TEACHING THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PHILADELPHIA

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Abstract: Until 2006, when faculty in the Departments of History and Religion at Temple University designed the course Religion in Philadelphia, no university in Pennsylvania offered a course specifically on the religious history of the state. The following essay outlines the rationale for a course on religion in Philadelphia, the issues involved with teaching such a course, available texts and resources, and possible field trips and assignments. It also describes how the course has been adapted for online instruction and suggests how part(s) of it might be used in a more general course on the history of Pennsylvania or American religious history.

hen William Penn was given the largest land grant in colonial history by King Charles II in 1681 and first conceived of the "holy experiment" for his colony of Pennsylvania, he was guided by a belief in the importance of religious freedom (or liberty of conscience, as it was then called) and sought to create a haven for Quakers and other religious minorities to live in harmony with Native Americans in a "Peaceable Kingdom" that was unique in the colonial world. Less than forty years later, by the time of Penn's death in 1718, the colony had already grown to include a religious mix of Amish, Mennonites, Moravians,

Pietists, Lutherans, Rosicrucian hermits, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Catholics, Jews, African slaves, free blacks, and members of other religious and ethnic minorities that soon outnumbered the Quaker elite by the end of the century. Penn could see early signs that his colony was prospering during his last stay from 1699 to 1701, but he could not have imagined that Philadelphia would rise to become the commercial, intellectual, and political center of British colonial America and, soon thereafter, the site of the founding of the United States—as well as of the first African American church and denomination. Over time, the holy experiment of religious pluralism in Pennsylvania would continue over the centuries to enfold increasing numbers of people from diverse religious traditions, including, by the late twentieth century, Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists.

Just as historian Oscar Handlin realized it was impossible to write a history of America without talking about immigration, it is impossible to write or teach the history of Pennsylvania (or of America) without talking about religion. Students need to see that Penn's holy experiment was a precursor to the larger national experiment of religious freedom and that Pennsylvania is still a place where the experiment continues today.

How does one teach a religious history of Pennsylvania? When does it start? When does it end? What areas or regions are we talking about? What are the main themes, and who are the principal groups and individuals? How does Pennsylvania's religious history fit into the larger histories of religion in America and of America in general? Many textbooks in American history that touch on religion often start with New England Puritanism, but what happens when you start the narrative of American history in Pennsylvania and the mid-Atlantic region?¹

While there are undergraduate courses on the history of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, and many courses in American religious history, no course (to my knowledge) was offered on the religious history of Pennsylvania at any university until 2006, when professors from the history and religion departments of Temple University designed a course called Religion in Philadelphia as part of the university's general studies curriculum. As one Temple professor sums it up: "Religion in Philadelphia was proposed by faculty members in the Departments of Religion and History . . . who were interested in creating a course that, through a focus on the Philadelphia experience, would allow students to engage larger themes in American religious history through a local lens." I have been part of a group of professors who have taught this course for several years and who periodically meet to collaborate on its evolution and

recertification. As might be expected, faculty from these two departments come from different backgrounds and have taught the course in different ways. Professors of religion tend to emphasize more contemporary material, whereas history faculty may start in the precolonial period and continue to the present. All, however, seek to engage students as active participants in the learning process by requiring them to experience religion in Philadelphia outside the classroom by going on field trips and doing local historical and ethnographic research. Students' skills have been developed through assignments that require that they understand, observe, and write about various phenomena that define religious life in Philadelphia now and in the past—for example, a paper assignment to map religion in one Philadelphia neighborhood, or a history and/or ethnography of a particular neighborhood, community, or place of worship. An online version of the course replaces required visits with videos of Philadelphia's sacred sites.

