took place during an era of intense anti-Catholic feeling, and the fact that Smith was Catholic was a major reason for his landslide defeat.

When John F. Kennedy ran for president in 1960, his Catholicism raised such concerns that he gave a speech to a group of ministers in Houston, Texas, promising that he would never answer to the Pope.

"I am the Democratic Party's candidate for president, who happens also to be a Catholic," Kennedy said. "I do not speak for my church on public matters, and the church does not speak for me."

When Kennedy won, he became the first—and to this day, the only—non-Protestant ever to be elected president.

During the 2008 election, Barack Obama also dealt with issues relating to his religion. And even though the president has made clear that he's a Christian and attends church with his family, 18 percent of Americans still believe he's a Muslim, according to a 2010 Pew Research Center poll.

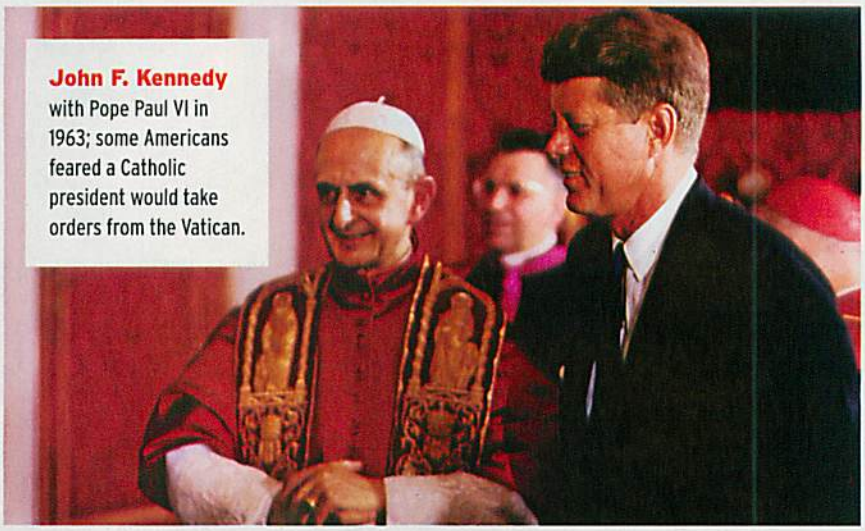
Romney's challenge is complicated by the fact that most Americans know little about Mormonism.

Mormons, who make up less than 2 percent of the U.S. population, consider themselves Christians, but there are important differences between Mormonism and other Christian faiths, including what counts as Scripture and beliefs about what happens after death.

The Mormon Church, formally known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was founded in Upstate New York in the early 1800s by Joseph Smith. His revelations are the basis of three books of scripture used by Mormons but not recognized by other Christians.

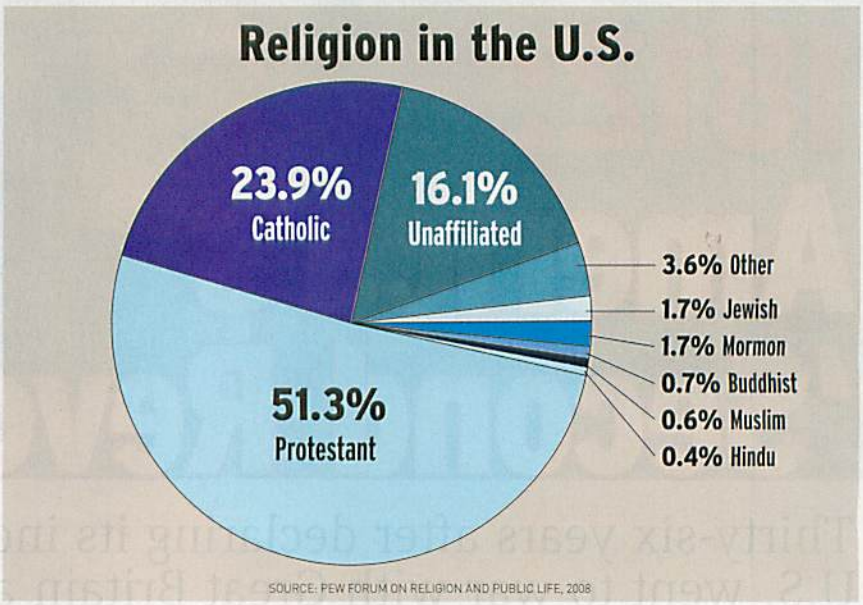
The new religion grew quickly, as did tensions with non-Mormons. After being run out of Missouri and massacred in Ohio, Mormons headed west seeking refuge, ultimately settling in Utah.

