

## Introduction

This is the third edition of *The Religious Right: A Reference Handbook*. The two previous editions were published by ABC-CLIO, this is the first published by Grey House Publishing.

Features of the new edition:

- The authoritative experience of authors Glenn H. Utter and John W. Storey, presenting a balanced view of a most controversial and passionate topic
- Currency of data, with all elements verified and updated through 2006
- New articles, 12 new biographical profiles, and dozens of photographs
- Improvements to organization and accessibility of data, including an expanded Table of Contents, plus helpful introductory material for individual chapters
- A new section with 13 primary source documents

### Chapter Summaries

1. The *Introduction*, a 30-page essay titled *The Religious Right in America* begins its discussion in 1919, with the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment on Prohibition, continues through the 2004 Presidential election and ends by discussing recent judicial appointments and the increased intensity of the religious right's political activism.
2. A *Chronology* that ranges from 1835, marking publication of the controversial *The Life of Jesus* to 2006, when President Bush aligned with the religious right, rejecting congressional legislation that would ease federal funding for stem cell research. This edition includes 32 new chronological entries
3. *Biographical Profiles* now total 54 with 12 new profiles: David Barton; Ted Haggard; Richard Land; Joyce Meyer; Richard John Neuhaus; Rodney Lee Parsley; Paige Patterson; Tony Perkins; Paul

Pressler; Rick Santorum; Phyllis Schlafly; and Rick Warren. Many profiles are now accompanied by photographs.

4. *Analysis of Survey Data* has been updated with survey data from both the National Opinion Center and Baylor Institute for Studies of Religion. This chapter offers 16 tables on topics ranging from *Belief in God* to *Religious Preferences and Marital Status*. Survey results are analyzed in detail.
5. *Primary Documents & Quotations* is a new chapter that includes two main sections—*Religious Right Views* and *Commentary on the Religious Right*, each with several sub topics that range from *Culture and the Culture War* to the *Right to Bear Arms*. This chapter includes both quotations—39 new to this edition—and 13 articles—all new to this edition. These articles include work by prominent writers and journalists and discuss intelligent design, voting as Christians, and apocalypse.
6. *Directory of Organizations* includes 73 organizations both in support of (62), and critical of (11), the religious right. Each updated listing includes contact information, key contacts and publications, as well as a detailed description of the organization's history and activities.
7. *Suggested Readings* (previously called Print Resources) offers three distinct sections—works from the religious right, about the religious right, and organization periodicals. These are further broken down into *biographies*, *educational works* and *political works*. Each listing includes not only title, author and publisher, but also a thoughtful description. There are 36 new listings to this edition.
8. *Multimedia Resources* (previously called Non-Print Resources) includes 8 categories from *DVDs* to *Radio and Television*, including an article on TV Evangelists. Each listing includes length, price, source and a brief description. This edition includes 70 new multimedia resource listings.

*The Religious Right: A Reference Handbook* ends with a *Glossary* and *Index*.

# 1

## The Religious Right in America

### Impact in America

Thomas Jefferson's famous metaphor to the contrary notwithstanding, there has never been an absolute wall between church and state in American society. Ever since the Puritans came ashore in the early 1600s, religious leaders have often sought to influence public policy on a variety of social issues, and political leaders of all persuasions have just as readily appealed to the divine. A generation before the Civil War, for instance, the churches had already clashed and divided over slavery; in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the social gospel inspired many churchgoers to pursue legislative remedies to urban, industrial ills; the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment on prohibition in 1919 was a crowning achievement for the religious establishment; and today many religious bodies maintain lobbyists in the nation's capital to sway politicians on everything from prayer in public schools to world hunger.

To many religious leaders, political activism in no way violates the separation of church and state, for in their view religion has a responsibility to address vital issues. Likewise, public officials have often invoked the authority of religion, hinting that a divine force directed American history. Both Abraham Lincoln in his second inaugural and John F. Kennedy in his 1961 address, for instance, used a religious framework to explain national purpose. In 1949 Harry Truman described the Cold War as a contest between the powers of light and darkness; in 1953 'God's Float' led Dwight D. Eisenhower's inaugural parade; and since 2001 President George W. Bush, who as governor of Texas had appealed to many Christians by proclaiming June 10, 2000, "Jesus Day" in Texas, has frequently used the language of religion to justify domestic and foreign policies. Typical was his 2003 State of the Union address in which he spoke of the "power, wonder-working power, in the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people," an obvious reference to that evangelical hymn, "There is Power in the Blood." His 2005 inaugural address, called "God drenched" by one observer, was somewhat unique in that it moved from overtly Christian to more ecumenical rhetoric, as in the

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allusion to “the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Quran, and the varied faiths of our people.” Small wonder many Americans easily blur the line between church and state and shroud their history in religious symbolism, with George Washington likened to Moses and July 4 and December 25 both serving as occasions for nationalistic and religious exaltation.

Despite the religious shallowness of many Americans, there is no denying the religiosity of the American public. This struck Alexis de Tocqueville, that discerning Frenchman who crisscrossed the nation from New York to New Orleans in 1831. There was ‘no country in the world,’ he observed, ‘where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America.’ De Tocqueville’s observation has a contemporary ring, for surveys from 1947 to 2006 suggest America is the most religious of the modern western nations. And “nothing in the last half-century,” wrote George Gallup, Jr., in June 2000, has “dislodged the conviction of Americans that there is a power in the universe . . . greater than ourselves—not wars; not the problem of evil and the obvious sufferings of innocent people; not the ‘death of God’ movement; not social upheavals nor the lures of the modern world.” Indeed, current surveys show that 96 percent of all adult Americans believe in God, 84 percent contend God is actively involved in their lives, 85 percent insist God performs miracles today, 70 percent belong to a church or synagogue, 40 percent claim to attend church weekly, 59 percent believe religion is an important aspect of daily life, and 65 percent consider religion the answer to many of the nation’s present ills. This augurs well for calls to political action rooted in religious principles, as shown only a generation or so ago by the ‘religious left.’ In pursuit of racial justice, for instance, the National Council of Churches pricked the nation’s conscience in the 1950s and 1960s. This coalition of religious groups, along with Presidents Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, challenged Americans to live up to the egalitarian ideals of their faith. Accordingly, the Council brought the power of religion to bear on the civil rights legislation of the 1960s.<sup>1</sup>

So in light of this country’s long-standing interaction between religion and politics, why has the religious right attracted such attention since World War II? Why have Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority and Pat Robertson and the Christian Coalition aroused such alarm in some quarters? What is so different about the religious right? In terms of fundamental theological concerns, there is nothing particularly new. Contemporary Christians on the right are no less disturbed by higher criticism of the Bible and Darwinian evolution than their conservative forebears of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as attested to by persistent efforts over the last decade or so to have ‘creation science’ or “intelligent design” accorded equal time with Darwinism in public school classrooms. Two developments in this ongoing tug-of-war have had an unsettling effect on much of the scientific community. In October 1999 Baylor University, a reputable Baptist institution in Waco, Texas, established the Michael Polanyi Center to study intelligent design, the idea that some life forms are too complex to have evolved by chance through a process of Darwinian

natural selection. Proponents of this view, which has gained strength since the 1980s, believe mathematical models can prove that some intelligent agent outside the universe has been responsible for directing creation. To opponents, this kind of academic activity amounts to just another cloak for creationism, and the ultimate purpose of Baylor's new center, they insist, is to promote the teaching of intelligent design in the public schools. Disclosing the ambivalence, or perhaps pragmatism, of the American public on such issues, polls released in 2000 and 2005 showed that overwhelming majorities supported the teaching of both evolution and creationism in the public schools. The 2005 poll conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life is especially significant in that it showed that both conservative Christians and majorities of secular respondents favored the teaching of both points of view. In August 2005 President Bush weighed in, announcing that both views should be taught in schools "so people can understand what the debate is about." And if a higher authority was needed, Pope Benedict XVI joined the chorus for intelligent design in November 2005. But to Nobel Laureate Steven Weinberg, a world renowned physicist, the current vogue for equal time, sounding so fair and innocent, did not bode well for science.<sup>2</sup>

Nowhere perhaps has the debate been more bitter and personal than in Kansas. In August 1999 the Kansas Board of Education, dominated by religious fundamentalists, made the teaching of evolution in the state's public schools optional and announced that questions dealing with evolution would no longer be included in state assessment tests. "Disgraceful" was the American Association for the Advancement of Science's description of the new Kansas standards, but Linda Holloway, the former chair of the board who had pushed adoption of the guidelines, blithely dismissed the national scientific organization. "Clearly," said she, the scientists "have an ax to grind about evolution." Holloway was subsequently voted out, and in 2001 the board reversed itself. But the battle resumed in 2004, and in November 2005 a bitterly split Kansas State Board of Education voted 6-4 to incorporate intelligent design into its science curriculum. To John West of the Discovery Institute, which promotes intelligent design, this gave Kansas "the best science standards in the nation," but to Eugenie Scott of the National Center for Science Education, which defends Darwinian evolution, the new standards were nothing more than creationism in disguise. If Kansas has become a laughing stock, as opponents of intelligent design assert, then Minnesota, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, and Texas deserve at least a chuckle.

### **Early Political Involvement: The Anti-Communism Movement**

But it is not theology and concern about evolution so much as active involvement in the political process that separates the contemporary religious right from conservative religious forces of the pre-World War II era. Believing Armageddon to be nigh, conservative Christians, especially those of a fundamentalist and evangelical variety, have traditionally concentrated more on redeeming sinners and preparing themselves for the imminent return of Jesus than on active political involvement. The Joneses of South Carolina—Bob, Sr.,

Bible Institute) in 1889. The two latter schools served as a training ground for urban evangelists and as the source of inexpensive religious publications.

Moody's major accomplishment was to tailor traditional evangelical Protestantism for urban residents in a newly emerging industrial America. As a conservative evangelical, however, Moody found it difficult to deal with the conflicts beginning to arise between liberal and conservative wings of American Protestantism.

### **Richard John Neuhaus (1936– )**

Recognized as a major voice of the neoconservative political and social movement, Father Richard John Neuhaus has traveled a circuitous route in becoming what some might view as an oxymoron: a fundamentalist intellectual. Born in Pembroke, Ontario, the son of a Missouri Synod Lutheran, he has come far from his Depression-era childhood. The author of six books and numerous articles, he currently oversees the production and publication of a monthly journal, *First Things*, promoting the neoconservative agenda. But his arrival at this post was hardly direct. He was expelled from a Lutheran high school in Nebraska, and at age 16 he ran a gas station/grocery store in Cisco, Texas. Without completing high school, he graduated from a church college, the Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, and later Washington University and Wayne State University.

In a survey of national leadership, *U.S. News and World Report* named Neuhaus one of the thirty-two most "influential intellectuals in America." In *Time* magazine's February 2005 issue, he was included as one of "The 25 Most Influential Evangelicals in America." Calling Neuhaus's influence "Bushism Made Catholic," *Time* recounted President George W. Bush's meeting with



Richard John Neuhaus. Photo courtesy of Richard John Neuhaus. Used by permission.

journalists from religious publications in 2004. The authority Bush most often cited was not a fellow evangelical, but “Father Richard.”

Using the combined strengths of his education and religious upbringing, Neuhaus began his public life in the manner of a fighting liberal pastor, serving a mostly minority Lutheran congregation in Brooklyn, which grew under his leadership from twenty-four members in 1961 to 600 in 1975. Neuhaus promoted a liberal-progressive, socially conscious agenda, opposing the Vietnam War, supporting the civil rights movement, and working to relieve the plight of America’s poor. Through these efforts he first rose to national prominence, forming Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam with Brooklyn College sociology professor Peter Berger. Both advocated revolution.

Neuhaus began to find his revolution tainted, however, when he failed to convince fellow revolutionaries to support his pro-life and anticommunism ideology. Believing both to be supported by the Christian Gospel and the leftist tradition of supporting the weak, Neuhaus changed his revolutionary tone and became a spokesman for the neoconservatives, promoting democratic capitalism and associating himself with the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank. Promoting faith-based government initiatives, he has supported a return to traditional Judeo-Christian values and opposed abortion, stem-cell research, cloning, same-sex marriage, and judicial activism, joining his voice to Robert H. Bork, Charles W. Colson, and Robert P. George.

His own union with the Lutheran Church ended when, after thirty years as a Lutheran pastor, he could no longer find convincing reasons not to be a Roman Catholic. Neuhaus joined the Roman Catholic Church in 1990 and received ordination as a priest from the Archdiocese of New York in 1991. In addition to his priestly duties, Neuhaus serves on the board of the Institute on Religion and Democracy, Ethics and Public Policy Center, and Foundation for Community and Faith-Centered Enterprise, as well as the right-wing World Youth Alliance and the Becket Fund Advisory Board. He has served the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations. Although not an evangelical, Neuhaus has helped articulate religious bases for President Bush’s public policies. Neuhaus exerts considerable influence and has labored diligently and successfully to deliver for Bush the support and votes of conservative Catholics, a bloc that contributed significantly to the president’s 2004 victory.

### **Cardinal John O’Connor (1920–2000)**

Cardinal John O’Connor, the outspoken Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York for sixteen years, took vocal stands on such issues as abortion, contraception, and homosexuality, and was highly criticized for politicizing his church office. O’Connor used the pulpit as well as a regular newspaper column to publicize controversial positions on a variety of issues. Although often labeled a conservative, O’Connor might better be called a communitarian, for his concerns included the welfare of the less well-to-do and the moral values of the entire community. He was outspoken on many subjects, strongly believing the church should be a guide in everyday life. In 1990 O’Connor declared that

Table 4.4  
Evangelical and Mainline Protestant Church Adherents

	Number	Percent
<b>Evangelical Protestant</b>		
Assemblies of God	2,561,998	8.3
Christian and Missionary Alliance	331,106	1.1
Christian Reformed	248,938	0.8
Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.)	974,198	3.2
Church of the Nazarene	907,331	2.9
Churches of Christ	1,645,584	5.3
Free Methodist	96,237	0.3
Mennonite Church	156,345	0.5
Lutheran—Missouri Synod	2,521,062	8.1
Presbyterian Church in America	315,293	1.0
Seventh-Day Adventist	923,046	3.0
Southern Baptist Convention	19,881,467	64.2
Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran	405,078	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>30,967,683</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Mainline Protestant</b>		
Congregationalist	84,380	0.3
Disciples of Christ	1,017,784	4.0
Episcopal	2,314,756	9.0
Presbyterian Church (USA)	3,141,566	12.2
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	5,113,418	19.8
American Baptist	1,767,462	6.9
Unitarian	182,698	0.7
United Methodist	10,350,629	40.1
Friends (Quakers)	113,086	0.4
United Church of Christ	1,698,918	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>25,784,697</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Jones, Dale E., Sherri Doty, Clifford Grammich, James E. Horsch, Richard Houseal, Mac Lynn, John P. Marcum, Kenneth M. Sanchagrin, and Richard H. Taylor. 2002. *Religious Congregations and Membership in the United States 2000*. Nashville, TN: Glenmary Research Center.

Table 4.5  
Religious Preference by Region (Percentage)

Region	Evangelical Protestant	Mainline Protestant
New England	0.4	1.3
Middle Atlantic	5.2	13.4
East North Central	12.6	19.8
West North Central	6.0	10.6
South Atlantic	37.9	23.7
East South Central	11.7	6.8
West South Central	16.8	10.1
Mountain	3.6	5.8
Pacific	5.8	8.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: 2004 General Social Survey, N = 927.

“family values.” Therefore, we expect a larger proportion of evangelicals to support the Republican party than do mainline Protestants. Table 4.6 presents a cross-tabulation of religious preference by political party identification derived from 1998 and 2004 GSS data.

A larger proportion of evangelical than mainline respondents in 1998 and 2004 expressed a preference for the Democratic party. However, party identi-

Two criteria were used to select the following primary documents and quotations. First, selections are included dealing with issues that throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first have drawn the attention of conservative Christians. Such issues as abortion, restricting prayer in the public schools, the teaching of the theory of evolution, and the call for same-gender marriage have appalled many fundamentalist Christians and energized them to political action. This first section—**Religious Right Views**—begins below.

Second, we have included selections from many prominent leaders in the religious right, including Jerry Falwell, James Dobson, and Tim LaHaye, who have expressed these concerns publicly in order to mobilize their constituency and gain the attention of the general public. In addition to expressing outrage at political and cultural trends, religious right spokespersons have advocated various measures, including permitting the teaching of ‘intelligent design’ in the public schools as an alternative to the theory of evolution, imposing greater restrictions on abortion, and ratifying constitutional amendments at the state and national levels defining marriage as a union between one man and one woman. Characteristic of interest group politics in a pluralistic society, the religious right has not gone unchallenged. Therefore, in addition to documents representative of religious right positions, we have included responses from those providing analyses of, and critical commentary on, religious right beliefs, activities, and leaders. This second section—**Commentary on the Religious Right**—begins on page 202.

Both sections include various categories, from *Antiabortion* to *Foreign Policy*; see Table of Contents on previous page. Within each category, quotations appear first, followed by articles. No quotation is necessarily representative of all religious right leaders or of religious commentators and critics of the religious right.

## I. Religious Right Views

### America’s Christian Heritage

The Constitution, as far as we’re concerned, is a Christian document.

—Gary Jarmin, *Christian Century* (April 16, 1980)

You find that anytime America was on its knees, both our economy and our security and our spiritual temperature rose at the same time, and whenever we got off our knees all three have deteriorated.

—Robert J. Billings, *Christian Century* (October 8, 1980)

The critical issue of our day is the relationship of Christ and His Word to our political and legal system in the United States. Who has jurisdiction over every aspect of American society, Jesus Christ or the State? Is this to be a Christian nation or a humanistic nation? The only faithful answer that a Bible-believing Christian can give is this: “Blessed is the nation whose God is the LORD”

(Psalm 33:12). “For the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is our king; He will save us” (Isaiah 33:22).

—Gary DeMar, *God and Government: A Biblical and Historical Study* (1982)

Today my belief in the dream that is America is stronger than it has ever been. But I am also convinced that the American dream is at risk. It is at risk for families who must spend more and more hours working just to make ends meet. It is at risk for children who grow up without fathers. It is at risk for a generation of young people trapped in a system of public education that neither challenges their minds nor sharpens their character. It is at risk for the unborn, the aged, and the infirm. And it is at risk for millions of Americans trapped in poverty unable to find hope, uncertain about finding opportunity.

—Randy Tate, Statement on becoming executive director of the Christian Coalition (August 1997)

I believe our nation was chosen by God and commissioned by history to be a model of justice and inclusion and diversity without division.

—Governor George W. Bush, speaking to the Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum for Tolerance (March 2000)

The Founders . . . knew the nation would grow ever more diverse; in Virginia, Thomas Jefferson’s bill for religious freedom was “meant to comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo and infidel of every denomination.” And thank God—or, if you choose, thank the Founders—that it did indeed.

—Jon Meacham, *American Gospel* (2006)