

of Americans practice religion in one form or another. They enact it in churches, synagogues, mosques, ashrams, and temples, coming together in hundreds of thousands of places of worship large and small. Additionally, many Americans who do not identify with any religion hold considered opinions about how religion should or should not be practiced. And, although religious faith for many is a matter of the heart, it is also demonstrably influential in public affairs. Faith perspectives inform whom people trust, the issues they care about, and in many cases how they vote.

One might think that everything possible to say about religion's place in the life of our nation has already been said. Histories about it abound, polls measure it, and ethicists ask whether it could be practiced better than it is. We know that religious beliefs have inspired both good and ill. Religiously inspired activism has both mobilized social reform and resisted it. We also know that religious practices in the United States have always been diverse and that they are now more diverse than they have ever been. Diversity is one of religious practices' most salient features. Indeed, it is impossible to understand American religion without closely considering its diversity. The best descriptions of American religion emphasize this diversity. And yet, although many arguments have celebrated (or deplored) religious diversity, much confusion remains.

The reasons for this confusion are not new. A century ago, when organized religion in the United States was less diverse than it is today, it was taken for granted that Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and the leaders of other denominational and interfaith groups would speak to the issues of the day. Yet by the middle of the twentieth century, a prevailing view among academics was that religious beliefs and values were either a kind of implicit cultural subfloor that quietly supported the basic democratic norms on which everyone agreed, or were so weakened by secularization that they served mainly as a palliative in personal life. When religious activism appeared to have reentered public life in the 1980s, its association with the antiabortion, antigay "Christian Right" concentrated interest in the twin questions of how such political engagement was possible and what could be done about it. Specifically, how was it conceivable that traditionalists of this sort had become so politically

active almost overnight? And how could those who disagreed with them counter their influence? These were interesting questions and they deserved to be studied, but they have not served us well in the long run. The very nature of the questions scholars asked about the Christian Right limited, rather than illuminated, the larger question of religious diversity's relation to democracy. Indeed, those questions implied that division is usually a problem rather than contemplating what it may contribute.

In the breach, two ways of thinking about religious diversity and democracy have taken hold, neither of which provides a satisfactory answer to the broad question of how diverse religious practices might contribute to democracy. On the one hand, much of the commentary focuses on organized religion but neglects the importance of its diversity. Such arguments include the view that religious commitment benefits democracy because this commitment generally undergirds a shared belief in justice, equality, human rights, and compassion; and that it encourages people to engage in civic activities—or that it is bad because it breeds intolerance, promotes irrationality, and inhibits the reasoned give-and-take democracy requires. “Religion” in these discussions usually means Christianity or, if not that, then Judeo-Christian or Abrahamic religion or some kind of organized religion, neglecting the fact that institutional religion in the United States takes many forms—some of which are highly individualized—and this diversity figures importantly in how people practice their various faiths. On the other hand, some discussions focus on diversity without paying much attention to religion *per se*. In these discussions, diversity—meaning differences of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation—is variously conceived as being good for democracy because it generates new ideas and sparks economic innovation, or else it is a problem that must be resolved for democracy to survive. Religious observance in its many varieties sometimes comes up as one of the many real but problematic diversities with which democratic governance has to contend. Whether it contributes is harder to say.

Examining what religiously oriented individuals and organizations have actually done puts the lie to these ways of thinking. Religious

conviction hasn't contributed to American democracy simply by providing a sacred umbrella under which to huddle with our fragile unifying beliefs. Religious claims certainly haven't been sidelined or excluded from public life. They haven't been reanimated only by the Christian Right. Nor have they been a positive influence on democracy only in those historical instances in which activists advocated for abolition and civil rights. And religious identities haven't contributed only by influencing elections or giving candidates and public officials a tool kit of sacred idioms with which to speak.

Investigating what has actually been done shows that religiously oriented citizens have played an active role when important national issues were being debated. They have acted because of their diversity, putting that diversity into practice by vigorously proposing and defending alternative ideas, mobilizing constituents to be engaged in civic activities, and checking one another through criticism and dissent. Over the past century, religious groups and their leaders have contributed to American democracy in these ways, not in spite of their diversity but because of it. People have been propelled into action because they vehemently disagreed with one another. They were forced to contend with their disagreements, seeking and sometimes finding common ground, but in the process posing the hard questions about who we want to be, what our values should be, and how to get along with those who see things differently.

“Religion” is often conceptualized as a system of beliefs that uniquely speaks of humans' relation to the sacred. However, for present purposes—without denying the value of that general idea—I want to think of it in a different way. Drawing on what we know from studies of how religion is practiced in ordinary life, we can conceptualize religious practices in terms of *action*, *conviction*, and *contention*, meaning that they are something people do because they are convinced that what they are doing is right, and they hold these convictions in contention with behavior considered less desirable and indeed wrong. Thought of in these terms, religious practices amount to a way of engaging with the world.

They consist not only of participating in sacred rites but also of taking action in the affairs of one's community and nation.

Religious practices, so considered, connect to democracy in ways best suggested in what Belgian political theorist Chantal Mouffe terms agonistic pluralism. Democracy, she argues, is fundamentally messy, divided, and of necessity representative of diverse interests and values that can never be fully reconciled. While it may be conceived of as an ideal, democracy must be understood concretely as the political practices in which groups contend with one another. For this reason, she says, democracy cannot be understood sufficiently as a set of procedures through which people deliberate in the hope of arriving at a rationally articulated consensus. It consists instead of people mixing it up, arguing, debating, mobilizing, and negotiating with those with whom they disagree and yet treating them as adversaries rather than as enemies. What distinguishes an effective democracy is thus not consensus on deeply held shared convictions but a willingness to abide by norms of respect and civility and truthfulness, thereby making it possible for people who disagree to nevertheless live and work together.¹

Democracy is weakened by conditions that impede these processes of contentious disputation. Authoritarianism under which agreement is coerced or inspired from fear and resentment is the most serious threat to democracy. It cuts off the free expression of dissent and the give-and-take from which innovative ideas originate. Hegemonic subscription to a dominant taken-for-granted ideology, religion, or set of economic principles is a second threat. That, too, cuts off debate. Apathy and disenfranchisement, both of which enable rules to be set by the few against the interests of the many, constitute a third threat. Extremism that radically interdicts the civil back-and-forth of adversarial constituencies is a fourth. Democracy is endangered in each of these circumstances less by disagreements—even by heated contention about rights, representation, and the meanings of democracy—than by too much agreement with prevailing hierarchies of power.