While a course that focuses primarily on Philadelphia may not seem relevant to faculty teaching in other parts of the state, there are reasons still to consider it, or at least to borrow certain components. As the course description states:

The argument is sometimes made that religion in dense urban spaces is characteristically very different from religion as it appears elsewhere. A study of religion in Philadelphia provides numerous ways to explore that idea, especially since the city encompasses a variety of ethnic and immigrant groups, encouraging the generation of new and hybrid forms of religious life that are less possible in smaller populations. Learn how ideas of toleration and freedom, the urban environment, and immigration helped to define the role of religion in the life of this city. Study various religious traditions as they are manifested in the greater Philadelphia area and look at the influences religion has had on the fabric of Philadelphia's history and cultural life including politics, art, education, journalism and popular culture. You will be asked to visit and write about various religious sites and institutions.

Religion in urban Philadelphia may indeed be different in some ways from religion in more suburban and rural areas of the state. In the introduction to *Gods of the City: Religion and the American Urban Landscape*, Robert Orsi notes that "ever since the publication in 1938 of Louis Wirth's influential article 'Urbanism as a Way of Life,' American sociologists and urban scholars have debated whether the conditions of urban life . . . give rise to distinct

subjectivities. Is there a characteristic city self? Does the city [because of its large size, density, and heterogeneity] . . . make people more or less tolerant, more or less nervous?"2 This is an interesting question to explore with students, and I often begin each semester by asking where they are from and discussing Wirth's essay (followed by a video clip from the opening scenes of Alfred Hitchcock's Rear Window to illustrate Louis Mumford's description of the city as a "theater of social action").3 Orsi goes on to state that "urban religion is what comes from the dynamic engagement of religious traditions . . . with specific features of the industrial and post-industrial cityscapes and with the social conditions of city life." In particular, he highlights the remarkably persistent vitality and improvisation of immigrant religion in the face of what seems like an inhospitable place for religion to thrive: "Into every space hollowed out by contempt for the city and its peoples . . . or the demands of capital, migrants and immigrants have inserted themselves, making themselves present, indeed at times over-present, usually on their own terms."5 Jay P. Dolan has stressed the importance of immigration in American religious history, noting that it can "provide historians with a perspective through which they can view the development of American religion" because it is "a phenomenon that cuts across denominational boundaries" and that "studying the immigrant experience in the United States will force historians to acquire a comparative perspective." Since the point of entry for immigration to America through the nineteenth century took place in the major seaports, we look to the history of cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York for an understanding of the immigrant experience. Allen F. Davis has noted that while Philadelphia's immigration history has not received the same kind of attention as that of New York or Chicago, Philadelphia was and still is a city of immigrants. If Arthur M. Schlesinger was right about the importance of the city in American history—that the experiences and problems of American society are those of an urban society—then we stand to learn a lot from the study of religion in Philadelphia.8

Religion in Philadelphia in the Classroom

While the Temple course focuses on Philadelphia, I broaden the scope to make occasional connections to the larger history of religion in the mid-Atlantic region, an area that Randall Balmer has called "the proving ground for pluralism," in comparison with Puritan New England and Anglican Virginia.⁹ Another reason for broadening the geographic reach of the course

to include Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, as one participant has noted, is that "the number of absolutely first-rate secondary works [about religion in Philadelphia] from which we can choose is rather limited." On the other hand, the limited number of good secondary sources could also lead professors and students to focus on primary sources for class discussion and paper assignments and encourage further historical research.

So what are the issues, texts, themes, and problems in a class on religion in Philadelphia? For starters, most students have little knowledge of religion in America, or even religion(s) in general. Many have few opportunities to study religion in college, and teachers also bring different backgrounds. Part of the reason for the lack of opportunities to study religion in high school and college may be a fear among educators that religion in the classroom is taboo, which perhaps goes back to a local episode in American history: the Supreme Court case of Abington School District v. Schempp (1963), which declared school-sponsored Bible reading in public schools in the United States unconstitutional (itself another great teachable moment that faculty can link to a discussion of the Philadelphia nativist riots of 1844, when violence erupted between "natives" and Irish Catholic immigrants over the use of Bibles in the public schools). Among scholars of religion and American religious historians in particular, there is a growing movement to include more discussion of religion in American history courses in a way that is constitutionally permissible and educationally sound. 10 My own background and training is in American religious history as well as in urban and immigration/ ethnic history, so I feel some background in American religious history is important to frame the discussion for a course on religion in Philadelphia and to see what part Pennsylvania played in a larger, national story. In addition to the introductory essays mentioned earlier about cities, I also find it helpful to begin with readings from Stephen Prothero's Religious Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know—and Doesn't as well as the survey textbook by Catherine Albanese, America: Religions and Religion, which I use throughout the semester.¹¹ After this introduction, the course roughly follows a chronological history of religion in the Delaware Valley, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and beyond.¹²

An early unit focuses on Native American religion, contact and encounters with European settlers, the remarkable story of Penn's holy experiment in which Christians and Indians could live together in a "Peaceable Kingdom," and its unfortunate, gradual dissolution in the eighteenth century as Penn's agents and successors undermined that vision in their quest for land.¹³ We also watch clips from the 1991 film *Black*

Robe—though it is about French Jesuit missionaries among the Huron and Iroquois in seventeenth-century Quebec, the film is an excellent window into the role of religion in European and Native American relations of the time.¹⁴ For the Quakers, we read a chapter from David Hackett Fischer's Albion's Seed on "The Friends' Migration, 1675-1725," and we visit Arch Street Meeting House, where the class sits on the old benches and a guide talks and answers questions about the Society of Friends before the group visits the excellent in-house museum on Quaker history.¹⁵ The field trip to the meetinghouse is juxtaposed with another field trip to Christ Church to explore the striking architectural and religious differences between the simplicity of the Quaker meetinghouse and the more ornate Anglican church.¹⁶ To retrace the steps of Johannes Kelpius, the seventeenth-century Rosicrucian monk from Transylvania who led a mystical religious order that met and meditated around a stone portal overlooking the Wissahickon Creek in the section of Fairmount Park between East Falls, Roxborough, and Manayunk, we read a recent cover story in the local weekly City Paper on the "Quest for Kelpius." Interested students with their own transportation can opt to join the professor for a weekend morning field trip to the site along the creek.¹⁷ Next we read John A. Hostetler's Amish Society, visit the Amish shops in Reading Terminal Market for lunch (Lancaster is a bit too far from campus for a trip during class time), and watch a variety of film clips on the Amish.¹⁸

After covering the settlement of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, I move into a discussion of religion in colonial Philadelphia through the American Revolution. I assign the first several chapters in Russell Weigley's edited tome, Philadelphia: A 300-Year History, and supplement it with lectures on early American urban history based on readings from Howard Chudacoff's Evolution of American Urban Society and primary sources from his volume on Major Problems in American Urban History as well as Edwin S. Gaustad's A Documentary History of Religion in America. 19 For the Enlightenment and Deism, we read excerpts from David L. Holmes's Faiths of the Founding Fathers, along with excerpts from Locke's Second Treatise on Government and the Declaration of Independence. We also watch clips from the HBO miniseries John Adams and visit the American Philosophical Society to see one of Jefferson's drafts of the Declaration. It also can be powerful to connect the past to the present at this juncture by reading and discussing the 2008 presidential campaign speech that Senator Barack Obama gave at the National Constitution Center, "A More Perfect Union" (widely available on the web). We continue discussion of religion in Revolutionary and early national Philadelphia by reading Richard Newman's book about Richard Allen, the founder of the African Methodist

Episcopal denomination, and we visit Mother Bethel Church and the excellent A.M.E. museum adjoining the tomb of Richard Allen in the basement.²⁰

We continue with the explosion of Protestant denominations in the early nineteenth century and the growth of Catholicism and Judaism in Philadelphia from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. We consider Federalist Papers 10 and 51 and the First Amendment by James Madison, along with selections from de Tocqueville's Democracy in America. Next comes a segment on Irish Catholic immigrants and the Philadelphia nativist riots of 1844, supplemented by a chapter from Katie Oxx's recent book, The Nativist Movement in America, and clips from the film Gangs of New York. 21 Isaac Weiner explores the new topic of religious sound and public space in a chapter about the clanging bells of Philadelphia's St. Mark's Episcopal Church in the late nineteenth century.²² For a discussion of religion, wealth, and social status among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in industrial-era Philadelphia there is another recent book, Church and Estate, by Thomas F. Rzeznik.²³ To explore the long history of Judaism in Philadelphia, we discuss readings that look back to colonial Jewish communities in the eighteenth century and the later arrival of Jews in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We also watch clips from a PBS special, The Jewish Americans, and visit either Rodeph Shalom or Mikveh Israel as well as the Chapel of Four Chaplains on Temple's campus, where the Protestant-Catholic-Jewish ethos born during World War II is enshrined in a nondenominational chapel built in the basement of the Baptist Temple (now the Temple Performing Arts Center).²⁴ The 2008 documentary film *Praying* with Lior also offers a moving look into the Jewish Reconstructionist community in Philadelphia and a rabbi's son with Down syndrome.²⁵ For Italians in Philadelphia, we read chapters from Robert Orsi's book on the festa of the Madonna in Italian Harlem in New York and compare it to religious processions in South Philadelphia by reading Richard Juliani's Priest, Parish, and People: Saving the Faith in Philadelphia's "Little Italy." 26

The course ends by tracing developments in African American religion in Philadelphia from the mid-twentieth century to the present, comparing different urban congregations and new religious movements, and exploring the religions of new immigrant communities. First we consider the dense concentration of black churches along Germantown Avenue with Katie Day's recent book, *Faith on the Avenue*.²⁷ For new religious movements in Philadelphia, the 2013 documentary film *Let the Fire Burn* offers a good look at the controversial standoff between MOVE and the police.²⁸ I sometimes include a class on (or at least a reference to) professional sports teams and fans in Philadelphia

as religion, which can be fun if the Eagles, Phillies, or Flyers are doing especially well. ²⁹ David Harrington Watt's *Bible-Carrying Christians* is a fine ethnographic analysis of three different conservative Protestant congregations (a megachurch, a Mennonite church, and a Church of Christ) and social power in Philadelphia. ³⁰ Finally, we end with a discussion of the religions of immigrants since the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 by reading from Diana Eck's *A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation* and by exploring the new religious landscape of the city, which now includes mosques and Hindu and Buddhist temples. ³¹ Of course, we do not always get to all of these readings or site visits, but I hope this overview shows something of the range of possible topics. There are many other readings and sites I have not mentioned that are on my list, so please consult other resources, such as the Old Philadelphia Congregations website, especially its main essay, "Philadelphia: Cradle of Religious Liberty."³²

Mapping Religion in Philadelphia

The culmination of the course is a semester-long paper project in which students focus on a person, place, or group of their choice associated with religion in Philadelphia or the Delaware Valley. For the assignment, students write a history of their chosen person, place, or group by doing archival research and relating their study to relevant historical context. Part of their research involves gathering sources, but students also need to explore the particular history of the neighborhood or area associated with this person, place, or group and trace its evolution up to the present. Philadelphia is rich in the number of sources for such projects. Temple's Paley Library has a good section on Philadelphia neighborhoods and is also home to the Urban Archives. The various branches of the Free Library of Philadelphia have many good sources on their particular neighborhoods, as do local historical societies and specialized libraries such as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. Finally, I encourage students to do basic ethnographic research that may involve oral history and/or observation and field notes. Over several years of teaching the class, students have covered virtually every neighborhood of the city and a wide range of persons, groups, and institutions.

Religion in Philadelphia Online

In the spring of 2012 I was asked to work on an online version of Religion in Philadelphia.³³ Our General Education Program (GenEd) had recently launched a Distance Learning Course Development initiative to "convert a new cohort of face-to-face courses and also to develop new online sections, thereby expanding the accessibility of needed courses to satellite campuses, adult learners, veterans/armed service members." Faculty who apply have to submit a proposal and gain approval from their department, dean, the director of the university's Office of Distance Learning, and the GenEd Executive Committee. Once approved, applicants are required to participate in a twenty-hour Virtual Teaching Program; they receive a stipend to develop and then teach the course.

Since I already had compiled a lot of content on Blackboard (daily writing assignments based on readings, PDFs, a discussion board, video clips, and external links) from teaching Religion in Philadelphia in the traditional classroom format over several years, I had a good head start for an online course. I had collaborated with several other faculty members who teach the course and a librarian who began working on an online course guide. The challenge was rethinking how to present the material in the most effective and engaging way—a process of conversion that takes a good deal of time and planning.

There are three different types of online courses at my university: courses that are fully online and require no virtual, campus, or face-to-face meetings; virtual courses that do require regular online meetings; and hybrid courses that blend virtual teaching with some amount of campus meetings (for instance, field trips). Religion in Philadelphia was designated as a fully online course, so this presented another challenge: how does one teach a course online that is so site specific? In the past, I typically led six field trips to different places of worship throughout the city.

The Virtual Teaching Program that I completed with a cohort of about a dozen other faculty members from a wide range of disciplines "met" online once a week over the summer using the Wimba Classroom program on Blackboard to discuss readings on a variety of topics related to distance learning and learn how to navigate and use all the different features of Wimba and several other online teaching platforms. In addition to the presentation of lecture material via PowerPoint slides on the Wimba Classroom eboard, we learned it is possible for the instructor to lecture and lead discussions as in a classroom but also to utilize a number of very powerful features that would not be possible in a face-to-face course. For instance, students can click on a button to "raise their hands" to ask a question. The system assigns a number to each student's "hand" depending

on the order in which he or she clicked the button. Students can click on an emoticon to express confusion, interest, request the instructor to slow down, or convey other messages. Students can be broken up into "breakout rooms" for group or individual work where they can write text on the screen. The instructor can toggle back and forth between windows to check in on each group or individual and interact with them. The online course environment seems to encourage some students who might otherwise be reserved in class to be more engaged. Students can be instructed to read a PDF or watch a video clip that resides on the Blackboard course website and then come back to the Wimba Classroom to discuss it (I have begun making short videos using my iPhone of various places of worship in the city and posting them on Blackboard). Another feature allows faculty to conduct polls and surveys. Lectures and sessions can also be "archived" (recorded) and saved for students to watch at any time. Finally, the audio and video features help make the online experience feel more personable and immediate. Assessment can be similar to a face-to-face course; quizzes can be completed on Blackboard, papers can be uploaded to SafeAssign on Blackboard, and participation/attendance can be based on the level and quality of interaction in the Wimba Classroom. Although Religion in Philadelphia was approved as a fully online course so that we would not be required to have virtual meetings, I wanted to try out some of the features of the Wimba Classroom and I made weekly virtual meetings optional.

The paper assignment on mapping religion in Philadelphia was largely unaffected by an online version of the course. Students still used the same course texts, but their research time in the university's library or even a branch of the public library was not equal to what a student on campus could do. As a result, online sources for papers are common, but here there is an opportunity to teach about the distinction between scholarly sources vs. unacceptable ones.

With students checking in at different times from different places, creating a sense of structure and community is something that faculty who teach online have to constantly keep in mind. However, when Wimba Classroom (or another online teaching platform such as WebEx) is combined with what one can do with all the other features of Blackboard, the possibilities for any course in an online environment are exciting.

Conclusion

Whether one teaches a course on religion in Philadelphia online or in the classroom, what educators ultimately need is a good survey textbook and perhaps

a primary source collection/reader on the religious history of Pennsylvania. In the meantime, librarian Fred Rowland in Paley Library at Temple has created an excellent online "Religion in Philadelphia Course Guide" for the class, which includes a comprehensive bibliography of books, journal articles, newspaper articles, websites, and films that will be of interest to anyone teaching the religious history of Philadelphia or Pennsylvania in general.³⁴ Finally, it is worth noting that the many texts discussed throughout this essay were not all used in one semester but have been adopted and tested at different times over the years in various forms (entire books or sometimes just excerpts), so it is possible to pick and choose based on the purposes and scope of a course. In the end, the goal is for students to reach their own conclusions about the role that religion has played in the history of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the Delaware Valley, the mid-Atlantic region, and the United States. Whether for a course focused on a particular geographic region or a general survey of American or religious history, Philadelphia's—and Pennsylvania's—experience can be used to explore the significance of religion in American life and the ways in which religious diversity has shaped our past—and our present.

