

1995

Creationism in Twentieth-century America: The Antievolution Pamphlets of William Bell Riley

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INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to overstate William Bell Riley's importance to the early fundamentalist movement; it is well-nigh impossible to exaggerate his prodigious energy. In the years between the world wars, when he was in his 60s and 70s and pastor of a church with thousands of members, Riley founded and directed the first interdenominational organization of fundamentalists, served as an active leader of the fundamentalist faction in the Northern Baptist Convention, edited a variety of fundamentalist periodicals, wrote innumerable books and articles and pamphlets (including, in the less-polemical vein, a forty-volume exposition of the entire Bible), presided over a fundamentalist Bible school and its expanding network of churches, and masterminded a fundamentalist takeover of the Minnesota Baptist Convention. Besides all this, in these years William Bell Riley also established himself as one of the leading antievolutionists in America.

This volume consists of nine antievolution pamphlets that Riley wrote and published in the interwar years. The introduction provides a brief synopsis of Riley's antievolutionist ideas and activities, with some effort to place this work in the larger context of Riley's career, and includes discussion of these pamphlets.¹

William Bell Riley was born on March 22, 1861, in Green County, Indiana. The Civil War broke out soon thereafter, and his father, a native Southerner, moved the family across the Ohio into Kentucky. At an early age Riley was put to work on the family tobacco farm, but the ambitious and bright young man had no intention of spending his life plowing the fields. Enthralled with the trials he witnessed in the county courthouse, Riley originally planned to become an attorney. But at the age of twenty, Riley, whose parents were devout evangelicals, surrendered to a "divine call" to become a preacher.

Riley scraped together the funds to attend Hanover College, a small Presbyterian school in Indiana. Graduating in 1885 (ranking first in debate, it should be noted), he immediately went on to Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, where the conservative theology of his childhood was reinforced. After graduation in 1888 Riley served as a pastor in Lafayette, Indiana, followed by a

ministerial stint in Bloomington, Illinois. Then, in 1893, Riley accepted the pastorate of Calvary Baptist Church in Chicago. Riley had dreamed of creating a great urban church; now he had the chance. He seemed to be succeeding, as membership increased rapidly. Riley soon came to the conclusion, however, that he could have more impact in a city that was not quite so large. Hence, in 1897 he accepted the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis.

Riley immediately began shaping his new church into a center of evangelism. Sunday morning services always ended with an altar call, and Sunday evening and weekday services were revivalistic in nature. The tall, handsome preacher with a magnetic personality and powerful voice enjoyed remarkable success: within one year membership had jumped from 585 to 855. Over the next decade the church continued to grow rapidly; by 1942, when Riley retired from the pulpit, First Baptist Church had 3,550 members.

Whether at First Baptist or out on one of his revival swings through the Midwest, Riley preached a theologically conservative message, including an emphasis on the deity of Christ, Christ's vicarious atonement and bodily resurrection, the sinfulness of human beings, and their justification by faith. Two types of doctrines were of particular importance, doctrines that had become popular in evangelical circles in the late nineteenth century and would come to serve as the pillars of fundamentalist theology. First was the notion of biblical inerrancy: Riley asserted that the Bible was verbally inspired of God, and hence literally accurate, without error. Second, and connected to the first, was Riley's belief in the personal, premillennial, and imminent return of Jesus Christ. Riley was committed to dispensationalism, a form of premillennialism that holds that: history is segmented into dispensations; read literally, biblical prophecies are a certain guide to the past, present, and future of human experience; and, Christ's kingdom belongs solely to a future age, with the present age marked by widespread decadence in society and apostasy in the church.

The young minister could see apostasy (as well as decadence) sprouting up all around him. Riley was horrified that so-called Christians were championing a liberal or modernist theology that took a sociohistorical view of the Bible, denying its divine inspiration and bringing into question the veracity of the biblical accounts of miracles and other supernatural events (including the Virgin Birth and bodily resurrection of Christ). Not one to keep quiet, in 1909 the agitated minister and evangelist went on the attack with the publication of a book entitled *The Finality of the*

Higher Criticism; or, The Theory of Evolution and False Theology. As the title makes quite clear, Riley was convinced that this "false theology" was the natural outgrowth of an acceptance of evolutionary philosophy; to put it another way, from the beginning, antievolution was central to Riley's antimodernism. Two chapters in *Finality* dealt directly with evolutionism; they were later reprinted separately as pamphlets, with different titles and very minor revisions, and are included in this collection: *The Scientific Accuracy of the Sacred Scriptures* (1920) and *Darwinism; or, Is Man a Developed Monkey?* (1929).