Hegemonic, authoritarian religious practices undercut democracy in all these ways. Yet the reality of religious diversity is that in countries

that have experience with democracy it limits these dangerous tendencies even as they persist. Religious convictions threaten democracy mainly when adherents claim to have superior unquestionable knowledge from on high that derives from a particular source and yet applies to everyone in ways that define the common good. But under conditions of religious diversity, those arguments are subject to the criticism, debate, challenge, refutation, and revision that are essential to the health of a democracy. When diversity yields claims and counterclaims, even in instances when it generates factions and conflict, it is beneficial for democracy because it reduces the chance that any one majoritarian religion will command the bully pulpit that facilitates its hegemonic authority. Diversity's further contribution lies in bringing alternative ideas about the common good to the table, even ones that challenge received wisdom about the meanings of democracy, framing them less as incommensurable truths than as practical strategies of action. Democracy is strengthened by contention of this kind mobilizing civic participation, posing hard questions, and giving expression to dissent.²

Thinking of religious practices as groups of citizens acting and contending on the basis of their convictions necessitates acknowledging just how diverse American religion truly is. To be sure, many people look to religion for quiet solace, personal inspiration, and peace of mind in the midst of a world seemingly divided about everything else. Religion provides hope that everyone can live together in harmony. But religion is a source of disharmony, too, as it of necessity reflects its differing traditions and locations. It is the diversity of belief and practice that matters, not simply an underlying consensus. As Michael Kazin observes, "To take one's religion seriously almost requires a certain amount of conflict with those who seriously disagree."³

Diversity is the source of checks and balances, of skepticism toward moral hubris, and of dissent and counterdissent that propels religious organizations (and their opponents) to propose and aggressively defend their ideas about how Americans should live and be governed. Diversity among religious organizations provides the space in which unpopular perspectives can be kept alive and innovative ideas can incubate. By

participating in diverse religious organizations, groups with diverse interests and needs can feel they have a voice. At its best, this diverse participation invigorates democracy the way James Bryce anticipated more than a century ago when he wrote of groups that “rouse attention, excite discussion, formulate principles, submit plans, [and] embolden and stimulate their members.”⁴

Despite all these benefits, religious diversity also extracts costs, especially the divisiveness that gets in the way of religious organizations having a stronger hand in public affairs when they fail to work together. Another cost is the faith-based prejudice, discrimination, and antidemocratic extremism that have been so much a part of American religion throughout its history. Even the time and energy expended on conflict management can be considered a cost. The freedom of religion that American democracy seeks to guarantee creates the space in which inefficient as well as unpalatable expressions of faith can thrive. These costs have often compelled observers to view the nation’s religious diversity as a problem—a troublesome reality with which democracy has had to contend rather than anything from which to benefit. From that perspective, the good thing about religion in America is that separation of church and state has kept it as far from the public square as possible—a fact that would surely please James Madison and Thomas Jefferson alike. And yet, religious diversity early in the nation’s history was the reality that propelled the founders to bring church-state separation into being. Religious diversity has continued to be the guardian both of freedom to practice religion and of protection from religion.

Against the view that conflict among religious groups is simply a problem for democracy, a long tradition in the social sciences has recognized the “integrative” role of institutionalized conflicts. “Integrative” means that contending groups provide regular channels through which constituencies express their various values and interests. Their participation confers a sense of inclusion, of being heard and of possibly making a difference, that contributes to the legitimacy of the arrangements that make this participation possible. Playing by the rules in this respect reinforces the legitimacy of the rules. In addition, the conflicting interests and perspectives of different religious groups have often mitigated

the severity of divisions based on social class, race, and region and have contributed to the formation of crosscutting alliances.⁵

The crucial aspect of this argument is the phrase “institutionalized conflicts.” Religious conflicts in the United States take shape within a framework of institutions that consists, in the first place, of constitutional separation of church and state, which itself is subject to continuous testing and modification and yet sets boundaries on how religious groups exercise influence. Religious conflicts are further constrained by laws and regulations that protect against violence, hate crimes, and seizures of property. Traditions and norms also play an important role. These include the knowledge that past religious conflicts often resulted in violence and that democracy developed as a direct response to that history. Religious conflict is also constrained by norms of decorum and tolerance of diversity.⁶

To say that religious diversity is good for democracy is not to suggest a priori that a particular mix of contending religious traditions is optimal. How much or how little power one or another religious group should have is what religious leaders themselves argue about. The reality is that the United States has been religiously diverse from the start, and although concerns have always been expressed about the hegemonic aspirations of some and the rights of others, the constitutional protections of religious freedom and of separation of church and state provide the ground rules under which these interactions occur. These protections are never fully and finally adjudicated to everyone’s satisfaction, which is one of the reasons why contention among religious groups is a constant forum for democratic deliberation. And the reality of these firm but evolving constitutional guarantees against religious establishment means that the question of religious diversity’s contributions to democracy cannot be satisfactorily addressed simply in contrast to the default possibility of a single established theocracy. To argue only that religious diversity is better for democracy than a theocracy would miss the point. That view can be taken and still assert nothing about whether American religion in all its diversity mostly helps democracy or hurts it.

Religious diversity does mean that some organizations are necessarily more powerful and represent larger or more influential constituencies than others. Indeed, minority religions are of particular relevance to the practice of democracy. Under the American system, democracy's role includes upholding the rights and freedoms of minority religious groups. That in turn gives the leaders of minority religions an added incentive to advocate for democracy. The case can also be made that greater diversity overall increases the opportunities for leaders of minority religions to form coalitions and thereby increase their chances of winning arguments about democracy's protection of religious freedom.

