, many Catholics scholars opposed Darwinism. For example, a 16-page-long article on evolution in the 1913 edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* concluded that:

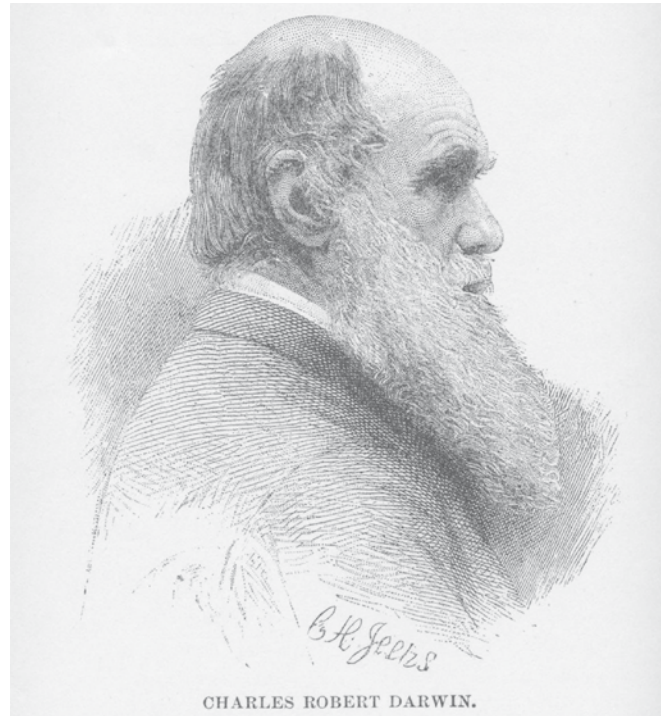
1. The origin of life is unknown to science.
2. The origin of the main organic types and their principal subdivisions are likewise unknown to science.

3. There is no evidence in favour of an ascending evolution of organic forms.
4. There is no trace of even a merely probable argument in favour of the animal origin of man. The earliest human fossils and the most ancient traces of culture refer to a true *Homo sapiens* as we know him today.
5. Most of the so-called systematic species and genera were certainly not created as such, but originated by a process of either gradual or saltatory evolution. Changes which extend beyond the range of variation observed in the human species have thus far not been strictly demonstrated, either experimentally or historically (this is not a quote but a paraphrase).¹⁷

As more Catholics accepted Darwinism, likewise, more accepted eugenics. And, not unexpectedly, the more liberal Catholics were more likely to endorse the eugenic movement.¹⁸

Why the churches accepted Darwinism and eugenics

Clergymen embraced Darwinism and, eventually, eugenics for many reasons. One was an attempt to respond to the growing power and status of science and the respect that society as a whole, especially the clergy, held for science. This was part of the educated culture of trained ministers. The clergy were very aware of the common light versus darkness, reason versus superstition, label—and religion was often seen as darkness and superstition, and science as light and reason.⁶ Some clergy, aware of their own declining



Darwin as an old man. Many modernist churches viewed churches that rejected Darwinism and eugenics as incapable of addressing the major concerns of modern society.

prestige, endeavored to adopt what they believed was a ‘modern’ approach to science, both because they believed it was the right thing to do and because they thought it would increase their respectability and, as a result, the acceptance of their Christian message.¹⁹ Clergy and laypersons that ‘clung stubbornly to tradition, to doctrine, and to biblical infallibility opposed eugenics and became ... the objects of derision for their rejection of this most modern science.’¹

Conversely, churches that were trying to conform to modern science invited eugenics advocates to preach in their pulpits. Baptist college professor William Lovis Poteat lectured widely on ‘Heredity and Eugenics’. The Baptist Tabernacle in Raleigh, North Carolina greeted his talks ‘with enthusiasm equal to that which greeted his scientific lectures at the college’.²⁰ Poteat taught that evolution was the ‘divine method of creation’, and that Paul may have been a theistic evolutionist.²¹ Eugenics allowed humans to use this method of creation to improve the race.

The clergy who supported eugenics seemed unaware of how utterly opposed Darwinism was to the core Christian belief structure. For example, Galton, Charles Darwin’s cousin (who coined the term ‘eugenics’ and, in many ways, was the father of eugenics)²² described evolution as a ‘grand Phantasmagoria’, a purposeless process spurred on by natural selection, i.e. survival of the fittest, and extinction of the inferior.¹

Most clergy believed that science had proved Darwinism even though in the 1920s, the heyday of the eugenics movement, empirical scientific evidence for Darwinism was virtually non-existent. Most evidence was indirect, such as homology, vestigial organs, geographical distribution, the macromutation theory as illustrated by the Ancon sheep example, Haeckel’s embryos, and similar.²³ Compassion, empathy, and a ‘deep sense of social responsibility’ also all motivated the acceptance of eugenics.²⁴ Eugenic supporters genuinely wanted a better society and felt that eugenics was the path to this society. Of course, the same could be said of others who applied eugenics to solve social problems.

The most extreme example, Adolf Hitler, believed that mankind would eventually laud him as a savior for applying science to government policy, and felt that, although painful now just as surgery is painful, when the patient is healed, he will acknowledge with gratefulness the sacrifice required to cure the disease.²⁵ For Hitler, the disease was the Jews, and once they were eliminated, all of society would be greatly blessed.²⁶ Hitler preached that the Jews were the vermin of society, the bacillus of health, and must be destroyed so that the society may thrive. For most eugenicists, the vermin was not Jews, but other groups.

Jewish acceptance of eugenics

From our perspective today, the most paradoxical group that embraced eugenics was the Jews. Reformed Rabbis especially enthusiastically embraced Darwinian evolution and, likewise, widely accepted eugenics.²⁷ Many Jews and some Christians also utilized biblical accounts to support eugenics. Rabbi Max Reichler cited the Mosaic Law as proof of biblical

justification for eugenics even claiming that the

‘... very founder of the Jewish race, the patriarch Abraham, recognized the importance of certain inherited qualities, and insisted that the wife of his “only beloved son” should be ... from the seed of a superior stock.’²⁸

Although Jewish eugenicists concluded that certain non-Jewish groups were inferior, such as Negroes, some American eugenicists (and many German eugenicists), claimed that Jews were racially inferior, and therefore eugenics control should also apply to them.²⁶ One putative scientific study found that Jews produce a ‘much larger proportion of insane, idiots, and mental and physical defectives than any of the Nations among which they live.’²⁹

A problem in the eugenics movement was that most persons thought the group that they were part of was superior or at least not inferior, but that certain *other* groups were inferior. Those in the putative *inferior* group often concluded that they were the *superior* group (or at least not inferior), and *other* groups were inferior.³⁰ Many clergy in the eugenics movement viewed eastern Europeans as inferior: Reverend Myron W. Reed of Denver stated that it is ‘difficult to find in a shipload of Poles or Huns ten men that will make Americans ... Like the insects under the rotten log, they like darkness and confinement.’³¹

Rauschenbusch approved of immigrants from Western Europe, but concluded that people from southern and eastern Europe, such as Poland, introduced inferior ‘strains of



Adolf Hitler at the height of his power. Many churches in Germany enthusiastically supported Darwin and eugenics—and their backing accounted for a great deal of the support for Hitler and his policies that led to the Holocaust.

blood' into American society that caused social problems.¹² While Hitler was declaring Germans (actually Arians) and Scandinavians the superior races, Rev. Newell Hillis was lecturing in hundreds of American cities arguing that Germans were 'brutes' and 'orang-outangs' who 'must be cast out of society'.³² Hillis added that statesmen were now discussing 'exterminating the German people'.

Others proposed the sterilization of all ten million German soldiers, concluding that 'nineteen hundred years of education have not changed the German one whit ... when this generation of Germans goes, civilized cities, states and races may be rid of this awful cancer that must be cut clean out of the body of society'.³² This illustrates that politics often determined what group was judged genetically inferior—the rhetoric against Germans occurred when we were at war with Germany and was no doubt utilized by some to help justify the war.

The extent of the religious eugenics movement

The religious eugenics movement was not small; Rosen claims that in 1926 hundreds of clerics from nearly every major protestant denomination and reformed Rabbis 'preached eugenics' across the USA in demographically diverse venues speaking 'vividly of the powerful force of hereditary' to improve society.³³ One of these preachers, Reverend Osgood, exclaimed in one sermon that the less fit members of society breed faster and the more fit breed slower, and the solution to this 'alarming problem' lies in eugenics.³⁴ One reason the religious eugenics movement was so large was because 'evangelical scholars were among the first to embrace Darwin's theory of evolution, and did so well in advance of its widespread acceptance by the scientific community'.³⁵

Because ministers, preachers and Rabbis had great influence over captive audiences (their congregations), and their highly visible public profiles, their influence far outweighed their numbers. Rosen goes even so far as to state that, for many religious leaders, 'eugenics became a modern Baal, zealously worshiped. In eugenics, these men found a faith stronger than their Christianity, fulfilling Francis Galton's hopes of replacing religion with eugenics'.³⁶ Gallagher, in a detailed study of the state of Vermont's eugenics movement, concluded that 'the Protestant country church ... had always been a key component' of the eugenics movement.¹⁶

Many clergy lacked an understanding of eugenics, yet naïvely preached its conclusions, assuming that the experts had worked out the details. Many thus saw it as their job as clergy to effectively convey the conclusions of eugenics to the public. Some churches devoted a large proportion of their budget to supporting eugenics programs. A few ministers even reneged on their pulpit duties and spent their time traveling around America preaching eugenics. Many churches in Germany also enthusiastically supported Darwin and eugenics, and their backing accounted for a great deal of the support for Adolf Hitler and his policies that led to the Holocaust.³⁷ Rosen effectively argued that to 'practice eugenics was, in some sense, to play God'.³⁶

Rosen is keenly aware of the results of Darwinism in the Western world as a whole, in America in general, and in Germany in particular. She does not mince words in laying blame where it falls. Neither clergy nor scientists are exempt from her wrath in her highly scholarly study that passionately and effectively tells a story critical for modern clergy (and modern society) to be aware of because, although virtually all clergy (except for a few, such as Reverend Pete Peters) have effectively repudiated eugenics today, many still hang on to the framework of eugenics: Darwinism.

Hereditary vs environment

Two major problems arose: firstly, how do you determine who are evolutionarily inferior, in contrast to who are evolutionarily superior? Secondly, how do you differentiate environmental from hereditary influences? It is now well documented that families are successful in a large part because of their environment.³⁸ Better families typically send their kids to better schools, provide a nurturing supportive environment for longer periods of time, provide better health care, and a more supportive family environment as a whole in contrast to poor families who are less able to properly provide for these and other needs.

Many clergy, although they eagerly embraced eugenics, challenged the belief that the scientists were the 'most qualified judges of human "fitness"'.³⁶ Some clergy thought that they should have a say about who were the fittest. For this and other reasons, the marriage between liberal religion and the science community was not always harmonious. There was not only a war between conservative religion and Darwinian 'science', but some rumblings between liberal religion and Darwinism as well.

Reverend Oscar McCulloch,³⁹ an early 1880s eugenic movement leader, spent ten years work on a now infamous study researching 'strains of degeneracy' in Indiana families. The 250 families that he researched included 1692 people—a feat that Rosen calls remarkable because McCulloch was a full-time minister who did his 'research' in his free time. McCulloch concluded that defective heredity accounted for 'several generations of murderers, illegitimate children, prostitutes, beggars, thieves, and scores of "generally diseased" human beings'.⁴⁰

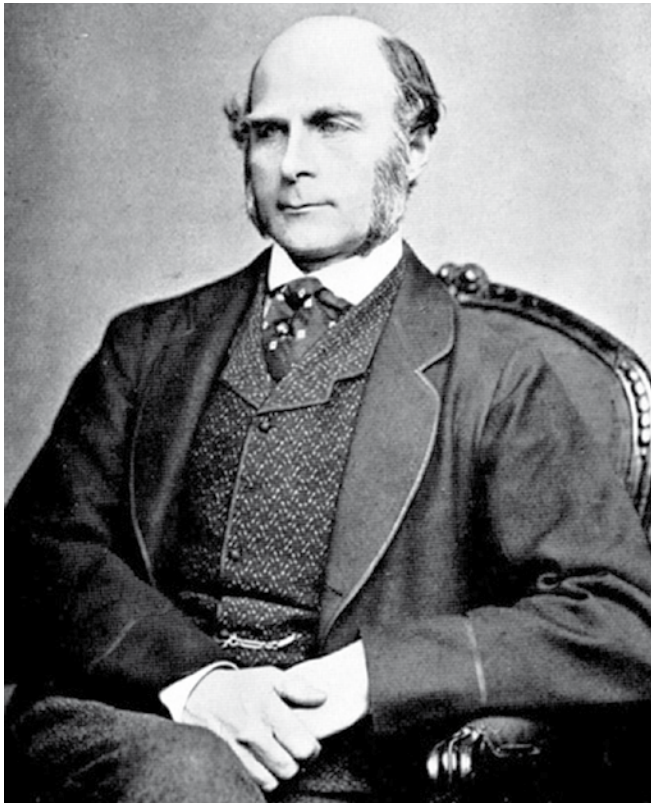
The most infamous study of this type was completed by Richard Drugdal published as *The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Hereditary*.⁴¹ This study was freely quoted in American biology textbooks for decades—and was also exploited by the Nazi's to justify their racial policies. Reverend McCulloch went even further than Drugdal. Drugdal gave equal weight to environmental factors, but McCulloch argued that heredity was much more important.^{40,42}

McCulloch also argued from his study that attempts to improve environmental conditions—such as better education, housing, nutrition, and sanitation—actually worked against eugenics by helping to ensure the survival, and propagation of, the weak.⁴³ The key to race improvement was the *elimination* of the weak (survival of the fittest) and to encourage

propagation of the more fit. This was achieved in the United States by sterilizing those judged to be weak, restricting the immigration of races judged to be inferior, and encouraging large families by those judged superior.⁴⁴ In Germany it was achieved by encouraging the superior humans to reproduce and by killing those humans judged inferior.

Churches that supported eugenics also adopted many of the positions developed and propagated by anti-Christians, agnostics and atheists. For example, Francis Galton claimed that the church was largely responsible for many social problems by encouraging celibacy among priests, nuns, monks, and other church workers. He argued that the church ‘drained off the cream’ of society by selecting the most intelligent and capable persons for church roles, and allowing inferior persons to have large families.⁴⁵ The very people that should have large families were not having *any* families; and those who should not have families were having large families.

Many of the theologians, priests, and ministers who supported eugenics came from good families, went to Ivy League universities, and often headed large churches, writing widely about many topics. Walter Taylor, Sumnar of the Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul in Chicago, graduated from Dartmouth College in 1898. After becoming ordained, he rose rapidly through the church leadership, eventually becoming Dean of the Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul in



Francis Galton, Charles Darwin’s cousin and the father of eugenics. Galton argued that many churches worked against eugenics by selecting the most intelligent persons for religious work that required celibacy and allowing ‘inferior’ persons to have large families. He worked to reverse this policy in his writings and speeches.

Chicago.⁴⁶ A rousing speaker, he became a eugenic leader, even developing government interventional programs to implement eugenics programs.⁴⁷

Use of religion to push eugenics

Albert Edward Wiggam (1871–1957) was one of the most well-known popularizers of eugenics—his many books sold extremely well (and are still commonly found in used-book stores). His syndicated column *Let’s Explore Your Mind* had a newspaper audience of nearly twenty million. Asked if every family should read the Bible every day—he answered yes, ‘no matter what’ your religious views.⁴⁸ Wiggam was ‘more persuasive in describing eugenics as God’s plan’ than any other person in America.⁴⁹ He tried to make eugenics intelligible and argued that the discoveries of modern science—especially Darwinism—necessitated changes in religion, an idea which, aside from eugenics, he preached incessantly.

Rather than citing scientific studies to bolster his conclusions, Wiggam ‘had a keen sense for the appealing tone of religious rhetoric’.⁵⁰ He even ‘invoked Jesus to justify his own revision’ of religion.⁵¹ The real golden rule, Wiggam stressed, is a ‘new commandment’ namely ‘the Biological Golden Rule, the complete Golden Rule of science. *Do unto both the born and unborn as you would have both the born and the unborn do unto you* [emphasis in original].’⁵² He concluded that eugenics ‘furnishes the final program for the completed Christianization of mankind . . . this, and this only, is the final reconciliation of science and the Bible’. Wiggam received support by no less a eugenicist than Charles Darwin’s son, Leonard Darwin, as well as John Dewey, Charles Davenport, and Thomas Hunt Morgan.

This appeal to the Bible to support eugenics is not unlike that used by many Darwinists today. Hildeman⁵³ in his book, *Creationism: the Bible Says No*, argued from Scripture that God did not create life, but He let evolution—Darwinian evolution no less—do the job for Him. Kenneth Miller taught the same idea in his book, *Finding Darwin’s God*.⁵⁴ Rosen notes that ‘depicting Jesus as a supporter of one particular social cause was a favored tactic of reformers’. Churchmen and professional activists alike adopted Him to the ‘promotional demands of the age’, and eugenics was no exception. The level of the marriage is indicated by the fact that each session of the 1914 race-betterment conference opened with prayer.⁵⁵

Opposition from churches

The churches in general—even many of those opposing Darwinism—did relatively little to oppose eugenics. Nonetheless, some of the main opposition that did exist was from churches, mostly the conservative churches such as Baptists, Seventh-day Adventists, and Missouri Synod Lutheran. Some persons in other denominations also opposed eugenics. Lawrence Flick, a Catholic physician, effectively criticized the entire eugenics movement in a 1913 anti-evolution monograph. Obviously referring to the now infamous

Juke's family study, he wrote that it was absurd to try to draw heredity conclusions based on only two lines of progeny.⁵⁶ He also concluded that it was naïve to reduce society's many problems to a single cause—bad germ plasma—as eugenicists did, and it is more naïve to assume the solution to these problems was sterilization.

Some liberal clerics also opposed eugenics. Reverend Henry Emerson Fosdick concluded that eugenics was dangerous and agreed with eugenicists only on the point that science can change the inevitable. Fosdick's concern was how this change would occur, under whose direction, and how much better the world would be when humans are at the helm of this change.

Of the laymen writing about eugenics Catholic convert G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936)—who also criticized Darwinism—offered 'perhaps the most scathing assessment of the movement'.⁵⁷ Chesterton⁵⁸ documented that eugenics lacked a consistent body of provable scientific theory. He effectively attacked the conclusion that heredity exercised the powerful force over humans that the eugenics claimed it did.

The churches' attempt to find a 'modern, scientific way to grapple with the questions of their age' resulted in an 'uneasy compromise'. Alfred North Whitehead concluded that traditional religion and science are irreconcilable, requiring 'abandoning ... the clear teaching of religion' which results in a gradual degeneration of religion.⁵⁹ By 'embracing eugenics, some religious leaders hope to forestall this process of degeneration.'⁶⁰ The same could be said about embracing Darwinism today.

The church's embrace of Darwinism started with the conversion of individuals in the church, often church leaders. The first step in this direction was the 'new scientific approach to Scripture and religion [that] was sweeping into many congregations, and "biblical criticism"—as well as Darwin's theory of evolution—was eroding the traditional authority of the Holy Book.'⁶¹ Bruinius documents several cases, including Charles Davenport, one of the most important American eugenic leaders. The son of a prominent fundamentalist minister, Charles started on a very different path than his father when he commenced his studies at the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, an elite school that focused on math and science.

Davenport soon became fascinated with biology and evolution, which radically reshaped his view of his place in the world. After graduating first in his class, he went on to complete a M.A. from Harvard where he studied in detail books by Darwin and eugenicists Herbert Spencer, Francis Galton and Karl Pearson.⁶² He spent the rest of his life proclaiming 'the new gospel of eugenics'.⁶³ Eugenics became his new religion, and he was as devoted to it as his father was to Christianity, actively converting both those in the church and out side of it to his new gospel.

Summary

Eugenics produced one of the most embarrassing chapters in all of modern American religious history. A major question is why was 'religious participation in the eugenics

movement ... a movement that in hindsight was so clearly wrong' so appealing for decades?⁶⁴ Rosen concluded the reason was the clergy accepted an idea on authority—eugenics was almost universally accepted among biologists as well as many other scientists. In her words 'looking back, one might expect to find a little more hesitation from religious leaders before they offered their support to a movement that ... replaced God with science as the shaper of the human race.'⁶⁴

Rosen's conclusion applies not only to eugenics, but also to Darwinism. The same is true of those who oppose the modern growth of doubts about neo-Darwinism, even by many who are firmly in the Darwin camp philosophically and have replaced God with the authority of modern secular science. Eugenics was 'a movement that the liberals of its day whole heartily embraced ... proving justification for a range of state interventions, including immigration restriction and compulsory sterilization.'⁶⁵ That this chapter of church history was not as embarrassing in the United States as was the embrace of eugenics by the German clergy was masterfully documented by Lutzer.³⁷

Rosen stresses that the history of the relationship between religion and science in modern times is a relationship 'often characterized by cooperation; far from the warfare declared by many in that era, religious participation in eugenics shows that secular scientists and clergymen of all faith were often willing and able to find common ground.'⁶⁵ The clergy felt that, to provide answers to life's questions, they had to rely upon the 'scientists and social scientists whose knowledge came not from Scripture, but from supposedly impeccable empirical evidence'.⁶⁵ This was part of a secularization of society. No longer were we to rely on Scripture or God for the answers, but were, instead, to rely on science.

The number of persons affected by eugenics was not small—in the state of Virginia alone, about eight thousand citizens were sterilized between 1924 and 1979 for eugenic reasons.⁶⁶ A total of 29 US states passed sterilization laws from 1907.⁶⁷ Use of genetics to improve the race is still with us. One example is genetic evaluation to determine if a baby should be aborted. In the earlier debates, religious leaders were among the most vigorous proponents of eugenics, but today 'they are largely marginalized, supplemented by a new class of professional bioethicists who work in the halls of academia, not the sanctuaries of churches or synagogues.'⁶⁸ The compromise by the clergy has turned out to be an embarrassing chapter in the history of the church that has contributed to this modern marginalization of Christianity.

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