After the Garden is Gone: Megachurches, Pastoral, and Theologies of Consumption

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Andrew Battista

After the Garden is Gone:
Megachurches, Pastoral, and Theologies of Consumption

I went to the Garden of Love,
And saw what I never had seen:
A Chapel was built in the midst,
Where I used to play on the green.
—William Blake, “The Garden of Love”

This past April I visited Southland Christian Church in Lexington, KY, and was invited to attend a Poor Man’s After-Tax Dinner. Southland, located on a verdant 115-acre plot in the rapidly disappearing farmland between Lexington and Jessamine County, hosted a catered meal and a performance by the Dale Adams Band. Southland’s website promoted the evening by asking, “Did you have to pay when you filed taxes? This month’s Gathering is designed to help you to forget your IRS woes.” The After-Tax Dinner, it seems, was meant to console members of Southland’s flock, whose wallets ached after filing for the April 15th deadline. And, assuming that the late-model luxury SUVs in the church parking lots correspond to the financial wherewithal of Southland’s members, one might also assume that the dinner was an unqualified success, a welcome reprieve for those worshipper-consumers who belong to the bracket most taxed after having rendered their money unto Caesar.

Southland is Lexington’s largest megachurch. With at least 8,000 people attending each week and an operating budget sizable enough to sustain a staff of over eighty people, Southland exceeds most U.S. congregations in terms of financial resources and social clout. The church is similar to many other gargantuan worship centers, in that it claims to welcome diversity but is comprised mainly of a white, educated, middle-class core. According to the Hartford Institute for Religion Research, which has provided the most thorough research about the megachurch movement available thus far, megachurch members are “more affluent on average than churchgoers of the nation as a whole.” Over one-fourth of megachurch attendees have a household income of over $100,000, and nearly two-thirds make at least $50,000. Southland, a massive estate that many Lexington residents pejoratively refer to as “Six Flags over Jesus,” is one example of a trend where evangelical Christians abandon modestly sized Mainline Protestant congregations, often located in downtown areas, and instead attend large-scale, non-denominational worship and entertainment venues that occupy expansive suburban and exurban properties. Since the early 1990s, scholarly and popular critics note that megachurches have proliferated by attracting sojourners who are disgruntled with Mainline Protestantism and its “irrelevant” rituals, and they have also burgeoned by enticing a large cohort of people who are new to organized and institutionalized religion.

Megachurches have been successful because they convince such spiritual nomads to join a new fold, where they can embark on a chic, Christian journey and chat about it over coffee in the church bistro. Like other churches that assume the big-box retail design, Southland overwhelms people who attend with hip worship music and opportunities to purchase books, t-shirts, and similar Christian-themed kitsch. More importantly, communities like Southland forgo the conventional sermonic form and instead peddle biblical aphorisms that can be digested via PowerPoint slides and YouTube clips. Megachurches call their members “users” (or “seekers”) because market research has shown that “laissez” or “congregation” suggest a stodgy, outdated image that alienates the target churchgoer. To offer a more enticing product, megachurches also rid their sanctuaries of traditional Christian iconography, such as crosses, stained glass windows, and the Bible, because the same market research reveals that these symbols make many churchgoers uncomfortable. Megachurches’ attention to consumer preference parleys into a theology of consumption that informs almost every aspect of the spiritual education they offer. Because megachurches have been so prolific, they spearhead a consumptive ethos that has infiltrated even the smallest congregations in the U.S., due in large part to successful media products. This growth has, in turn, reinforced evangelical Christianity’s uncritical adaptation of capitalism as a model for spiritual development. To those who see megachurches as symptomatic of a flawed Christianity, market-minded church growth confounds one of the religion’s oldest polarities: the task of living in the world while trying not to conform to its ways. Megachurches offer a religious experience that appears to absolve this tension. Perpetuating an apparent contradiction, megachurches encourage their members to reject “things of the world” even while they stake out spiritual identities by purchasing such things. Megachurches seek to win the lost and wow the consumer simultaneously.