In the 19th century, Mormons practiced "plural marriage," allowing men to have multiple wives. Although polygamy was renounced by the Mormon church in 1890, it's still practiced by a few fundamentalist Mormon groups that have broken away from the main church. And many Americans still seem to associate Mormons with polygamy, perhaps taking a cue from media portrayals like the HBO show *Big Love*.



John F. Kennedy with Pope Paul VI in 1963; some Americans feared a Catholic president would take orders from the Vatican.

BETTMANN/CORBIS (JFK & POPE)



Supreme Example?

Though Romney's Mormon faith is clearly an issue for some primary voters, it's unclear if it will be an issue in November if Romney wins the Republican nomination.

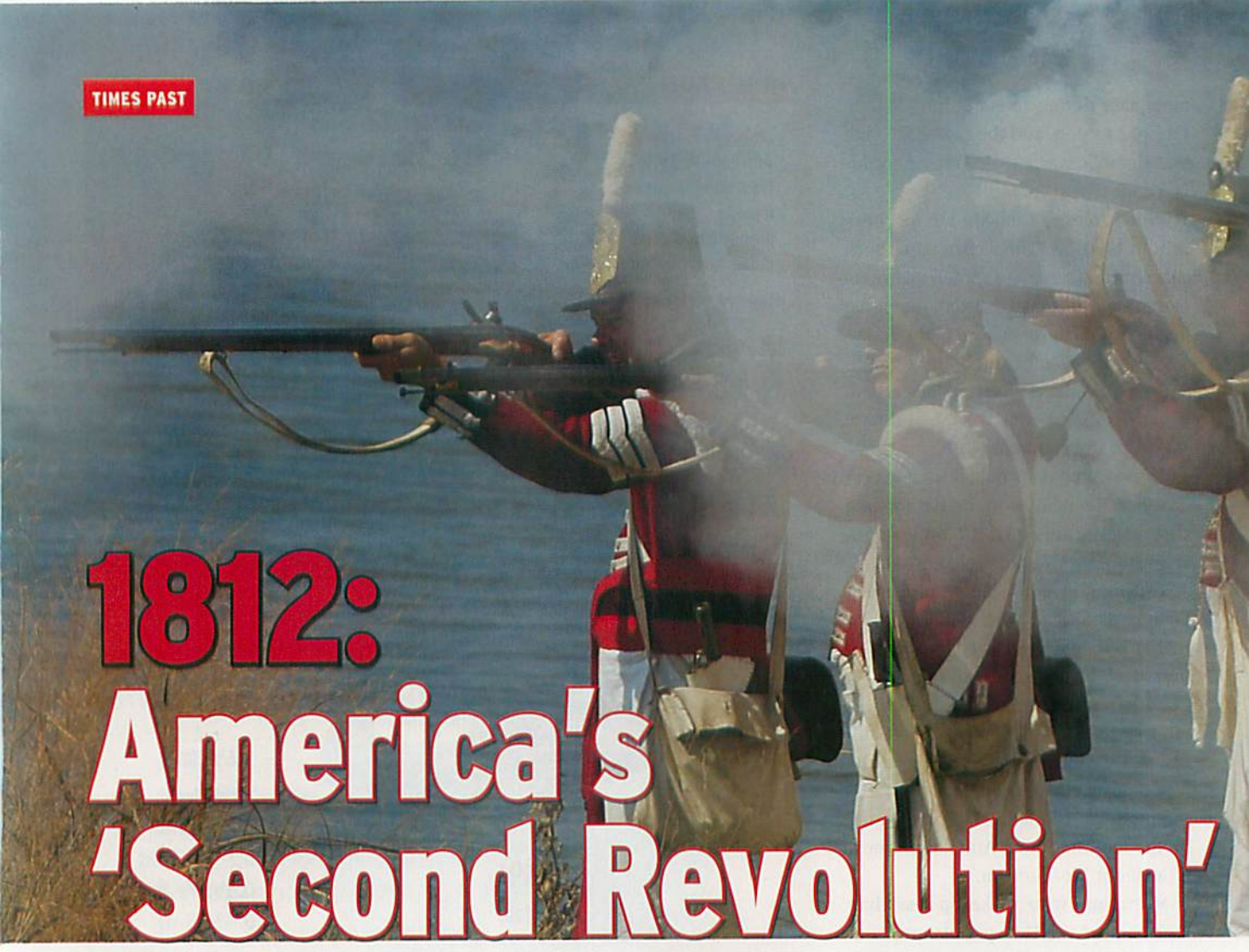
While two thirds of Americans believe it's important for a presidential candidate to have strong religious beliefs, according to the Public Religion Research Institute, that figure held true even if the religious beliefs were different from their own. But when it comes to Mormons, there still seem to be plenty of people, especially Evangelical Christians—who are uncomfortable.

