

## CONTENTS

*List of Illustrations* ix

*Preface: Writing Bob Bellah* xi

*Acknowledgments* xix

1	From Father to Son: Oklahoma to California, 1916–1944	1
2	A Writer and a Teacher: United States East Coast, 1945–1950	16
3	Enter Talcott Parsons: Cambridge, MA, 1950–1953	37
4	Expectations versus Reality: From Cambridge to Montreal, and Back, 1954–1957	51
5	Becoming an American: From Cambridge to Tokyo, and Back, 1957–1961	67
6	Time to Leave: Cambridge, 1961–1967	87
7	“Stand Back and See It All”: Berkeley, 1967–1968	104
8	“To Put It Bluntly, Religion Is True”: Rome and Cambridge, 1968–1969	116
9	Beyond Borders: Berkeley, 1969–1971	130
10	Twilight of the God: From Berkeley to Princeton, and Back, 1970–1973	147
11	Breaking Covenants: Berkeley, 1973–1976	167
12	Ashes Alone: United States of America, 1969–1976	180

viii CONTENTS

13	“We Create Our Own Planets on the Table”: Berkeley, 1976–1978	194
14	Articulating the Real: Berkeley, 1978–1979	208
15	On the Edge of the Eighties: Berkeley, 1979–1983	224
16	The Sociologist’s Revenge: United States of America, 1978–1985	241
17	Hitting the Big Time: United States of America, 1985–1991	254
18	Looking for the Good Society: United States of America, 1991–1992	270
19	Time to Leave Again: United States of America, 1993–2000	284
20	Between Religion and Evolution: North America, 1955–2004	298
21	“This Big House on the Hill”: Berkeley, 2005–2010	314
22	Nothing Is Ever Lost: From Berkeley to the World, 2011–2013	335
	Epilogue: The Joy of a Serious Life	359

*Notes* 363

*Bibliography* 433

*Index* 465

# 1

## From Father to Son

OKLAHOMA TO CALIFORNIA,  
1916–1944

IT WAS JUNE 23, 1916, when Luther Hutton Bellah Jr. hopped on the evening train to Oklahoma City. Excited as he was, he still did not know that his days at the southern border would be boring and inconsequential. He had just turned twenty, and adventure was all he was looking for—or maybe he was just trying to work his way out of the dusty little hole he called home. Drawn by economic opportunity, Hutton’s parents had left Texas to resettle in Hollis when he was eight, and their gamble had paid off. After Oklahoma had been granted statehood in 1907, the small town had steadily grown in prominence as the seat of the newly created Harmon County and a station on the railway line connecting Altus and Wellington. In a handful of years its population had doubled, reaching the thousand mark by 1910, and the drugstore run by Luther H. Bellah and “Molly” Emaline Jones had soon become a staple of the town’s thriving commercial scene.

Not that Hutton had the slightest intention of becoming a shopkeeper. A tall, handsome boy, he had done all he could to outshine his parents and peers, and keep himself busy in the meantime: studying, reading, writing, sports, theater—everything. In the summer of 1913, just after finishing high school with the highest honors, he had failed the admission test at the Annapolis Naval Academy, and had spent some time looking for jobs and a lucky break in Oklahoma and Missouri. When he came back to Hollis in December of that year, Hutton knew it would not be for long.<sup>1</sup>

It was the Mexican revolutionary General Francisco “Pancho” Villa, of all people, to give him a new excuse to leave. When President Woodrow Wilson issued a mobilization order calling up the National Guard of all states to



FIGURE 1.1. Luther Hutton Bellah Jr., circa 1920. Robert N. Bellah personal papers (RBPP), courtesy of Jennifer Bellah Maguire and the Robert and Melanie Bellah Estate, Berkeley, CA.

protect the southern border from armed incursions on June 18, 1916, Bellah rushed to volunteer at the conscription office in Oklahoma City. After a brief period of training, Hutton and seven Hollis buddies were assigned to the hospital corps of the “Oklasodak brigade” and then sent to San Benito, Texas. They soon discovered that military life was nothing like advertised: serving as the

second line behind regular troops, their unit never had a chance to meet the enemy, and spent months repeating a tedious routine of drill, exercise, and marches. What neither Hutton nor his fellow guardsmen knew at the time was that their days at the border would be crucial not only for improving military training, but also for renewing technical equipment, assessing tactical problems, and devising novel organizational schemes. When the United States declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, its soldiers were ready for combat.<sup>2</sup>

And into combat they went. Early in August, Hutton Bellah and a Hollis friend from their days on the southern border, Mott Keys, were recalled and assigned to the hospital corps of the newly constituted 36th Texas-Oklahoma Division. They were sent to Camp Bowie for a year of extra training and then crossed the Atlantic to serve on the 111th Sanitary Train in the Tonnerre area of north-central France. Hutton's *savoir faire* and his command of the German language made him a precious asset for communicating with and gathering information from war prisoners—an assignment he carried out with commitment and pride well into the fall of 1919. After being discharged with the rank of sergeant, Bellah joined the American Legion and Scottish-rite Freemasons, as his father, his grandfather, and many of his forebears had done before him.<sup>3</sup>

The problem was that Hutton was back in Hollis for the third time in six years—and for the third time he started to look for an escape route. In September 1920 he took the momentous decision to attend the University of Oklahoma and left for Norman, never to return home. Founded seven years earlier by Harold Harvey Herbert, the School of Journalism aimed at blending traditional liberal arts education with the most advanced instruction in the burgeoning fields of publishing, editing, and advertising. As part of his training as a reporter, Hutton was at first entrusted with the sports column of a student newspaper, the *Oklahoma Weekly*, but his sharp articles and remarkable editorial skills soon earned him a number of highly visible positions: sports editor for both the *Oklahoma Daily* and the *Sooner* university annual, director of the funding drive for the new athletic stadium, and publicity manager for the whole university.<sup>4</sup>

In a few months, Hutton had found his calling and the scene to pursue it. Popularity and honors followed: together with Keys and Mex, the Boston terrier they had found at the Texas border in 1916, he was tapped by a number of elite cliques, including the Kappa Sigma fraternity and the Dark Deep Mystery Club, a secret society whose members were selected from among the most brilliant undergraduates. Born as a prankster group in 1907, the DDMC had somehow evolved into a masked vigilante posse enforcing basic rules of

decency on campus, and had been banned from the university premises owing to its questionable practices and alleged proximity to the Ku Klux Klan—a circumstance that did not prevent Hutton, Mott, and Mex from enjoying the company of their fellow clubmen. For all his popularity, however, Bellah was far from being the most renowned member of the trio: as the first official mascot of the Sooners football team, little Mex had become “the most famous dog in Oklahoma”—when he died in 1928 classes were suspended and businesses were closed to allow the whole town to attend the funeral.<sup>5</sup>

As graduation approached, in the spring of 1922 Hutton’s outstanding scholarly achievements earned him induction into the local Pe-et and the national Phi Beta Kappa honor societies. Shortly after the award ceremonies, he rushed to Texas to join Lillian Neelly, a psychology student he had first met as an assistant editor for the 1922 *Sooner*. Born in Fayetteville, Arkansas, on September 14, 1900, Lillian came from a long lineage of landowners and merchants of English descent whose wealth came from a string of fortunate investments in the Dardanelle-Mount Nebo area, eighty miles northwest of Little Rock, Arkansas. The couple married at the Neelly estate in Dallas on June 21, 1922, and then moved to a small house one mile north of the University of Oklahoma campus, where Hutton had been appointed assistant professor at the School of Journalism. In less than two years the student had become a teacher.<sup>6</sup>

## I

Before long Hutton grew tired of the slow pace of academic life—he had the most ambitious plans for himself, and mentoring would-be journalists was not among them. In the summer of 1924 he and Lillian moved to the small town of Altus in Southwest Oklahoma and took control of a local weekly magazine, the *Times-Democrat*, with the ultimate goal of turning it into an influential state-level newspaper. When Luther Hutton Bellah III was born in Altus on February 23, 1927, his indefatigable father had already accomplished the objective of daily publication and was rapidly marching toward professional and personal success.

Hutton’s dreams were an almost perfect reflection of the unbounded optimism of pre-1929 America. The early 1920s had been a time of rapid technological and social transformation, as the diffusion of electricity, mass-produced automobiles, sound cinema, radio, and television changed the habits and the imaginary of the average American. A sense of a continual improvement of



FIGURE 1.2. Lillian Bellah (née Neelly) with baby Luther Hutton Bellah III, 1927. (RBPP)

material conditions spread among the citizenry, and the nation's leaders and popular magazines endlessly praised the pursuit of economic success and the benefits of hard work and commitment. As a steady flow of consumer goods swept the country from sea to sea, presidential nominee Herbert C. Hoover announced at the 1928 Republican National Convention that for the first time in history the human race was rapidly approaching "the final triumph over poverty."<sup>7</sup>

A fierce opponent of Hoover and his political ideas, Hutton nonetheless shared the candidate's confidence in unlimited scientific and technological progress. From the columns of the *Times-Democrat* he campaigned with equal passion for the establishment of a modern sewage system in Altus, the renovation of the city's schools, and the building of its first hotel. His daily feature, titled "SnapShots," was a mixed bag of news, anecdotes, and commentary, which often included what he called "Today's Pome," a short satirical composition made of "a bit of advice here, a caustic remark there, a jingle yonder and a bromide hither." Thanks to his success and savoir faire, in early 1929 Hutton was appointed chairman of the advertising committee of the Altus Chamber of Commerce, a task force aimed at attracting investment for the improvement of local business. Even in Southwest Oklahoma progress seemed inevitable.<sup>8</sup>

As far as state and national politics were concerned, Hutton often took unpopular stances. In the spring of 1928, for example, the *Times-Democrat* supported New York governor Al Smith's bid for the Democratic nomination in the presidential elections, in the face of the well-known hostility of the local Ku Klux Klan. In spite of repeated personal attacks, Hutton blasted the "insidious intolerance" of the Klan and its damaging influence on mainstream Freemasonry, and denounced anti-Catholic rhetoric as "something that should never be injected in American politics." After Smith obtained the nomination at the Democratic National Convention, Hutton worked tirelessly for his election, hoping for "a triumph of the common people over the hosts of privilege and plunder." Four months later, his grace and composure upon Hoover's landslide victory in the presidential elections were congratulated by his political friends and foes all over the state.<sup>9</sup>

Hutton's big break seemed to come in March 1929, right after a heated press campaign had ousted governor Henry S. Johnston for "general incompetence." The *Times-Democrat* was one of the first papers to congratulate the new incumbent, William J. Holloway, with its usual hopeful tones: "Again thank God for Bill Holloway," Hutton wrote in his editorial, "This is the man. He will do it if it is at all possible. He realizes the responsibilities before him and his many years of service to the state as a legislator, as lieutenant governor and as acting governor peculiarly fits him for the work of the next twenty-two months." When Holloway offered him a job as his private secretary, however, Hutton declined: being "a newspaper man and not a politician," he had "lots of things" to care about—Altus, Jackson County, the *Times-Democrat*, and the State Press Association, of which he had just been appointed executive vice-president.<sup>10</sup>

The last but in no sense least important item of Hutton's list of things to care about was his small family of three. Given his almost complete amalgam of public and private life, it was no surprise that "the missus" and "Snaps III"—as his wife and child were affectionately nicknamed—had been a staple of "Snap-Shots" since its early days. Whether he was welcoming a new puppy or encountering his first defeats, baby Hutton III was depicted as a miniature of his bright and resolute father: "The wee sma' lad is sporting his first real black eye—result of a mix-up with the concrete sidewalk in which he came off second best. But the boy is not daunted by a little thing like losing to a concrete walk board. . . . He gets up and tries again."<sup>11</sup> Readers also got the occasional photo of Snaps III along with the news of his progress:

*TODAY'S POME*

The wee sma' boy attempts to talk.  
There is incessant chatter.  
But what he says we do not know  
And it really doesn't matter,  
The missus claims to understand  
The little fellow's mutters—  
But we are rather of the mind  
That this infant sputters.<sup>12</sup>

By January 1929 Hutton III's involvement in the busy professional life of his father was almost complete: wearing the "white duck coverall with 'Snaps III' on the front and 'Times-Democrat' on the back" he had been given for Christmas by Hutton's business partner, Harrington C. Wimberly, the twenty-three-month-old baby would joyously run around screaming "Dadee go to work Times Democrack! Dadee go to work Times Democrack!" whenever he saw his father wearing his overcoat.<sup>13</sup>

To his readers' surprise, in the summer of 1929 Hutton sold his shares to media mogul Eugene C. Pulliam and passed on the editorship of the *Altus Times-Democrat* to Wimberly. In his last "SnapShots," published on July 21, 1929, he looked back at his five years as a publisher-editor with a tone reminiscent of Harold Herbert's project of combining the craft of journalism and sophisticated managerial skills: "I believe that I have proved that a newspaper can have a mind of its own," Hutton wrote, "that the editor can speak right out in meeting, as it were, and at the same time operate a successful business. Too many newspaper men are prone to let the almighty dollar influence their every

action and refrain from having an opinion contrary to the popular one,” he added, “I have never let such things dictate and have taken my stand as I thought right regardless of the popularity of it.” One day later, Wimberly paid homage to his longtime friend in the last “SnapShots” instalment ever. He described Hutton Bellah as “one of the hardest working men” he had ever met, a decent and free newsman who had bowed “to no clique or klan, recognizing no restraint when expressing opinions.” Soon, he added, “some good town in Oklahoma” would get “a fighting editor who [would] put some real life into its newspaper.” Wimberly was right: although Hutton did not know yet what the future would bring, he had no intention of leaving Oklahoma or the publishing business.

Whatever the plans were at the time, the Black Tuesday of October 29, 1929, shattered them all. The Bellahs lost over \$35,000 in the stock market crash, and set out to move to Los Angeles to rejoin Lillian’s relatives and look for a new start.<sup>14</sup>

## II

Moving from a small town in rural Oklahoma to Southern California was nothing less than a shocking jump into modernity. A metropolis of 1.2 million inhabitants, Los Angeles in the 1920s had become the fastest growing urban area in the United States, thanks to the arrival of thousands of immigrants attracted by the promise of unlimited economic opportunity and a world-famous climate. A steady flow of capital and a booming real estate market reshaped the urban landscape: oil fields were excavated just a few miles from downtown, while the rise of Hollywood as the latest epitome of the American frontier prompted the building of new hotels, shopping districts, and theaters. As tourists flooded in, Los Angeles cleaned up its slums and adorned itself with architectural gems: the Pasadena Rose Bowl was completed in 1922, the Public Library in 1926, and the Hollywood Bowl in 1929.<sup>15</sup>

With a cars-per-resident ratio thrice the national average, the City of Angels also led America’s motorization. The multiplication of private vehicles carrying commuters back and forth from the ever-expanding suburbs fostered the creation of a complex system of high-speed superhighways—a far cry from the deserted roads where Hutton’s tires would get punctured three times during the 140-mile trip from Altus to Oklahoma City. The development of the Major Traffic Street Plans of the 1920s fostered in turn the creation of a number of new business districts. A couple of miles down the road from the condo on Queen Anne Place where the Bellahs first settled down, for example, visionary

developer A. W. Ross was turning a hitherto unpaved portion of Wilshire Boulevard into the so-called Miracle Mile, a commercial stretch designed to attract motorized consumers using modern retail and advertising techniques. As one of the many “boosters and shamans” of the 1920s, Ross contributed to transforming Southern California into a magical place where anything seemed possible. “The future is yours,” wrote Bruce Bliven in 1927, “And the past? There isn’t any.”<sup>16</sup>

In theory, Los Angeles was the best place to be for a bright and dynamic young man—the materialization of that blend of progress and freedom that Luther Hutton Bellah Jr. had always longed for. At the same time, its size and complexity might have seemed too wide a sea to someone who was used to swimming in a pond. Although he received good offers from a number of newspapers, on December 28, 1929, Hutton disappeared. But in spite of the grim content of the few letters he sent Lillian, who soon discovered she was pregnant again, he had no intention of killing himself: he first headed to New York City, where he started introducing himself as William A. Lee, the last remaining scion of a historic Southern family. During a vacation in Cuba he met one Miss Catherine R. Blythe and followed her to Chicago, where they got engaged. On April 18, 1930, five days before their wedding, he fled to Madison, Wisconsin, where he got engaged again, this time to a young music teacher, Edna Louise Schatz. The couple married in Rockford, Illinois, on July 17, 1930, and then moved to Yuma, where Lee, sticking to his Altus pattern, bought a local newspaper and made himself a name as an entrepreneur.<sup>17</sup>

Things, however, were far from settled. Early in 1931, Bill Lee was approached by an Altus acquaintance who questioned his identity. Investigations had been started by Harrington Wimberly after he had spotted some familiar lingo, such as Hutton’s trademark “the missus,” in the editorial column of the *Arizona Sentinel*. At about the same time, Lee had been writing to a millionaire friend, Lew Wentz, asking for a loan to rescue his new journal from financial disaster. The prospect of being identified as Hutton Bellah and then tried for bigamy was the proverbial straw that broke the camel’s back. In a crescendo of fear and anxiety, on April 6, 1931, Bellah/Lee shot himself in the head while Edna was doing chores in the room next door—“I can’t go on,” he wrote in his suicide note, “I am sorry. I am not all bad.” Contacted by Wimberly, Lillian Bellah traveled to Arizona with her sister to identify the body—“I am positive that is my husband” was all she said. After a vigil ceremony in Yuma, Molly Emaline Jones took the remains of her disgraced son back to the Bellah-Scott-Jones clan’s big white house in Saint Jo, Texas, where there was a solemn

funeral paid for by Wentz. Neither Lillian nor Edna was among the hundreds of people who attended the ceremony.<sup>18</sup>