Although sociologists and cultural critics who are skeptical of megachurches condemn the synergy of missionary fervor and capitalist ideology, they often balk when the moment arrives to articulate exactly what makes these evangelical empires socially and doctrinally reprehensible. For example, consider Omri Elisha, who expresses a commonly-held sentiment that “[e]ven people who do not believe in Christ the Redeemer still want to believe in a Christ that throws a fit when money-changers show up at the temple.”

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seems to suggest that the ethical framework Christianity offers is salvageable only if it opposes the evils of capital economy. He is one among many who discredits evangelical capitalism with the conviction that Jesus—who says it is harder for a wealthy person to enter heaven than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle—would not condone exploitative industries, like usury on sacred worship space.9 The intuition that Jesus would chide a faith undergirded by capitalism may be correct, and it is probable that Jesus would disparage megachurches—not-for-profit conglomerates that comprise a $7.2 billion industry in the United States and exploit their tax-exempt status to build material empires and propagate a right-wing agenda.9 However, this interpretation of Jesus cleansing the temple explains the perniciousness of evangelical capitalism only in part.

The seeming incompatibility between the marketplace and the marketplace is just one aspect of a recurring pattern whereby megachurches implement theologies infused with capitalist ideology to uphold the upper-middle class status quo. Evangelicals themselves have long since resolved the quandary of intertwining the sanctuary with the market while following a figure, Jesus, who teaches that such uneasy collaboration with earthly systems contradicts the critical worldview that New Testament writers painstakingly develop. And, of course, megachurch leaders fully realize how fluid the slippage is between evangelism and entrepreneurialism, and most freely admit that evangelism is marketing, and marketing is evangelism. After all, if churches are “pushing a high-concept product [like] eternal life,” why should they separate these categories?10 In the minds of most evangelicals, the clarion call to recruit members and expand the church does not bespeak bad-faith corporate entrepreneurialism; rather, it implements in a marketing campaign: Jesus’ Great Commission to make disciples of all nations.11 Indeed, most megachurches appropriate capitalism flagrantly and already see the parallels between the church and the market as being obvious. Take, for instance, Ted Haggard, the former and now recovering (or is it recovered?) homosexual pastor of New Life Church in Colorado Springs, CO. Haggard argues “that for Christianity to prosper in the free market, it needs more than ‘moral values’—it needs consumer value.”12 Or, consider John Jackson, pastor of Carson Valley Christian Center in Minden, NV, a spiritual leader who refers to himself as a “PastorPreneur.”13 And then there’s Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, IL, the first thoroughly market-driven megachurch. Willow Creek seeks out MBA-credentialed men (in lieu of those with a theological or ministerial education) to hold church leadership positions. The church, adept at branding the spiritual experience it provides, has launched a marketing arm that offers consultations, workshops, and seminars for smaller congregations that seek to deliver similar programming. Willow Creek’s media raise additional revenue and teach other pastors how to become business-savvy leaders who can replicate the parent church’s stratagem and grow their own smaller churches accordingly.