"America has come a long way in accepting religions that were once viewed with suspicion," Campbell says.

No one seems to notice or care, for example, that current Vice President Joe Biden is Catholic. Or consider the composition of the Supreme Court: Of the nine Justices not a single one is Protestant; six are Catholic, and three are Jewish.

"If it could happen to the Catholics and the Jews," Campbell says, "there's good reason to think it could happen to the Mormons too." •

With reporting by Serge F. Kovaleski and Jim Rutenberg of The New York Times.



1812: America's 'Second Revolution'

Thirty-six years after declaring its independence, the U.S. went to war with Great Britain again

BY DONALD HICKEY

In the summer of 1812, 2,000 U.S. troops massed in Ohio and marched to Detroit on a mission that seems all but unimaginable today: an invasion of Canada.

America's gripe wasn't with its neighbor to the north but with Great Britain, Canada's colonial master. Roughly 35 years after a bloody fight for independence, the U.S. found itself again at loggerheads with the British, and the result was the War of 1812, which played itself out on land and at sea for nearly three years.

Even on its 200th anniversary this year, the war is little remembered in the U.S. and often misunderstood. But it was a watershed moment for the United States. It not only tested the strength of the fledgling nation but also gave it heroes and symbols that defined America's identity in ways that still resonate today.

Causes of the War

The war was actually a by-product of a much larger conflict in Europe. In the wake of the French Revolution, which began in 1789, France and Great Britain waged a titanic struggle for world dominion that lasted from 1793 to 1815.

At first, American merchants profited from war-torn Europe's disrupted trading patterns and the U.S. economy boomed. But it wasn't long before the British and French, who wanted to deny each other the benefits of American trade and resented the young republic's rising prosperity, began using flimsy excuses to seize American ships as prizes of war.

Britain was especially aggressive: In 1807, its government issued a series of decrees that restricted U.S. trade with France and the rest of Europe. At the same time, the Royal Navy stepped up its practice of impressment: forcibly taking sailors from American merchant vessels to serve on its own undermanned warships.

Though the British claimed to be taking only their own subjects (who did in fact make up a quarter of the sailors on U.S. merchant ships), some 10,000 Americans got caught in the dragnet from 1793 to 1812. They were subjected to all the harsh discipline, including floggings, of British

MARK WILSON/GETTY IMAGES (WAR OF 1812 REENACTMENT)

War of 1812 re-enactors dressed as British soldiers in St. Leonard, Maryland, simulating a skirmish with American troops

Legacies of the War of 1812

The war may be forgotten, but here are some ways it lives on:

Zooey Deschanel sings the National Anthem at a Texas Rangers game.

First mention of UNCLE SAM *(shown here in a 1917 poster)* appeared in an 1812 newspaper.

'DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!' uttered by a dying captain when the USS *Chesapeake* was disabled, is still a popular naval battle cry.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER was written in 1814 after the U.S. held onto Fort McHenry.

'WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE OURS.' From a report sent by Oliver H. Perry after his victory on Lake Erie

JAMES MONTGOMERY FLAGG VIA LOC (UNCLE SAM); RICH PILLING/MLB PHOTOS VIA GETTY IMAGES (ZOOEY DESCHANEL)

naval service and to the horrors of a war that wasn't their own.

The U.S. wanted to force an end to these practices, but it was no match for the British, who had the largest navy in the world. The only place the U.S. had a fighting chance was in Britain's North American provinces, six territories in modern-day Canada. The U.S. plan was to seize Canada and demand concessions on the maritime issues.

Only 500,000 people—British and French Canadians, and Americans loyal to the British crown who had fled after the American Revolution, as well as those who moved north after 1792 to take advantage of generous land policies and

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Donald Hickey, a professor at Wayne State College in Nebraska, co-authored The Rockets' Red Glare: An Illustrated History of the War of 1812.

low taxes—lived in these provinces, compared with almost 8 million in the U.S. Former President Thomas Jefferson, who had retired to his plantation at Monticello in Virginia but kept in close touch with James Madison, his successor in the White House, thought taking Canada would be "a mere matter of marching," and many Americans shared his view.

Two centuries later, most Canadians are convinced that the maritime issues were simply an excuse to add land to the United States. But this interpretation confuses *why* America fought with *how* it planned to win.

"Canada was not the end but the means," said Congressman Henry Clay of Kentucky, a leading proponent of the war.

'Nothing But Disaster Can Result'

There were obstacles, however. For one, many Americans opposed the war, thinking it unjust, unwise, and unlikely to produce any good. "Whether we consider our agriculture, our commerce, our monied systems, or our internal safety," wrote one Virginia newspaper, "nothing but disaster can result from it."

A more fundamental problem was that the young republic simply wasn't equipped for war. A decade of Jeffersonian opposition to peacetime military spending had left the U.S. Army in a sorry state. The ranks were barely half full, most of the enlisted men had little training and no combat experience, and many of the officers were political appointees who didn't know much about fighting a war.

Making matters worse, the logistical problems were enormous. In the days before interstate highways, moving men and material from places like Philadelphia, New York, and Pittsburgh hundreds of miles across the wilderness to the Canadian frontier was often difficult and sometimes impossible.

And the enemy was far from a push-over. Canada was defended by veteran British soldiers supported by the Royal Navy. The British could also count on Indian allies headed by Shawnee leader Tecumseh in northern Ohio and Indiana Territory; and the Grand River Iroquois, who lived west of modern-day Toronto, led by Mohawk chief John Norton. The Indians were excellent scouts, trackers, and skirmishers. And their reputation for ferocity alone could panic an enemy and tip the outcome.

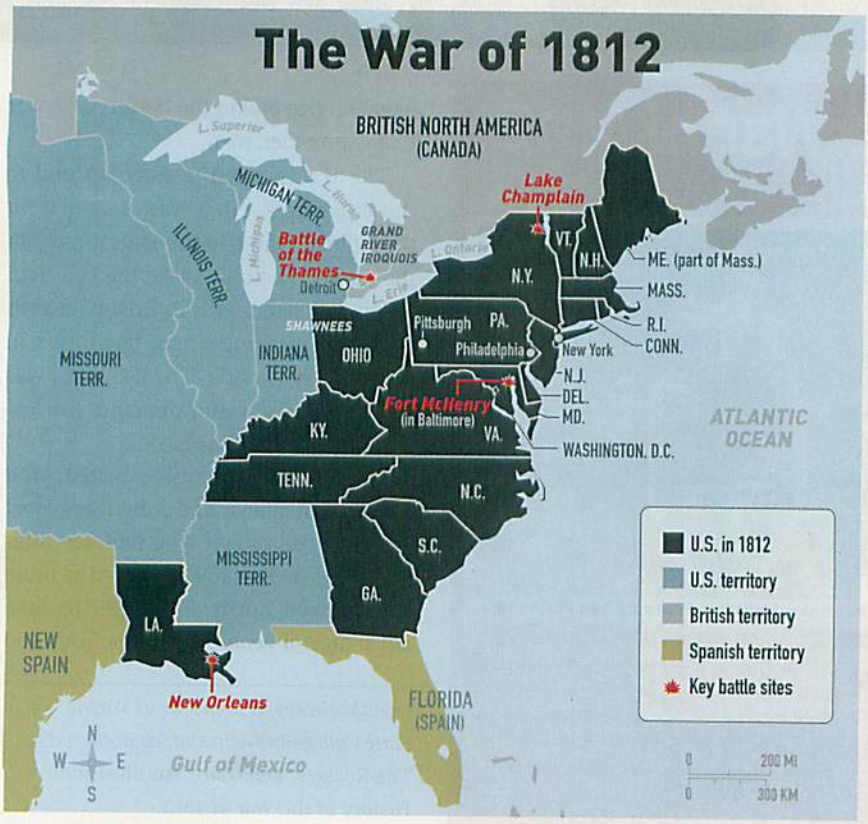
Finally, the U.S. lacked effective leadership. Although his opponents called it "Mr. Madison's War," President Madison was a shy and cautious man who never put his stamp on the conflict. He was unable to control the various factions in Congress or to persuade Americans to support the war and government efforts to pay for it. Since there was no draft, the only way to get recruits was by offering ever-larger bounties, which by the end of the war reached $124 in cash and 320 acres of land per soldier (about $30,000 today). That was more than most unskilled laborers earned in two years.