It has been minority religions with which dissent has most often been associated. By virtue of being minority groups, religious minorities see things differently than majority religions do, especially because they have an enhanced stake in seeking acceptance for their distinct perspectives and interests. The dissenters best known in US history have been Puritans, Anabaptists, Quakers, and abolitionists, and, more recently, conscientious objectors, Jehovah's Witnesses, immigrants' rights activists, and antiracist advocacy groups. But dissent has not been limited to these groups; it has also been present in the larger, more established traditions. The past century has witnessed disagreements within every branch of American religion that manifest dissenting attitudes toward majorities, toward the practices of contending faith traditions and groups, and toward government. We have also seen the presence of religious dissent in organizations, movements, and individuals calling for elected officials to do a better job of upholding racial justice, protecting religious freedom, and checking government expansion.

Diversity of religious belief and practice must be understood, too, as the diversity represented in contention *against* religion. The story of religion's contribution to American democracy cannot be told without recognizing the critical influence of organizations that resisted what they saw as intolerance, indifference, hypocrisy, and subservience on the part of established religion. These voices of skepticism were part of the contention from the start and have remained so. Typically

they have organized to prevent religious thinking from having too much of a role in public affairs, offering an alternative platform from which to speak.

The crucial episodes I examine in the following chapters deal with perennial issues that democratic governance in the United States has had to address. Resisting autocracy, protecting freedom of conscience, guaranteeing liberty of assembly, upholding the dignity of persons, making room for inclusion, addressing economic inequality, and protecting the health and wellness of the population are all challenges that we as a nation confront continually. From looking at specific instances, it becomes possible to see concretely how religion in its diversity and because of this diversity has contributed.

The threat of autocracy—of a leader or party that disregards the basic tenets of democratic governance—is one that must be vigilantly guarded against. Other than during war, when democracy faces an external threat, few times have seemed as endangering to American democracy as the 1930s. Although many considered the New Deal necessary, others saw its expansion of the federal government as a threat to democracy. Religious organizations actively debated the New Deal and the changes it implied. Some groups regarded it as no threat to democracy at all; others found it deeply disturbing; still others convened forums in which its strengths and weaknesses were discussed. The role religious groups played in the debate illustrates the significance of religious diversity. Although the nation was profoundly concerned with economic recovery, religious diversity brought into the public arena valuable perspectives about freedom, values, and moral responsibility.

The pacifist movements that emerged during World War I—and that continued to argue for peace and against rearmament through the 1920s and 1930s—reveal a different role of religious diversity than the one demonstrated in debating the New Deal. Religious organizations representing different traditions worked together to promote pacifism. Despite their theological differences, their cooperation declared that they all considered pacifism important. Conscientious objection took pacifism a step further. It posed the difficult question of how someone

who refused to participate in war should be treated. During World War I, members of “historic peace churches” (Mennonites, Brethren, and Quakers) were generally granted an exemption of some kind, such as noncombatant service, because of their membership in those denominations. But by 1940, the courts recognized that conscientious objectors represented a wider variety of religious organizations and traditions. This recognition of diversity necessitated shifting the criterion for exemption from membership to claims made on behalf of individuals’ own private beliefs. The story of how this happened is an illustration of religious diversity contributing to the clarification of freedom of conscience.

Like freedom of conscience, understandings of freedom of assembly were also sharpened by debates involving religious diversity. After World War II, America’s reputation as a “nation of joiners” grew as more of the population moved to the suburbs, had children, and set records for membership in religious and community organizations. Commentators interpreted this enthusiasm for joining as an expression of Americans’ desire for community. Participating in community organizations benefited American democracy, too, as Alexis de Tocqueville had argued years earlier. Community organizations were local, reflecting the diverse interests of their members and giving citizens a voice in public affairs. But members were not entirely at liberty to do and say whatever they wanted. Despite a constitutional guarantee of freedom to peaceably assemble, groups were subject to trespass and vagrancy laws, licensing ordinances, and restrictive covenants. Many of these laws and regulations had been advanced earlier in the century in support of Jim Crow segregation. In the 1950s similar laws and regulations were applied to civil rights organizations. With an interest of their own in freedom of assembly, religious groups were actively involved in litigating these laws and regulations. The groups took differing sides, arguing about different interpretations of “assembly,” “speech,” and “freedom,” as well as about taxation and privacy. By the late 1960s, these discussions prepared the way for a significant enlargement of organizations engaged in political activism, protests, and efforts to promote new ideas about religion and democracy.

Another key issue in the defense of American democracy is embracing and upholding the dignity of the individual—which, among other things, has been especially debated in discussions of welfare policy. The late twentieth-century debate about welfare that consumed such a great deal of political energy arose on the heels of the civil rights movement in the 1960s and extended into the 1990s and early 2000s. The debate divided along partisan lines between advocates of private charity and advocates of government programs. Religious groups' arguments often separated along these lines as well. However, the religious community also contributed a wider variety of perspectives. Black churches, urban ministries, interfaith coalitions, and advocacy groups were often in the best position to work out creative solutions that combined private and public resources. When government-funded faith-based initiatives were introduced, these ministries and coalitions were able to contribute valuable perspectives on the essential questions of how best to serve the common good while also protecting the dignity of the individual.

Against the backdrop of the debates to which differing religious perspectives have contributed, a counternarrative best described as ethnoreligious nationalism—or simply as White Christian nationalism—also exists. Its argument is that whatever diversity exists within White Christian America, that diversity is inconsequential, at least among “true Christians,” and is pitted against a heterodox bundle of threats that include African Americans, persons of no faith, Muslims, and immigrants.⁷ Religious diversity challenges this nationalistic notion. Many religious groups take issue with it, arguing that nationalism is contrary to democracy. These groups argue for greater understanding of other traditions, an emphasis on rights, and respect for diversity. The arguments focus on race and ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. In recent decades they have also focused on immigrant rights. The arguments are contentious, prompting counterarguments and propelling civic engagement. They bring divergent views to bear on some of the most important questions about American democracy: Who counts as citizens and what are their rights?