To be sure, megachurches have infiltrated the literal and figurative landscape of U.S. evangelical Christianity because they provide good customer service (and the customer is, they say, always right). However, it’s not just market-based theology that drives the success of megachurches. I suspect that a second key impulse that drives megachurches is the Christian affinity for sheep and shepherds, or, stated less glibly, its incultation of pastoral ideology. Jeff Sharlet suggests that megachurches proliferate by offering a faith community whose main selling point is a lack of conflict. In his mind, megachurches cater to a religious faction that replicates a fundamental mystification, a retreat to a nonexistent Golden Age of harmony.14 Sharlet interprets contemporary evangelicalism as a culture that expresses theodicy, or a quest to understand the presence of evil in the world, in terms of geographic locale. Christians remove themselves from the complexity of urban life, where evil runs rampant, and retreat to the safety and still waters of suburbia, a journey they believe bolsters their spiritual health. This movement, given credence by market-based ideologies, generates a new brand of Christianity imbued with the seductions of the literary pastoral. Pastoral literature, originally poems in which shepherd speakers rest in states of receptive leisure and reflect idyllically on their experience with nature, has, according to Terry Giford, exfoliated into a trope versatile enough “to both contain and appear to evade tensions and contradictions—between country and city, art and nature, the human and the non-human, [and] our social and inner selves.”15 The pastoral impulse elucidates many evangelicals’ fear of confusing and spiritually volatile urban environments. The exurban location of most megachurches, their architectural features, and their landscape designs reinforce consumer sovereignty while lulling Christians into a bucolic idyll, in which they cannot recognize their complicity in social inequality.

This essay argues that pastoral ideology, which has informed the American literary and cultural tradition since at least the Puritans, should be considered in tandem with capitalism as the contemporary evangelical megachurch movement’s chief ideological framework. As megachurch members leave the city and retreat to the country, they participate in the fantasy that they can flee complexity and absolve themselves from the confrontational, oppositional ethic of the Kingdom of God that informed early Christianity. In what follows, I will explain how narratives of the marketplace function to develop a pastoral-megachurch-Christian worldview, where spiritual seekers can choose to embrace a faith that refuses to rob them of their comfort. The capitalism that megachurches appropriate fosters the illusion that economic growth can create efficient ways of spreading Jesus’ gospel, which allegedly provides a raison d'être for accumulating wealth and expanding property. In reality, the capitalist theologies that megachurches espouse enable the wealthy elite—and those who support them by acting as spiritual consumers—to practice religion in a way that damages rural landscapes ecologically and upholds upper-middle class advantage.

Narratives of the Marketplace

As Willow Creek’s marketing model would indicate, megachurches perpetuate by advancing consumption-based theologies that emphasize their survival skills. Of the many shibboleths that evangelicism embraces, few appear as clearly as economic and social Darwinism. Megachurch pastors often attribute their growth not to the Lord’s Spirit, as one might assume, but instead to their church’s ability to outwit, outlast, and survive competition. Multiple church histories indicate that “successful megachurch leaders adapt to demographic and social change; they target potential worshippers based on their lifestyles; and they use multiple communication channels to deliver messages that are relevant to people’s lives.”16 Joel Osteen, pastor of Lakewood Church in Houston, interprets his church’s growth as a natural consequence of its adaptability. According to Osteen, “[b]ut churches have not kept up, and they lose people by not changing with the times.”17 Rodney Stark, a sociologist who applies Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” paradigm to institutional religion, has axiomatized the resonance between economic Darwinism and faith communities. According to Stark, the cutthroat spiritual market, where many
oral perspectives vie for people's allegiances, winnowing away churches that are not fit to survive: "competition among religious organizations in any society stimulates effort, thus increasing the overall level of religious commitment and causing the demise of faiths lacking sufficient market appeal."18

Not surprisingly, then, megachurches often sing their own praises to the cadence of an inspirational Horatio Alger-style melody. Megachurches in this instance resemble corporations that recount their ascendance through tales of meager beginnings, cramped spaces, and sparse attendance—hardships overcome en route to plush auditoriums and influential cable television ministries. Southland, for instance, boasts a story that may trump other megachurch histories in