Washington Burning

Three American armies launched three separate attacks on Canada in 1812—across the Detroit River from Michigan, and across the Niagara River and along the Richelieu River in New York—but each was rebuffed. Instead of enjoying a quick and easy victory, the U.S. found itself subjected to a punishing British naval blockade that ultimately extended from Maine to Georgia, and Canada remained in British hands. The blockade hammered the U.S. economy and deprived the Treasury of much-needed tax revenue. By 1814, the United States was nearly bankrupt and actually defaulted on the national debt.

The British also seized 100 miles of Maine's coast and conducted raids up and down the Atlantic seaboard, destroying ships, looting warehouses, and burning houses and barns.

Most humiliating of all, they occupied Washington and burned the White House and the Capitol on Aug. 24, 1814. First Lady Dolley Madison managed to flee with many White House treasures, including a portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart. U.S. officials returned two days later, turning the Octagon House—which had been built by a rich Virginia planter—into a makeshift White House. (It stills stands, less than a mile from the White House.)



The U.S. & Britain

War of 1812

American Independence

The 13 American colonies defeat the British in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783).

The Civil War

Though officially neutral in the Civil War (1861-65), Britain builds two warships for the Confederacy.

World Wars

In both WW1 (1914-18) and WW2 (1939-45), the U.S. and Britain are allies. *(Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1943.)*

Iraq & Afghanistan

The U.K. is the only world power to support the U.S. in the Iraq war (2003-11). It now has 10,000 troops stationed in Afghanistan. *(Prince Harry in Afghanistan.)*

Relations Today

The U.S. & Britain remain staunch allies. *(President Obama with Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace in May)*

The U.S. did manage to hold its own in several important battles. In 1813, naval commander Oliver H. Perry defeated a British squadron on Lake Erie, and William Henry Harrison crushed an Anglo-Indian force in the Battle of the Thames, in present-day Ontario. The great Shawnee leader Tecumseh was killed in this battle, shattering the alliance of Indian tribes that he had forged to resist American expansion.

Another inland naval victory in 1814, this time on Lake Champlain, forced a large British army to retreat from Plattsburgh, New York, to Montreal. In addition, the American defense of Fort McHenry in September 1814, just after the burning of Washington, saved Baltimore, inspiring Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner," which Congress designated the national anthem in 1931 *(see box, p. 19)*.

The U.S. Navy performed surprisingly well, winning a series of ship-to-ship duels. Especially noteworthy were the successful cruises of the USS *Constitution*, which earned the nickname "Old Ironsides" because enemy solid shot seemed to bounce off its strong wooden hull. Capping the American victories was Andrew Jackson's spectacular success at New Orleans on Jan. 8, 1815, in the largest battle of the war. British forces along the Mississippi River tried to seize New Orleans, territory the U.S. had purchased from France in 1803. But they were mowed down by Jackson's troops, first with artillery fire and then small-arms fire. More than 2,000 British were lost, killed, wounded, or captured, compared with only 70 American casualties.