In the preface to *Finality* Riley proposed that conservatives unite to fight the liberals and their theology. At the time Riley's call went unheeded. But then came World War I. Americans were thrown into a state of cultural alarm, as they worried that "German barbarism" would swamp American civilization. Conservative evangelicals, caught up in this cultural anxiety, became much more receptive to attacks on modernist theology and evolutionary philosophy, particularly given that such ideas had become associated with German thought. Riley himself became increasingly strident in the war years; his 1917 book, *The Menace of Modernism*, is much more alarmist than *Finality of Higher Criticism*, particularly as regards the author's conviction that liberal theology and Darwinism had captured higher education in America, including many church-related colleges.

By the end of the war years Riley, through his publications and through his work in organizing and addressing prophecy conferences (which World War I made quite popular), had established himself as a minor religious figure on the national scene. At war's end he moved to center stage. Determined to take advantage of the growing anxieties among conservative evangelicals, Riley organized a World Conference on the Fundamentals of the Faith, which was held May 25–June 1, 1919, in Philadelphia. Over 6,000 people attended. Riley delivered the keynote address, in which he proclaimed that this meeting was "an event of more historic moment than the nailing up, at Wittenberg, of Martin Luther's ninety-five Theses."²

As Riley saw it, what made this gathering historic was that it marked the creation of an interdenominational organization, the World's Christian Fundamentals Association (WCFA), which would actively promote the "true gospel" and aggressively combat the advances of modernism. As its initial goal, the WCFA, with Riley as president, sought the elimination of modernist theology from Protestant denominations. Toward that end, the organization began with a bang: a well-publicized national tour and the estab-

lishment of committees that were charged with developing lists of WCFA-recommended ("Bible-believing") colleges, seminaries, and missions organizations.

It soon became clear, however, that the WCFA would not be able to eliminate modernism from the established denominations. As an outside organization there were limits to what the WCFA could do to force changes, and Riley and company steadfastly refused to establish the WCFA as an alternative denomination. Hence, by 1922 or so the WCFA began to place less emphasis on cleansing the major denominations; this task would be left to antimodernist efforts from within, as exemplified by W.B. Riley's (failed) crusade in the Northern Baptist Convention.

Instead, the Riley-led WCFA turned its attention from eliminating modernism from the denominations to removing evolution from public schools, state universities, and church colleges. This was certainly a natural move for Riley, given that, as noted above, as early as 1909 Riley had concluded that evolution was a lethal threat to church and society. In the 1920s Riley published a number of pieces dealing with this topic, including the two pamphlets mentioned above. He also wrote *Inspiration or Evolution?*, which eventually went through three editions, and which included two chapters that were also printed as pamphlets (and are included in this volume): *The Theory of Evolution—Does It Tend to Anarchy?* (192?); and *The Theory of Evolution—Does It Tend to Atheism?* (192?)

In the spring of 1922 Riley, in the official WCFA periodical, *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church*, published an editorial entitled "The Evolution Controversy!" An opening salvo in the antievolution crusade, this brief piece neatly summarizes Riley's argument against the teaching of evolution. He begins by asserting that the "first and most important reason for its elimination [from the classroom] is in the unquestioned fact that evolution is not a science; it is a hypothesis only, a speculation."³ Riley makes this point repeatedly, obsessively, in his writings; for Riley, and for other fundamentalist antievolutionists, science was defined in a very commonsensical way: "knowledge gained and verified by exact observation and correct thinking." Evolution, a "theory," a mere collection of suppositions and guesses, failed to meet this standard. The requisite supporting evidence simply did not exist: evolutionists could provide no proof that life can originate from nothing, nor could they give a single example of "one species actually evolving into another."⁴

Not only was evolution unscientific, but, as Riley goes on to argue in "The Evolution Controversy!," the theory "doesn't harmo-

nize with Scripture.”⁵ Whatever modernists might say, the Genesis account of creation and *Origin of Species* simply could not be reconciled. More than this, there was “an utter inharmony between evolution and the Christian faith.” As Riley saw it, to accept evolution was to abandon the fundamentals of the Christian faith. As Riley asserted in 1925, the evidence of this point was overwhelming: “there is not in America today one living minister who holds at the same time to the evolutionary hypothesis and to the full inspiration of the Bible, the very deity of Christ, and the blood atonement.”⁶ In fact, as Riley underscores in his pamphlet *The Theory of Evolution—Does It Tend to Atheism?*, to accept evolutionism was to move toward seeing God as an impersonal force, or even rejecting God altogether.

This said, Riley was also at great pains, as were his antievolutionist compatriots, to make clear that the Bible was perfectly congruent with “true science.” Many of Riley’s antievolutionist writings, including a number of pamphlets in this volume, sought to demonstrate that the best scientific research confirms the veracity of the Biblical record. Riley pointed out in a 1925 article that biology has revealed that the first chapter of Genesis is correct in noting that each species produces “after its kind”; that geology has demonstrated that the “order of creation is exactly that found” in Genesis; and that all the sciences provide proof of the fact that, as noted in Genesis 1, God has given humans “lordship of the earth and all that is in it.”⁷

Regarding the Genesis creation account, it should be noted that William Bell Riley held to a “day-age” theory. That is, Riley believed that “the days of Genesis are aeons, ages, geological days, days of God and not days of men.”⁸ He briefly makes this argument in the pamphlet *The Scientific Accuracy of the Sacred Scriptures* (contained in this volume). A much fuller articulation of his day-age views came in a friendly 1929 debate with fellow antievolutionist Harry Rimmer, in which Riley asserted that “if we consider the progressive character of creation as found in nature, creative days [periods] are argued; if we consider the testimony of geology, creative days are absolutely demanded.” That Riley held such a view is a significant example of the point that Ronald Numbers has argued: until the last few decades most creationists “readily conceded that the Bible allowed for an ancient earth and pre-Edenic life.”⁹ (That Riley may have changed his mind on this point is also significant—see below.)

Riley opposed the teaching of evolution because it was both unscientific and un-Christian. But it is interesting to note that Riley often devoted the most attention and the most passion to

evolutionism's dreadful social impact. This was certainly true in the aforementioned editorial, "The Evolution Controversy!" In this piece Riley, as he often did in the 1920s, used Germany as his example: the Germans' acceptance of the idea of "the survival of the fittest" led them to believe that they had the right to expand their boundaries and increase their power, without regard for the rights of neighboring nations. The result was "war, with all its attendant iniquities," including "the world's financial and moral bankruptcy." Unfortunately for the world, the Great War would not be the last of Darwinism's "baneful effects." As more people accepted the evolutionary philosophy, as more people came to see themselves as merely animals "in a higher state of development," as more people came to deny their divine origins, the result would be that "the moral foundations on which the greatest of the world's modern states rest, can no longer be retained against the rising tide of this so-called science, but will be swept out of their places, gnarled, twisted, torn, and finally flung on the banks of time's tide."¹⁰ (For even more vivid descriptions of the social impact of evolution, see Riley's pamphlet, *The Theory of Evolution—Does It Tend to Anarchy?*)

In response to this threat facing both church and society, in the early 1920s William Bell Riley led his World's Christian Fundamentals Association to war against the evolutionists. One part of this fight involved the organization's president in verbal duels with the enemy. Riley challenged any and all comers to debate the merits of the issue. While some prominent proponents of evolutionism (e.g., Clarence Darrow) ducked the combative WCFA president (in the process incurring Riley's public ridicule), others took him up on his challenge, including Edward Adams Cantrell of the American Civil Liberties Union; English rationalist Joseph McCabe; Charles Smith, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism; and Maynard Shipley, president of the Science League of America.

Debating Riley must have been a disconcerting experience for many of Riley's opponents, particularly for those individuals who assumed that they would be engaging in an academic disputation. Riley's first debate, in May, 1922, is illustrative. Riley was scheduled to lead a WCFA Bible conference in Raleigh, North Carolina. On the morning of his arrival he read in the paper an article written by six North Carolina State College professors, in which they "savagely disputed" the fundamentalist claim that evolution was antithetical to the Christian faith. Riley immediately sent a message to all six professors, challenging them to a public debate. When they did not respond, Riley began making phone calls;

finally, one of the professors, biologist Z.P. Metcalf, agreed to go up against Riley.¹¹ The debate was held in the college's Pullen Hall, which was jammed to capacity. Actually, in many ways it was more of a sporting event than a debate; as a local reporter noted, for "a full hour and a half the crowd that jammed the hall . . . yelled and whistled, clapped their hands, and pounded the floor with their feet." Metcalf read a scholarly paper, establishing in some detail the geological and biological evidence for evolution. Then it was Riley's turn. He did not deliver a prepared speech. Instead, to quote the reporter on the scene, he relied upon his crowd-pleasing "ability as a ready speaker": "Dr. Riley shifted the attack with bewildering movement, at one moment reciting an anecdote that left his supporters howling . . . and the next delivering some cryptic indictment with sharp, incisive sentences." At "one point he picked up a volume on evolution, and turned to some pictures of pre-historic men. He made to do about pronouncing their names, ridiculed them, [and said:] 'Come up here after the debate and look at these pictures, and I am sure you will see somebody who looks just like them when you get down town.'"¹²

When the debate was over, Riley pressed Metcalf to permit a vote of the audience on the question. While in this instance Metcalf demurred, such "rising votes" would become a hallmark of Riley debates. Given his skills in verbal combat, and given that he often packed the audience with sympathetic fundamentalists, it is not surprising that most of Riley's twenty-eight debates resulted in substantial majorities for the indomitable Baptist preacher. His triumphs certainly gave him and his supporters no end of satisfaction. At the age of 84 he was still gloating over his victories: "I sincerely regret that its [evolutionism's] advocates decided to abandon the field of debate; I cannot blame them!"¹³

In the crusade against evolution William Bell Riley was not simply interested in debating the enemy. He also wanted his World's Christian Fundamentals Association to become politically mobilized, the goal being to make illegal the teaching of evolution in America's public schools. As Riley noted in the winter of 1923, it was imperative that good Christians unite to stop unscrupulous educators from their deadly task of surreptitiously spreading the "tares of evolution": "There are hundreds of teachers whose hands ought to be stayed from this broad-casting, and hundreds of text books that ought to be excluded before their teachings take root in the garden of the Lord, the Home, . . . the Church and the World." To those who might object, on grounds of "free thought and free speech," to such a campaign on the part of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association, Riley responded:

"let the parent and tax payer, whose most vital interests—children—are being injured" remind critics "that where our fence is built and our fields begin, infidel liberties end!"¹⁴

In response to Riley's call, by 1923 the WCFA had organized campaigns throughout the United States, hoping to put enough public pressure on state legislators that they would ban the teaching of evolution in their particular state. Riley himself led the WCFA troops into a number of Southern states. One of those states was Tennessee, where, in early 1925, the state legislature passed an antievolution bill.

When John Thomas Scopes and the American Civil Liberties Union challenged the Tennessee statute, Riley immediately decided that the World's Christian Fundamentals Association must become involved in what could be an important test case. At the 1925 convention, which was held, quite appropriately, in Memphis, the WCFA passed a resolution pledging its support of the state of Tennessee in defending its "righteous law." In particular, "the organization 'propose[d] to employ one of the most capable of living attorneys . . . in behalf of our Association and in the interests of both Christianity and American civilization,' promising him 'whatever support is needful to . . . conserve the righteous law of the Commonwealth of Tennessee.'" ¹⁵

Of course, the attorney referred to in the WCFA resolution was William Jennings Bryan. Given Bryan's antievolution activities and national prominence, he was a natural choice. According to Riley, Bryan "agreed immediately" to Riley's request (although he did decline the WCFA offer of compensation). Yet Riley, who made much of the fact that he took the lead in opposing Scopes, and who made much of his role in securing Bryan for the prosecution, did not attend the trial. Bryan implored him to be there; Riley, however, was caught up in the fight over doctrinal requirements for Northern Baptist missionaries, and hence instead attended the denominational convention in Seattle (a useful reminder that Riley's fundamentalist exertions always involved more than antievolution). From afar Riley concluded that Bryan had won a "*signal conquest*" (emphasis his), convincing not only judges and jurors, but also "an intelligent world." As Riley saw it, the antievolutionists' victory was marred by only two things: first, unfair press coverage on the part of "disgusting blood-suckers" who themselves were "steeped" in evolutionism; and second, Bryan's death soon after the trial. But regarding the latter, Riley saw a silver lining: "The cause in behalf of which he had sacrificed his life, fundamentalism, took fresh hold upon the earth, new faith being engendered, and new friends being instantly raised up."¹⁶

In this regard Riley could have been referring to the flurry of WCFA antievolution activities immediately after the Scopes trial. As far as he was concerned, the most important of these efforts took place in Minnesota; in fact, the antievolution crusade in Riley's home state marks the high point of his antievolution activities.

In 1923 Riley had created the Minnesota Anti-Evolution League, which had as its goal the elimination of "the teaching of the unproven evolutionary hypothesis . . . from the tax-supported schools," particularly given that this "theory is constantly being made the occasion of opposition to Scripture, and often of scoffing the Christian faith."¹⁷ But the League did little in its early years. It was not until 1926 that Riley went on the attack. The spark was a decision by University of Minnesota administrators not to allow Riley to give an antievolution address on campus. Infuriated, Riley responded by renting the nearby Kenwood Armory. On March 7, with over 5,000 people in attendance, Riley gave a rip-roaring speech, in which he blasted the school's administration for inculcating students with an atheistic "philosophy masquerading as a science," and in which he called on those in attendance to join with the Anti-Evolution League in "demand[ing] that the University which belongs to us all . . . not become the personal property of a dozen regents or a hundred Darwinized or Germanized, deceived and faithless professors!"¹⁸

Encouraged by the public support he received, Riley decided the time was ripe for a state antievolution law. He drafted a bill, which was introduced into the state legislature, prohibiting all tax-supported educational institutions (including the University of Minnesota) from "teaching that mankind either descended or ascended from a lower order of animals." In an effort to increase popular pressure on the legislators, Riley and other WCFA speakers (including Gerald Winrod) crisscrossed the state, speaking in over 200 towns about the evils of evolution and the virtues of Riley's bill. On March 8, 1927, almost one year to the day after his dramatic speech at the armory, Riley concluded his campaign with a speech in the state legislature. But his address, in which he claimed that his bill was popular with college undergraduates (if not their professors), was undercut by the revelation that 6,500 University of Minnesota students had signed a petition against the proposed antievolution law. The next day the vote was taken. The Riley bill was overwhelmingly defeated, 55 to 7.

Afterward Riley bravely proclaimed that the Minnesota fight was only the first skirmish of the battle to outlaw the teaching of evolution.¹⁹ But the reality was that this dismal failure was a

crushing blow to Riley's national antievolution crusade. The Minnesota experience proved that, outside the South, there was little enthusiasm for legislation on the order of Riley's bill; to many folks such a law seemed a grave threat to the separation of church and state. In short, except for some work in Arkansas in 1928, the Minnesota debacle signalled the end of William Bell Riley's efforts to secure antievolution legislation.

In a larger sense it signalled the end of Riley's national fundamentalist crusade. With the collapse of the antievolution effort Riley's World's Christian Fundamentals Association shrunk, then slipped into oblivion; Riley himself quit the WCFA presidency in 1929. Over the next two decades Riley concentrated much of his energies at the local and regional level. Much of his work involved Northwestern Bible School, which he had started in 1902 with seven students in a tiny room in his First Baptist Church. By 1946 the Northwestern Schools (Bible School, College, and Seminary) enrolled 700 day and 1,000 evening students; more than this, Northwestern had become the center of a regional fundamentalist enterprise, providing pastors, church workers, and religious literature for a network of conservative churches throughout the upper Midwest. In effect, Riley presided over a regional fundamentalist empire, a role that allowed him and his fundamentalist allies (many of whom were Northwestern graduates) to capture control of the Minnesota Baptist Convention in the late 1930s.

Besides working to advance fundamentalism in the upper Midwest, Riley devoted much energy in the 1930s to propagating an anti-Semitic, conspiratorial theory of world events. Borrowing heavily from the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Riley asserted, in numerous pamphlets and articles, that the international Jewish-Bolshevik cabal was steadily, covertly working to grasp control of the world's governments and finances, toward that day when the "king despot of Zion" would control the world. While it was obvious that the conspiracy was at work in America, controlling both the media and Franklin Roosevelt's collectivist New Deal, the "Protocol plan" was most advanced in the Soviet Union, where Jew-Bolsheviks had fully implemented their program (which included state-controlled socialism and state-imposed atheism). According to Riley, the one world leader who correctly understood the threat posed by the Jewish conspiracy was Germany's Adolf Hitler, who heroically worked to foil the Jews' nefarious plot.

What is important is that Riley perceived evolutionism to be an integral part of the Jewish conspiratorial program. Through

"his study of the Bolshevik rule of Russia," Riley concluded that the Jewish bosses had simply shifted from "god to gorilla," applying "the philosophy of Darwin . . . to politics in the enslavement or even murder" of their opponents. In the United States the Jewish conspiracy, which "largely controls our higher education today," was aggressively promoting evolutionism in the classroom. And on a personal note, in a 1936 sermon Riley bitterly noted that, not surprisingly, it was "young atheist Jews" who were his "most annoying hecklers" when he was out on the stump lecturing against evolution.²⁰

There is no evidence that Riley, who died in 1947, ever abandoned his belief in an international Jewish-Bolshevik-Darwinist conspiracy. On the other hand, perhaps in response to the threat of government prosecution, after 1940 Riley did cease to defend Hitler. In fact, in 1941 Riley published *Hitlerism: or, The Philosophy of Evolution in Action*, which is included in this volume, and which is remarkably similar to Riley's attacks on Darwinized Germany two decades earlier.

While much of his work after 1930 was devoted to building a regional fundamentalist empire and propagating anti-Semitic conspiratorialism, in the 1930s and 1940s Riley continued to deliver sermons and write articles and tracts in which he fervently attacked the weaknesses and evils of evolution. Besides *Hitlerism*, four antievolution pamphlets from these years are included in this volume: *Are the Scriptures Scientific?* (1936); *Darwin's Philosophy and the Flood* (193?); *Evolution—A False Philosophy* (193?); and *The Theory of Evolution Tested by Mathematics* (193?).

One point needs to be made regarding Riley's antievolutionism in these years: he may have been moving away from the day-age theory he advocated in the 1920s and toward George McCready Price's flood geology, which limits life on earth to about six thousand years. There is some negative evidence in this regard. In *Are the Scriptures Scientific?*, a revised (and more strident) version of his 1920 pamphlet *The Scientific Accuracy of the Sacred Scriptures*, Riley completely excised the section dealing with the day-age theory. On the positive side, in his pamphlet *Darwin's Philosophy and the Flood* Riley repeats many of the arguments advanced by Price, including arguments that bear directly on the notion that there has been life on earth for only a few thousand years. While Price's name is not mentioned in this pamphlet, in a later article Riley gives him his due, noting that "some of us believe that the enigma of geology," including the coal beds and the marks on the rocks that were erroneously credited to the ice

age, "will never be explained until Price's theory on flood geology is accepted."²¹

It would be nice to argue here that William Bell Riley embodies the recent, dramatic shift in creationism away from, to quote Ronald Numbers, "theories that allowed the history of life on earth to span millions of years to a doctrine . . . that compressed earth history into no more than ten thousand years." But it must be noted that many of the early antievolutionists promoted Price's ideas without really understanding that flood geology was incompatible with concepts such as the day-age theory.²² This may apply to Riley: while he removed the "day-age section" from *Are the Scriptures Scientific?*, in that very same pamphlet he refers to Genesis days as "creative periods" that correspond with geological ages, language that certainly conjurs up Riley's defense of a day-age theory of creation, whatever his sympathies with flood geology.

When Riley wrote against evolution, he was more interested in scoring points against the enemy than in maintaining logical consistency in his argument. Even if he had been so inclined, Riley would have been hard-pressed to maintain a coherent antievolution argument, given that he was not a scientist, or even moderately informed in the sciences. But that is not the point. Riley believed in his bones that evolution was a dangerous threat to church, society, and the world. For that reason he wrote and spoke against evolution for four decades. What matters most about William Bell Riley the antievolutionist is that, as perhaps the most important fundamentalist leader of his generation, no one did more to tie the fundamentalist movement to antievolutionism. This legacy remains with us today.

NOTES

1. For a more complete discussion of Riley's career, from which some of this essay is derived, see William Vance Trollinger, Jr., *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), esp. chs. 2-3.
2. William Bell Riley, *The Great Divide; or, Christ and the Present Crisis* (Philadelphia: Bible Conference Committee, 1919): 3.
3. [William Bell Riley], "The Evolution Controversy!," *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church* 4 (April-June, 1922): 5.
4. William Bell Riley, "The World's Christian Fundamentals Association and the Scopes Trial," *Christian Fundamentals in School*

- and Church 7(October–December, 1925): 40–42. Regarding fundamentalists and their definition of science, see George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 19–20, 214–15; and Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 50–53.
5. "The Evolution Controversy!," 6.
 6. William Bell Riley, "Bryan, the Great Commoner and Christian," *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church* 7(October–December 1925): 10. This point about the conflict between evolutionism and orthodox Christianity is central to *The Finality of the Higher Criticism and Inspiration or Evolution?*
 7. Riley, "WCFA and the Scopes Trial," 46–47.
 8. William Bell Riley and Harry Rimmer, *A Debate: Resolved, that the Creative Days in Genesis Were Aeons, Not Solar Days* (n.p., 1929), 6.
 9. Riley and Rimmer, *Debate*, 16; Numbers, *The Creationists*, x.
 10. "The Evolution Controversy!" 5.
 11. Marie Acomb Riley, *The Dynamic of a Dream: The Life Story of Dr. William B. Riley* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1938), 110–111.
 12. "Dr. W.B. Riley of Minneapolis and Dr. Z.P. Metcalf of Raleigh State College in Debate," *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church* 4(July–September 1922): 11–15.
 13. William Bell Riley, "The Sickly Birth of Evolution," *The Northwestern Pilot* 26(October, 1945):3.
 14. William Bell Riley, "Shall We Tolerate Longer the Teaching of Evolution?," *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church* 5 (January–March 1923): 82–86.
 15. Riley, "WCFA and the Scopes Trial," 37–28.
 16. Riley, "Bryan, the Great Commoner and Christian," 5–11, 37.
 17. "Organization of Anti-Evolution League," *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church* 5 (January–March 1923): 66–67.
 18. "Riley Assails 'U' As Fostering State Atheism," *Minneapolis Tribune*, March 8, 1926.
 19. Ferenc Morton Szasz, "William B. Riley and the Fight Against Teaching of Evolution in Minnesota," *Minnesota History* 41(Spring 1969): 201–16.
 20. M.A. Riley, *Dynamic*, 188; William Bell Riley, *Protocols and Communism* (Minneapolis: L.W. Camp, 1934), 14; William Bell Riley, sermon given at the First Baptist Church, Minneapolis, Minn., October 18, 1936, reported by Charles I. Cooper and S.W., Box 54: "Subversive Activities: Minnesota, 1936," Jewish Community Re-

lations Council of Minnesota Papers, Minnesota State Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

21. William Bell Riley, "Prophecy and Past History," *The Northwestern Pilot* 26(Nov. 1945): 57.

22. Numbers, *The Creationists*, x-xi, 96-101.