As the Saddleback story goes, Warren, "fresh out of seminary," left Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Texas with his wife and all his possessions, which fit "on the back of a U-haul truck," and went to California to start a church.21 What began as a small Bible study, held in Warren's modest apartment, evolved into "one of the most exciting journeys of growth that any church has experienced in American history."22 Finally, there's the largest congregation in the U.S., Osteen's Lakewood Church, which boasts a story that may trump other megachurch historiographies in its pomp. According to Lakewood's website, "[the church's] origins were humble. In fact, the first meeting of Lakewood Church was held in a converted feed store on the outskirts of Houston."23 Today, Lakewood meets in the refurbished 16,000-seat Compaq Center, former home of the NBA's Houston Rockets. (One wonders if Lakewood's historical narrative alludes to Christ's own humble beginnings in a barn, which, according to the gospel account, still housed livestock at the time of his birth). These rags-to-riches tales are important to megachurches because they form their identities and influence their theological visions. The narratives pass off American Dream opulence as the inevitable teleology for the thriving, God-seeking church, and once megachurch-goers sense that their continued participation in that economy as an expression of their spiritual plight corresponds with the principles that dictate capital economy, they envisage their continued participation in that economy as an expression of Christian faith.

Market theology allows megachurch pastors like Rick Warren, for example, to insist on the one hand that Christianity's goal is not to turn the church into a business, while on the other hand to acknowledge that his church's status as an evangelical powerhouse stems directly from its implementation of business strategies.24 The success Warren has enjoyed suggests that he is not only a corporate visionary, but also one of evangelicalism's most charismatic figureheads. For this reason President-elect Barack Obama asked him to deliver the invocation at his January, 2009 inauguration. In addition to commanding the

allegiance of large congregations, Warren is like many megachurch pastors in that he reaches millions of other evangelicals through sundry media enterprises.25 The presence of Warren and other megachurch leaders presents a salient modern example of the "routinization of charisma," a phenomenon, Max Weber suggests, that ultimately enables "the continuously effective routines of workaday life" to infiltrate organized religion.26 With a powerful yet unimposing personality, the charismatic megachurch leader, Weber's version of a creative genius and entrepreneur, helps followers to transcend the strictures of boredom and eventually become participants in bureaucratic order.

"The Lord is my Shepherd": Evangelicalism and Pastoral

It is a commonplace to speak of a faith community as a "fold," a charismatic presence like Warren as a "shepherd" or "pastor" (which comes from the Latin word for "shepherd"), and a congregation as a "flock." These metaphors cast religious experience in terms of the pastoral motif, which can be traced back to the Old Testament's most famous poem, the twenty-third Psalm. In that well-known verse, the analogy of God as a good shepherd who leads his sheep beside still waters culminates with the promise of radical equality, where every person receives the chance to "dwell in the house of the Lord" forever.27 Pastoral literature provides a way to talk about spiritual, social, and ethical relationships between humans, God, and nature. Pastoral not only elicits a sentimental yearning for repose in nature, but also seeks to create a utopian ideal in which the threat of loss dissolves into a serene union with the natural world. William Empson argues in Some Versions of Pastoral (1935), his still-influential study, that the pastoral fundamentally reduces the complex to the simple.28 According to Empson, the "essential trick of the old pastoral, which was felt to imply a beautiful relationship between the rich and the poor, was to make simple people express strong feelings."29 In this way, the pastoral appeals to emotion—which is central to the evangelical experience—as a way of establishing stable community and finding salvation. Under the pastoral rubric, this quest for stability develops to become a way that people think they can evade the actual and bitter contradictions of the present.30 I believe that megachurches adopt a pastoral aesthetic (theologically, geographically, and architecturally) because the prediction of contemporary evangelicalism is to recoil from societal problems, specifically patterns of injustice. Pastoral often works according to a problematic logic of retreat, as eccritic Lawerence Buell has pointed out. Synthesizing the pastoral impulse in American literature and culture, Buell argues that the trope "cannot be pinned to a single ideological position."31 His example, a close reading of an essay by Henry David Thoreau, entitled "Slavery in Massachusetts," affords Buch the opportunity to show how pastoral thinking can hult people into a mindset where they shirk their duty to be socially engaged. Buell demonstrates how Thoreau, amidst a scream against slavery, complains that the mere thought of the United States spoils his walk through a patch of white water lilies. For Thoreau, the white water lily is a symbol of purity, yet he writes, "I shall not soon despair of the world for [this flower], notwithstanding slavery, and the cowardice and want of principle of Northern men."32 It would seem that Thoreau's reflection on the lilies evinces a desire to retreat to a "simplified green world," where he doesn't have to think about difficult problems (in this case, the perpetuation of slavery).