Who Won?

What Jackson didn't know was that the two nations had already agreed to peace two weeks earlier, when they signed the Treaty of Ghent (in modern-day Belgium). The British ratified it within days, but because it took several weeks to cross the Atlantic by ship, the U.S. didn't ratify it until mid-February.

The treaty the U.S. and Britain signed didn't promise much. All it said was that the two countries would return to the *status quo antebellum*—the conditions that existed before the war.

Does that mean the U.S. lost? In a sense, it does. The war ended in a stalemate on the battlefield, and the U.S. achieved none of its war aims. It failed to seize Canada or win any concessions on the maritime issues in dispute. Fortunately, because Europe was generally at peace in the century after 1815, neither Britain nor France had an incentive to encroach on American rights again.

But though the war was inconclusive, it had a profound impact on the development of the United States.

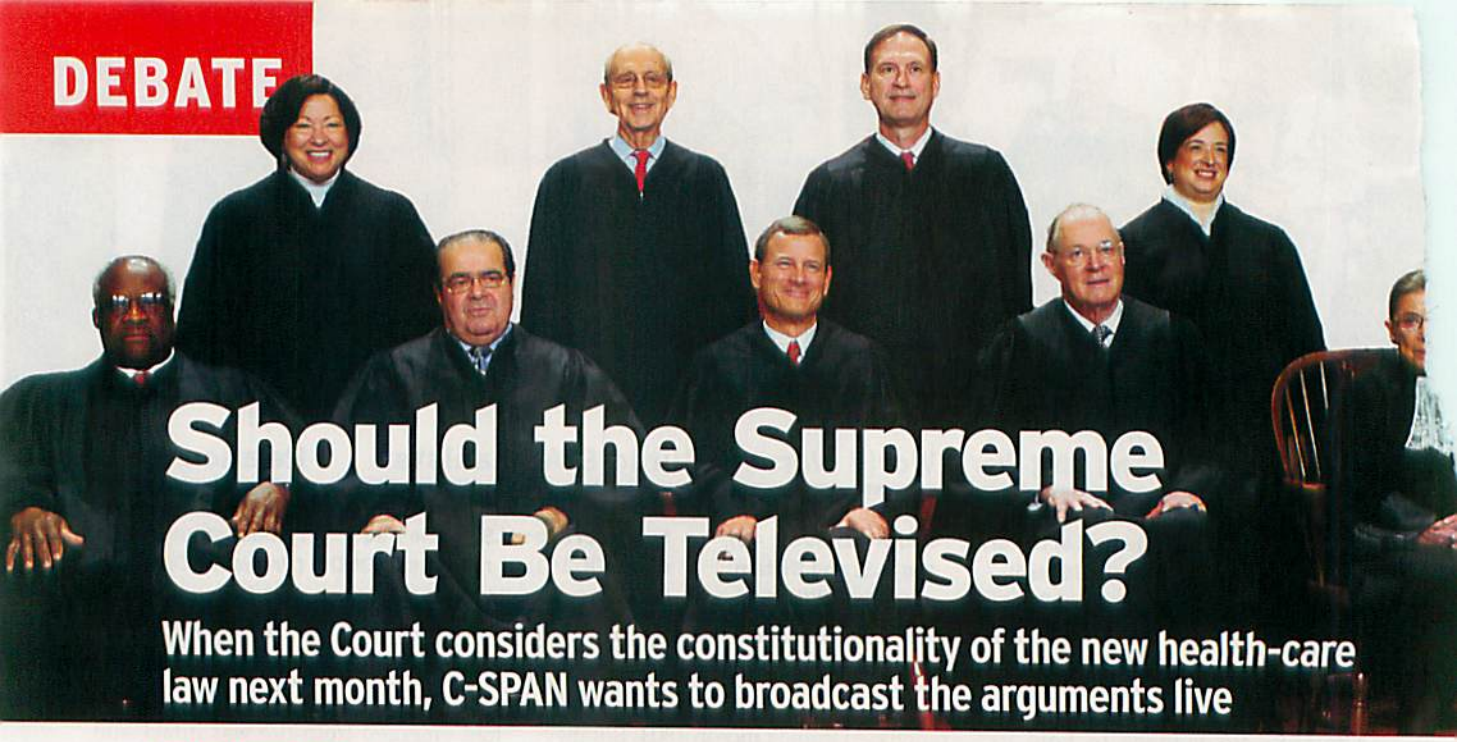
The mere fact that the new nation had emerged from the war intact and had proved it could go toe-to-toe with the British, both on land and at sea, boosted America's self-confidence as well as its reputation overseas.