Soon after her husband's death, Lillian had little Hutton III's name changed to Robert Neelly Bellah.<sup>19</sup> "Bob," as everybody called him, grew up in the Mid-Wilshire neighborhood in Los Angeles with his mother and sister, Hallie Virginia, born on May 12, 1930, under the stern authority of Lillian's older sister, Elizabeth, and her doctor husband, Clifford A. Wright. Born in 1882, "Uncle Clifford" worked as the senior attending physician at the Psychoendocrine Clinic of the Los Angeles County General Hospital and an associate professor of clinical medicine at the College for Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda. The clinic, which Wright had helped found, was a free public institution devoted to the scientific study of cases that showed both psychotic and endocrine gland symptoms. In particular, Wright's clinical research focused on homosexuality as a natural condition due to congenital imbalances of masculine and feminine hormones. His late-1930s articles on the subject were strongly criticized by Alfred C. Kinsey, then a taxonomist known for his work on gall wasps, and led him to the study of human sexuality. An old-style Presbyterian matron, "Aunt Bessie" supported her husband as a member of the State Board of the Woman's Auxiliary to the California Medical Association and the one-time chair of its Los Angeles chapter. In spite of their close-knit relations, the members of the Wright-Neelly-Bellah clan held opposite political persuasions: while Clifford and Bessie were staunch supporters of free capitalism and the Republican Party, Lillian remained true to Hutton's Southern Democrat roots without properly being on the left.<sup>20</sup>

At the time of his third birthday on February 23, 1930, little Bob had been waiting in vain for his father to come home from his "long trip" and help him cut his cake. He was finally told of Hutton's death a couple of years later, at a time when the effects of the Great Depression were sorely testing the City of Angels and its sparkling image as the capital of unlimited opportunity. Wages fell rapidly as tens of thousands of immigrant agricultural workers flooded the fields of Southern California, and class and ethnic confrontations became a permanent feature of the metropolitan landscape. By June 1934 one-fourth of all Californians depended on some form of public assistance, and one-third of these lived around Los Angeles County. After the Dust Bowl of the mid-1930s, the flow of indigent families from the Great Plains and the Southwest became so intense that in 1937 the so-called Anti-Okie Law was passed to prevent further immigration. In the meantime, affluent Anglos had moved to the suburbs

to shun the arrival of undesired ethnic minorities and the decadence of old business districts.<sup>21</sup>

The times were trying, but Lillian had the money from her husband's generous life insurance and a little help from the Wrights to support her family without being forced to get a job. Walking in Hutton's footsteps, Bob soon developed a consuming passion for reading difficult books and penning short stories, poems, plays, and even faux newspapers. In a short autobiography written at the age of ten, he declared his love of history and geography, his distaste for spelling and Chinese food, and his ultimate plan "to make the world a better place to live in." Lillian took great pride in the academic achievements of her children, and regularly did parent-teacher association work for their schools. She also kept strong ties with former students from the University of Oklahoma, and enjoyed the occasional trip across the Mexican border, while Bob and Hallie stayed with Aunt Bessie and Uncle Cliff. Bob's favorite time of year was the summer, when he spent his time swimming and riding horses at camp.<sup>22</sup>

As the 1930s came to an end, Lillian Bellah took a job as a wedding director at the Shatto Chapel of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, where she arranged ceremonies, decorations, and parties. Following his mother, Bob started attending Sunday school at the huge gothic building completed in 1932 at the intersection of South Commonwealth Avenue and Sixth Street. There he developed a strong interest in politics, thanks to a young minister who taught a radical reading of the Old Testament books of Amos and Hosea. Struck by the power of the Social Gospel, Bob turned into a passionate New Deal Democrat. As the most learned and the only male member of the family, he had already acquired a position of advantage vis-à-vis his mother and sister: not only could he do whatever he wanted whenever he wanted, but Lillian had developed such an intense dependency upon him that a teenage rebellion became almost unthinkable. After graduating from the John Burroughs Junior High School with the highest of honors, Bob was ready for the next step: Los Angeles High, the oldest and most revered public secondary school in Southern California.<sup>23</sup>

### III

Robert Bellah enrolled at LA High in the winter of 1942. By that time the Wall Street Crash had become a distant memory: massive public undertakings such as the Arroyo Seco Parkway and the Colorado River Project had boosted the

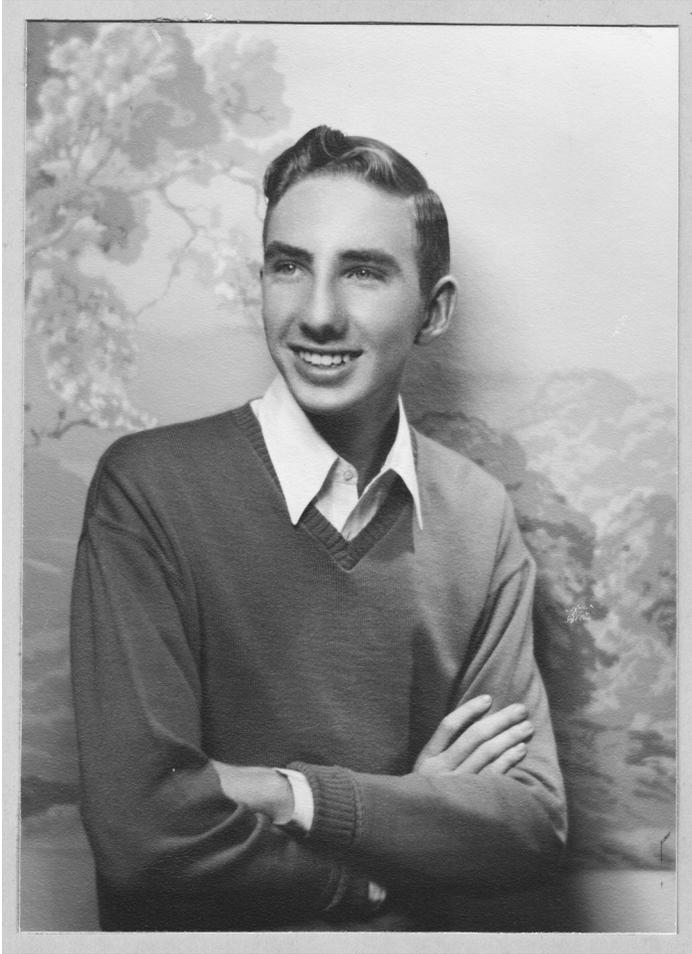


FIGURE 1.3. Robert N. Bellah as a teenager, early 1940s. (RBPP)

Californian economy and, with it, the Republican Party—the elective affinity between the ethos of suburbia and Hoover’s progressivism made sure that the New Deal would never win the hearts, or the votes, of white middle-class Angelenos. The time of symbolic reflection on the American Dream initiated by Black Tuesday was over, and the City of Angels had emerged once again as the capital of glamour and fun. Contrary to the dark predictions of forced citizens like Bertolt Brecht, Thomas Mann, or Theodor Adorno, the metropolis thrived as the living illustration of “California as pleasure principle,” a place where all were allegedly granted the possibility of conducting a life of pure enjoyment

without ever having to justify themselves. To the dispassionate observer, in 1942 Los Angeles looked “beautiful but dumb, an Attica minus the intellect,” a metropolis that “lacked ambition and generosity of spirit,” a “screwy” place where unadjusted people would live in a “utopia touched by sadness.”<sup>24</sup>

To the eyes of fifteen-year-old Bob Bellah, Los Angeles was not at all beautiful, just dumb. A typical “brain,” nerdy student, Bob did not really care about the judgment of his far-too-different peers—he took pride in the fact that his Saturday nights at the Los Angeles Philharmonic and the Hollywood Bowl, where he worked as an usher in order to attend classical music performances for free, were as far as could be from an average night out in Southern California. At school he befriended mostly Jewish students, with whom he shared an interest in liberal politics, the writings of Karl Marx, symphonic music, opera, and poetry; he also became an avid reader of the novels of Thomas Wolfe and Arnold Bennett, which he had found in the old trunk where his father had once kept his revolver. Unlike most Americans, who thought that the war would change little of their everyday lives, Bellah was an enthusiastic interventionist and closely followed the unfolding of tragic events in Europe, devouring dailies and periodicals.<sup>25</sup>

Walking in Hutton’s footsteps, in the fall of 1944 Bob became the editor of the school newspaper, the *Blue and White*. For six months he performed his task smoothly and responsibly, publishing all kind of serious and facetious news and paying scrupulous attention to even the smallest detail. In his weekly column—“Inside L.A.”—he addressed local political and ethical problems, such as the adjustment of first-year students and the correct functioning of the merit system, but also the pros and cons of student government, in which he himself participated as an officer in a number of councils and committees. As the 1944 presidential election approached, Bob started to deal with more general issues in a way reminiscent of his father’s political columns in the *Altus Times-Democrat*. His editorial of October 23, 1944, for example, offered a poignant portrait of his generation: “Born out of depression, we had just arrived in junior high when the world went to war,” he wrote. “The United States has been into war ever since we came to L.A. [High]. We cannot remember back to when there was no war.” The consequences were appalling: “We may have become so used to war that we consider it inevitable.” He warned, “we must fight against that attitude and prepare to accept a reality we have never known peace—peace which was denied us by some leaders of the past generation. They betrayed us and they betrayed our brothers and friends fighting on foreign soil.”<sup>26</sup>



FIGURE 1.4. The staff of the *Blue and White*, including Melanie Hyman (*far left*) and Robert Bellah (*middle*). (1945 *Yearbook*, Los Angeles High School)

Bellah's interest in political and ethical matters suffused the articles he wrote in the wake of his graduation in December 1944. While admitting that his attempts to improve the school had not been entirely effective, Bob praised "the beginning or widening of a movement for a more liberal and democratic system here."<sup>27</sup> He also commended the ethos of unceasing self-improvement of LA High and called for its renewal: "Every term we are faced with the challenge of continuing and enlarging this spirit," he exhorted his fellow students. "Its price, like that of liberty, is eternal vigilance. If we allow the small groups to come first, if we give our loyalty first to them and then to the school, the whole basis of the greatness of L.A. [High] is gone. That the whole is more important than any of its parts must be our doctrine."<sup>28</sup>

Bellah's inspired collectivism was, to say the least, exaggerated. His teenage years in Los Angeles had made him into a competitive individualist determined to excel and lead in each and any situation. If these traits made him into a veritable replica of his father, Bob lacked Hutton's grace and savoir faire—he had explicitly wanted his photo to be published at the top of his column to accentuate his "you may despise me, but I'm right here in your face" attitude. He had to be a winner, and this required him to keep his feelings and doubts about himself locked inside, where no one could see them. Thus, when he met

with his LA High counsellor he had only two ideas in mind: he wanted to get into the best college he could afford and put as much distance as possible between himself and shallow Southern California. Harvard seemed to be a natural solution, and Bob was so sure he could do it that he decided to apply there and nowhere else. In her letter of recommendation, Professor Mary Howell praised his ability to articulate complex ideas, his deep social concern, and “the courage of [his] well considered convictions,” but remained silent on his blatant superiority complex. The wager was successful, and Bob was accepted as a member of the Harvard Class of ’48 on a generous scholarship.<sup>29</sup>

For 150 years, the Bellahs had unfailingly headed west. Looking for a better life, they had become merchants and explorers in South Carolina, planters and slave owners in Tennessee, physicians in Arkansas, and Freemasons in Texas. They had found and lost a fortune in Oklahoma and resettled in Los Angeles in hope and pain. Now Robert Neelly Bellah, formerly known as Luther Hutton Bellah III, was leaving home to move back to the East Coast, albeit to a place that was miles away, both geographically and culturally, from the shores of Sullivan’s Island where his ancestor, William Ballagh from County Antrim in Northern Ireland, had first set foot in 1692 with a hundred pounds in his sack. Things were about to change, and dramatically so.<sup>30</sup>

## INDEX

- Abbasid Empire, 74
- Aberle, David F., 31, 35–36, 44, 65, 73
- academic freedom, 58, 201
- academic life, 4, 30, 67, 220
- Adair, Peter, 207
- Adams, James Luther, 209
- Adams House (Harvard), 20–21, 149
- administered society, 288
- Adorno, Theodor W., 12, 52
- African Americans, 25, 115
- Agamben, Giorgio, 360
- Agassiz neighborhood (Cambridge, Massachusetts), 67
- AGIL scheme, 55–57, 62–65, 68, 136, 138, 190–91, 329
- Agnelli, Giovanni “Gianni,” 121
- Agnew, Spiro, 169
- Ahlstrom, Sidney E., 177
- Aird, Enola, 268
- Alasia, Franco, 390n9
- Alberigo, Giuseppe, 390n9
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., 147, 232, 244, 286
- Alfred, Randy, 182
- Allen, Jimmy, 225
- Allport, Gordon W., 39, 42
- Almond, Gabriel A., 67, 71, 152
- Altus, Oklahoma, 1, 4, 6–9, 24, 30–31, 359, 365n15
- Altus Times-Democrat*, 4, 6–8, 13, 24, 31, 365n18
- Amaterasu, 185
- ambiguity, 104, 178–79
- ambivalence, 102, 108, 110, 179, 216, 292, 339, 341, 345
- America. *See* United States of America
- American Academy of Religion, 126, 289, 291, 298, 349
- American Atheist Center, 188
- American civil religion: Bellah’s moving on from, 221; Bellah’s narrative on, 96–99 (*see also* American exceptionalism; “Civil Religion in America” (Bellah)); Bellah’s new approach to, 170–71, 173, 175, 179, 183 (*see also* *Broken Covenant, The: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Bellah)); Bellah’s public speaking and association with, 159, 164, 170, 187, 349; debate on, 113–15, 154, 171, 177–78, 185–86, 189, 256, 259, 306; definition of, 342; Falwell as an idolatrous interpreter of, 230; as a modern religion, 122; O’Hare and Bellah on, 187–89. *See also* civil religion
- American Civil War, 97, 173–74
- American exceptionalism, 264, 288, 312
- American Graffiti* (film), 168
- American imperialism, 311–12
- American Journal of Sociology*, 145, 177, 274, 344
- American Kinship: A Cultural Account* (Schneider), 135
- American Sociological Association, 98, 130–32, 134, 177, 222, 232, 286, 292, 319, 335, 386–87n9. *See also* American Sociological Society
- American Sociological Review*, 49, 247, 274, 292
- American Sociological Society, 17, 49, 130–31, 222. *See also* American Sociological Association

- American Soldier, The* (Stouffer), 35  
Amherst College, 39  
*An American Family* (TV show), 168  
Andover Hall. *See* Harvard University, Divinity School  
Angelou, Maya, 296  
*Anglican Theological Review*, 178  
Anthony, Dick, 304–5  
anthropology, 29–31, 35–37, 39, 136, 351  
anxiety, 9, 49, 53–54, 57, 61, 102, 104, 107, 118, 137, 165, 218, 239, 318, 335, 357  
aortic stenosis, 357  
*Apache Kinship Systems* (Bellah), 49, 330  
aphorism, 112, 117, 300, 378n27  
“Apocalypse” (Brown), 117, 140, 204  
Apter, David, 152, 162, 390n22  
Aptheker, Herbert, 28  
Aquinas, Saint Thomas, 329, 354  
Arabs, 60, 79  
*Arbella*, 173  
area studies, 44–45, 69–71, 134, 185  
Arendt, Hannah, 232, 266  
Arima Tatsuo, 75  
Aristotelianism, 231, 252  
Aristotle, 27–28, 231, 253, 266, 324–25, 327–30, 352  
*Arizona Sentinel*, 9  
Arnason, Johann, 310, 323, 345–46  
Arrow, Kenneth, 152  
articulation/re-articulation, 213, 218, 240, 295, 336  
Asimov, Isaac, 280  
Assmann, Jan, 310, 323–24, 326  
Athens, Greece, 77–78, 86, 354  
*Atlantic Monthly, The*, 30, 77–78, 81  
Atran, Scott, 307  
Augustine of Hippo, 67, 354  
Australian aboriginals, 89, 304  
authoritarianism, 183, 187  
authority, 58, 198, 229  
axial age: Bellah’s four cases from the, 314–15, 320; Bellah’s interpretation of, 341–43; in Bellah’s work, 310, 314–15, 317, 330; civilizational analysis based on the idea of, 312–13; concept/definition of, 309–10, 317, 341; contemporary moral resources and, 348, 353; disappearance and reemergence of the concept of, 309–10; discussion of and the “axial age roadshow,” 315–16, 321–26, 329–30, 344–46; human evolution and, 315–17, 330, 355 (*see also* evolution); Japan as non- or pre-axial compared to the United States as post-axial, 312–13; roadshow/network focused on, 315–16, 322, 324. *See also* “What is Axial about the Axial Age?” (Bellah)  
axial shade, 342–43  
Bach, Johann Sebastian, 333  
*Badlands*, 168  
Baigan Ishida, 51, 74  
“Baigan and Sorai: Continuities and Discontinuities in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Thought” (Bellah), 186  
*bakufu* model, 185  
Bales, Robert Freed, 39, 65, 101  
Baltzell, E. Digby, 257  
Barbara (Tammy’s friend), 164–65  
Barber, Benjamin, 267  
Barber, Bernard, 74, 133, 136  
Barrett, Nathaniel, 344  
Baryshnikov, Mikhail, 296  
Barzun, Jacques, 42  
basic social science, 35, 39, 41  
BASR. *See* Bureau of Applied Social Research  
Bateson, Gregory, 29–30, 369n43  
Baudrillard, Jean, 311  
Beatty Lecture, 179  
“Behavioral Model of Rational Choice, A” (Simon), 68  
Bell, Daniel, 209, 221, 225, 246–47, 263, 284–85  
Bellah, Abigail “Abby”: birth and childhood of, 81–82, 149, 155–56, 167; death of, 192–93; death of, impact on other family members of, 194, 196, 203, 208, 328; on family life

- for the Bellahs, 192; funeral service for, 198; Hally and, 167, 172; lawsuit and compensation for the accident that killed, 242; photos of, 84, 109; Tammy's death, reaction to, 166
- Bellah, Hallie Virginia, 10–11, 16, 49
- Bellah, Lillian (née Neelly), 4–5, 8–11, 16, 22, 26, 30, 33, 52, 236, 365n17, 365n19
- Bellah, Luther Hutton, III: birth of, 4; name changed from, 10; photo (baby) of, 5; in “SnapShots,” 7. *See also* Bellah, Robert Neelly
- Bellah, Luther Hutton, Jr.: and Mex, 3–4; as newspaperman, 4, 6–8, 24; photo of, 2; as a soldier at the southern border, 2–3; as a soldier in World War One, 3; as a teenager, 1; at the University of Oklahoma, 3–4; as William A. Lee, 9
- Bellah, Luther Hutton, Sr., 1
- Bellah, Melanie Claire (née Hyman): as an editor of *Blue and White*, 14; as an undergraduate at Stanford, 32–33; birth of, 32; Communist Party, expulsion from, 35–36; death of, 333; extramarital affairs, 195–96, 332; genealogy of, 32; health problems, 293, 332–33; in Japan, 82; legal career of, 120, 149, 153, 155–56, 167, 172, 241–42; marriage, status of, 46, 48–49, 108, 194–96, 202–3, 213–14, 216, 236, 293–94, 333; meeting and marriage to Robert, 32–33; as a mother, 50, 57–58, 66, 77, 81–82, 87, 108, 149–50, 158, 165–67, 191–94; Parsons and, 46–47; photos of, 14, 34, 84, 214, 297; Tammy, book about, 241–42, 293; Tillich and, 333
- Bellah, Robert Neelly: in the army, 22–26; birth of, 4; childhood of, 10–15; Communist Party, expulsion from, 35–36; death of, 357–58; as editor of *Blue and White*, 13–14; father, unfinished relationship with, 52, 91, 112–13, 215; as a father, 57–58, 81, 150, 158, 164–67, 191–94; first solo trip across the country, 16–17; joyful seriousness of, 359–61; marriage of, 31–33, 46; name changed to, 10; National Humanities Medal, recipient of, 295–97; “nothing is ever lost” principle/mantra, 316, 338, 344–46, 352, 356; “The One Male,” 204, 215; photos of, 5, 12, 14, 34, 72, 84, 159, 214, 247, 279, 285, 297, 348, 360; sexuality of, 198–99, 202–5, 207, 213–19, 235–36, 238–39; son, desire for having a, 374n33; as a teacher, 139–42, 147–48, 265–66, 292; as undergraduate at Harvard, 17, 20–22, 26–31, 36
- works by: *Apache Kinship Systems*, 49, 330; “Baigan and Sorai: Continuities and Discontinuities in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Thought,” 186; “Between Religion and Social Science,” 126, 144, 184; *Beyond Belief* (see *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (Bellah)); *Broken Covenant* (see *Broken Covenant, The: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Bellah)); “Brown in Perspective,” 139, 301; “Civil Religion in America,” 96, 98, 113, 138, 170–71, 183, 188, 259, 283, 298, 319; “Confronting Modernity: Maruyama Masao, Jürgen Habermas, and Charles Taylor,” 352–53; *Émile Durkheim on Morality and Society*, 142–43; “The Five Religions of Modern Italy,” 158, 319; “Flaws in the Protestant Code,” 291, 319; “Glock paper,” 65, 83, 95, 98–99, 322; “God, Nation, and Self in America,” 312–13; *The Good Society* (with Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton) (see *Good Society, The* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); *Habits of the Heart* (with Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton) (see *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); “The Heritage of the Axial Age: Resource or Burden,” 324, 328; “The House Divided,” 288–89, 415n12; “Human Conditions for a Good

- Bellah, Robert Neelly (*continued*)  
Society" (Bellah), 226; *Imagining Japan: The Japanese Tradition and Its Modern Interpretation*, 312–14; *Ishida Sensei Jiseki* (translated), 56; "Is There a Common American Culture?," 289–91, 319; "Japan, Asia, Religion," 184; "The Japanese Emperor as a Mother Figure," 185; "Meaning and Modernization," 98; "The Myth of the Middle Class in Japan" (with Craig), 73–74; *The New Religious Consciousness* (with Glock), 181–83, 189, 205; "The Place of Religion in Human Action," 299; "Prelude in the Theater," 354; "Program in Social Change" (with Geertz), 339; "Prologue in Heaven (or Hell)," 354; "Religion and Polity in America," 169, 172; "Religion and the Legitimation of the American Republic," 189; *Religion in Human Action* (proposed title), 108, 143; *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (see *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Bellah)); "Religion in the Process of Cultural Differentiation," 63, 80, 299, 351; "Religious Evolution," 89, 91, 145, 212, 291–92, 299–300, 319; *The Robert Bellah Reader* (edited by Tipton), 319, 337; "The Roots of Religious Consciousness," 302–4, 352; "Social Science as Moral Inquiry," 305; "Some Suggestions for the Systematic Study of Religion," 56, 63–64, 111, 299; "Some Thoughts on a Typology of Religion," 299; "Symbolic Realism: Structuralism or Hermeneutics?," 305; *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan*, 70–71, 73–76, 138, 142, 176, 186, 250, 351; "Transcendence in Contemporary Piety," 111–12, 134, 383n22; "Transformations in Modern Japanese Thought," 185; *Varieties of Civil Religion* (with Hammond), 242, 259; "What is Axial about the Axial Age?," 315–17, 319, 324, 338, 342, 344. *See also* Bellah, Luther Hutton, III
- Bellah, Thomasin "Tammy": birth of, 57–58; drugs, use of, 149–50, 158; photos of, 84, 109; suicide of, 164–65; as a teenager, 149–50; "The Search for Freedom," 151, 155, 164
- Bellah affair at Princeton, 155–63, 165, 172, 176–77, 179–80, 320
- "Bellah and His Critics: An Ambiguity in Bellah's Concept of Civil Religion" (Lockwood), 178
- Bellah-Guther, Harriet "Hally": Abby and, 172; Abby's death, reaction to, 192–94; ballerina, career as, 242–43; birth of, 91; California, return to, 294; childhood of, 149, 155–56; Germany, life in, 294; goodbye before Bob's surgery, 357; photos of, 109, 297; Tammy's death, reaction to, 166; as a teenager in Berkeley, 167, 194, 242
- Bellah Maguire, Jennifer: birth of, 66; childhood of, 81–82, 149, 155–56, 167; China, trip to, 348; in college (and Paris), 192–94; goodbye before Bob's surgery, 357; lawyer, career as a, 242–43, 281, 294; Los Angeles, move to, 243; marriage to Christian Romon, 242–43; marriage to Stephen Maguire, 294; as Melanie's confidante, 195; photos of, 84, 109, 297, 348; Tammy's death, reaction to, 166
- Benedict, Ruth, 76
- Benjamin Franklin Chair at the University of Pennsylvania, 159
- Bennett, John C., 157, 175
- Bentley, Eric, 202
- Berger, Peter L., 121, 123, 182, 221, 266, 280
- Berkeley, California: atmosphere of, 105, 114; Cragmont Avenue, 192; First Congregational Church, 168; Free Speech Movement, 100, 106–7, 148; Herrick Hospital, 192; looking for a home in, 104; Marin Avenue, 192; Melanie's death in, 333; Other Ways School, 149–50; Pacific School of Religion, 193; People's Park,

- 125; Saint Mark's Episcopal Church, 239–40; student revolts in, 105–7; Tammy's description of, 108 (*see also* Bellah, Thomasin (Tammy)); Telegraph Avenue, 105; Willard Junior High, 125. *See also* 10 Mosswood Road; San Francisco, California; University of California, Berkeley
- Berkeley Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, 134, 352
- Berkeley Graduate Theological Union, 100, 140, 147, 149, 169, 181, 270, 275, 277, 293
- Berkeley Religious Consciousness Group, 172, 181
- Berkes, Niyazi, 62
- Bernard, Jessie, 392n38, 395n27
- Bernardin, Cardinal Joseph, 285
- Berry, Wendell, 260, 311
- Bersani, Leo, 233
- Bershady, Harold J., 190, 232
- “Between Religion and Social Science” (Bellah), 126, 144, 184
- Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (Bellah): autobiographical nature of, 319, 337; Burke's commentary on, 162; description of, 143–45; Harper and Row as publisher of, 242; McCarthyism hinted at in the introduction to, 200; National Book Award, nominated for, 148; optimistic outlook on the counterculture in, 148; religious symbolism seminar, required reading for, 156; reviews of, 145; success of, 147, 302
- Bhargava, Rajeev, 322
- Bible, the, 117, 264
- bicentennial of the United States. *See* United States bicentennial
- Big Bang, 331
- Big Brother and the Holding Company, 104
- Bigelow, Perry, 269
- Bird, Kai, 317
- Birnbaum, Norman, 221, 395n27
- Black Power, 122
- Black Tuesday, 8, 12
- Blake, Corey, 276
- Blake, William, 118, 292
- Bloom, Allan, 295
- Bloom, Harold, 279
- Blu, Karen, 320
- Blue and White* (newspaper), 13–14, 17, 32
- Blumer, Herbert, 223
- Blythe, Catherine R., 9
- Boalt Hall, 195. *See also* University of California at Berkeley, School of Law
- Bobbio, Norberto, 390n9
- Boehm, Christopher, 308
- Bok, Derek, 317
- Bolshevik Revolution, 59
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 323
- Bontadini, Gustavo, 390n9
- Booth, Wayne C., 284
- Borel, Armand, 152
- Borovoy, Amy, 186
- Bortolini, Matteo, 322–23, 349–50, 359, 361, 429n29, 430n35
- Boston, Massachusetts, 16–18, 43, 77, 132–33. *See also* Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University
- Boston Brahmins, 18
- Boston Dance League, 46
- Boston School for Marxist Studies, 28
- Boston Symphony Orchestra, 22
- Boulding, Kenneth, 207
- boundary problems/situations, 68, 218–19
- Bouwmsma, William J., 157, 161
- Boyer, Pascal, 307
- Brahmanism, 343
- Brazelton, T. Berry, 281
- Brecht, Bertolt, 12
- Brinton, Crane, 48
- Broadway (New York), 23
- Broken Covenant, The: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Bellah): American utilitarian individualism found in, 324; Bellah's description of, 313; debate on, 221; as departure point for Habits group, 211; external contracts-internal covenants

- Broken Covenant, The: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial (continued)*  
in, 226; overview of, 172–75, 176–77;  
Parsons’s reaction to, 176, 190–91; personal  
introduction to, 172, 337; reviews of/praise  
for, 175, 177, 183; symbolic realism absent  
from, 184; tradition, recognition of role  
of, 197, 249; Weil Memorial Lectures  
published as, 172
- Brooks, Gwendolyn, 260
- Brown, Jerry, 224, 254
- Brown, Norman O.: “Apocalypse,” 117, 140,  
204; Bellah, influence on/in the work of,  
122, 127, 137–39, 143–44, 148, 158, 162, 170,  
172, 180, 196, 218, 233, 300–301; counter-  
culture and, 141, 180; critiques of, 117–18;  
Freud, interpretation of, 116–17; ideas  
of poetry, 204; *Life Against Death*, 116;  
*Love’s Body*, 116–18, 137–41, 148, 156, 176,  
300–301; Marcuse and, 118; “Nobby” as  
nickname of, 118; at Stanford, 92
- Brown, Willie, Jr., 205
- Browning, Robert, 27
- “Brown in Perspective” (Bellah), 139, 301
- Brueggemann, Walter, 308
- Bruner, Jerome, 39, 68, 102, 139, 233, 301, 304,  
315–16, 324, 340, 344
- Bryn Mawr College, 172, 196, 242
- Buber, Martin, 308
- Buchanan, Patrick: “this war is for the soul  
of America,” 282
- Buck, Paul H., 19, 27, 39
- Buddhism, 85, 90, 158, 193, 303, 312, 315, 325,  
343
- Bundy, McGeorge, 58, 60–61, 200–202, 210,  
317–18
- Burawoy, Michael, 223, 292, 298
- Bureau of Applied Social Research  
(Columbia University), 71, 79
- Burgalassi, Silvano, 390n9
- Burghardt, Gordon, 331, 341
- Burke, Kenneth, 74, 93, 108, 111, 135, 138–39,  
162, 175, 392n37
- Burtchaell, James, 128
- Bush, George H. W., 268
- Bush, George W., 310, 313, 320
- “Buycentennial sellabration,” 187. *See also*  
United States bicentennial
- Caddell, Pat, 225, 411n40
- Cairo, Egypt, 77, 351
- Cairo University, 77
- California: Berkeley (*see* Berkeley,  
California); Los Angeles (*see* Los  
Angeles, California); loyalty oath  
controversy, 106; Orinda, 104; Palo  
Alto, 33, 65, 71, 92, 101, 212 (*see also*  
Stanford University); as “pleasure  
principle,” 12–13; Proposition 13, 228;  
San Francisco (*see* San Francisco,  
California); weather in, 8, 92, 101
- California Master Plan for Higher Education,  
106
- Calvin, John, 354
- Cambridge, Massachusetts: Agassiz  
neighborhood, 67; Bellah’s initial arrival  
in, 17; Bellah’s return to from Canada,  
66–67; Harvard Square, 20; Melanie’s  
move to, 33; Paul Tillich Memorial  
Lecture, 355–57
- Cambridge University, 52, 55
- Camic, Charles, 363n11
- Campbell, Will D., 296
- capability, 340
- Carnegie Corporation, 39, 41, 44, 152
- Carter, James Earl, Jr. “Jimmy,” 189, 191,  
224–29, 269, 281
- Carter, Rosalynn, 225
- Casanova, José, 321, 324
- Cassirer, Ernst, 63, 74, 156
- Castoriadis, Cornelius, 336
- Casuse, Larry, 173
- Catholic Church/Catholicism: anti-Catholic  
rhetoric, 6; Bellah and, 263–65, 285,  
291; the “Catholic imagination,” 291;  
charismatic renewal of, paper on, 181;  
ecumenicism, Second Vatican Council  
decree on, 100; Madsen and, 211; Moral

- Majority and, 229; post-conciliar as exemplar of the “public church,” 262; the “Protestant principle” and, 351, 356; Secretariat for Non-believers, 120; sexual practices, obsession with, 265; social science and, symposium on, 120–25; subsidiarity, principle of, 275; Weber’s depiction of, 80
- Caucus for a New Political Science, 386n5
- Cavazza, Fabio Luca, 150
- Cavell, Stanley, 157
- Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (Stanford), 65
- Center for East Asian Studies (Harvard), 70, 76
- Center for International Studies (MIT), 63, 71
- Center for Middle Eastern Studies (Harvard), 65, 67, 70
- Chan, Anita, 243
- Charlottesville, Virginia, 24
- Cherniss, Harold, 152, 161
- China: Bellah’s comparative studies of, 51, 56–57, 74–75, 430n41; Bellah’s competence on, 336; Bellah’s trips to, 347–49; Buddhism as the source of transcendence in, 85; Elisséeff’s comparative study of, 45; Fairbank in, 45; Japan and, 51, 56, 74–75; in Jaspers’ historical study, 309; Madsen’s study of revolutionary asceticism in, 211; as one of Bellah’s historical/axial societies, 63–64, 309, 314, 322, 325, 328, 336, 343; the United States and, 45; Weber’s comparative study of, 48
- Chomsky, Noam, 290
- Chopp, Rebecca, 321
- Chronicle of Higher Education*, 319
- Church of Satan, 181
- Cicourel, Aaron, 232
- civic humanism, 234
- civic republicanism, 229–30, 266
- civil religion: American (*see* American civil religion); Bellah’s definition/concept of, 113, 143, 179, 342; classical, 173; Japan and the United States compared regarding, 312–13; philosophical utilitarianism separated from, 169; public theology and, distinction between, 170; revolutionary potential of, 170; as Rousseau’s term, 96; summer workshop on, 196
- “Civil Religion in America” (Bellah), 96, 98, 113, 138, 170–71, 183, 188, 259, 283, 298, 319
- civil war, 187. *See also* American Civil War
- Clark, Wesley, 320
- class. *See* middle class; social class
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham, 282, 296–97, 326, 417n34
- Clinton, William Jefferson “Bill”, 269, 282, 286–87, 295–97, 310, 411n41
- Coffin, William Sloane, 207
- cognitive development: Bruner’s model of, 139; Kohlberg’s model of, 324
- Cohen-Cole, Jamie, 27
- Coleman, John A., SJ, 193, 292, 310
- Coles, Robert, 220
- collective effervescence, 142, 173, 302
- college: collegiate life for Bellah, 20–22, 27–28; evolution of the institution, 17–19; World War Two and, 19–20
- Collins, Randall, 316, 321, 334
- Colorado Plateau, 50
- Colton, Joel, 207
- Columbia University, 23, 42, 52, 59, 65, 69, 71, 79, 88, 267; Bureau of Applied Social Research, 71, 79
- Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, The* (Gouldner), 132
- coming out, 217, 219, 402n20
- Commentary*, 106, 228, 255, 258
- Committee for the Comparative Study of New Nations (U. of Chicago), 71, 88
- Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 114, 386n5
- Committee on Comparative Politics (SSRC), 67, 74
- Committee on Concentration in the Area of Social Science (Harvard), 38

- common good, 229, 234, 251–53, 272, 280–81, 353
- common sense, 71, 111, 141, 183
- Commonweal*, 313, 326
- Communist Party—USA, 28, 35, 49, 58, 82, 114, 200
- communitarian/communitarianism:
- American populist tradition and, 279;
  - Etzioni and core group of intellectuals supporting, 267–69, 286; Guttman’s attack on, 266; the Habits group’s work associated with, 266–67, 270, 273, 286;
  - individualism versus, 267–68, 270;
  - neoconservative perspective on, 258;
  - Puritan roots as, 174; Sandel on, 266
- communitas*, 302–3
- “communities of memory,” 248, 256
- community: American, 282; Bellah’s, 240; the boundaryless, 122, 174–75; building, Bellah on, 174; the church as, 262, 264, 288; civil religion and, 113; “cult of the small,” 266; Durkheim on the relationship between man, transcendence and, 142; fundamental, basic truth as, 302; gay in San Francisco, 205–6, 217, 402n19; the Habits group’s understanding of, 286; individualism and, opposition of, 251, 287, 296; international, 85; Japan, “community of contrition” in, 75; of Jews in New Orleans, 32; language of, 248, 268; MacIntyre’s vision of, 231; of Mormons, 49; national, 169, 246; of Puritans, 107; religious evolution and, 89; the sangha as, 236; of scholars, 157, 270; *ummah* as community of the righteous, 60; understanding of by interviewees, 209, 248; university (Berkeley), 106, 115, 239; values and, 210; vital, participation in, 281
- comparative approach in social science, 62, 70
- Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures (Harvard), 43–44
- Compton, Arthur Holly, 37
- Conant, James B., 19–21, 37–39, 70
- conflict: in America, 124; in the Bellah affair at Princeton, 164; between Bellah’s universal history and conservative Christian theology, 351; at Berkeley, 92 (*see also* University of California, Berkeley); at the Stanford Center for Advanced Study, creation and, 92; class in Japan, 75; contradictory sets of embattled principles as cause of, 187; global, 25; inner, study of, 126; institutions and potential sites of, 274; between market individualism and religiously inspired activism, 230; of the mid-2000s, 321; in modernity, 353; as part of a “living tradition,” 252; reforms opening Harvard to diversity and, 18; social existence and, 211; between a society and its civil religion, 179; Tillich on, 53; the Vietnam War, 114
- “Confronting Modernity: Maruyama Masao, Jürgen Habermas, and Charles Taylor” (Bellah), 352–53
- Confucius, 309, 324, 342, 350
- Congress for Cultural Freedom, 71
- connectedness/interdependence/interconnectedness, 250–51, 271, 274–75
- consciousness: altered states of, 112, 141; in the axial age, 309; Bruner’s model of, 301, 304, 315, 340; contemporary, unbelief and, 122; the counterculture and, 302; expanded, 144; false, 248, 251; human, 275; individual and collective, intersection of, 101; “lantern” and “spotlight,” distinction between, 337; levels of, 126–27, 139, 148; of the middle-class American, 251; national, 170, 173; of the problem of ends, 182; religion as a form of, 300; religious, 124, 182–83, 340; reunification of, 122–23, 125, 139; self-, 75, 305; sexuality, power, and, connections between, 217–18; symbolic, 139, 145
- conservatism, 189, 267
- “conserved core processes,” 344
- Contemporary Sociological Theories* (Sorokin), 38

- Contemporary Sociology*, 177, 274  
Cooke, Cardinal Terence, 225  
Cornell University, 36, 133  
Cowell, Megan, 280  
counterculture, 105, 141, 148, 173, 180–83, 187, 302–3  
*Courage to Be, The* (Tillich), 52–54, 57  
covenant vs. contract, 226  
Cox, Harvey, 268, 356, 385n18  
Cragmont Avenue (Berkeley), 192  
Craig, Albert M., 74, 76, 82–83, 95, 162, 185, 264  
Craig, Sarah, 264  
Craig, Teruko, 264  
Crews, Frederick, 117  
Crichton, Judy, 296  
Crout, William, 355  
Csíkszentmihályi, Mihály, 274, 337  
cultivation, 252, 264, 275  
cultural hegemony, 256, 259  
culture, theory of, 63, 99, 135–36, 244, 249, 290–91, 315–16, 325, 338–43, 353  
culture wars, 230, 264, 268, 273  
Cuomo, Mario, 267  
Curran, Charles E., 265  
cybernetics, 29–30, 69, 71, 93, 136  
  
*Daedalus*, 68, 95, 98, 158, 309  
*Daily Worker*, 29  
Danbom, David B., 276  
Danforth Foundation, 143  
Dante Alighieri, 28, 340, 354  
Dark Deep Mystery Club (DDMC), 3–4  
Day, Dorothy, 109  
Deacon, Terrence, 308  
Dean, Howard, 320  
“Death in the Western World” (Parsons), 190  
Declaration of Independence, 187  
deconstructionism, 185  
DeCraemer, Willy, 190  
*Deepest Day, The: Studies in the Mythic Dimension of American Culture* (Bellah), 151, 184. See also *Broken Covenant, The: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Bellah)  
“Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cock-fight” (Geertz), 154  
Demerath, N. J., III “Jay,” 125  
Democratic Leadership Council, 267, 269  
Democratic Party, 6, 25, 189, 205, 261, 267, 269, 320, 326. See also Carter, James Earl, Jr. “Jimmy”; Clinton, Hillary Rodham; Clinton, William Jefferson “Bill”  
Department of Social Relations (Harvard). See Social Relations, Department of (Harvard)  
de Sola Pool, Ithiel, 71  
development: civil religion and, 97; cognitive, Bruner’s model of, 139; Cold War notions of, 71 (see also modernization theory); economic in Japan, 56, 71; of knowledge, 131; secular, Protestantism and, 290–91; as unilinear process, 79, 89; utilitarian ideal of individual freedom as a twisted, 174  
de Vries, Hent, 322, 340  
Dewey, John, 273, 278–79, 329  
Diamond, Jared, 331  
Diamond, Sigmund, 199–201, 317  
Dickinson College, 164  
Dilthey, Wilhelm, 197  
Dionysus, 116–18, 196  
discipline, 22, 140, 176, 218, 234–35, 252, 306  
*Discourses on Livy* (Machiavelli), 172  
Dittes, James E., 127, 385n16  
Divinity Hall (McGill), 62  
Divinity School (Harvard), 37, 70, 100, 119–20, 210  
divorce, 271, 294  
Dolci, Danilo, 390n9  
Donald, Merlin: ancient Greece as the instantiation of theoretical culture, selection of, 341; Bellah’s use of, critics on, 344; evolutionary stages of human culture, 315–16, 324, 340–41; introductory email to, 308; symposium on the axial age, attendance at, 323–24  
Doniger, Wendy, 349  
Dore, Ronald, 152, 160, 391n32  
Douglas, Kirk, 32

- Dovre, Paul J., 284  
Drake, John, 29  
Dreyfus, Alfred, 160, 179  
Dreyfus, Hubert, 197, 233–34  
Driskell, David C., 296  
drugs, 105, 149–50, 242, 302. *See also* heroin  
Dumont, Louis, 208  
Dupree, A. Hunter, 190  
Durkheim, Émile: Bellah's interpretation of, 142–43; in Bellah's teaching, 102, 140–42, 172, 210, 386n28, 388n32; in Bellah's theoretical frameworks and work, 89, 93, 108, 126, 151, 157, 175, 180, 235, 298, 302, 388n32; Bellah's work described as analogous to, 321, 345; on the categorical imperative, 232; counsel to Carter, called upon in, 226; the Dreyfus affair and, 179; false religions, on the absence of, 386n28; Habits group and, 250, 274; interpretation of religion in America and, 97, 171; Lockwood-Bellah exchange, called upon in the, 178; Parsons and, 35, 40, 47, 388n32; public intellectual, ideal of, 115, 170; religion, definition of, 340–41, 386n28; as role model/hero, 88, 115, 160; society, definition of, 142  
Dylan, Bob, 101  
Dyson, Freeman, 152, 160  
  
East Bay Sanctuary Covenant, 240  
Easton, David, 71  
economic crisis, 25–26  
economic democracy, 230, 288  
Economics Department (Harvard), 37, 40  
*Economy and Society* (Parsons and Smelser), 68, 100  
Eden, Philip, 257  
Edwards, Harry, 115  
Effrat, Andrew, 209  
Ehrenreich, Barbara, 263  
Einstein, Albert, 151–52, 155, 164  
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 49  
Eisenstadt, Shmuel N.: the axial age and the axial age roadshow, 309–12, 315–16, 322; in Bellah's teaching, 197, 292; correspondence with, 287; death of, 333; “eventless historical narrative” of, 342; the Habits group and, 237; interdisciplinary work of, 152; “multiple modernities,” 309, 323; personal and intellectual background, 308–9; reading of, 289; seminars with, 89  
Eisler, Gerhardt, 31  
elections. *See* presidential campaigns  
*Elementary Forms of Religious Life, The* (Durkheim), 142, 386n28, 388n32  
Eliade, Mircea, 137, 156, 304  
Eliot, Charles W., 18  
Elisséeff, Serge, 45, 51, 59, 82  
elitism, 261  
Elkana, Yehuda, 310, 316, 321  
Elshtain, Jean Bethke, 268, 284, 319  
Emerson Hall (Harvard), 38–39, 94  
*Émile Durkheim on Morality and Society* (Bellah), 142–43  
Emory University, 244, 280  
empires: Abbasid, 74; America as self-righteous global, 313; ancient, 89; Babylonian, 80; Egyptian, 80; of evil, 245; hierarchical, emergence of, 341; Russian, 32  
empiricism, 40  
“Enlightenment fundamentalism,” 264  
Episcopal Radio and Television Foundation, 280  
Erfurt conference on the axial age, 321–26  
Erikson, Erik H., 69, 92–93, 191, 377n6, 380n13  
*Eros and Civilization* (Marcuse), 117  
Esalen Institute, 110  
eschatology, 313  
ethnocentric bias, 75  
Etzioni, Amitai, 267–69, 286  
European cinema, 22  
evil, 165–66, 169, 226, 231, 245, 311, 313  
evolution: the axial age and, 315–17, 330, 355 (*see also* axial age); Bellah's personal, 213; in Bruner's theory of consciousness and representation, 301; complex and

- discontinuous, 81; cultural, 88; Darwinism and, 324; definition of, 89; modernity and human, 351–54; progress and, refusal to equate, 89; of religion (*see* religious evolution); social/societal, 55, 88, 152, 209; unilinear, 79, 89, 301; widening scope of Bellah's work on, 331–32, 338, 344, 351–52. *See also* modernization theory
- evolutionary psychology, 308, 320
- evolutionism, 88–89, 136
- exemplary leadership, 238
- Exorcist, The* (movie), 168
- experience: contradictory, 219; of flow/*theoria*, 337–38; human, 110, 119, 196, 217; lived, 125, 140, 263; of loss, 194; of morality, 209; religious, 53, 141; symbols and, 110–12, 128, 136, 219, 248–49; theory and, intersection of, 144
- expressive individualism, 237, 250, 257
- Faculty of Arts and Sciences (Harvard), 27, 58
- Faculty of Divinity (McGill), 59
- Fairbank, John K., 31, 45, 70, 76, 82–83, 161
- faith: acceptance of multiple religions and, 355; analysis couched in, 184; courage and, 54; the Habits group and, 262–63; justification by, doctrine of, 53; of Muslims, 60, 79; “Sheilaism” as, 262; Tillich and, 54, 91
- Fallers, Lloyd, 71, 95
- false conscience, 249
- Falwell, Jerry, 224, 228, 230, 264
- “family values,” 229
- Far Eastern Languages, Department of (Harvard), 45
- Faris, Ellsworth, 49
- Faris, Robert, 49
- Farnsworth, Dana L., 61, 202
- fascism, 25, 353
- father/fatherhood: as a, 57–58, 81, 150, 158, 164–67, 191–94; excitement about imminent, 51; unfinished relationship with suicidal, 52, 91, 112–13, 215
- Fatigue Laboratory (Harvard), 38
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI): Harvard's appeasement of/collaboration with, 58, 204; interview of Bellah, 61, 200
- Federal Power Commission, 24
- feminine/masculine, 10, 118, 185, 218
- feminism, 134
- FIAT, 120–21
- Fichter, Joseph H., 178
- Fingarette, Herbert, 127, 156, 338
- Finnegans Wake* (Joyce), 117
- First Congregational Church (Berkeley), 168
- First Congregational Church (Los Angeles), 11, 16
- Fischer, Claude, 238
- Fishkin, James, 268
- “Five Religions of Modern Italy, The” (Bellah), 158, 319
- “Flaws in the Protestant Code” (Bellah), 291, 319
- Flexner, Abraham, 151
- Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 120–21, 150, 388n36
- Ford, Gerald, 186, 224
- Ford Foundation: area studies, funding of, 44, 375n15; Bellah, funding of, 212, 221, 376n22; Bellah and Glock, funding of, 181; Bundy as president of, 200; Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, sponsorship of, 65; Humanistic Perspectives on Major Contemporary Issues program, 243; officers specializing in the Far East, Madsen's chapter focusing on experiences of, 273; Sharpe at, 208, 210, 221; Smith on Bellah in a report to, 62; Sutton at, 133; Tipton, funding of, 210
- Foreign Morale Analysis Division, Office of War Information, 38
- Forman, Phillip, 155
- Fort Dix, New Jersey, 23–24, 204
- Foster, James, 205
- Foster, Marcus, 168
- Foster, Steve, 213
- Foucault, Michel, 208, 233–35, 305, 339
- Four-function model. *See* AGIL scheme

- Fowles, John, 118
- Fox, Renée C., 48, 133, 190, 220, 222, 307, 319, 397n24
- fox vs. hedgehog, 319–20
- Frank L. Weil Memorial Lectures, 151, 154, 169–70, 172–73, 177, 262. See also *Broken Covenant, The: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Bellah)
- Franklin, Benjamin, 250
- Fraser, Cecil E., 22
- freedom: academic, 58, 201, 317; in Berkeley, 102, 120; Catholic symposium and, 120–21; individualism/utilitarianism and, 172–74, 234, 290; at the Institute for Advanced Study, 151, 156–57; modernization theory and, 71; Muslim feeling for individual, 80; negative and positive, 173; religious, 290; of the San Francisco gay community, 205–6, 219; value, myth of, 131
- Freeman, Leonard, 264
- Free Press, The, 57, 67, 70
- Free Speech Movement (Berkeley), 100, 106–7, 148
- Freud, Sigmund, 35, 52, 56, 63, 93, 102, 104, 116, 126, 139–42, 190, 233
- Freud and Philosophy* (Ricoeur), 156
- Friedan, Betty, 268
- Frohnen, Bruce, 286
- Fromm, Erich, 148
- Frye, Northrup, 118
- Fukuyama, Francis, 268
- functionalism: Bellah and, 73, 136, 142, 171, 178; bourgeois, 75; cybernetic, 68; Parsonian, 62, 133; sociological, 124; structural-, 68, 88, 133. See also AGIL scheme
- fundamentalism, 231, 264
- Furry, Wendell, 201
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg, 197, 266–67, 305
- Gallup, New Mexico, 49, 173–74
- Galston, William A., 267–68, 283
- Gans, Herbert J., 286
- Garcelon, Marc, 307, 310
- Gardner, John W., 220, 225, 268
- Garver, Eugene, 328
- Gates, John, 28
- Gay, Edwin F., 38, 40
- gay liberation movement, 205, 217
- gay marriage, 265, 282
- gay politics, 217
- gay population of San Francisco, 205–6
- “gay power,” 217
- Geertz, Clifford: the Bellah affair at the Institute for Advanced Study and, 157–61, 163–64; in Bellah’s teaching, 140, 197; on culture, 249; death of, 319–20, 336; fieldwork abroad by, 44; at the Institute for Advanced Study, 152–54, 156; *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 136, 145, 197; interpretive anthropology, shift to, 135–36; large classes, annoyed by, 140; position at U. of Chicago offered to Bellah by, 88; praise for, 145; professional and personal relationship with Bellah, 62–65, 93, 99, 111–12, 134, 138, 148, 154, 157, 198, 222, 301, 303, 319–20, 336, 340, 342, 347; “Program in Social Change” (with Bellah), 339; “Religion as a Cultural System,” 111, 134, 136, 290, 301
- Geertz, Hildred, 44, 190
- gender baiting, 290
- General Motors, 242
- Gerhardt, John, 344
- Getchell, Philip A., 240
- Al-Ghazzali, 67
- Gibb, Sir Hamilton A. R., 65–67, 76, 99
- GI Bill, 22, 26
- Gibson, Dunn, and Crutcher, 243
- Giddens, Anthony, 208
- Gillespie, David M., 216
- Gingrich, Newt, 286
- Gini, Corrado, 37
- Ginsberg, Allen, 105
- Glazer, Nathan, 100, 106, 148, 268
- Glee Club (Harvard), 22
- Glendon, Mary Ann, 267–68, 280

- globalization, 271
- Glock, Charles Y., 64–65, 83, 100, 120–21, 148, 178, 180–82, 223, 238, 322
- “Glock paper” (Bellah), 65, 83, 95, 98–99, 322
- Gnosticism, 128, 279
- “God, Nation, and Self in America” (Bellah), 312–13
- Gödel, Kurt, 152
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 323, 354
- Goffman, Erving, 99–100, 135, 148
- Goldberg, Arthur J., 114
- Golden Gate Park, 104
- Goldman, Paulette, 165
- Goodin, Robert E., 257
- good life, 233–34, 353–54
- Good Society, The* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton): argument/content of, 271–75; campaign promoting and amplifying, 276–80, 284–85; celebration to launch, 270; Clinton (Hillary) and, 326; decline of mainline Protestantism, lament on, 287–88; *Habits of the Heart*, compared to, 270–73, 285; Moyers documentary focused on, 280–82; origins of, 265–66; popularity of, 285–86; responses to, 273–76
- Good Society Newsletter*, 280
- Good Society Summer Institute, 277, 280–81, 284–85
- Gopnik, Alison, 337
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 246
- Gore, Al, 310
- Gorski, Philip, 292, 307, 350
- Gottwald, Norman K., 307
- Gouldner, Alvin W., 22, 92, 131–33
- government: Aristotelian analysis of, 325; Atlanta City, 281; disdain for, 311; federal, 20, 26, 38, 187, 228; Habits group perspective on, 271–72; Japanese, 82–83; Reagan on, 228; sociologists’ connection with, 131; student, 13
- Government Club (Harvard), 22
- graduate training, 18. *See also* teaching
- Grant, William, 257
- Grateful Dead, 104
- Great Awakening, 173
- Greece: Bellah’s competence on, 336; as one of Bellah’s historical/axial societies, 63–64, 309, 314, 320, 322, 325, 328–29, 336
- Greeley, Andrew M., 145, 178, 257, 275–76, 291
- Greenson, Daniel, 165, 203
- Grumelli, Antonio, 120–21
- Guhin, Jeff, 343–44
- Gurvitch, Georges, 130
- Guther, Andreas, 294
- Guther, Philip, 296; photo of, 297
- Gutmann, Amy, 266
- Habermas, Jürgen, 197, 222–23, 261, 265, 321, 323–26, 334–35, 352–53, 385n16, 403–4n38
- Habits group: common culture developed by, 246–47; communitarian movement and, 266–67, 269, 286; continued meeting of, 285; MacIntyre, meeting with, 239; major changes experienced by members of, 241, 243–44; nonstop traveling and exhaustion of, 276–77; origins of, 229; sourcebook produced by (*Individualism and Commitment in American Life*), 260; Sullivan’s conceptual categories used by, 229–30; Taylor’s ideas used by, 234–35; two-month writing session in Berkeley, 237. *See also* *Good Society, The* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton); *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)
- habits of the heart, 212, 235, 249, 252, 265
- Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton): advertisement for, 247; appendix to, 305; argument/content of, 248–53, 262, 289; Bellah’s response to reactions to, 258–61; Clinton (Hillary) and, 326, 417n34; *The Good Society*, compared to, 270–73, 285; introduction to 1996 paperback edition,

- Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (continued)  
288; methodology of defended by Tipton, 409n14; Moyers documentary and, 280; popularity of, 285–86; in the pre-publication stage, 233, 236–37, 240–41 (see also *Habits of the Heart*); publisher, selection of, 406n1; reactions to, 246–47, 254–58, 261, 263, 266–67, 274, 276; on the shelves for public consumption, 246
- Hadden, Jeffrey, 182
- Haight-Asbury, San Francisco, 104
- Halberstam, David, 201, 207
- Hall, John W., 160
- Hammond, Phillip E., 242
- happiness, 97, 101, 132, 233, 261, 271, 275, 293
- Harbison Award for Gifted Teaching, 143, 147
- Harding, Vincent, 256–57, 259
- Hare Krishna, 181
- Harootunian, Harry D., 162, 184
- Harvard Corporation, 38, 61, 318
- Harvard University: Adams House, 20–21, 149; anticommunism at and Bellah's departure for McGill, 58–61; Bellah as graduate student at, 36, 44, 46–48, 56; Bellah as undergraduate at, 17, 20–22, 26–31, 35–36, 47–48; Center for East Asian Studies, 70, 76; Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 65, 67, 70; Committee on Concentration in the Area of Social Science, 38; Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures, 43; Department of Economics, 37, 40; Department of Far Eastern Languages, 45; Department of Social Ethics, 38; Department of Social Relations (see *Social Relations*, Department of (Harvard)); Department of Sociology, 37–38, 100, 148, 190; Divinity School, 37, 70, 100, 119–20, 210; Emerson Hall, 38–39, 94; evolution of from Eliot to Conant, 18–20; Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 27, 58; Fatigue Laboratory, 38; Glee Club, 22; Government Club, 22; the “Harvard complex” at, 144; Harvard Yard, 17, 21, 38, 67, 357; Houghton Chair in Theology and Contemporary Change, 119, 385n25; house system, 18; Laboratory of Social Relations, 39; lectureship for Bellah, 70; Liberal Union, 22; McCarthyism and, 200, 202, 204, 317–18; Memorial Hall, 36; “Olympus Complex,” 22; Philosophy Club, 22; Program on World Religions, 70, 76; Psychological Clinic, 38, 42, 61; Russian Research Center, 66; Sanders Theater, 126, 128, 134, 138, 144, 305, 339; Society of Fellows, 18, 38, 48, 133; sociology, social science, and academic structure at, 37–44, 69 (see also *Parsons*, Talcott); three-hundredth birthday, celebration of, 37–38; William James Hall, 381n17
- Harvard Values Study, 49–50
- Harvard-Yenching Institute, 45, 58, 82–83
- Harvard Youth for Democracy, 31
- Hauerwas, Stanley, 291, 310–11, 319
- Hauk, Gary, 260
- Havel, Václav, 275, 340
- Hayden, Tom, 254
- Healthy-Happy-Holy Movement, 181
- Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati), 151
- hedgehog and fox, 319–20
- Heesterman, J. C., 310
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 231, 233, 265–66, 345
- Hegelian, 138, 233, 304–5, 309, 335, 353
- Heinz, Donald, 182
- Helfaer, Phil, 102, 110
- Henderson, Lawrence J., 18, 27, 37–38, 40
- Hendrix, Jimi, 104
- Heraclitus, 342, 358
- Herbert, Harold Harvey, 3, 7
- Heritage of Sociology, The* (book series edited by Janowitz), 115, 143
- “Heritage of the Axial Age, The: Resource or Burden” (Bellah), 324, 328
- hermeneutics, 143, 157, 233, 235, 244, 249. See also interpretation
- heroin, 164–65. See also drugs

- Herrick Hospital (Berkeley), 192  
Hesse, Herman, 102, 193  
Heyck, Hunter, 68  
hierarchy, 90, 218, 231, 265, 392n38  
highbrow culture and scholar/student, 22, 26, 102, 199  
high modernism, 68–69, 71, 133, 137, 139, 152, 186, 227, 308–9  
Hill, Samuel S., 145–46  
hippies/bohemians, 20, 104, 123, 134, 180, 185  
Hiroshima, Japan, 23, 311  
Hirschman, Albert O., 268  
Hitti, Philip, 59  
Hobbes, Thomas, 117, 172, 175, 249, 327  
Hobhouse, Leonard T., 38–39  
Hochschild, Arlie, 210  
Hollis, Oklahoma, 1–3, 31  
Holloway, William J., 6  
Homans, George C., 27, 190  
Homer, 28, 309, 346  
homeroetic relations/love/intimacy, 199, 213, 215–16  
homosexuality: Bellah's internal struggle with, 213–19, 235–36; Catholic position on, Bellah's conflict with, 265; Club Baths episode, 207; Consenting Adult Sex Bill (California), 205; interview questions about, 61; new political movements and, 168; repression of in the academy, 202; in San Francisco, 205–7, 216–17; Sullivan, relationship with (*see* Sullivan, William M.); Wright's research focusing on, 10  
Hoover, Herbert C., 5–6, 12  
hope, 170, 261, 264, 275, 297, 324, 333, 354–56  
Horowitz, Irving L., 276, 412n14  
Hotel Parco dei Principi (Rome), 121  
Houghton Chair in Theology and Contemporary Change (Harvard), 119, 385n25  
“House Divided, The” (Bellah), 288–89, 415n12  
house system (Harvard), 18  
Howell, Mary, 15  
*How the Soviet System Works* (Kluckhohn), 68  
“Human Conditions for a Good Society” (Bellah), 226  
Hume, David, 27  
Hunthausen, Raymond (Archbishop of Seattle), 265  
Huntington, Samuel P., 61, 323  
Husserl, Edmund, 350  
“IBM plus Reality plus Humanism = Sociology” (Mills), 52  
*Imagining Japan: The Japanese Tradition and Its Modern Interpretation* (Bellah), 312–14  
Imperial University of Tokyo, 45  
Independent Progressive Party, 33  
India: Bellah's competence on, 336; Buddhism as the source of transcendence in, 85; Dumont fieldwork in, 208; as one of Bellah's historical/axial societies, 63–64, 309, 314, 322, 325, 328, 343, 346; Weber's study of, 48  
individualism: expressive, 237, 250, 257; “first language” of, 248, 262, 270; hegemony of utilitarian, 287; market morality and, 290; Tocqueville's critique of, 212; utilitarian, 172–74, 182, 191, 236–37, 249–51, 257–58, 270, 289–90, 324  
*Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (edited by Madsen, Sullivan and Tipton), 260  
individual rights, 251, 266, 268  
Indonesia, 44, 62  
industrialization, 45, 51, 76  
Ingersoll, Mary Augusta, 39  
“In God We Trust,” 188  
Inkeles, Alex, 39, 68, 94, 119, 136  
“Inside L. A.” (newspaper column), 13  
Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton): the Bellah affair, 155–63, 165, 172, 176–77, 179–80, 320; Bellah's temporary position at, 153–55; creation, development, and prestige of, 151–53  
Institute for Religious and Social Change (University of Hawaii), 181

- Institute of Islamic Studies (McGill), 59, 62, 69–70, 204
- institutions: academic, 105, 115, 149, 317 (*see also* Harvard University; University of California, Berkeley); American, 97, 266; the counterculture and, 302; embeddedness of as “habits of the heart,” 212; as focus of *The Good Society* project, 270–72, 274, 277–78; Islamic, 60, 62, 76; neocapitalism and, 289; religious, 90, 111, 331
- interconnectedness, 250–51, 271, 274–75
- interdisciplinarity, 44
- International Symposium on the Culture of Unbelief, 120, 180
- internet, 307, 343
- interpretation, 80, 110–12, 141–43, 154, 196–97, 230, 233–34, 305, 340. *See also* hermeneutics *Interpretation of Cultures, The* (Geertz), 136, 145, 197
- interpretive social science: as an interdisciplinary endeavor, 339; Bellah’s historical, 172, 175, 181; “Deep Play” (Geertz) as a classic of, 154; Durkheim as forerunner of, 142; the Habits group and, 211, 237, 259; interpretive anthropology as, 135–36; Parsons as anticipating, 223; at the Princeton Institute, 154–55; sociology of religion and, 146; symbolic realism as, 112, 186, 305; Weber’s interpretive sociology, 35; workshop and seminar on, 196–98
- Interpretive Social Science* (Rabinow and Sullivan), 211
- Inter-Religious Peace Colloquium, 208
- Interview*, 168
- Introduction to Cybernetics* (Ashby), 68
- Ishida Sensei Jiseki* (trans. by Bellah), 56
- Islam: Bellah’s view of, 80–81; modernization theory and, 79–80; religious evolution and, 81, 89–90, 315; Western study of at Harvard, 76–78; Western study of at the Institute of Islamic Studies (McGill), 59–60, 62, 69–70
- Israel: Bellah’s competence on, 336; Islam as the “light” of, 80; as one of Bellah’s historical/axial societies, 63–64, 80–81, 303, 314–15, 320, 325, 328, 342
- Istanbul, 77
- “Is There a Common American Culture?” (Bellah), 289–91, 319
- Italy, 150–51, 158, 293, 321, 390n9
- Jackson, Jesse, 225, 267, 272, 281
- Jaeger, Werner, 28
- James, Sydney, 58, 201
- James, William, 304, 329
- Jameson, Frederic, 257, 311
- Janowitz, Morris, 95, 115, 143
- Japan: Bellah’s work on, 45–46, 48, 51, 56, 73–75, 83–85, 91, 98, 184–86, 236; China and, 51, 56, 74–75; China and, study of, 51, 56; the emperor of, 75, 85, 185; Melanie’s interest in, 46, 87; modernization and, 73–76, 83, 85, 312; as non-/pre-axial civilization, 312, 343; surrender after dropping of atomic bombs, 23; symbolic realism applied to, 186; Tokugawa, 48, 56, 74 (*see also* *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-industrial Japan* (Bellah)); trips to (aborted and completed), 49, 82–84, 107; uniqueness of, 75; the United States and, 56, 74–75, 83–84, 264, 312–13; Western feudalism and, 74; Western study of, 45, 82, 88
- “Japan, Asia, Religion” (Bellah), 184
- “Japanese Emperor as a Mother Figure, The” (Bellah), 185
- Japanese studies, 88, 185
- Jaspers, Karl, 39, 309, 315, 324
- Java, 62–63
- Jay, Martin, 234
- Jeffers, Robinson, 101, 141
- Jefferson, Thomas, 250
- Jellinek, Georg, 289
- Jepperson, Ron, 292
- Jeremiad, 238, 272
- Jessie Ball duPont Fund, 280

- Jewish Institute of Religion (Cincinnati), 151  
Jews, 32, 229, 262  
Joas, Hans, 315, 321–23, 328, 334–35, 347, 350  
John Reed Club, 31  
John Reed Society, 28–29, 31  
Johnson, Benton, 177  
Johnson, Haynes, 225  
Johnson, Luke Timothy, 349  
Johnson, Lyndon B., 131, 220, 280  
Johnston, Henry S., 6  
John Templeton Foundation, 314, 321, 350, 352–53  
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, 28–29  
Jones, Emaline “Molly,” 1, 9, 31  
Jones, Oliver, 284  
Jones, Quincy, 296  
Joplin, Janis, 104  
Josiah Macy Foundation Conferences, 29  
*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 178, 274, 304  
journalism, 3–4, 6–8, 280  
*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 145, 292  
Juergensmeyer, Mark, 349  
Jung, Carl Gustav, 37, 101–2, 104, 108, 156, 304  
Jung, Matthias, 324  
justice: attainment of, 226; collectivist traditions and, 250; distributive/economic/substantive, 217, 229, 252, 272; divine, 341; proportional, 229; racial, 281; social, 122, 132, 217, 243; of the Sophists, 325  
*kairos*, 356  
Kamin, Leon, 29, 318  
Kansas Citizens’ Forum, 269  
Kant, Immanuel, 90, 232, 354  
Kantian/Kantianism/neo-Kantianism, 232–33, 235, 266, 335, 353, 356  
Kantorowicz, Ernst, 152  
Kaplan, Jeremiah “Jerry,” 57, 70  
Kaufmann, Stuart, 336  
Kaysen, Carl, 152–53, 155–57, 159–61, 163–65, 201  
Kazakevich, Vladimir, 28  
Keen, Sam, 180  
Keightley, David, 307  
Kennan, George, 152  
Kennedy, Edward Moore “Ted,” 224, 227  
Kennedy, John F., 85–86, 95–96, 98, 114, 152, 200, 280  
Kerry, John, 320  
Keys, Mott, 3–4  
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 115, 182, 229–31, 256, 260  
King, Rodney, 281  
Kinsey, Alfred C., 10  
Kirby, William C., 317  
Kirschner, Marc, 344  
Kitagawa, Joseph M., 95, 157  
Klausner, Samuel Z., 121, 126, 128  
Kluckhohn, Clyde, 35–36, 38–39, 42, 50, 68, 135  
Kluckhohn, Florence, 43–44, 94  
Knoerle, Jeanne, 277, 284  
Knorr, Karin, 232  
Kohl, Herb, 149, 389n7  
Kohlberg, Lawrence, 229, 324  
Köllhofer, Jakob, 350  
König, Cardinal Franz, 120  
Kristol, William, 257–58  
Kroeber, Alfred, 29, 135  
Ku Klux Klan, 4, 6  
Kurnik, Stanley, 149  
Laboratory of Social Relations (Harvard), 39  
Lakoff, George, 307  
Lamphere, Louise, 308  
Langer, Suzanne, 63, 111, 156  
Langer, William L., 65–66  
language: American morality and, 252; of basic social science, 35; Bellah’s study of, 48, 60; Brown’s theory and, 117, 139; employed by the interviewees of the Habits group, 237, 248–52, 262, 266, 270, 288; gendered, 185; of *The Good Society*, 272; human evolution and, 315–16;

- language (*continued*)  
Parsons's abstruse, 98; pragmatic of Clinton, 269; reality and, relationship between, 63; religious evolution and, 89; religious in presidential addresses, 283; symbols and, 68; two languages thesis, 252, 266
- Lao Tzu, 117
- Lasch, Christopher, 225, 254, 257, 266–67, 279  
“Law as an Intellectual Stepchild” (Parsons), 191
- Laws (Plato), 172
- lawsuits, 188, 203, 242
- leadership, exemplary, 238
- Lee, Tsung-Dao, 152
- Lee, William A., 9. *See also* Bellah, Luther Hutton, Jr.
- left-leaning patriotism, 187
- Leon, Eli, 236
- Lerner, Daniel, 78–79
- Lerner, Michael, 278
- Lerner, Murray, 101, 280
- Levellers, 38–39, 41–42, 92
- Levenson, Jon D., 308
- Levine, Donald N., 307
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 108, 208, 304, 319, 340
- Levy, Marion, Jr., 48, 73, 83, 133
- Lewis, Bernard, 152
- liberalism: of the Bellahs, 165; civil rights, 288; classical philosophers of, 172, 271; communitarian critique of, 266–68, 270; individualism/the market and, 208, 229, 245, 254, 271; modernization theory and, 71, 217, 273; neo-Kantian, 266; progressive, 228; welfare, 168, 288. *See also* utilitarian individualism
- liberal(s): the counterculture, criticism of, 148; intellectuals, 229; neoconservatives, opposition to, 244; universalism, 168
- Liberal Union (Harvard), 22
- liberal young men, 22
- Lidz, Victor M., 190, 232, 307, 397n24
- Liebow, Elliot, 286
- Life Against Death* (Brown), 116
- lifestyle enclaves, 248
- Lilly Endowment, 277
- Lippman, Walter, 273, 275, 278–79
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, 97, 99–100, 107, 152, 155, 182, 199–200, 209–10, 229, 285, 289
- Listening to America* series (Moyers), 281–82
- Little, David Mason, 21, 159. *See also* Adams House (Harvard)
- Locke, John, 172, 249, 271–72, 278
- Lockwood, Joan, 178
- London School of Economics, 39, 308
- Long, Anthony, 322
- Los Angeles, California: depicted in *The Good Society*, 281–82; First Congregational Church, 11, 16; growing up in, 10–15; Hally as a ballerina in, 243; as home to Jenny, 243; military service and, 22–23; Miracle Mile, 9; the Olympic Games in, 245; in the 1920s, 8–9; summers as an adult in, 30, 44
- Los Angeles High School, 11, 14, 366n26
- Los Angeles Public Library, 8, 23
- Los Angeles Times, The*, 187, 254–55
- Lovejoy, Arthur, 74
- Love's Body* (Brown), 116–18, 137–41, 148, 156, 176, 300–301
- Lowell, A. Lawrence, 18–19, 38
- Löwenthal, Leo, 100, 197, 234
- Löwith, Karl, 52
- Luce, R. Duncan, 152
- Luckmann, Thomas, 121–22, 124–25
- Luhmann, Niklas, 222
- Lukacs, György, 52
- Lukes, Steven, 274
- Lupton, Bob, 282
- Luther, Martin, 323
- Lynd, Helen, 29
- Lynd, Robert S., 28–29
- Lynd, Staughton, 29, 318
- Lynn, Robert W., 113
- Maccoby, Michael, 237
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, 172, 219
- Machinist, Peter, 310

- MacIntyre, Alasdair, 231, 233, 239, 266
- Madsen, Richard “Dick,” 244; China, visit to, 349; *The Good Society* (with Bellah, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton) (see *Good Society, The* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); Habits group, participation in, 211, 219–20, 238, 260, 273, 278–79, 321; *Habits of the Heart* (with Bellah, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton) (see *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); intellectual background and dissertation research, 211; photos of, 247, 279
- “magical year 1956, the,” 68
- Maguire, John, 307, 310
- Maguire, Melissa, 294, 296; photo of, 297
- Maguire, Stephen, 294, 296–97
- Magus, The* (Fowles), 118
- Mailer, Norman, 260
- mainline Protestantism, 267, 287
- Malcolm X, 115
- Malick, Terrence, 428n25
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, 37, 39
- Manilow, Lewis, 296
- Mann, Michael, 292, 331
- Mann, Thomas, 12, 78, 101, 314, 335
- Mannheim, Karl, 39
- Mansbridge, Jane, 267
- Mao Zedong, 348
- Marangudakis, Manussos, 324
- March, James, 152
- Marcuse, Herbert, 27, 118, 138, 222; *Eros and Civilization*, 117; *One Dimensional Man*, 117
- Marietta College, 39
- Marin Avenue (Berkeley), 192
- market, the/capitalism, 71, 174, 229–30, 245, 271, 282, 289–90
- Marshall, Alfred, 40
- Marshall Lectures (Cambridge), 55
- Martin, David, 121, 123, 321, 324, 344
- Marty, Martin E., 96–97, 121, 123, 170, 173, 177, 182, 262, 264, 295
- Maruyama Masao, 75–76, 83, 347, 353, 408n19
- Maruyama Takeshi, 241
- Maruyama Yukari, 241
- Marx, Karl, 13, 25, 27, 39, 115, 126, 138
- Marxism, 28, 31, 35, 89, 134–35, 191. *See also* materialism/materialistic explanations
- masculine/feminine, 10, 118, 185, 218
- Maslow, Abraham H., 109, 303, 337, 340
- Masrieh, Fouad, 154
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT): Center for International Studies, 63, 71
- materialism/materialistic explanations, 71, 75, 90, 126
- Mathewes, Charles, 344
- Matthiessen, Francis O., 28
- Mattson, Kevin, 225
- Maupin, Armistead, 199
- McCall Memorial Lecture, 168
- McCarthyism, 200, 202, 204, 317–18
- McClay, Wilfred, 319
- McGill University: Bellah at, 60–62, 66, 69, 204; Divinity Hall, 62; Faculty of Divinity, 59; Institute of Islamic Studies, 59, 62, 69–70, 204; Smith at, 59–60
- McKeon, Richard, 329
- McLuhan, Marshall, 117, 168
- McNall, Scott, 255
- McWilliams, Wilson Carey, 246
- Mead, George Herbert, 265
- Mead, Margaret, 29
- meaning: Brown’s annihilation of, 117; horizon of, symbolic realism and, 305; inner, 126; interdependence and moral, 281; moral, the Habits group and, 220, 252, 275; pattern of, 144; problems of, modernization and, 81, 85, 95, 98; religion and, 56, 65, 80, 90, 111, 263; social science and the search for, 145, 152; subjective, 35; Tillich on, 53–54, 57
- “Meaning and Modernization” (Bellah), 98
- “Me Decade,” 205, 224
- Meiji Restoration, 48, 56
- Meltzer, Roger, 200
- Memorial Hall (Harvard), 36

- Mencius, 336
- Mendelsohn, Everett, 58
- Mendieta, Eduardo, 343
- meritocracy, 19, 303
- Merton, Robert K., 42, 69, 88, 133, 157, 160, 163, 222, 305
- Mex (dog), 3–4
- Meyer, Josephine, 32
- Meyerson, Martin, 106
- Michelangelo, 333
- middle class: the Bellahs as, 149; Clinton addressing the, 269; the cocktail party and, 302; definition of, 256; focus on urged by Sharpe, 210, 241; in the Habits group work, 241, 247–48, 251, 256–57, 259–60; “irrational anxieties” for the future of, 96; morality and commitment of, inquiry into, 210; Other Ways for kids of, 149; politics and, 267, 269; the question of homosexuality for, 218; tourists at Haight-Ashbury, 104; white in Los Angeles, 12
- Middle East, trip to, 76–81, 90
- Mikulski, Barbara, 261
- Miles, Jack, 343
- military service, 22
- Milk, Harvey, 205, 217
- Miller, George, 152
- Miller, Perry, 65
- Millikan, Robert A., 37
- Mills, C. Wright, 52, 131, 133
- Mills, Theodore, 92
- Milton, John, 354
- “mimetic culture,” 315, 331, 338, 340
- minorities, 11, 122, 132, 169, 174, 186, 272, 282
- Miracle Mile (Los Angeles), 9
- Mitchell, Christine, 327
- Mitchell, Douglas, 314–15, 327–30, 335, 428n25
- modernity: American, 73, 84, 177; capitalism and, 356; the counterculture as a response to, 302; crisis of, 325; critical outlook on, maintaining a, 231; East Asian cultures and, 85, 212; human evolution, framed within, 351–53, 359; the iron cage of, 290; the Middle East and, 79–80; paths to, 73; pre-modern traditions and, search for the connection between, 305; promissory notes so far unpaid by, 353; religion and, the Weberian tradition and, 298, 302, 304, 309; rise of, problem for ancient civilizations created by, 60; the self at the center of, 91; tradition and, 71, 74, 169, 348; Western, 184, 297
- modernization theory: Bellah’s positioning within, 72, 78; criticisms and fading from favor, 185, 273, 408n19; Eisenstadt’s reevaluation of, 309–10; evolutionism and, 89; Geertz and a Weberian version of, 136; institutional foundations of, 71–72; Parsons’ reversal of, 124; unilinear development and, 73, 79, 89
- Modjokuto Project, 44
- Moltmann, Jürgen, 113
- Momigliano, Arnaldo, 315
- monarchy, 291
- Mondale, Walter, 225, 254
- monotheism, 80, 324
- Monterey International Pop Festival, 104
- Montreal, 61–62, 66–67, 302. *See also* McGill University
- Moore, Barrington, Jr., 39, 75–76, 131
- Moore, Clement, 158
- Moore, Wilbert E., 130
- “moral conversation,” 209, 220, 238, 277
- “moral ecology,” 230
- “moral education,” 268
- “moral emotivism,” 231
- moral ideas, 86, 105, 124, 191, 209, 219–21, 229–31, 248, 250–53, 257, 277, 281, 290, 305, 309, 312–13, 324–25, 347–48
- morality: activist style of learning and, 107; American, two languages of, 252; civic, 115; Durkheim on, 147; market, 290 (*see also* market, the/capitalism); middle class, 210 (*see also* middle class); of ordinary people, Tipton’s research on, 209; Potter’s work on, 220; religious, 98

- Moral Majority, Inc., 224, 229–30, 267  
Mormons, 49, 216, 373n32  
Morrill Act, 17  
Morris, Ian, 322, 325  
Morrison, Karl, 346  
Morrison, Toni, 296  
Moscone, George, 205  
Moss, Otis, Jr., 225  
Mosteller, Frederick, 39  
Mouw, Richard, 278  
Mowrer, O. Hobart, 38  
Moyers, Bill, 225, 280–81, 295  
Moynihan, Daniel P., 287  
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 333  
Mullins, Nicholas C., 387n9  
“multiple modernities,” 309, 323  
multiversity, 105–7  
Münch, Richard, 232  
Murdock, George P., 48  
Murphy, Michael, 110  
Murray, Henry A., 31, 38–39, 42  
Murray, John Courtney, 273  
Muslim Brotherhood, 60  
Myers, Robert J., 275, 284  
Myrdal, Gunnar, 52  
“mythic culture,” 315, 324, 340–41  
“Myth of the Middle Class in Japan, The”  
(Bellah and Craigh), 73–74  
  
Nader, Ralph, 287  
Nagasaki, 23, 311  
narcissism, 168, 251  
“narrative theology,” Hebrew Bible as,  
342  
National Association for the Advancement  
of Colored People (NAACP), 33  
National Book Award, 148, 255, 389n3  
National Council of Churches, 226  
National Endowment for the Humanities,  
196–97, 211–12, 221, 266, 304  
National Humanities Medal, 295–97  
*National Observer*, 161  
national scholarships, 19  
natural sciences, 27, 69, 152, 330  
  
Near East and Near Eastern Studies, 59, 80.  
*See also* Islam, Western study of  
Neelly, Lillian, 4. *See also* Bellah, Lillian  
(née Neelly)  
Nelson, Benjamin, 128  
neocapitalism, 288–89  
neoclassical economics, 40, 267  
neoconservatism, 228, 244, 257–58  
neo-Kantianism, 232  
neoliberalism, 353  
Neuhaus, Richard John, 258, 268  
Neumann, John von, 151  
New Deal, 11–12, 25, 228  
*New Foundations*, 29, 268  
New Left, 105, 181–83, 217, 228, 231  
New Orleans, Louisiana, 32  
*New Oxford Review*, 264–65  
new religious consciousness, 182–83, 238  
*New Religious Consciousness, The* (Glock and  
Bellah), 181–83, 189, 205  
*New Review of Books and Religion, The*, 184  
*Newsweek*, 161, 163, 225, 254  
New York City: City University of New  
York, 198; Fordham University, 197;  
Hally as a ballerina in, 243; homosexual  
experimentation in, 207; 1940s visits to,  
23–24, 26, 28; Parsons’ birth celebrated  
in, 312; speaking engagements in, 347;  
taking Melanie to, 48; William A. Lee  
in, 9  
*New York Review of Books*, 199–202, 287, 318,  
320  
*New York Times*, 113, 160–63, 171, 187, 276,  
344, 349, 392n38  
*New York Times Review of Books*, 254  
Nichols, Johanna, 307  
Niebuhr, H. Richard, 273  
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 52, 273  
*Night Before Christmas, The* (Moore), 158  
Nightingale, Andrea Wilson, 325  
Nin, Anais, 127  
9/11, 311, 314, 320  
1960s counterculture. *See* counterculture  
Nisbet, Robert, 100, 223

- Nixon, Richard M., 114, 167–69, 176, 183, 224  
Nobby. *See* Brown, Norman O.  
“nothing is ever lost” principle/mantra, 316, 338, 344–46, 352, 356  
Notre Dame, University of, 355  
Notre Dame de Grace (Montreal), 62  
Novak, Michael, 258  
Nozick, Robert, 229  
nurturance vs. dominance, 340  
Nussbaum, Martha, 231, 268, 280  
  
Oakeshott, Michael, 266  
Oakland Alta Bates Summit Medical Center, 357  
Oakland Ballet Company, 167  
Oakland Dominican Theologate, 100  
Obama, Barack Hussein, 326–27  
Obeyesekere, Gananath, 323  
Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society, Committee on (Harvard), 19, 27  
O’Connor, Sandra Day, 245  
O’Dea, Thomas, 50, 124, 386n33  
Odessa, Ukraine, 32  
Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 29, 38  
Office of the Coordinator of Information (Chungking), 45  
Office of War Information, 38  
O’Hair, Madalyn Murray, 187–89  
Oklahoma: Altus, 1, 4, 6–9, 24, 30–31, 359  
“Oklasodak brigade,” 2  
Oldenburg, Claes, 296  
Olsen, Tillie, 260  
“Olympus Complex” (Harvard), 22  
*One Dimensional Man* (Marcuse), 117  
“One Male, The,” 204, 215  
OPEC, 168, 224  
open marriage, 195, 203  
open mind: of Bellah, 57, 146, 202; Cohen-Cole’s conception of, 27; of the Levellers, 42  
Opler, Morris, 48  
Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 152  
Orientalism, 62, 78  
  
Orinda, California, 104  
Other Ways, 149–50  
Oval Office (White House), 23  
Oxford University, 59  
  
Pacific School of Religion (Berkeley), 193  
Paige, Jeffery M., 177  
pain: of the Bellah family, 165–66, 191–93, 195; Bellah’s personal, 52, 196, 215, 239, 320, 327; Bellah’s professional, 49, 259, 329; of death, 358; Melanie’s, 165, 202, 241, 332–33; modernization and, 85; personal and common, connection between, 169; sharing, the bond between Bellah and Mitchell and, 328  
Pakistan, 59  
paleolithic, 306, 308, 315  
Palo Alto, California, 33, 65, 71, 92, 101, 212.  
*See also* Stanford University  
Pareto, Vilfredo, 40  
Pareto Seminar, 38, 40  
Paris, 77, 192–94, 208, 243, 397n1  
Paris Peace Accords, 167, 194  
Parks, Rosa, 231, 279  
Parmenides, 342  
Parsons, Edward S., 39  
Parsons, Helen, 221  
Parsons, Talcott: abstruse language of, 98; AGIL scheme, 55–57; *The American University*, 227; archenemy of, 75; Bellah’s *Broken Covenant*, reaction to, 176, 190–91; on Bellah’s use of Durkheim, 388n32; at Cambridge, 52; celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of, 312; dancing with Melanie, 46–47; “Death in the Western World,” 190; death of, 221–23; *Economy and Society* (with Smelser), 68, 100; in Heidelberg, 350; in/on the discipline of sociology, 40, 130–34; institutional activities at Harvard, 40–41, 69–70, 94; Kantian position embraced by, 405n18; “Law as an Intellectual Stepchild,” 191; papers of, 322; personal and

- intellectual background of, 39–40;  
personal/social interactions with, 46–47,  
103, 193; as a professional colleague,  
63–65, 83, 87–88, 95–96, 101, 121, 128, 157,  
162, 189–91, 204, 209; protege of, concerns  
associated with being a, 98–99, 103, 107,  
119, 134–39, 143, 191, 222–23, 257, 313,  
317–18, 357; reality, understanding of,  
430n35; “The Relation of Values to Social  
Systems,” 55; *The Social System*, 35, 47,  
49, 372n25; *The Structure of Social Action*,  
35, 40; as a teacher and adviser, 35–36,  
41–43, 45, 48, 55, 57, 62, 73, 140, 238;  
teachers of, 39, 309; tensions with, 49,  
60–61, 123–24, 175–77; theories of/  
theorizing by, 40, 47, 52, 55–57, 63, 68,  
73, 84, 97, 99, 126, 133, 135, 190, 232–33,  
299, 301, 305, 331; “Toward a Common  
Language for the Area of Social Science,”  
38–39; *Toward a General Theory of Action*  
(*et al.*), 47
- participation: in the civil religion debate,  
177; economic, 272; emotional in the  
Crucifixion and Resurrection, 333; in  
high modernism, 68; in moral conversa-  
tion, 277; in a national debate, 226–27;  
political, 212, 220, 250, 268, 274; in a vital  
community, 281
- Partisan Review*, 117
- Pascal, Blaise, 117
- patriotism, 171, 183, 187
- pattern variables, 47, 56, 68, 73, 84, 136
- Patterson, Orlando, 268
- Pattullo, Edward L., 317
- Paul Tillich Memorial Lecture, 355–57
- Paul VI, 121
- PBS, 280
- Peace Corps, 122, 280
- Pelzel, John C., 45, 48, 60, 62, 73
- People’s Bicentennial Commission, 187
- People’s Park (Berkeley), 125
- Pepper, Claude, 25
- Perls, Fritz, 260
- Perot, Henry Ross, 279, 282
- personal identity, 122, 213
- Peters, Charles, 225, 411n40
- Phi Beta Kappa, 4, 33, 36–37, 41, 46, 370n57
- Philadelphia Inquirer*, 162
- philia*/friendship, 213
- Philosophy Club (Harvard), 22
- Pitirim A. Sorokin Award, 177
- Pitkin, Hannah, 232
- Piven, Frances Fox, 274
- “Place of Oriental Studies in a Western  
University, The” (Smith), 59
- “Place of Religion in Human Action, The”  
(Bellah), 299
- Plato: the axial age in Greece and, 309, 342;  
*Laws*, 172; the Mitchell-Bellah dispute  
and, 328–30; as one of Bellah’s passions,  
231, 327; the Parable of the Cave, 325,  
351; “Prologue in Heaven (or Hell),”  
discussed in, 354; *Republic*, 325, 327; the  
spirit of Athens and, 78; undergraduate  
discussion of/encounters with, 27–28;  
“We are sentinels on the wall,” 193
- Platonist, 327–29
- play, 337, 340–41, 355
- pluralism: Bellah’s platonism and, 329;  
political in contemporary America, 229;  
religion and, 140, 346, 350–51; social,  
*Habits* and, 260; social in early America,  
174; in sociology, 133
- Pocock, J.G.A., 231
- Polanyi, Karl, 273
- political centrism, 282, 310
- political pluralism, 229. *See also* pluralism
- polymorphous perversity, 116
- Ponti, Giò, 121
- Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 121
- populism, 261, 279
- Porter, Charles O., 394–95n18
- Porter, Samuel C., 310–11, 320, 333, 357
- Port MacArthur, 23
- postcolonial analysis, 152, 185
- Potter, Ralph, 220, 407n6
- Powell, Jody, 226
- “Prelude in the Theater” (Bellah), 354

- pre-modern societies, 302
- presidential campaigns: 1928, 6; 1944, 13;  
1952, 49; 1976, 173, 189; 1980, 228–29; 1992,  
267–69, 282; 2004, 320; 2008, 326–27;  
2016, 417n34
- Princeton, New Jersey, 151, 153–56, 158,  
164–66, 168, 179
- Princeton University, 59, 65, 73, 133, 153, 156,  
164. *See also* Bellah affair; Institute for  
Advanced Study
- Program on World Religions (Harvard),  
70, 76
- Project Camelot, 131
- Project Community, 149
- “Prologue in Heaven (or Hell)” (Bellah), 354
- “promissory notes,” 353
- Protestant Era, The* (Tillich), 53
- Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,  
The* (Weber), 350, 361
- Protestant ethic thesis, 48, 62, 73, 137, 292,  
408n19
- Protestantism: fundamentalist, 264;  
mainline, 262, 287
- Protestant Reformation, 90, 288, 290
- Protestant theology, 136, 291, 351
- psychoanalysis, 42, 118, 136, 195
- Psychoendocrine Clinic of Los Angeles  
County General Hospital, 10
- Psychology Today*, 180
- psychotherapy, 35, 195, 220
- “public church,” 262
- public dialogue/debate, 246, 252, 272
- public intellectual(s), 75, 115, 131, 170, 180,  
227, 258, 268, 273, 304, 310, 347
- public philosophy, 229–30, 263, 266, 293
- public sociology, 286, 293
- public sphere, 41, 96, 185, 220, 227, 230–31,  
251, 259, 261
- public theology, 170–71, 187, 189, 230, 263
- Pulliam, Eugene C., 7
- Pusey, Nathan, 58, 61, 70, 88, 200–201, 317–18
- Putnam, Robert, 288
- Pye, Lucian, 71
- pyramids of Giza, 77, 81, 334, 351
- Quanah, Texas, 30–31
- Rabinow, Paul, 198, 213, 220, 226, 233–34
- race-baiting, 290
- racial discrimination, 29
- Radcliffe College, 33, 209
- Radical Caucus (in anthropology), 386n5
- Radical Religion*, 169
- Rajagopal, Arvind, 307, 339, 352, 356
- Ramah, New Mexico, 49, 373n32
- Randall, Claire, 225
- RAND Corporation, 161
- Random House, 266
- Rasmussen, Larry, 278
- rationalization: of means, 56; overreaction  
to in Parsons’ view, 191; Weberian,  
75–76
- Rawls, John, 209, 229
- reactionary backlash to gay politics, 205
- Reagan, Ronald, 115, 125, 224, 227–29, 241,  
244–45, 254, 404n12
- reality: alternatives of, 141, 169; Bellah’s  
perspective on, 118–19, 123–28, 180, 186,  
196, 301, 331, 337; language and, 63, 117; in  
Parsons’ theoretical scheme, 47, 222, 232,  
331, 430n35; pedagogy in the classroom  
and, 141; religion and external, 305, 340;  
religious, 97, 342; symbols and, 93, 111–12,  
116, 118, 135, 141, 248–49; on television, 168;  
transitional objects and, 137; triangular  
relation of individuality, tradition, and,  
197
- Redfield, Robert, 379n33
- Reich, Robert, 288
- Reichardt, Richard, 29
- Reischauer, Edwin O., 31, 45, 48, 76, 83, 86,  
157, 160, 162
- “Relation of Values to Social Systems, The”  
(Parsons), 55
- relativism, 305, 350
- “relaxed spaces,” 341
- religion: AGIL scheme applied to, 57;  
American, 83–86, 95–99, 170–71, 182–83  
(*see also* civil religion); axial, 313; basic

- function of, 303; Bellah's personal practice of, 239–40, 263–65; biblical, 182–83; civil (see civil religion); definitions of, 56, 111, 127; emergence of world, 64; evolution of (see religious evolution); Habits group's attention to, 262–63, 273, 287–88; habits of the heart rooted in, 212; individualism and, 289–91 (see also individualism); Islam (see Islam); Japanese, 51, 56 (see also *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (Bellah)); modernization and, 79; primitive, greatest achievement of, 302; scientific and humanistic approaches to, 126–29; secularization and, 65, 68; Smith on the study of, 59–60; the social sciences and, 94; sociology of (see sociology of religion); symbolic realism and the study of, 144–45; symbols and, 93, 110–12, 301–2; teaching of, 139–42, 147, 303–4; “To put it bluntly, religion is true” (Bellah), 127, 305; tribal, 308, 314, 351; unbelief, symposium on, 120–25
- Religion, Brain, and Behavior*, 345
- “Religion and Polity in America” (Bellah), 169, 172
- “Religion and the Legitimation of the American Republic” (Bellah), 189
- “Religion as a Cultural System” (Geertz), 111, 134, 136, 290, 301
- Religion in Human Action* (Bellah; proposed title), 108, 143
- Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Bellah): account of the content of, 335–43; Bellah's reactions to the reactions to, 345; book tour/lecturing about, 346–51; cover of, 351; as a marathon research and writing project, 314–17, 320–34; prelude to his final (and lifetime) research project, 298–313; reactions to, 343–46
- “Religion in the Process of Cultural Differentiation” (Bellah), 63, 80, 299, 351
- Religious Education Association, 171
- religious evolution: alternative paths of, 80; the axial age and (see axial age); Bellah's final (and lifetime) major research project on (see *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Bellah)); in Bellah's teaching, 303–4; in Bellah's work, 299–301, 305–7, 314–15, 319–21, 339–41, 344, 351–52 (see also *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Bellah)); Protestantism and, 291; “Sheilaism,” 262, 290; Smith's differing reactions to Bellah's work on, 349; stages of, 89–90, 122, 145, 262. See also evolution
- “Religious Evolution” (Bellah), 89, 91, 145, 212, 291–92, 299–300, 319
- religious practices, 97, 102, 111, 122, 236, 239, 264, 331, 341, 345
- Renault, Mary, 199
- Reno, Rusty, 351
- Responsive Communitarian Platform, 268, 273
- Responsive Community*, 268
- Resurrection, 333, 357
- “Revitalization Movements” (Wallace), 68
- Reynolds, Burt, 32
- Richards, I. A., 28, 327
- Richardson, Herbert, 171, 178, 394n12
- Richmond, Virginia, 24–25
- Ricoeur, Paul, 141, 156, 197, 304–5
- Rieff, Philip, 102, 141, 385n16
- Riesebrodt, Martin, 345
- Riesman, David, 69, 76, 95–96, 101, 103, 107, 119, 127, 138, 148, 154–55, 157–58, 160, 162, 175, 199, 202, 220–21, 229, 255, 268, 286, 377n6
- Rifkin, Jeremy, 187
- Ritter, Joachim, 231
- Ritual Process, The* (Turner), 128
- ritual(s): academic disputes as, 259; China's predilection for, 56; of the church, Bellah's connection with, 240; civil religion and, 113, 187; Collins' work on, 316; “coming out” as a, 217; of gay street life, 217;

- ritual(s) (*continued*)  
mimetic culture and, 340; of primitive religion, 89, 302–3, 316; religious evolution and, 89–90, 316–17, 340, 343; rural magical rituals in Japan, 312; society as a conscience collective and, 143; of the Society of Fellows, 18; state-related, religious references and, 188
- Robbins, Thomas, 304
- Robert Bellah Reader, The* (Bellah; edited by Tipton), 319, 337
- Roberti, David, 254
- Robertson, Pat, 228
- Robison, James, 228
- Rochberg-Halton, Eugene, 274, 279
- Rockefeller Foundation, 59, 207, 212, 221, 321, 375n15
- Rodriguez, Richard, 284
- Roetz, Heiner, 324
- Roe v. Wade*, 167
- Roma città aperta* (Rossellini), 24
- Rome, Italy, 77–78, 120–22, 126, 148
- Romon, Christian, 242–43, 294
- Romon, Paul, 294, 296; photo of, 297
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 16, 20, 23, 25–26, 37
- “Roots of Religious Consciousness, The” (Bellah), 302–4, 352
- Rorty, Richard, 198
- Rosovsky, Henry, 162
- Ross, A. W., 9
- Rossellini, Roberto, 24
- Rostow, Walt W., 68, 73
- Rozzak, Theodore, 118
- Rotschild, Joel, 29
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 96, 110
- Runciman, W. G. “Garry”, 310, 324
- Russell Sage Foundation, 152
- Russian Research Center (Harvard), 66
- Ryan, William, 285
- Ryle, Gilbert, 111
- sacraments, 264, 356
- sacred, the, 74, 124, 141, 170, 180, 302, 356
- Sagan, Eli, 29, 33, 93, 296–97, 307
- Sagan (Giller), Frimi, 33, 50, 296–97
- Sahlins, Marshall, 331
- Saint Mark’s Episcopal Church, 239–40
- Saint Petersburg, Russia, 45
- Salkever, Stephen, 231
- Saltonstall, Leverett A., 21
- salvation, 90, 316, 343
- Samuel, Geoffrey, 308
- Sandel, Michael, 250, 266
- Sanders Theater (Harvard), 126, 128, 134, 138, 144, 305, 339
- San Francisco, California: American Academy of Religion panel in, 349; Bellah and the gay subculture of, 207, 216–17, 402n197; Golden Gate Park, 104; Haight-Asbury, 104; Hally as a ballerina in, 243; protesting in, 311; Summer of Love in, 104, 205; survey of, 181; transformations of, homosexual residents and, 205–7; undergraduate trips to, 44. *See also* Berkeley, California
- San Francisco Bisexual Center, 217
- sangha, 236
- Savio, Mario, 106
- Schatz, Edna Louise, 9
- Schluchter, Wolfgang, 222, 420n28
- Schmookler, Andrew Bard, 112, 119, 148–49
- Schneider, David M., 44, 87, 95, 119, 135–36
- Schnur, Susan, 276
- scholar, ideal image of, 30
- School of Social Sciences, 152, 156–57, 161, 163–64. *See also* Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton)
- Schrecker, Elizabeth, 317
- Schrecker, Ellen W., 202
- Schudson, Michael, 285
- Schumacher, E. F., 208
- Schumpeter, Joseph, 40
- Schütz, Alfred, 111–12, 127, 141–42, 303
- Schwartz, Benjamin I., 83, 309
- Schwartz, Edward, 279
- Schwarz, Maureen, 308
- Science*, 161
- Scoppola, Pietro, 390n9
- Seabury Press, 172, 394n14

- “Search for Freedom, The” (Thomasin Bellah), 151, 155, 164
- Searle, John, 280
- Seattle Times*, 187
- second naïveté, 141–42, 179, 219
- second-order thinking, 316, 337, 341
- Second Vatican Council, 100, 120
- Secretariat pro non credentibus (Vatican), 384n12
- secularization: as an approach to religious people, 69; conventional ideas of challenged in *The Broken Covenant*, 177; as decline of religion, 57, 65, 68; modernity, associated with, 71, 91
- self-reflection/examination: Bellah’s, 219, 235–36; religious, 145; by the sociology discipline, 131
- Selznick, Philip, 92, 100, 106, 148, 267
- semiotics, 111, 135
- Senate Watergate hearings, 168. *See also* Nixon, Richard M.; Watergate scandal
- Sennett, Richard, 285
- sermon(s), 123, 175, 193, 230, 239, 255, 291, 319, 333
- Setton, Kenneth M., 161
- Shakespeare, William, 23, 28
- Sharpe, Richard, 208, 210–11, 221, 225, 241, 243
- “Sheilaism,” 262, 290
- Sheldon, Richard, 41
- Shenker, Israel, 160
- Shils, Edward A., 41–42, 47, 71, 88, 95, 136, 152, 157, 160, 197, 229, 308
- Shingaku, 51, 56, 74, 312
- Siddhartha* (Hesse), 193
- Simon, Herbert, 68, 152
- Skinner, Quentin, 232
- Skocpol, Theda, 318
- Slater, Philip, 93, 102, 140, 286
- Slater, Robert H. L., 70, 76, 83, 92
- Sloterdijk, Peter, 359
- Smelser, Neil J., 92, 99–100, 106, 148, 152, 156, 161, 222–23, 242; *Economy and Society* (with Parsons), 68, 100
- Smilde, David, 344
- Smith, Al, 6
- Smith, Arnold Cantwell, 77
- Smith, Brian K., 308
- Smith, Jonathan Z., 349
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell, 59–60, 62, 65–67, 69–70, 79, 92–94, 119, 127–28, 138, 175, 209, 305, 383n22
- “Snapshots” (Hutton Bellah’s column), 6–8, 24
- social anthropology, 29–31, 35, 39, 351
- social class: of Agassiz, Cambridge, 67; of ancient empires/civilizations, 89–90, 341; Boston Brahmins, 18; class relations in Levy’s theory, 73; culture and, intersection of, 290; in the Great Depression, 10; the Habits group research and (*Good Society*), 272, 274, 288–89; the Habits group research and (*Habits*), 237, 247–48 (*see also* middle class); at Harvard, 18, 27; in Japan, 51, 56, 75, 185; middle (*see* middle class); modernity and, 290; resentments, 122; of Smith, 59
- Social Ethics, Department of (Harvard), 38
- Social Gospel, 11, 39
- Social Mobility* (Sorokin), 38
- social ontology, 111–12, 126–28, 250–53, 272
- social realism, 250, 257, 291
- Social Relations, Department of (Harvard): Bellah as a professor at, 87–88, 99; Bellah as a student at, 29, 36, 41, 45–48, 204, 373n32; Bellah’s departure(s) from, 60–61, 94–95, 99–103, 299–300; birth of, 39–42; graduate programs at, 43–44; heritage of, 331; lectureship at, 70; modernization theory at, 71; tenth anniversary of, 69–70
- “Social Science as Moral Inquiry” (Bellah), 305
- social stratification, 89–90, 256, 288
- Social System, The* (Parsons), 35, 47, 49, 372n25
- Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 126, 189–90
- Society of Fellows (Harvard), 18, 38, 48, 133
- Sociological Imagination, The* (Mills), 52

- Sociology, Department of (Berkeley), 100, 106, 120, 148–49, 187, 223, 240, 292, 294
- Sociology, Department of (Chicago), 38
- Sociology, Department of (Harvard), 37–38, 100, 148, 190
- Sociology, Department of (Pennsylvania), 148, 190
- sociology, discipline of: Bellah and, 134, 292–93; boneheads in, 36; classical heritage of, 35, 115 (*see also* Durkheim, Émile; Weber, Max); movements within American, 131–34; neo-Darwinian evolutionism in, 324; Parsons and, 39–41, 130–33; requirements for a PhD in, 43; as a scientific discipline, 37–38
- Sociology Liberation Movement, 132
- sociology of religion: Bellah as the Louis Armstrong and Tiger Woods of, 319; Bellah's final (and lifetime) major research project on (*see Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Bellah)); Bellah's vision of, 145, 388–89n36; entry on for the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 93; task of, 110; teaching, 119, 140–42, 292, 303–4, 345
- Soedjatmoko, 172, 394n15
- solidarity, 47, 55, 98, 113, 122, 142, 247, 287–88, 290
- Sombart, Werner, 39
- “Some Suggestions for the Systematic Study of Religion” (Bellah), 56, 63–64, 111, 299
- “Some Thoughts on a Typology of Religion” (Bellah), 299
- Sorokin, Pitirim A., 37–38
- Spanish loyalists, 29
- Spencer, Herbert, 89
- Spencer, Theodore, 28
- Spragens, Thomas, 267
- Stalin, Josef, 271
- Stander, Fay, 202
- Stanford Students for Wallace, 33
- Stanford University: Bellah at, 92–93, 158, 299, 380n15; Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 65; Melanie at, 32–33, 46; Swidler at, 244; Tipton at, 209
- Stark, Werner, 126
- State Department, U.S., 45
- Steakley, James D., 202
- Stein, Gertrude, 181
- Stelmach, Harlan, 147, 169, 277, 290
- Stendhal, Krister, 119, 210, 385n25
- Steppenwolf* (Hesse), 193
- Stevens, Wallace, 110, 112, 144, 197, 222–23, 340, 383n18
- Stevenson, Adlai, 49, 268
- Stewart, Martha, 296
- Stewart Fellowship (Princeton University), 153
- Stinchcombe, Arthur L., 148, 223
- Stockman, David, 244
- Stouffer, Samuel A., 35, 39, 42–43
- Streisand, Barbra, 296
- structural-functionalism, 68, 88, 133. *See also* AGIL scheme; functionalism; pattern variables
- Structure of Social Action, The* (Parsons), 35, 40
- Structure of Society, The* (Levy), 73
- student government, 13
- students: Bellah's nightmarish daydreams about, 99; Bellah's relationship with Berkeley, 123, 147; Bellah's relationship with Harvard, 103; at Berkeley, 123, 140–41, 147; fieldwork abroad for Harvard graduate, 44; graduate in Social Relations at Harvard, 43–44; at Harvard, 18–20, 26, 28; at Los Angeles High School, 28; new model of a scholar for, 41–42; of Parsons, 42–43, 133; radicals and revolts at Berkeley, 106–7, 114–15, 125; undergraduates at Harvard and Berkeley compared, 119, 140; unrest at Berkeley, Kerr's anticipation of, 105. *See also* teaching
- study, 360–61
- Study of Thinking, A* (Bruner), 68
- subsidiarity, 272, 275
- suburbs, 8, 10, 282

- Sullivan, William M.: Bellah and, difference in the work of, 230; correspondence with Bellah, 204, 215, 222; criticism of, 258; Etzioni-Galston group, inclusion in, 268; *The Good Society* (with Bellah, Madsen, Swidler, and Tipton) (see *Good Society, The* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); Habits group, as member of, 211, 219–20, 229–30, 237–38, 243, 246–47, 250; *Habits of the Heart* (with Bellah, Madsen, Swidler, and Tipton) (see *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); in Heidelberg, 361; homosexual relationship with Bellah, beginning of, 198–99, 215; La Salle University, position at, 244; “moral ecology,” 230; multilayered relationship with Bellah, 202–3, 208, 213, 215, 231, 238–39, 294–95; photos of, 247, 279; as protester, 311; *Reconstructing Public Philosophy*, 229–30, 243, 258; scholarly background and interests, 197–98; as scholarly colleague for Bellah, 322, 328, 355
- Summer of Love, 104
- Summers, Lawrence, 318
- Sun, Anna, 307, 333
- Swidler, Ann: advice to Bellah on article submission, 292; at Bellah’s retirement party, 292; “Culture in Action,” 244; *The Good Society* (with Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, and Tipton) (see *Good Society, The* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); Habits group, participant in, 210–11, 219–20, 238, 243–44, 270, 278; *Habits of the Heart* (with Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, and Tipton) (see *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); mentored by Bellah, 147; at the National Humanities Medals ceremony, 296; photos of, 247, 279, 297; professional background of, 209–10; *Talk of Love*, 295; Tipton, introduction to, 209–10; “tool-kit” metaphor, 244
- Switatz, Isaac, 32
- Symbionese Liberation Army, 168
- symbolic realism: Bellah’s, 126–28, 134, 140, 144–45, 154, 158, 235, 238, 303–5; birth of, 300; dialectical process of personal growth, as a, 141; disappearance of from Bellah’s work, 184, 186, 221, 248; Durkheim and, 143; epistemic foundation of, 144; naïveté of, 219; Parsons’s reading of, 232; Robbins and Anthony, employed by, 304–5. See also *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (Bellah)
- “Symbolic Realism: Structuralism or Hermeneutics?” (Bellah), 305
- Synanon, 181
- Systematic Theology* (Tillich), 52–53
- Taft-Hartley Act, 29
- “Take-off into Self-Sustained Growth, The” (Rostow), 68
- Tanenbaum, Marc, 225
- Tatlow, Didi Kirsten, 349
- Taubes, Jacob, 65, 138
- Taussig, Frank W., 38, 40
- Tawney, Richard, 39
- Taylor, Charles, 208, 231, 233–34, 266, 284–85, 307, 321, 323–24, 326, 330, 335, 352–53
- teaching: Analysis of Interpersonal Behavior undergraduate course at Harvard, a.k.a. “Hostility,” 101–2; Bellah as mentor to graduate students, 147; Bellah’s graduate courses, 265–66; graduate instruction, new system of, 41–42; graduate seminar on social mobility at Harvard, 43; the graduate sociology of religion seminar at Berkeley, 140–41; the graduate sociology of religion seminar at Princeton, 156, 158; Harbison Award for Gifted Teaching won by Bellah, 147; by Parsons, 35–36, 41–43, 45, 48, 55, 57, 62, 73, 140, 238;

- teaching (*continued*)  
“Protestant Ethic in Historical Perspective” seminar by Bellah and Swidler, 292; seminar on Weber’s sociology of religion, 292; summer workshop on civil religion and American culture, 196–98; the undergraduate sociology of religion class at Berkeley, 119, 140–42, 147, 303–4, 345. *See also* students
- teaching president, 226, 245
- Telegraph Avenue (Berkeley), 105
- 10 Mosswood Road: entertaining at, 214, 226, 254; home office at, 334; Jennifer at, 166, 247; Melanie at, 241, 332; moving to, 156; renovations of, 108, 119, 195; Tammy’s death at, 165
- terrorism, 311
- Theology Today*, 115
- “theoretic culture,” 316
- theoria*, 325, 329, 337
- theory of action, 130, 138, 190, 232
- therapeutic culture, 246, 251
- think tanks, 254
- Third World Strike, 114
- Tillich, Paul: Bellah and, 55–56, 67–68, 76, 91, 102, 127; *The Courage to Be*, 52–54, 57; critique of the “Protestant principle” cited by Bellah, 351; hiring of at Harvard, 70; ideas of, Bellah’s work and, 299, 305; Memorial Lecture delivered by Bellah, 355–57; *The Protestant Era*, 53; *The Socialist Decision*, 355–56; theology of the cross, Melanie and, 333; “theonomy,” 356
- Tilly, Charles, 152
- Tilton General Hospital (Fort Dix), 23
- Time*, 161, 163, 267
- Times-Democrat*. *See Altus Times-Democrat*
- Tipton, Steven M.: editing of *The Robert Bellah Reader*, 319; *The Good Society* (with Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, and Swidler) (see *Good Society, The* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); Habits group, participant in, 210–11, 219–20, 225, 238, 241, 262, 273, 277–78; *Habits of the Heart* (with Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, and Swidler) (see *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton)); intellectual background and dissertation research, 209; interviews for *Habits* documentary, 280; mentoring by Bellah, 209; “moral conversation,” 209, 220, 238, 277; photos of, 247, 279; Religious Right addressed in dissertation by, 229; Swidler, introduction to, 209–10; tenure awarded at Emory University, 244
- Tiryakian, Edward A., 175
- To Avoid the Shipwreck: The Religious Meaning of American History* (Bellah), 184. *See also Broken Covenant, The: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Bellah)
- Tobey, Alan, 182
- Tobias, Stephen, 226, 307
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 211–12, 233, 250, 255–58, 286, 289, 296
- Tokugawa Japan, 48, 56; feudalism and, 74
- Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (Bellah), 70–71, 73–76, 138, 142, 176, 186, 250, 351
- Tolman, Edward C., 41
- Tolstoy, Leo, 354
- “tool-kit” metaphor, 244
- “To put it bluntly, religion is true” (Bellah), 127, 305
- Toulmin, Stephen, 246
- “Toward a Common Language for the Area of Social Science” (Parsons), 38–39
- Toward a General Theory of Action* (Parsons *et al.*), 47
- tradition(s)/traditional: American, 172–74, 229, 249–50, 252–53, 258, 261, 270, 279, 282; ancient of Harvard, 21; as an ongoing conversation, 266–67; of ascetic Protestantism, 68; axial, 324, 353, 355; biblical, 257–58, 289; Buddhist, 107; civic republican, 230, 257, 266, 289; Eastern, 183; “habits of the heart” as, 249 (*see also*

- habits of the heart); Hobbesian/individualistic/utilitarian, 183, 191, 257; the human condition and, 138; Islamic, 59; Japanese, 85, 87, 184–85; Judeo-Christian, 80; living, 252; as living organisms, 265; modernity/modernization theory and, 71, 73–74, 79, 81, 169, 234, 304–5, 309, 347–48; rationalized societies versus, Weber’s distinction between, 7; religious, 96, 170–71, 304; sociological, 175, 233; truth, critique, and, 197; of undergraduate instruction, 19; Western, 27–28, 124
- “Transcendence in Contemporary Piety” (Bellah), 111–12, 134, 383n22
- “Transformations in Modern Japanese Thought” (Bellah), 185
- transitional object, 137
- Tree of Life, The* (Malick), 428n25
- tribal religion, 308, 314, 351
- Triumph of the Therapeutic, The* (Rieff), 141
- Troeltsch, Ernst, 140, 209, 289
- Truman, Harry S., 23, 25
- truth: of American history, 327; Bellah’s life as an embodiment of, 239; claims, architecture of in *Religion in Human Evolution*, 336; critique, tradition, and, quest for, 197; of Democratic politicians, 269, 281; in the doctrine of justification by faith, 53; mathematical, 316; of myth, multiple meta-narratives and, 338; pursuit of, 19; radical individualism and, 250; of religion, Bellah’s approach to, 112, 126, 303; religion as an “embodied,” 122; religion as a valid effort to discern, 305; in the religious references on state-related objects and rituals, 188; the Sacraments as the living enactment of, 264; ultimate, the gap between social reality and, 313
- Tulane University, 32, 69
- Turkey, 74, 79–80
- Turner, Victor, 128, 135, 302
- Tu Weiming, 347, 349
- typesetting, 273
- ummah*, 60
- unconscious, 111–13, 123, 125, 139, 142, 426n42
- Unger, Jonathan, 243
- Union of Radical Political Economics, 386n5
- Union Theological Seminary (New York City), 52, 65
- United States and China, The* (Fairbank), 45
- United States bicentennial, 172–73, 186–87, 189; “Buycentennial sellabration,” 187
- United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, 155
- United States of America: axial civilization, as the epitome of, 312; China, Japan, and, study of, 56; China and, 45; as chosen nation, 97, 174; as global hegemon, 18; imperialism of, 311–12; individualism in, 172–73, 271; Japan and, 56, 74–75, 83–84, 264, 312–13; modernization theory and, 71, 73; as monoculture, 289; as self-righteous global empire, 313; in the Vietnam War, 92, 98, 105, 114–15, 132, 169, 280, 311. *See also* American exceptionalism
- University of California, Berkeley: Bellah’s feelings towards, 119–20, 140; Bellah’s retirement from, 291–92; Bellah’s selection as chair of the Department of Sociology, 223; the “Berkeley complex” at, 144; efforts to retain Bellah, 156–57, 262; evolution of the Department of Sociology, 100; governance at, 106; as a multiversity, 106–7; offer to Bellah, 100, 102; Rule 17, 106; School of Law, 120, 195, 242; Sociology Department, 100, 106, 120, 148–49, 187, 223, 240, 292, 294; student revolts and protests at, 105–7; teaching at, 140–42, 147, 156, 172, 292
- University of California, Los Angeles, 60, 87, 125, 243
- University of California system, 105–6
- University of Chicago, 17, 38, 62, 83, 94, 135, 153, 347, 349
- University of Heidelberg, 39, 221, 361
- University of Minnesota, 38, 133

- University of North Carolina, 139  
University of Oklahoma, 3, 11, 17  
University of Pennsylvania, 148, 159, 189;  
    Benjamin Franklin Chair, 159; Sociology  
    Department, 148, 190  
University of Rochester, 110  
University of Toronto, 178  
University of Washington, 65  
Upanishads, the, 343  
USSR, 68  
utilitarian individualism, 172–74, 182, 191,  
    236–37, 249–51, 257–58, 270, 287, 289–90,  
    324  
utilitarianism, 169, 171, 173, 183, 232, 266, 325,  
    356  
values: American, 68, 85, 246, 250, 267, 269,  
    282, 296; the axial heritage and, 353; as a  
    causal element, 244; common, 40, 47,  
    191, 227; comparative study of, 43–44;  
    cultural, 184; family, 229; growing  
    consensus in the modern world on,  
    122; Harvard Values Study, 49–50;  
    human, 174; religious, 52, 73, 98; societal,  
    patterns of, 135; traditional, 245  
Van der Weyden, Roger, 333  
*Varieties of Civil Religion* (Bellah and  
    Hammond), 242, 259  
Veblen, Thorstein, 176  
Velasco, Antonio de, 411n41  
Vermazen, Bruce, 406n27  
Vernon (Tammy's friend), 164–65  
Vietnam War, 92, 98, 105, 114–15, 132, 169,  
    280, 311  
Villa, Francisco "Pancho," 1  
violence, 114, 124, 205, 324  
Virgil, 104, 340  
virtue, 24, 51, 187, 230–31, 233, 251–52, 274, 299  
Vitale, Louis, 284  
vocation/calling/*Beruf*, 3, 19, 24, 30, 194,  
    248, 252, 272  
Voegelin, Eric, 213, 300, 315  
Vogel, Ezra, 95, 162, 211  
Vogt, Evon, 209  
Volker, Paul, 244  
voluntaristic theory of action, 40–41  
voluntary sector/voluntary work, 180, 268,  
    281  
von Trier, Lars, 354–55  
Wade, Nicholas, 344  
Wallace, Henry A., 21, 25, 31  
Wallerstein, Immanuel, 286  
Walzer, Michael, 266, 292, 411n40  
"war for the soul of America," 282  
Warhol, Andy, 168  
Warren, Mark E., 286  
Washburne, Norman F., 162  
Washington, D.C., 20, 24, 65, 225, 296  
*Washington Post*, 161, 261, 267, 269  
Watergate scandal, 168, 176, 186  
Waters, Lindsay, 330–32, 334, 356  
"We Are the World" (USA for Africa), 246  
Weber, Alfred, 39, 309  
Weber, Marianne, 40, 350  
Weber, Max: as Bellah's personal hero, 323;  
    in Bellah's teaching, 140–42, 172, 265, 292;  
    in Bellah's work, 48, 52, 56, 62, 80, 86, 88,  
    93, 126, 175, 298–99, 339, 354; Durkheim  
    posed as an alternative to, 35, 115;  
    Eisenstadt as successor to, 309; evolu-  
    tion of sociology and the theories of,  
    134; exemplary leadership, meaning of,  
    238; in Geertz's work, 63, 136; in Heidel-  
    berg, 350, 361; Jaspers and, 309; last  
    lecture before death in Munich, 221; in  
    Parsons's teaching, 209; in Parsons's  
    work, 39–40, 233; rationalization and,  
    47, 75; in Sullivan's work, 197; "world-  
    denying love," 292  
Weil, André, 152, 160–63, 177  
Weil Memorial Lectures. *See* Frank L. Weil  
    Memorial Lectures  
Weinberg, Albert K., 101  
Weinberg, Jack, 122  
Weinberg, Steven, 355  
welfare liberalism, 168, 288  
welfare reform, 287

- Wenger, Michael, 284  
Wentz, Lew, 9–10  
West, Cornel, 276, 279  
Wexler, Anne, 225  
“What is Axial about the Axial Age?”  
    (Bellah), 315–17, 319, 324, 338, 342, 344  
White, Alfred T., 38  
White, Geoffrey, 29  
White, Morton, 158, 160–61, 164, 177  
White, Robert W., 39, 69  
White, Thomas Joseph, 351  
white chauvinism/racism, 25, 114–15, 174,  
    256  
Whitehead, Alfred North, 27, 133, 197  
White House, 225, 227, 280, 296–97  
“white psyche, the,” 115, 259  
Whitman, Walt, 250  
Wilensky, Harold L., 92, 157  
Willard Junior High (Berkeley), 125  
Williams, Preston, 356  
Williams, Robin M., Jr., 42, 97  
Williams, Roger, 290  
Williamsburg, Virginia, 24  
Wills, Garry, 296  
Wilson, David Sloan, 280, 308  
Wilson, William Julius, 280  
Wilson, Woodrow, 1  
Wimberly, Harrington C., 7, 9, 24–25  
Winnicott, Donald, 137  
Winters, Yvor, 33  
Winthrop, John, 250, 289  
Wirth, Louis, 62  
*Witness*, 217–18  
Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 108  
Wittrock, Björn, 310, 322–23, 353  
Wolfe, Alan, 319, 344, 398n7  
Wolfe, Thomas, 13, 205, 281  
Wolin, Sheldon S., 232  
women’s movement, 115, 168. *See also*  
    feminism  
Wood, Gordon, 232  
Wood, Maxine, 23  
Wood, Natalie, 32  
Wood, Richard, 307  
Woodward, C. Vann, 162  
“world-denying love,” 292  
Wounded Knee, standoff at, 169  
Wright, Clifford A., 10–11  
Wright, Elizabeth (née Neelly), 10  
Wright, Gwen, 226  
Wright, Jeremiah, 327  
Wright, Richard, 115  
Wrigley, Anthony, 153  
Wuthnow, Robert, 147, 181  
  
Yale University, 17, 149, 322  
Yamasaki, Minoru, 94  
Yang Xiao, 307, 322, 326, 333, 335  
Yeats, William Butler, 127, 239  
Yzaguirre, Raul, 268  
  
Zagorin, Perez, 29, 110  
Zelditch, Bernice, 49  
Zelditch, Morris “Buzz,” 49, 92, 375n18  
Zen Buddhism, 183, 209, 236, 302, 356  
Zimmermann, Carle C., 38  
Žižek, Slavoj, 311  
Zuckert, Catherine, 286