However, Buell points out that "[e]ven at its most culpable—the moment of willful retreat from social and political responsibility—[pastoral] may be more strategized than
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mystified.33 Thoreau's dismay that thoughts of injustice would sully his saunter by the
lilies might seem befitting of pastoral's fundamental escapism, but it's possible, Buell
argues, that Thoreau's turn to the lilies is a self-conscious rhetorical strategy for "exposing
public consensus as repressive and arbitrary."34 Thoreau's remark can be read as a very
commentary on how indefensible it is to sequester oneself from society and escape
to nature. Just as the pastoral provides contemporary evangelicalism with the framework to
resolve apparent contradictions and retreat to a realm of green bliss, so too does its
metaphorical and rhetorical framework allow for pastoral critics to exercise its impulses as
a method of critique. For an example, one needs to look no further than William Blake's
"The Garden of Love," a simplistic rhyme that indict religion for its hypocrisy (see the
epigraph). Its fundamental pathos is lament, for the loss of a literal landscape and a
spiritual purity, both of which, in his mind, have been destroyed by the literal and symbolic
structures of institutionalized religion.

Megachurches do not reenact the pastoral's fundamental movement from the city to
the country simply because they like to build on cheap, spacious plots of land. Rather, the
megachurch pastoral retreat seems to ameliorate for many evangelicals the confusion of
living in a fallen world. John N. Vaughn, a consultant who offers his services to aspiring
church pastors, lauds megachurches for their ability to identify spiritual warfare in urban
areas, distance themselves from such strife, and worship in a safe, serene locale. As Vaughn
sees it, megachurches remain inaccessible to "gang members [and other] power groups
[who] usually know that it is best to keep a respectable distance from worship centers,
where the power of God is obviously present."35 Megachurch members, warriors in a
metaphorical battle between Satan and the Children of God, are especially aware of
spiritual attack, so it's no surprise that they prefer to live, shop, and worship, as far away
from demonic city centers as possible. While working on assignment in Colorado Springs,
Jeff Sharlet asked New Life Church members if they could recommend any restaurants in
the city, only to find that

Whenever I asked where to eat, they would warn me away from downtown's
restaurant strip of cafes and ethnic joints. Stick to the Academy, they'd tell me,
referring to the vein of superstores and prepackaged eateries—P.F. Chang's,
California Pizza Kitchen, et al.—that bypasses the city. Downtown, they said,
is "confusing."36

The "confusion" megachurch members seek to avoid, spiritual and social, reinforces
evangelicalism's ability to seek repose beside the still waters of social affluence and avoid
confronting scenes of inequality. Of course, megachurches also develop in the suburbs and
exurbs to establish and reinforce class boundaries. Outside the reach of public
transportation routes, megachurches effectively make it difficult for economically
underprivileged people—especially those who do not own a car—to attend.

Having retreated from the city, megachurches make "choices regarding location and
treatment of exterior grounds [that] indicate how that congregation conceptualizes the
relationship between themselves and the rest of society."37 Often congregations distance
themselves from society by constructing ornate landscapes and expansive seas of concrete
parking lots, which surround megachurches and provide a buffer between the sanctity of
its facilities and the troublesome, sinful outside world. Many other megachurches, such as

Bellevue Baptist Church in Cordova, TN, and Willow Creek, install lakes that accentuate the
separation between their congregation and society. In these instances, natural elements
(trees, fields, and streams) are literally used to facilitate pastoral escapism. The
Saddlerock Church also prides itself on its landscape, which we might imagine to be a
perverse application of the mid-1990s bohemian bourgeois ethos.38 According to Rick
Warren, Saddleback attempts to provide a naturalist church experience that connects
worshippers with God's creation. Warren told a news reporter that "People always say they
feel closer to God in nature. When God made Adam and Eve, he put them in a garden,
not a skyscraper."39 Saddleback has a large glass window that allows for worshippers to
soak in the Southern California sky while listening to sermons. Architectural features like
this intend to unify churchgoers with nature while still keeping them safely secluded from
sin and contamination.

If megachurch exteriors take worshippers back to nature, church interiors seeks to
amplify culture, and the individual sovereignty that accompanies it. Herein rests yet
another central paradox: megachurches encapsulate both the simplicity of the pastoral
ideal and the complexity of the marketplace. Large, spacious sanctuaries, oversized
atriums, sprawling food courts, and open concourses—all megachurch staples—reinforce a
consumer-driven sense of sovereignty. The glut of space that megachurches provide
allows congregants to "maintain control over [their] perambulations and decisions," thus
contributing to the illusion of choice that echoes the ways in which most members "accept
or reject theology as [they] see fit."40 Megachurch landscaping and architecture, both not-
so-subtle appeals to the human pastoral affinity, allow its users to fellowship, worship, and
commune with the divine on their terms, and without conflict.

Render Unto Caesar

The anecdote with which I began this essay, Southland's "After-Tax Dinner," indicates that
megachurch members pay tribute in good faith that their obedience to
governmental authority is an expression of their godliness. As taxpayers and members of
the middle class, they are like most Americans, people who, according to Scott Thumma
and Dave Travis, "have not only grown accustomed to large organizations, but they have
even had their characters and tastes shaped by them."41 Thus, the support of governmental
authority by paying taxes is a corollary of megachurch theology, which, I have
demonstrated, is shaped by people who understand that the benefits imperial economy
affords is the bread and butter of megachurch growth. Unequivocally, megachurch
Christians avoid conflict with the state, even though this tension remains at the heart of the
ethnic Jesus expresses in the Synoptic Gospels. Such adherence to established authorities, I
imagine, stems from the way megachurch evangelicals read the gospels' famous meditation
on paying taxes, Jesus' verbal exchange with the Pharisees. In this pericope, the Pharisees
approach Jesus while he is teaching to a crowd and attempt to trap him by posing a
politically loaded question. The Pharisees proclaim:

Teacher, we know that you are sincere, and show deference to no one; for
you do not regard people with partiality, but teach the way of God in
accordance with truth. Is it lawful to pay taxes to the emperor, or not?
Should we pay them, or should we not?42
If Jesus answers that it is lawful to pay taxes, he will offend his Jewish followers, who abhor Roman imperial oppression and see submission to earthly authorities as untenable. However, if Jesus advocates nonpayment of taxes, he provides the Pharisees with reason to hand him over as an insurrect to the Roman state. Instead of answering the Pharisees, Jesus retorts with an order and then another question:

"Bring me a denarius and let me see it." And they brought one. Then he said to them, "Whose head is on this, and whose title?" They answered, "The emperor's." Jesus said to them, "Give to the emperor [or Caesar] all things that are the emperor's, and to God, the things that are God's." 43

Jesus, by asking the Pharisees to produce a coin from their own pockets, forces their hand in the argument and exposes their own hypocritical collaboration with the Roman establishment. Furthermore, by baiting the Pharisees to admit that they carry in their pockets a graven image of another god—Caesar Augustus—Jesus establishes that their idolatry is untenable, given their Jewish piety. 44 Jesus' answer to the Pharisees, really a non-answer, diffuses a highly charged situation. As most biblical scholars note, in this account Jesus does not affirm complicit participation with an earthly kingdom. Rather, he "shows an attitude of critical distancing vis-à-vis civil authority." 45 Jesus, like other moments in the gospels, in no way advocates supporting the Roman Empire. Instead, his answer establishes an attitude of conflict, one that necessarily opposes earthly systems of imperial dominance in favor of allegiance to the Kingdom of God.

Given the pastoral impulse that guides megachurches, specifically their tendency to absorb conflict of any kind, it should come as no surprise that megachurches revise Jesus' interaction with the Pharisees in this passage. The most glaring instance of this taking place is the Saddleback Church's PurposeDriven ministry education arm, which produces curricula, pre-authored sermons, and Bible study outlines that ministers can use in their own churches. One such lecture in PurposeDriven's Matthew and Friends Leadership Training Program offers a tellingly conservative explication of Jesus' conversation with the Pharisees:

God wants us to obey others He puts in authority over us - God wants me to obey MY EMPLOYERS and MY GOVERNMENT. Jesus obeyed the rulers of His time. When the religious leaders of the day wanted to know what Jesus thought about paying taxes to an oppressive government, Jesus said - Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's. (Matthew 22:21b) (NIV) Jesus understood that earthly authority is just a temporary picture of eternal authority, so Jesus taught us to obey even flawed leaders now so we can understand how to obey the Perfect Leader, later. The Bible says - Everyone must submit to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except from God, and those that exist are instituted by God. (Romans 13:1) 46

One doesn't need a vivid imagination to see the agenda of this reading, especially its instruction to "obey even flawed leaders now" (could this mean the Bush or Obama administrations?). Saddleback's PurposeDriven ministry presents free-association exegesis, amalgamates Bible passages from different contexts (note the linkage between Matthew and Paul), and builds a pastiche of English Bible translations and paraphrases in such a way that hijacks the "Render Unto Caesar" passage to make it mean exactly what it never could have meant.

One wonders if megachurches can sustain the constant process of adaptability, change, and meeting the consumer's needs without themselves becoming an outdated blip on the U.S. spiritual radar screen. Consumer-driven doctrine might eventually relegate megachurches an ineptual religious experience, an insiders-only meeting for believers that has no lasting effect on the society from which it seeks to escape. When he wrote his "Letter From Birmingham Jail" in 1963, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. chastised the church for turning a blind eye toward social injustice. King said, "[I]f today's church does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authenticity, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century." 47 While large churches did exist when King wrote, he could not possibly have imagined the full-extent of today's technology-laden, ultra-landscaped exurban megachurches, which now wield a disproportionate amount of influence in the United States evangelical milieu, yet bear little resemblance to how the Gospel writers represent Jesus.

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Notes

2 According to Dan Wakefield, megachurches are those congregations that have 3,500 attendees each week. See The Hijacking of Jesus: How the Religious Right Distorts Christianity and Promotes Violence and Hate (New York: Nation Books, 2006), p. 111.
4 Ibid.
10 Ibid., p. 99.
11 Matthew 28:19.
13 Sosnik, Dowd, and Former, Applebee's America, p. 99.
16 Sosnik, Dowd, and Former, Applebee's America, p. 95, emphasis added.
22 Ibid.
24 Sosnik, Dowd, and Cady, "Earthly Empires."
25 Warren's The Purpose Driven Life, the fastest-selling nonfiction book ever, has sold over 23 million copies since 2002. Publishers have marketed the book by encouraging churches to purchase mass quantities and complete a numerologically significant "40 Days of Purpose Study."
29 Ibid., p. 11.
32 Ibid., p. 37.
33 Ibid., p. 44.
34 Ibid., p. 40.
36 Ibid., p. 49.
41 Thumma, Scott and Dave Travis, Beyond Megachurch Myths, p. 14.
42 Mark 12:14-15.
43 Mark 12:15-17.
44 For insight on the extent to which Rome asserted the divinity of its political rulers, specifically the emperor, see Crossan, J.D. "Roman Imperial Theology." In The Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance. Richard Horsley, ed. 59-74 (Louisville, Westminster John Knox, 2008).

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