NOTES

- For an illuminating discussion about questioning historical narrative(s) of American religious history, see the introduction in Thomas A. Tweed, ed., *Retelling U.S. Religious History* (Berkeley, CA, 1997).
- Robert A. Orsi, introduction to Gods of the City: Religion and the American Urban Landscape, ed. Robert A. Orsi (Bloomington, IN, 1999), 5.
- Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology 44 (1938): 1–24; Lewis Mumford, "What Is a City?" Architectural Record 82 (Nov. 1937): 56–62.
- 4. Orsi, introduction to Gods of the City, 45.
- 5. Ibid., 41.
- Jay P. Dolan, "The Immigrants and Their Gods: A New Perspective in American Religious History," in *Religion in American History: A Reader*, ed. Jon Butler and Harry S. Stout (New York, 1998), 150.
- Allen F. Davis, preface to The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790–1940, ed. Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (1973; Philadelphia, 1998), ix.
- 8. Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The City in American History," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 27 (1940): 43–66.
- Randall Balmer, introduction to Religion and Public Life in the Middle Atlantic Region: The Fount of Diversity, ed. Randall Balmer and Mark Silk (Lanham, MD, 2006), 9.

- 10. See Bruce Grelle and D. Keith Naylor, guest eds., "Spotlight on Teaching about Religion in the Schools," special issue, AAR Religious Studies News 17, no. 2 (2002), https://www.aarweb.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/RSN/Print%20Back%20Issues/2002-02MAR.pdf; the Oxford University Press's Religion in American Life series, ed. Jon Butler and Harry S. Stout; and Stephen Prothero, Religious Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know—And Doesn't (New York, 2007).
- Prothero, Religious Literacy; Catherine L. Albanese, America: Religion and Religions, 5th ed. (Belmont, CA, 2012).
- The bibliography of good works on early American religion that have some focus on Philadelphia and Pennsylvania is extensive. In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see: Gregory Evans Dowd, War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire (Baltimore, 2002); Craig D. Atwood, Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem (University Park, PA, 2004); Jeff Bach, Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata (University Park, PA, 2002); Katherine Carté Engel, Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America (Philadelphia, PA, 2009); Aaron Spencer Fogleman, Jesus Is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America (Philadelphia, 2007); Beverly Smaby, The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy (Philadelphia, 1988); Mark Häberlein, The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820 (University Park, PA, 2009); Rebecca Larson, Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775 (New York, 1999); Jack D. Marietta, The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783 (Philadelphia, 1984); Jean R. Soderlund, Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit (Princeton, NJ, 1985); Stephen L. Longenecker, Piety and Tolerance: Pennsylvania German Religion, 1700-1850 (Metuchen, NJ, 1994); Janet Moore Lindman, Bodies of Belief: Baptist Community in Early America (Philadelphia, 2008); Margaret C. Reynolds, Plain Women: Gender and Ritual in the Old Order River Brethren (University Park, PA, 2001).
- 13. See Paul A. W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1981); William A. Young, "The Lenape (Delaware): The Grandfather Nation," in Quest for Harmony: Native American Spiritual Traditions (New York, 2002); and Kevin Kenny, Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment (New York, 2009).
- Black Robe, directed by Bruce Beresford (Alliance Communications Co. and Samson Productions, 1991).
- David Hackett Fischer, "The Friends' Migration, 1675–1725," in Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York, 1989).
- Also see Deborah Mathias Gough, "Founding an Anglican Church in a Quaker Colony," in Christ Church, Philadelphia: The Nation's Church in a Changing City (Philadelphia, 1995).
- 17. Ryan Briggs, "The Quest for Kelpius," *Philadelphia City Paper*, Nov. 7, 2013, http://citypaper.net/ Cover/300-years-later-the-mystic-of-the-Wissahickon-still-has-a-following/. The online version of this article lists the publication date erroneously as 2012.
- 18. John A. Hostetler, Amish Society, 4th ed. (Baltimore, 1993). There are many film-clip options for the Amish, but I like to use Trouble in Amish Paradise, a 2009 BBC documentary available on YouTube and also at http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/trouble-in-amish-paradise/ and "A Bill Moyers Essay—On Amish Grace," Oct. 5, 2007, a PBS news segment about the 2006 tragedy in

- Nickel Mines, PA, also available on YouTube and http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/10052007/watch4.html.
- 19. Russell F. Weigley, ed., Philadelphia: A 300-Year History (New York, 1982); Howard P. Chudacoff and Judith E. Smith, eds., The Evolution of American Urban Society, 7th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 2005); and Howard P. Chudacoff and Peter C. Baldwin, Major Problems in American Urban and Suburban History, 2nd ed. (Boston, 2005); Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., A Documentary History of Religion in America, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1982–83).
- 20. David L. Holmes, The Faiths of the Founding Fathers (New York, 2006); John Adams, directed by Tom Hooper (HBO miniseries, 2008); Barack Obama, "A More Perfect Union" (speech, National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, PA, Mar. 18, 2008), at, among other sites, http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2008/03/18/text-of-obamas-speech-a-more-perfect-union/; Richard S. Newman, Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers (New York, 2009).
- 21. Katie Oxx, The Nativist Movement in America: Religious Conflict in the 19th Century (New York, 2013); Gangs of New York, directed by Martin Scorsese (Miramax, 2003). Also see Kenneth W. Milano, The Philadelphia Nativist Riots: Irish Kensington Erupts (Charleston, SC, 2013).
- Isaac Weiner, "Church Bells in the Industrial City," in Religion Out Loud: Religious Sound, Public Space, and American Pluralism (New York, 2014).
- 23. Thomas F. Rzeznik, Church and Estate: Religion and Wealth in Industrial-Era Philadelphia (University Park, PA, 2013). Also see Thomas F. Rzeznik, "Representatives of All that is Noble': The Rise of the Episcopal Establishment in Early Twentieth Century Philadelphia," Religion and American Culture 19 (2009): 69–100.
- Murray Friedman, Jewish Life in Philadelphia, 1830–1940 (Philadelphia, 1983); The Jewish Americans, directed by David Grubin (PBS, 2008).
- 25. Praying with Lior, directed by Ilana Trachtman (Ruby Pictures, 2008).
- Robert A. Orsi, The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950,
 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT, 2010); Richard N. Juliani, Priest, Parish, and People: Saving the Faith in Philadelphia's "Little Italy" (Notre Dame, IN, 2006).
- Katie Day, with photographs by Edd Conboy, Faith on the Avenue: Religion on a City Street (New York, 2014).
- 28. Let the Fire Burn, directed by Jason Osder (Amigo Media, 2013).
- For prayer and sports, see Julie Byrne, "Praying for the Team," in O God of Players: The Story of the Immaculata Mighty Macs (New York, 2003).
- David Harrington Watt, Bible-Carrying Christians: Conservative Protestants and Social Power (New York, 2002).
- 31. Diana L. Eck, A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation (San Francisco, 2002). Also see the resources for Philadelphia and Pennsylvania on the related Harvard University Pluralism Project website, http://www.pluralism.org.
- "Philadelphia: Cradle of Religious Liberty," Old Philadelphia Congregations website, http:// www.holyexperiment.org/pages/b_text.html.
- 33. R. Scott Hanson, "Piloting an Online Course in the City of Neighborhoods," *Temple University Faculty Herald* 43, no. 1 (2012), http://www.temple.edu/herald/43_1/PilotinganOnlineCoursein theCityofNeighborhoods.htm.
- 34. See http://guides.temple.edu/religionphiladelphia.