"The Americans," conceded one British official, "have had the satisfaction of proving their courage—they have brought us to speak of them with respect."

The war also gave Americans a sense of who they were by producing bigger-than-life heroes and lasting symbols and sayings. After their stunning victories, both Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison went on to the White House. All Americans could take pride in Old Ironsides, "The Star-Spangled Banner," Uncle Sam (first used as a phrase to refer to the U.S. government in an 1812 newspaper), "Don't give up the ship" (uttered by a dying Captain James Lawrence when the USS *Chesapeake* was disabled), and "We have met the enemy and they are ours" (the pithy report that Oliver H. Perry sent to Harrison after his victory on Lake Erie).

And even though it took decades for some of the wounds to heal, the animosity the war generated didn't last. Americans, Britons, and Canadians eventually realized that they share a common interest in promoting democracy, free markets, and the rule of law. For nearly a century, and through several wars, they've cooperated, presenting a united front to a sometimes hostile world. •

DEBATE



Should the Supreme Court Be Televised?

When the Court considers the constitutionality of the new health-care law next month, C-SPAN wants to broadcast the arguments live

YES

Supreme Court Justices are government officials whose salaries are paid by taxpayers. The Court's oral arguments (when lawyers present cases and the Justices ask questions) are the only time the Justices as a group appear in public performing their official duties, and the American people as a whole should be allowed to see them at work—not just the approximately 50 members of the general public who fit in the courtroom.

Not televising their arguments reinforces the myth that the Court's deliberations are beyond the understanding of ordinary Americans.

Opponents of televising the Court often say the presence of cameras would constrain lawyers and Justices from speaking freely. But there is nothing lawyers should be willing to say to the Supreme Court that they could not say to millions of Americans. State courts have been televising arguments for years without running into inappropriate behavior or self-censorship.

Imagine if the public, including law and history students, could see the arguments in key cases like *Bush* v. *Gore* or *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. The increased transparency, the added awareness, and the democratic benefits of televising the arguments far outweigh the possibility of snippets being used out of context.

The Court is out of sync with the public on this issue: A recent Gallup poll found that 72 percent of Americans favor televising the upcoming health-care case arguments.

Not televising the Supreme Court's hearings reaffirms the false idea that it operates in a rarefied, nonpolitical arena. It is well past time to put cameras in the Court. •

—ERIC SEGALL

Professor, Georgia State University College of Law

NO

There are good reasons for not allowing cameras in the Supreme Court that go beyond the superficial argument that the Justices are just concerned with protecting their images.

Polls show that the judiciary is the most trusted branch of government. This respect is enhanced by the current balance of openness (the public can attend oral arguments in person, read online transcripts and published opinions, and listen online to audio of oral arguments) and the relative obscurity in which the Justices work. Televising oral arguments will make the Justices' jobs harder without making their work better.

Justices use oral arguments to develop their thinking in a case. Cameras would alter the dynamics. Televising the arguments to millions, rather than presenting it just to those in the courtroom, would make lawyers and Justices guarded in their exchanges. It would also lead them to think about their public images as well as their arguments.

We live in an age of 24/7 news cycles and images that go viral on the Internet. When a Justice poses a hypothetical question to press the limits of an argument, it will inevitably end up on YouTube. Images that live forever on the Internet will leave the public with distorted views of the Court.

Cameras should not be permitted even for a case in the public eye, like the upcoming health-care law arguments. The Court has a difficult task whenever it decides hot-button political cases; cameras would only make that task more difficult.

The Supreme Court receives high marks from the public, suggesting that "if it ain't broke, don't fix it." •

—NANCY S. MARDER

Professor, Chicago-Kent College of Law

TIM SLOAN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES