

The Varieties of American Religious Experience

Robert S. Fogarty

(Antioch College)

“On my arrival in the United States the religious aspect the country was the first thing that struck my attention...” Alexis DeTocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835)

When Eusurk Emsen Charr published *The Golden Mountain: The Autobiography of a Korean Immigrant, 1895~1960* in 1961 he dedicated it to the American Legion (who had helped him gain American citizenship as the result of his serving in W.W.I) and Park College, a Presbyterian affiliated university in Missouri where he took his degree.

Char came to Hawaii in 1904 when he was nine to work on the sugar plantations, then went to San Francisco in 1905 working there for ten years in low paying jobs before heading off to Park College to gain his high school diploma. His family had converted to Christianity in Korea and it was his boyhood hope to go to America, get an education and return home as a medical missionary. That was not to happen because his experiences at Park shaped his values, his world view and confirmed his desire to stay in America: “Henceforth, I lived as an American, not only on food but in life

and soul. I am proud to tell the world that not only as an ordinary American, but I lived there and was trained as a Christian American. Here at Park, as in many other Christian schools and colleges in America, Christian democracy prevailed, [it was] the very foundation of society - Christian in spirit and democratic in method." "With Christian spirit inculcated in the heads, hearts, and hands of every citizen from infancy up," he wrote, "our democracy as I learned from Park will work more efficiently and universally."

As for the students at Park they all worked hard ; they all dressed plainly; they all acted and behaved as Christian men and women. Naturally there was no trace of snobbery or sour tone present here as was prevalent in some other places.

For Charr Christianity, democracy, efficiency and hard work were at the core of his new culture. The year he graduated (1915) there was a Presbyterian in the White House, Woodrow Wilson. In addition, there was a war was raging in Europe and America would emerge after that war as a dominant force in the world economy and would define, by its military and economic might, the shape of what has been called the "American Century."

The heads, the hearts and the hands of America have been shaped by more than evangelical Christianity and it is being reshaped today by religious forces and institutions far removed in practice and spirit from Park College in Missouri. Before taking up such contemporary forces let me trace a brief religious history of the United States.

The earliest Americans, the Native Americans, were an extraordinarily varied group and as European emigrants came in contact with them only a few of these early settlers noticed the distinctive differences in culture, practices and adaptations among such indigenous groups. The vision quest ceremonies of

males in the hunting cultures of the American Northeast (such as Massachusetts and Pennsylvania), for example, differed dramatically from the settled (and eventually evangelized) Cherokees who grew to have much in common with their Georgia neighbors despite the fact that those neighbors later drove them from their lands and forcibly resettled them further west. All the native tribes had migrated from elsewhere (most notably Siberia) and migratory tales and origin myths played a large part in the religious rituals and practices of the Shoshone and the Navaho in the Southwest. But these traditions were insular and one Indian did not convert to the religion of another so that Mohawk and Oneida Indians remained separate and often engaged in warfare. Such groups were based on clan associations and notions about a distinctive national identity of such tribes only began to have consequences for religious practice when they came into aggressive confrontation with settlers moving westward.

Religious practices in Native American groups revolved around food production, around the cycles of seasons and hunting, around notions about sacred places and spaces and origin myths. For example, the Pueblo Indians established themselves in the Southwest in the eleventh century and by the thirteenth century lived in multi-storied complex dwellings. They used sophisticated irrigation systems to nurture their crops while developing an elaborate system of religious rituals. Much of their spiritual activity revolved around plant cultivation, specifically corn. Raymond Guitterez has written that: "From birth until death every phase of a Pueblo Indians life was marked by transition and incorporation. Girls needed religious fetishes, esoteric knowledge in curing, pottery production, household construction, basket making and a husband. Boys likewise needed sacred fetishes, knowledge in hunting, warfare and curing and a wife. For example, four days after a child was born at Acoma, a medicine man had to present the infant to the rising sun, to give

it a name and to endow it with a perfect ear of corn..." Such was their baptismal rite.

Spanish missionaries came in contact with them during the seventeenth century ; however it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that most American even knew of their existence. During the famous Columbian Exposition of 1893 a "Congress on World Religions" took place, but it was in the exhibition halls of the Exposition that average Americans saw the artifacts of Southwestern culture and religion for the first time. A visit today to a Pueblo reservation in New Mexico today will reveal both traditional ceremonies and European religious practices and the greatest contemporary spiritual influences will be Catholic and evangelical.

The Spanish, French and English settlers in the seventeenth century all came with mercantile and religious interests. In the beginning Anglicanism was, as one critic has written, the "established and dominant religion of the English colonies of North America, which extended along the Eastern coast of the continent from the maritime provinces of Canada to the Caribbean islands of Barbados, Bermuda and Jamaica." But Anglicanism suffered because of the absence of a residential bishop, the lack of a strong organizational structure, a paucity of priests and competition from Puritan and Calvinist Presbyterians.

The French left their Catholic mark on Canada thus influencing New England and then later in the Midwest as the result of both missionary and educational work. The Spanish colonial heritage established itself both in Santa Fe and in the mission towns of California.

The Protestant heirs to the Reformation had settled in New England and established "cities on the hill" that reflected their wish to keep church and

state one and to establish new commonwealths based on a new covenant. When one looks at America in 1740 one sees a heterogeneous religious landscape: there are native Americans practicing the ways of their people, but under attack from waves of new settlers and missionaries; there are Catholics in Maryland and the Louisiana Territory; there are Baptists both North and South and there are heirs to the Puritan settlers struggling to define their religious identity in the Northeast.

The First Great Awakening of 1730 produced a distinguished religious philosopher in Jonathan Edwards and also established the revival and evangelical spirit as key elements in the American Protestant tradition. Disputes between "New Light" and "Old Light" Baptists and Presbyterians increased sectarian tendencies, but also strengthened these religions (along with Methodism) as vital and vigorous entities.

By 1776 it can be said that America was becoming heterodox with Jews establishing synagogues in Newport, Rhode Island and Savannah, Georgia, with Quakers a dominant force in Pennsylvania politics and life, with Methodists and Baptists energized by the commercial revolutions of the eighteenth century. The revolution of 1776 both established the nation and a set of laws that still endure. Though the Constitution was a thoroughly secular document the "Bill of Rights" guaranteed freedom of religion and was the result of two differing sets of assumptions: the first the product of Enlightenment thought that feared that any support for religion would lead to corruption of the state and a second that argued that state involvement would corrupt churches.

At the same time that the Bill of Rights ("Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibit the free exercise thereof")

was being debated there were state constitutions that still required one to be a Christian in order to hold office, that precluded Jews from holding office and persecuted dissenters. In New York clergymen were forbidden to hold state office while in South Carolina all officeholders were required to be Protestants and the "Christian Protestant religion" was established in the state; in Pennsylvania assembly members were required to believe in one God and the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments. So there were practices both discriminatory and favorable to religious practice at the same time. Virginia passed a "Statute of Religious Freedom" in 1785 that stated: "We the General Assembly of Virginia do enact that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever... all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no way diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities." On the one hand the state promoted the ideal of religious toleration and the states (after the Revolution) began to engage in disestablishing churches that had special privileges for example, Georgia disestablished the Anglican Church in 1777. Religious pluralism emerged as a consequence of a national tendency to respect differing religious viewpoints with the levels of toleration varying from period to period and place to place.

Hector St. John Crèvecoeur in his famous "Letters of an American Farmer" wrote: "Here [in America] religion demands but little of him: a small voluntary salary to the minister, and gratitude to God; can he refuse these?... As Christians, religion curbs them not in their opinions; the general indulgence leaves everyone to think for themselves in spiritual matters; the laws inspect our actions, our thoughts are left to God."

There were separate phases to the Second Great Awakening, the term used

to describe a series of revivals that began in 1817: the first located in New England where Congregational parishes underwent a quickening of the religious spirit under the guidance of the ministry ; the second in the South, or the emerging frontier, where enthusiastic practices at camp meetings caused turmoil; third, in the “burned-over” district of New York where a search for religious perfectionism and active evangelizing swept through the area between Albany and Buffalo and where villages were “besieged” by itinerant Methodist and Baptist preachers. These revivals accelerated two tendencies: voluntarism and denominationalism helping spark and sustain the development of what is called “the Benevolent Empire” that emphasized moral and spiritual reform, promoted the spread of Christianity through the American Bible Society and attacked social evils such as drink, prostitution and slavery. Voluntarism promoted the idea that individuals could-by their own will and God’s grace-make choices about their religious lives. This belief created a fluid situation wherein believers drifted from one denomination to another and led to the creation of new denominations.

When Alexis DeTocqueville visited the United States in 1831 he was struck by three things: one, how religion acted as a force for community values; two, how religion shaped local patterns; three, how religion acted as a force for extending democracy: “On my arrival in the United States the religious aspect the country was the first thing that struck my attention. ... Religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society, but it must be regarded as the first of their political institutions; ... I do not know whether all Americans have a sincere faith in their religion- for who can search the human heart- but I am certain that they hold it indispensable to the maintenance of republican institutions. ... The Americans combine the notions of Christianity and of liberty in their minds that it is impossible to make them conceive the one without the other....”

Although the spirit of the revivals and voluntary principle were central to the growth of the Protestant religion in the ante-bellum period these tendencies also created difficulties. The establishment of new religious groups (sects) whether based on millennial, restorationist or communitarian ideals created an unstable environment that weakened, for example, the Lutherans, the Anglicans and the Congregationalists. This proliferation of sects also posed two important questions: First, where there any limits on religious pluralism and second, how did one define a religion? The growth of spiritualism in the late 1840s had, for example, challenged notions about a Christ-centered church and raised questions about the nature and character of the ministry. Women were in the forefront of spiritualist activity with many acting as interpreters of messages from the spirit world. Women were deeply effected by the revivals, but were still barred from the clergy. The existence of the celibate Shakers, the polygamous Mormons and the free lovers at the Oneida Community challenged the state to come up with an answer to the “pluralist” question.

The greatest problem, however, came in the form of an Old World church, Catholicism, that began to emerge as a major force in the 1820s as European immigrants, most notably, Irish and German began to arrive in greater numbers. There were anti-Irish riots in the 1830s and in the 1850s the so-called “Know-Nothing Party” (a nativist organization) elected state - wide officials in Massachusetts and Louisiana. From the 1840s onward there was a steady stream of immigrants into Eastern cities culmination in an enormous influx of Italians and Poles at the turn of the century. These immigrant groups built their own church, established their own parochial schools and seminaries and would see, in 1928, the first serious bid by a Catholic for the presidency in the person of the governor of New York, Al Smith.

Synagogues had been established in the eighteenth century in several American cities and prominent Jews had held cabinet posts in the Confederacy. But the larger immigration of Eastern European Jews to America in the 1870s and 1880s not only raised their profile but created a split between German, English speaking Reform Jews and Yiddish speaking Orthodox Jews from Russia, Lithuania and Poland. Judaism took on some of the denominational style of Protestantism and anti-Semitic activity increased dramatically in the twentieth century. Questions about assimilation, about the limits of toleration, about the pluralist nature of American religion, about the limits of toleration were sorely tested by the growth of Catholicism and Judaism.

One final group has to be included in this broad sweep of religious groups that emerged in the nineteenth century. The black church in both slavery and freedom deserves special recognition. The origins and patterns of that church are Old World (African) and New (American). As Peter Williams has written: "Religions and mythological systems [in Africa] varied considerably from region to region and people to people, although a number of themes were common to most. Supernatural beings were plural rather than singular, as in monolithic religions and the line between this world and the supernatural was not sharply drawn. Religion was not identifiable with an organizational structure and a statement of beliefs in logical form, but rather with myths and rituals, that were periodically retold and enacted in the course of a people's common life." African roots were co-mingled with Catholic and Protestant practices and under slavery religious practice was a source of inspiration and hope. Spirituals like "Crossing over Jordan" and "Going to the Promised Land" signaled to slaves the possibility of both collective and religious emancipation.

After the legal demise of slavery black churches became the bulwark of the

African-American community producing leaders and shaping black identity in the face of white domination. As blacks migrated to Northern cities in the 1890s these churches played an even more important role. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1794, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1821, the National Baptist Convention of America founded in 1895 and one of the major figures in the Pentecostal Azusa Street revivals of 1904 was William Seymour, a black preacher. These all formed the core of the black Protestant churches in the twentieth century.

As America entered the twentieth century the fastest growing religion was Christian Science founded by Mary Baker Eddy and based on elements of spiritualism, faith healing and positive thinking. Two dominant forces have shaped American religion in the twentieth century : modernization and secularization. The growth of Fundamentalism (1915) was a reaction to both conditions as all the denominations struggled to define their interests in an age of science, progress and technology. As more and more Catholics entered the country they became—statistically— the largest religious group as the mainline churches first leveled off and then began to decline in the 1970s and 1980s while the more evangelical churches grew in numbers and influence. Small sects like the Church of the Nazarene saw tremendous growth while the Presbyterians grew older and older.

Religion played more and more of a symbolic role in public life as the president of the United States became both a preacher and pastor for the common good within the context of a secularized society. “New age” religions appealed to a population that sought a spiritual centered life rather than a church centered one and the most dominant influence governing American religious life after 1945 has been the growth of the suburbs. According to the latest statistics of all the “religiously affiliated” groups the

Roman Catholics with 60 million (36%) are the largest followed by Baptist Churches at 36 million (22%), then the Methodists 14 million (8%), Pentecostal 10 million (6%), Lutheran 8 million (5%), Mormons 5 million (3%), Presbyterians 4 million (2.5%), Jews 6 million (3.7%), and Muslims 3 million (2%). One commentator, J. Gordon Melton, has documented the emergence of more than eight hundred new religions in the United States in the twentieth century. Many of these new groups failed to sustain themselves but a host of them (founded during the evangelical revivals of the 1880s) have flourished: the Assemblies of God, the Church of the Nazarene, the Christian and Missionary Alliance and Adventists sects like the Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists have grown.

The census of 1890 had revealed to the historian Frederick Jackson Turner that little free land was then available for settlement and that the frontier period was over. A century later the census of 1990 made an equally powerful point: that for the first time in American history an equal number of Americans commuted from a home in the suburbs to a job in a suburb as those who commuted from a residence in the suburbs to a city. That trend—coupled with the emergence of women in the American workforce in record numbers—has altered patterns of church attendance and practice. An additional major factor in this shifting religious landscape has been the changing demographics of the American immigrant community. Hispanics will soon replace blacks as the largest minority in the country (they are both Catholic and evangelical) and the influx of immigrants from Asia has added to the heterodox quality of American religious life. It is estimated that approximately 300,000 new Catholics arrive each year and they are just the documented ones. There are now 24 Hispanic bishops among the 400 in the United States, blacks constitute about 4% of all Catholics.

The mainstream churches continue to lose members, have lower birth rates and are increasingly trying to devise strategies that will keep them competitive. New mosques and temples rather than new Episcopal churches are being built and churches with Korean and Chinese characters on their signs are sprouting up everywhere. Large mega-churches in suburban areas are not only worship centers but complexes that provide a whole array of social and recreational services.

A Korean Presbyterian congregation in Queens (adjacent to Manhattan), New York was founded in 1970 and recently dedicated a new church to accommodate its growing membership. According to the New York Times the innovative architecture (a converted laundry factory) allowed the church to have an all-purpose building ; “In addition to the religious services held in the sanctuary, the new buildings largest space, the church functions as a social and educational center for the Korean community. The new building, which cost 10 million, contains ighty classrooms, a banquet-hall cafeteria with seating for 1,000, a wedding chapel, day care center, library and medical clinic. As an expression of faith, parishoners fasted one dasy each week while their church was in construction.”

The growth of non-denominational churches seems destined to continue. A look at a listing of a week’s “Religious Events” in one city (St. Louis) suggests the new diversity:

Saturday:

Christian Celtic Worship: People of all faiths are invited to attend “Revival in Belfast” at Christ Covenant Church. St. Louis musicians are also invited to take part in this reconciliation movement.

Church Choir: The Rochelle Illinois High School Concert Choir performs at 7:30 and again on Sunday at 9:30 a.m. at Parkway United Church of Christ.

Passover Concert Celebration: Jacob's Pillow, the coffee for Jewish performing arts, will hold a special edition in commemoration of Passover at 8.p.m. at the Church of the Open Word. Rabbi James Tone Goodman of Congregation Neve Shalom, Zambara Mediterranean Jam, and the Between Two Worlds Klezmer Band will participate.

Sunday:

Mass in G. The Chancel Choir of First Congregational Church of St. Louis will perform Franz Schubert's 1815 Mass at 10:30 a.m.

Passover Drama: The area Jews for Jesus organization will present "Christ is the Passover" at Cross Keys Baptist Church.

Marvin Sapp: The Gospel recording artist performs at 10:30 a.m. and at 5 p.m. at Abundant Life Ministry.

Christian Science Lecture: The First Church of Christian Science presents The Christian Science Healing Perspective and You.

Monday:

Christian Comedian: Chronda Pierce presents her new edition of "Soapbox Tour" at 7pm. at St. Johns Lutheran Church. Pierces stories about growing up as a daughter of a minister transcend racial, denominational and gender boundaries.

Tuesday:

Jewish Wellness and Healing: Healing expert Norman Goldberg speaks on "Music, Wellness and Healing" at The B'nai El Brotherhood Lecture at B'nai El Congregation.

Christian Parenthood Course: An introductory six week course of "Christian Parenthood: The Challenge" will be offered at St. Joseph's Hospital.

Wednesday:

Teaching Your Children About Prayer: Blythe Kieffer and Sue Scott lead parents in a class on "Children and Prayer" at Webster Groves Presbyterian Church. A potluck dinner and the Rev. Bill Yeagers "Reflections on Life and

Faith” proceed class.

Catholic Faith Group: “Draught, Discourse and Discussion” is a discussion group for young adults who want to learn more about the Catholic faith at St. Patricks.

Jewish Spring Concert: The St. Louis Circle of Jewish Music performs “Shiru l Adoshem Shir Chadash” or “Sing Unto the Lord a New Song” at Congregation Shaare Emeth

Thursday:

Bible Conference: St. Louis Conference on Bible Discernment at First Baptist Church of Florrisant

Midrash Story Reminder: Rabbi James Stone Goodman will lead a discussion on “Freedom Free, Freedom For: A Teach-in on Substance and Spirit” at the Church of the Open Word

Advertisements found in the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch’s** “Religious Services” section reveals the different services these churches offer: One Presbyterian church notes that its Saturday evening Worship is “casual.” Whether that means dress or content is unclear; several provide nursery services; a Catholic Church offers the old style “Tridentine Latin Mass” while another offers “Authentic Hungarian and American Lunch three days a week” and offers catering and carryout; the Disciples of Christ indicate that worship service is available in sign language; one Presbyterian church says it is “building a multicultural faith community that worships and serves together” ; the Vedanta Society offers classes in the Upanishad while the Second Baptist Church of Greater St. Louis has a Prostate Support Group; one offers “gourmet coffee”; another “upbeat music”; a non-denominational church offers “a practical ministry committed to building strong families through Christ”; many list several worship times to accommodate busy schedules of their parishioners and their e-mail address.

There is a "Buddhist Association" 60 acre retreat center under construction to serve the needs of 1300 devotees in the St. Louis region. There were already two temples in the area, one led by Thai-American, the other a Zen Center. One of the Tibetan Buddhist monks is Barry Schieber, a former high school football player from the area. All this in St. Louis a conservative mid-western city with strong German and Catholic roots, with large black and Jewish populations and a growing suburban area that has grown up as the core city lost population.

Wade Root in a recent work, *Religion in the Marketplace Culture*, has argued that for the "boomer generation" (those born after 1945) the old division of Protestant, Catholic, Jew or Conservative vs. Liberal can no longer serve as an adequate way to understand the religious landscape. Instead he suggests that there are new categories that more accurately reflect contemporary religious interests. First, there are the dogmatists who view strong religious principles and traditional forms of worship as important (there are both conservative Catholics, Orthodox Jews and Southern Baptists in this category); second, there are the mainstream believers who remain satisfied with the ways and practices of their churches founded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Methodists, Presbyterian, Reform and Conservative Judaism and Lutherns are found here); third, there are born again Christians who have experienced a conversion experience (these cut across denominational lines and are the most active participants); fourth, there are metaphysical believers who embrace Christian Science, Theosophy and "New Age" groups; fifth, there are "Seekers" who test out different religions to see which one fits and may move from one belief system to another; sixth, there are secularists who embrace a humanitarian and rational viewpoint but who avoid religious denominations.

Laurence Moore has noted in his *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture*(1994) that “much of what we mean by speaking of secularization has to do not with the disappearance of religion but its commodification, the ways in which churches have grown by participation in the market, or more specifically how religious influences established themselves in the forms of commercial culture that emerged in the nineteenth century, turning the United States into a flowering Eden of leisure industries by the middle of the twentieth century.” By making religion popular, by trying aggressively to sell it at home and abroad American Protestantism turned religion into a competitive sport that then evolved into a form of culture. The pace of that marketing has increased so much more in the twentieth century with the advent of radio and television. Despite the diversity of religious experience there are those who believe that religion is under constant attack in the public sphere. Stephen L. Parker, a professor of law at Yale, published a popular book, *The Culture of Disbelief*, wherein he argued that there was a “common rhetoric that refuses to accept the notion that rational, public-spirited people can take religion seriously.” He supported the passage of the “Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993” that would have required a state to show a compelling interest before it would be able to apply a law in a way that interfered with a central aspect of a religious practice.

The Congress passed the law and the Supreme Court in 1997 struck it down as too broad. In 1999 a new bill “The Religious Freedom Liberty Protection Act” was introduced and limited protection to individuals and groups who had received federal funds. A recent study in the *Journal of Church and State* surveyed 1236 congregations to find out if they were constrained in any way by licensing procedures of federal and state authorities. Of the seventeen percent who sought authorization for various activities (for

example, for remodeling, requesting a liquor license or a tax exemption) only one percent were denied their request. "Overall the results of the "National Congregations Study..." suggests that it is extraordinarily uncommon for congregations to be denied permission by government authorities to engage in the activities in which they wish to engage."

There have been, of course, sensational conflicts between church and state in recent years with the Waco massacre still being litigated in American courts. The conflict that arose between the state of Texas and the Branch Davidians at Waco was the result of the fractious history of the Seventh Day Adventist Church founded in the aftermath of the Millerite millennial enthusiasm of 1843~44 and a standoff with Texas authorities arising from a visit by local Social Service workers to the compound. The state believed it had a legitimate interest in protecting the welfare of the children at the site by intervening in the affairs of this sect and the "Davidians" believed that they had every right to raise their children as they saw fit and they were also bringing in the kingdom of God. Both presumed to have truth on their side—different kinds of truths of course.

In *Democracy in America* DeTocqueville noted that "in the midst of the continual movement that agitates a democratic community, the tie that unites one generation to another is relaxed or broken; every man there readily loses all traces of the ideas of his forefathers or takes no care about them. Yet this breaking of social chains and the tendency towards individualism tends to confine the citizen "within the solitude of his own heart." DeTocqueville, a European Catholic, saw religion as providing a bulwark against such isolating tendencies and increasing numbers of Americans (in our post-modern age) would agree.

Sources:

J. Hector St. Jean Crevecoeur, *Letters From an American Farmer* (London, 1782)

Stephen L. Carter, *The Culture of Disbelief* (New York, 1993)

Andrew Greeley, *Religious Change in America* (Cambridge, 1989)

David G. Hackett, ed. *Religion and American Culture* (New York, 1995)

Charles Lippy, *Being Religious, American Style* (Westport, 1995)

Laurence Moore, *Selling God* (New York, 1994)

Biographical Note:

Robert S. Fogarty is Professor of History at Antioch College and editor of *the Antioch Review*. A leading authority on American utopianism he has been Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, the N.Y.U. Humanities Center, the John Hopkins Nanjing Center for Chinese and American Studies and Lloyd Lewis Fellow at the Newberry Library. His publications include *Desire and Duty at Oneida: Tirzah Miller's Intimate Memoir* (2000), *Special Love/Special Sex* (1994), *All Things New: Communal and Utopian Movements, 1865~1914*, *Dictionary of American Utopian and Communal History* (1980), *The Righteous Remnant: The House of David* (1980) and essays that have appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Nation*. In May 2000 he was the Fulbright Distinguished Roving Lecturer in Korea.