Although the debates in which religious diversity has participated have dealt with inequality in other ways, these discussions have also

contributed directly to questions raised by the widening gap between the very rich and the rest of the American population. One strand of the debate stresses individual freedom, which means limiting the role of government intervention in the economy and looking to private philanthropy for remediation of the wealth gap. Some religious groups have found their voice in advocating for these views. A different approach has called attention to the social responsibilities of corporations. Drawing on the *Rerum Novarum* papal encyclical of 1891 and the Social Gospel of early twentieth-century Protestants, some religious groups have advocated for corporate social responsibility. Other religious groups have developed wealth ministries and faith-friendly leadership programs. And still others have been active supporters of community organizing and the living wage movement. Through their diverging perspectives, they have informed deliberations about public policy, arguing that it should take account not only of economic considerations but also of moral responsibilities.

Then, too, no democracy is free from periodic crises that come from unexpected sources—such as a global pandemic. Along with every other US institution, religious organizations were caught largely unprepared by the coronavirus that swept across the nation in early 2020. Most followed the shifting guidelines from public health officials as the virus spread. They canceled worship services, shut down in-person meetings, and crafted ways to offer services and hold meetings online. A few leaders resisted. They interpreted the closure directives as government interfering with religious freedom, and some preached that God would protect them from the virus. The pandemic also revived debates about vaccinations. These debates reflected deeper tensions between some religious groups' teachings and their attitudes toward science and scientific medicine. Some of the groups were deeply skeptical of science and even more suspicious when government was the source of scientific information. Yet these debates were not the whole story. Many religious groups redoubled their efforts to facilitate health and wellness, including blood drives, wellness fairs, mental health initiatives, and parish nursing ministries, and many advocated for expanded health insurance programs and medical research. Relative to the contribution of other

institutions, especially government and science, that of religious groups was small. Nevertheless, it was another instance in which religion's diversity reached diverse sectors of the population, illustrating that democracy requires both doing one's part and determining what that part should be.

Taking a historical view illuminates continuity but also brings into sharp relief a disturbing trend. Although religious diversity has in many ways increased, the vitality of its diverse expression has diminished in proportion to its alignment with partisan politics. Divisions between religious liberals and conservatives that corresponded with divisions between Democrats and Republicans were already present a century ago, but that alignment has become tighter in recent decades. The result has been a shift in the basis on which claims by religious authorities are made and a decrease in the capacity of religious organizations to facilitate discussions of varying perspectives toward government policies. Instead of constructive proposals being offered that bring groups with diverging views together, party loyalties dictate religious perspectives as well. Reference need only be made to discussions of healthcare, gun control, and racial equality to see how difficult it has become for religious groups to avoid political partisanship.

The partisanship along which religious diversity has become aligned has made it especially difficult to fully appreciate the contributions of recently arrived immigrant groups with diverse religious convictions of their own. Instead of accepting Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Hindus as epistemic communities with different styles of practice, a large swath of the Christian population has taken to denying its own internal diversities and treating the rest of the population as if it were alien. The alternative response of pretending that religious diversity is nonexistent except in superficial ways, while assuming that everyone is united by secular values, is little better.

My emphasis on the diversity of American religious beliefs and practices is meant as a challenge to the partisan way of thinking that afflicts some of the otherwise most reasoned discourse about how democracy is currently threatened and what to do about it. Implicit in many of

these discussions is the assumption that religious practice is essentially a unitary phenomenon that is traditional, sentimental, authoritarian, fundamentally autocratic, and most evident in conservative movements. To conceive of religious practice in these terms is to implicitly argue that only liberalism, whether secular or religious, can protect us from the threat religious convictions usually pose to democracy. This view suggests that liberalism counters the potentially undemocratic conservatizing tendencies inherent in religious convictions and that championing liberalism as an alternative to these convictions is the best way forward. However, such a view ignores the essential fact of American religious diversity. It misses the point that religious groups—even in their conservative manifestations—are always divided and are constrained by these divisions. In treating American religion as if it were alien to democracy, this interpretation of liberalism results in heated responses defending religion by extolling its democratic virtues, a view that is also deficient and sometimes equally dangerous. Defending religious groups on the grounds that their values are consistent with democracy is too easy. It foregrounds the good and opens the way to labeling any other religious or secular tradition with which one disagrees as an impediment of democracy. Both views, in representing religious practices simplistically, ignore how internally divisive and conflicted those practices are. Thus both views fail to appreciate how much the arguments advanced in the name of religion are shaped by that diversity.

If democracy is understood to be the practice through which contention is negotiated, religion's diverse, competing, dissenting, and sometimes divisive claims are best understood as part of the practice through which democracy reinvents itself. Religious organizations' role in this context is manifestly different from that of legislative bodies, the courts, political parties, science, and the press, partly because it sometimes speaks with divine authority, but also because it brings to the table alternative epistemic claims, visions, and possibilities that are rooted in moral precepts. Religious practices' influence in a democracy lies not in coercion but in articulating claims and counterclaims about what is right and good. Democracy benefits when these claims are voiced from

diverse quarters, sometimes in harmony and sometimes in sharp disagreement. The benefit is present even when claims are asserted dogmatically because religious diversity ensures that rebuttals and alternative claims are also voiced. We are protected from a religious establishment not only by the First Amendment but also by the disunity of religion itself. This disunity powerfully deters religious groups from speaking with one voice. At the same time, disunity facilitates the vigorous questioning of entrenched assumptions and the airing of alternative visions of the good.

INDEX

- Abbott Laboratories, 203
abolitionists, 11
abortion, 132, 208, 211, 231
Abrams v. United States, 64
ACLU. *See* American Civil Liberties Union
ACORN. *See* Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now
Action Center of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 244
Adalberto Methodist Church, 177–78
Addams, Jane, 32, 67
Adrian Dominican Sisters, 203
Affordable Care Act, 209, 231
African American churches: Faith-Based Initiative and, 142–43; and welfare, 127, 131, 134–36
African Americans: Baptists, 30; and New Deal, 36, 49; racial equality advocacy of, 49
African Methodist Episcopal Church, 244
African Methodist Episcopal Speaker's Club, 33
African Methodist Episcopal Zion church, 33
agonistic pluralism, 7, 254–59
agonistic religious practice, 256–62
Ahlstrom, Sydney, 85
Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 121, 137
Alinsky, Saul, 220
Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church, 135
Almond, Gabriel, 113
America (magazine), 111, 237
America First Party, 268n68
America Forward Movement for Religion and Americanism, 43–44
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship, 253
American Association for Economic Freedom, 31
American Baptist Convention, Commission on Christian Social Progress, 105
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 32, 67, 110, 151, 181, 225, 251
American Friends Service Committee, 105, 113
American Humanist Association, 77
American Jewish Congress, 77, 143; Commission on Law and Social Action, 105
American Jewish Joint Distribution, 113
American League Against War and Fascism, 32
American Liberty League, 41–42
American Lutheran Church, 38–39
American Public Relations Forum, 112
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), 207
Americans United, 151
American Union Against Militarism, 56, 62
American Unitarian Association, 30
America's Voice, 171
Anabaptists, 11
Anarchist Exclusion Act, 62
Angelus Temple, 34
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 105

- antilynching initiatives, 47, 49, 55
antiracism, 11
Anti-Saloon League, 32, 35, 44
Archbishop's Committee on Community Relations of the Catholic Archdiocese, 127
Arellano, Elvira, 176–78
Aristotle, 77
Asbury, Francis, 189
Ashcroft, John, 138, 141, 144–45
Assemblies of God, 141
Asset-Based Community Development Institute, 222
assimilation, 160–61
association. *See* voluntary association
Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), 220, 222–23
Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, 49
Audi, Robert, 297n3
autocracy/authoritarianism: conformity feared as path to, 95; conscription as example of, 65; as danger to democracy, 7, 12, 19, 259–60; New Deal criticized on grounds of, 12, 19, 25–27, 36, 38–41, 48; religious responses to, 26, 259–60
- Bachmann, Michele, 210
Baer, Elizabeth, 63
Bailey, Josiah, 47
Baldwin, Roger N., 67
Bank of America, 202
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 143
Baptist News (magazine), 237
Baptists: and conscientious objection, 66; and international issues, 112; and New Deal, 30, 33, 37, 41; and peace, 58. *See also* Southern Baptists
Baptist World Alliance, 30, 58, 112
Beale, Howard, 67–68
Beecher, Henry Ward, 189
Bell, Nelson, 48
Berger, Peter, 255
Berkman, Alexander, 62
Berle, Adolf A., Jr., 29
Berman v. United States, 70–71
Berrigan, Daniel, 111
Bezos, Jeff, 215, 216
Bible Way Baptist Church, 126
Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 215
Black Leadership Family Plan, 136
Black Solidarity Day, 134
Blackstone Rangers, 124
Black United Front, 134
Black Youth for Survival, 135
Blake, Eugene Carson, 105
Blanchard, Paul, 32
Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches, 105
Boise Interfaith Sanctuary, 240
Bond, Kit, 139
Borden, 203
Brethren, 13, 60–61, 72
Bright, Bill, 110
Bristol Myers, 203
Broun, Heywood, 32
Brown, Charles R., 35
Brown, Jerry, 235
Brown, Oliver, 107
Brownback, Sam, 210–11
Brown v. Board of Education, 107, 108
Bryant, Anita, 133
Bryce, James, 9
Buckley, William F., 122
Buddhists, 158
Bundism, 84
Bundy, Edgar C., 119
Burke, Edmund, 122
Bush, George H. W., 142
Bush, George W., 117, 142, 144, 146, 171
Buswell, J. Oliver, 48
Butt, Howard E., Jr., 190
Byrd, Robert C., 127–28, 139
Byrd rule, 139
- CALC. *See* Clergy and Laity Concerned
California Universalist Convention, 33

- Calvin, John, 94
Campus Crusade for Christ, 110
campus religious groups, 109–10
capitalism. *See* philanthrocapitalism
Capuchin Franciscan Province of
 St. Joseph, 201
CARES Act, 245
Carey, Hugh, 118
Carnegie, Andrew, 56
Carter, Robert “King,” 187
Casa Refugio Elvira, 178
Catholic Association for International
 Peace, 57, 112
Catholic Charities, 33, 132, 245
Catholic Health Association, 241, 244
Catholicism: and abortion, 132; and consci-
 entious objection, 67, 69, 72, 74; and
 COVID-19 pandemic, 241, 244–45; and
 dignity, 132; healthcare system of, 241;
 and homosexuality, 133; immigrants as,
 160–61; and international issues, 112; and
 just war tradition, 67, 74; and New Deal,
 30, 37, 41; numbers of parishes, 97; and
 political partisanship, 132; and politics,
 22, 26; Protestantism in relation to, 22, 26,
 27, 249; sectarianism of, 94
Catholic League of Conscientious
 Noncombatants, 72
Catholic Legal Immigration Network, 245
Center for Law and Religious Freedom, 151
Central Conference of American Rabbis, 28
Century Group, 75
Chafer, Lewis Sperry, 48
Charitable Choice, 138, 141–47
charity, 14, 27, 28. *See also* philanthrocapitalism
Chicago Interfaith Committee on Worker
 Issues, 177
Chick-fil-A, 217
child abuse, 137–40
Christadelphians, 61
Christian American (magazine), 44
Christian Century (magazine), 75, 111
Christian Coalition, 170, 210
Christian Cooperative Fellowship, 34
Christian Crusade, 122
Christian Endeavor, 57, 77. *See also* World
 Christian Endeavor
Christian Front, 84
Christianity: attitudes toward immigrants
 among, 165; effects of immigrants and
 their religions on, 165–66; exclusivist,
 165–66; inclusivist, 165–66; and labor
 issues, 31; spiritual shoppers in, 165–66;
 us-them mentality in, 16. *See also individual*
 denominations; Christian Right; White
 Christian nationalism
Christianity Today (magazine), 111, 237
Christian Legal Society, 151
Christian Nationalist Crusade, 268n68
Christian Right, 4–5, 6. *See also* White
 Christian nationalism
Christian Scientists, 69, 233
Church League for Industrial Democracy, 33
Church League of America, 119
Churchmen’s Campaign for Peace through
 Mediation, 59
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
 See Mormons
Church of the Brethren, 143
Church Peace Union, 56, 59
church-state separation: complexities of, 23;
 and daycare, 140–41; institutionalization
 of, 10; as protection against civic harm
 from religious involvement, 9, 22; and
 welfare, 122
Church World Service, 113, 184, 203
citizenship, for immigrants, 182–86
City Affairs Committee of New York, 31–32
Civilian Conservation Corps, 72
Civilian Public Service, 72
Civil Rights Act, 127
civil rights movement: and corporate
 social responsibility, 199; and freedom
 of assembly, 13, 104–7; and welfare, 14
Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC),
 199–201, 203

- Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE), 221–23
- Clinton, Bill, 117
- Clinton, Hillary, 231
- Clothier, Robert C., 73
- CLUE. *See* Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice
- Coca-Cola Bottling, 217
- Cold War, 85, 88–90, 252
- Coleman, Walter, 177
- colleges and universities, religious organizations on campuses of, 110
- Collins, Francis, 236–37
- Combs, Roberta, 170
- Commager, Henry Steele, 39
- Committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief, 113
- Committee for Medical Freedom, 233
- Committee on Migration, 245
- Committee on Militarism in Education, 65
- Commonweal* (magazine), 111
- communism: fears of, in New Deal era, 25, 30, 37, 43–47, 88; fears of, in postwar era, 87–88, 90–91, 113; and freedom of assembly, 104; religion as weapon against, 90–92, 122; welfare linked to, 121
- Communist Party, 104, 106
- Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), 223
- Community Church of New York, 110, 199
- Community Council on Social and Religious Reform, 123
- community organizing, 220–24
- Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act, 159
- conformity: as issue in voluntary association, 84–86, 96; as threat to democracy, 95
- Congregation Action Network, 176
- Congregationalists, 24, 32, 42–43, 66, 190, 240
- Congressional Black Caucus, 136
- Congress of Racial Equality, 108, 127
- Conn, Jim, 221
- conscience: defining, 68–72, 77, 83; training of, 76–77. *See also* freedom of conscience
- conscientious objection: amnesty for, 70; arguments against, 73–76; in Britain, 67, 69–70; civic issues raised by, 12–13, 55–56, 60–71, 73, 83, 251–52; claims of, 68–69, 72; criteria for determining, 67–70, 77–81, 269n17; individualistic justifications of, 13, 62–64, 68–72, 77–83, 269n17; intimidation suffered for exercise of, 61; meanings of, 61; as model of dissent, 11; religious communities and, 13, 60–71; to vaccination, 232; Vietnam War and, 200. *See also* freedom of conscience; pacifism
- conscription, 55, 61–66
- consensus: as democratic ideal, 7, 255–56; as religious ideal, 8, 20–21, 87, 92–95, 250, 258
- Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, 206
- contention and conflict: in COVID-19 pandemic, 227–37; critique of, 255–56; democratic role of, 2, 6–10, 17–18, 25, 51, 87, 250, 254–55, 257–59; institutional context for, 9, 259; integrative role of, 9; interaction arising from, 170–71; minority religions associated with, 11; over New Deal, 50; over peace issues, 57–59; religion characterized by, 2, 6, 8–11, 17–18, 50–51, 87, 94–95, 143, 255–62
- Control Data, 202
- Conventicle Act, 86
- Cooke, Terence, 118–19
- cooperative movement, 33
- Coopriider Henry, 61
- COPS. *See* Communities Organized for Public Service
- Cornell, George, 90
- Cornerstones, 175
- corporate social responsibility, 15, 198–207, 246
- Cortés, Ernesto, Jr., 223
- Coughlin, Charles, 37
- Council for Christian Colleges and Universities, 184

- Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, 105
- Council for Social Action in the Congregational and Christian Churches, 33
- Council of Churches of Greater Washington, 122, 173
- Council of Religious Freedom, 151
- Council on American Islamic Relations, 225
- Council on Economic Priorities, 200
- COVID-19 pandemic, 227–47; adaptation to circumstances of, 237–43; advocacy during, 243–46; church closings during, 229–32; health and wellness initiatives during, 238–42; religious responses to, 15, 228–29, 237, 246–47; resistance to public health measures in, 229–37; vaccinations for, 232–37
- Crosby, Michael, 202–6
- Dallas Area Interfaith, 169
- Danforth, John C., 258–59
- Daughtry, Herbert, 134
- Davis, Jerome, 32
- Day, Dorothy, 111
- daycare, 139–41
- day-labor centers, 174–75
- DC Coalition of Conscience, 126–28
- DeJonge v. Oregon*, 104
- Delta Cooperative, 34
- democracy: in Cold War era, 90; conformity as threat to, 95; consensus/unity as aim/ideal of, 255–56; contention as fundamental feature of, 2, 6–10, 17–18, 25, 51, 87, 250, 254–55, 257–59; dangers facing, 1, 7, 12, 17, 19, 25, 186, 187–89, 262; deliberative, 259, 297n3; dignity as value in, 115, 138, 155–56; diversity as principle and value underlying, 2, 5–6, 8–9; in emergency situations, 246; freedom as principle and value of, 55, 65, 71, 75, 83, 219; government power as threat to, 12, 19, 27–29, 45–46, 50, 65, 88–89, 120, 207–12, 259–60; grassroots, 171, 220, 223, 226; immigration's effect on, 161–62, 164; interdependence as principle and value underlying, 52; Jacksonian, 188–89; Jeffersonian, 45–46, 187; minority concerns protected by, 11; nationalism vs., 14; New Deal and, 25–26, 36, 42, 48, 50, 52; polarization in, 260–62; principles and institutions underlying, 3, 7, 52, 255, 298n10; religion's effect on, 1–10, 17–18, 26, 50–51, 55, 86–87, 91–94, 168, 175–76, 248, 250–51, 253–59, 262; religion's support for, in international context, 112–13; shareholder advocacy as contribution to, 205; Tea Party's contribution to, 212; voluntary associations' effect on, 84–85, 99–100; wealth's effect on, 15, 187–89, 194–96, 215, 219, 224–26
- Democratic Party: attitudes on immigrants, 159, 183; and faith-based initiatives, 143; Jeffersonian Democrats, 45–46; in New Deal era, 44–49; opposition to Roosevelt in, 44, 45; Southern Democrats, 46–47, 49, 89; and wealth gap, 189
- Denman, William, 71
- denominationalism, 20–22
- Dewey, John, 32
- Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, 104
- Dignity, 225
- dignity: and abortion, 132; as democratic principle and value, 115, 138, 155–56; emotional health and, 152; grounds for asserting/defending, 115–16; homosexuality and, 133–34; of immigrants, 178; religious conceptions of, 115, 144, 148; and self-improvement initiatives, 136; as universal human value, 115–17; welfare in relation to, 14, 117–18, 120–21, 123, 128–30, 136, 147–56
- DiNardo, Daniel N., 181
- Disciples of Christ, 47, 66, 72
- dissent. *See* contention and conflict
- diversity: civic benefits of, 8–9; civic harms of, 9; as democratic principle and value, 1–2, 5–6, 8–9; immigration as source of,

- diversity (*continued*)
158; nationalism vs., 14; Protestant, 20; in Reston, Virginia, 173–74; of voluntary associations, 84, 96–97. *See also* religious diversity
- Dixon, Greg, 230
- Dockery, John, 173–74
- Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, 206, 209
- Douglas, William O., 250–51
- Douglass, Frederick, 189
- draft. *See* conscription
- DREAM Act, 178, 183
- Drexel, Anthony, 189
- Drollinger, Ralph, 231–32
- DuBois, W.E.B., 49
- due process, 105
- Dulles, John Foster, 93
- DuPont family, 42
- East Harlem Protestant Parish, 109
- Eastman, Crystal, 67
- Eastman, Max, 67
- Ebenezer Baptist Church, 134
- Eddy, Sherwood, 32
- Eisenhower, Dwight, 85, 89, 91–92, 113, 117
- Emergency Lodge, 139
- employment discrimination, 153
- Episcopal Diocese of New York, Social Service Commission, 31
- Episcopalians: and conscientious objection, 66; and corporate social responsibility, 203; and New Deal, 28, 30, 32, 37, 41; and welfare, 130
- Equal Rights Amendment, 112
- Espionage Act, 64
- Establishment Clause, 80
- Etheredge, Mary, 125–28, 139, 156
- Ethical Culture Society, 77
- evangelicals. *See* Hispanic population: evangelicals among; White evangelicals
- Exxon, 202
- faith-based community organizing, 220–24
- Faith-Based Initiative, 117, 142–43, 146
- faith-based initiatives, 14
- faith-friendly leadership, 217–19, 242
- Faith Tabernacle Church, 234
- Falwell, Jerry, 134, 151
- Familia Latina Unida, 178
- Family Research Council, 151
- Fauntroy, Walter E., 126–27
- Fava, Sylvia, 173
- Federal Council of Churches, 28, 29, 32, 41, 43, 45, 57, 59; Commission on the Conscientious Objector, 72
- Federation of Jewish Charities, 33
- Fellowship, 211
- Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, 133
- Fellowship of Reconciliation, 56, 62, 68, 69, 72, 75, 252
- Fellowship of Socialist Christians, 31
- Fifield, James W., Jr., 42–43, 93, 122, 190
- Firestone, Harvey, 190
- First Amendment: and freedom of assembly, 86, 100; and freedom of conscience, 63, 80; and freedom of religion, 80; and Muslim ban, 181–82
- First Baptist Community Development Corporation, 143
- First Christian Church, 34–35
- First Congregational Church, 58
- FitzGibbon, Catherine, 65
- Flake, Floyd H., 135–36
- Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, 67
- Focus on the Family, 151
- Ford Foundation, 203
- Fosdick, Harry Emerson, 59
- Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order, 92, 95
- Fourteenth Amendment, 105
- Francis, Pope, 184, 211–12
- Frank, Thomas, 210–11
- Free DC, 127

- freedom. *See* individual freedom⁷
- Freedom Club, 112, 122
- Freedom Coalition, 210
- freedom of assembly: civil right movement and, 13, 104–7; First Amendment and, 86, 100; local statutes concerning, 100–104; networks as aspect of, 107–12; overview of, 13; privacy and, 104–6; for religious groups, 102–3; voluntary association and, 100–104. *See also* voluntary association
- freedom of conscience: constraints on, 73–83; as democratic principle and value, 55, 71, 83; historical role of, 54, 62–63; justifications of, 13, 62–64; meanings of, 13, 54–56, 83; military service as exercise of, 76; in war matters, 55. *See also* conscience; conscientious objection
- freedom of religion: and COVID-19 pandemic, 228, 231; COVID-19 pandemic and, 15; First Amendment and, 80, 86; government as threat to, 15, 28, 30, 38, 41, 43–44, 46; in New Deal era, 26–28, 30, 36, 38, 41; Tea Party ideology and, 209; true private choice and, 149–51; vaccinations and, 234–36
- freedom of speech, 64
- Friedman, Milton, 201
- Fuller, Charles E., 48
- Gans, Herbert, 173
- Gaston, Healan, 95
- Gates, Bill, 215, 216
- General Electric, 202
- General Federation of Women's Clubs, 93, 96
- General Foods, 201
- General Motors, 201
- General Tire and Rubber, 200
- German Baptists, 61
- Gerson, Michael, 258–59
- GI Bill, 88
- Gilded Age, 188
- Gingrich, Newt, 144–45
- Glide Memorial Methodist Church, 111, 133
- God: conscientious objection and, 69–70, 72, 74, 77–80; “death of,” 86, 144–45; freedom linked to, 92; government as embodiment of authority of, 229–30; government as subordinate to authority of, 26, 39, 42, 47, 48, 230
- Goldman, Emma, 62–63
- Goldstein, Jared, 42
- Goldwater, Barry, 108, 119, 121–22
- Good Neighbor League, 35, 36
- government: COVID-19 role of, 15–16; expanded powers of, as threat to democracy, 12, 19, 27–29, 45–46, 50, 65, 88–89, 120, 207–12, 259–60; in New Deal era, 12, 19, 25–53; skeptical attitudes toward, 15, 27, 36, 38–40, 42, 119–20, 195, 229; social welfare role of, 14, 15, 28, 118–30, 145–46, 196; as subordinate to religious authority, 15, 28, 30, 36, 38, 43–44, 46, 66; Tea Party criticisms of, 207–12; as threat to individual freedom, 27, 39, 46, 47, 65, 119–20; as threat to religious authority, 26, 40–41. *See also* small government
- Graham, Billy, 48, 92, 130, 190
- grassroots participation: in community organizing, 220–21; democratic role of, 171, 220, 223, 226; freedom of assembly and, 87; and fundamentalism, 193; in immigrant issues, 171; and New Deal, 35, 42, 52; and religious political participation, 93, 112, 132, 133, 188–89; in Tea Party, 207, 212; and wealth gap, 220–21, 223
- Greater New York Conference of Presbyterians, 33
- Great Society, 207
- Greek Orthodox, 98
- Greene, Alison Collis, 40
- Griffith, Marie, 239
- Groundswell, 225
- Gulf Oil Corporation, 173, 202

- Habitat for Humanity International, 111
Hamilton, Marci, 236
Hand, August, 69, 70
Handlin, Oscar, 160
Hargis, Billy James, 122
Harper, Howard, 94
Harrington, Dwayne, 136–39, 156
Harrington, Sandra, 137–39
Head Start, 123
Healy, Thomas, 64
Hearst, William Randolph, 37
Hein, Carl Christian, 38–39
Henderson, J. Raymond, 58
Herberg, Will, 92, 94
Hesburgh, Theodore, 92
High, Stanley, 35, 57
Hilliard, Raymond, 125
Hilton, Conrad, 93
Hindus, 158
Hispanic population: evangelicals among, 171; and immigration, 169–72, 174
historic peace churches, 13, 60–61, 67, 69, 81
Hitler, Adolf, 25, 38, 48, 59, 76
Hobbs, Lottie Beth, 111–12
Hobson, Richmond Pearson, 44
Hochschild, Arlie, 212
Holiness church, 61
Holman United Methodist Church, 221
Holmes, John Haynes, 32, 67, 110, 199
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 64
Holt Street Baptist Church, 104
homosexuality, 133–34, 153, 231–32
Honeywell, 200
Hoover, Herbert, 26–27, 35, 92; *The Challenge to Liberty*, 27
Hoover Commission, 119
Hopkins, Harry, 193
House of the Lord Church, 134
Hovde, Frederick L., 93
Hunt, H. L., 190
Hunt, Nelson Bunker, 190
Hus, Jan, 62
hyper agency, 219
IBM, 202
ICCR. *See* Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
Ickes, Harold L., 23–24, 67
identity, religious, 255
Illinois Coalition to Protect Political Freedom, 177–78
Illinois Committee for Responsible Investment, 203
immigrants, 157–86; activism concerning, 11, 167–76, 180–81; and assimilation, 160–61; barriers for, 163–64; and citizenship, 182–86; and COVID-19 pandemic, 245; democratic role of, 161–62, 164; dignity of, 178; diversity of, 158; Muslim ban against, 179–82; national security concerns and, 157–58; New Sanctuary Movement and, 176–79; numbers of, 157–58; opposition to, 169–70; political partisanship and, 159, 183; public opinion on, 158–59, 164–67; religions of, 158–64; rights of, 11; undocumented, 158, 168
Immigration and Nationality Act, 161
individual freedom: as democratic principle and value, 55, 65, 71, 75, 219; government as threat to, 27, 39, 46, 47, 65, 119–20; Quakers and, 27; religion as expression of, 82; religion as ground of, 93–94. *See also* conscience; freedom of conscience
individual responsibility: as basis of resistance to government, 52, 88; conscientious objection and, 55–56, 76–77, 81–82; existential basis of, 117; government initiatives as hindrance to, 39–40, 119–20; religious responses to conceptions of, 52–53; wealth ministries and, 219; for welfare, 27–28, 117–22, 130, 134
Indivisible, 225
Industrial Areas Foundation, 172, 223
Interfaith Alliance, 143
Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), 198–207, 209, 246
Interfaith Immigration Coalition, 245

- Interfaith Religious Liberty Foundation, 151
- International Code of Marketing of Breast-Milk Substitutes, 203
- international issues, 112–13
- investment strategies, socially responsible, 198–204, 206
- Jackson, Jesse, 136
- Jackson, Robert, 75
- Jacksonian democracy, 188–89
- Jacobson, Henning, 232–33
- Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 232–33
- Jefferson, Thomas, 9, 67, 78, 187
- Jeffersonian Democrats, 45–46
- Jeffress, Robert, 238
- Jehovah's Witnesses, 11, 75, 98, 102–3, 233
- Jesuit Philosophical Society, 29
- Jesus: conscientious objection and, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 75; second coming of, 45, 48
- Jewish Family Service of Seattle, 181
- Jim Crow segregation, 13, 107
- John Paul II, Pope, 132, 205–6
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 113, 117, 119, 122
- Jones, Meredith Ashby, 74
- Jubilee Housing, 130
- Judaism: and conscientious objection, 66, 69; and COVID-19 pandemic, 245–46; and labor issues, 31; numbers of congregations, 98; and political partisanship, 131–32
- Judicial Watch, 175
- just war tradition, 67, 74
- Kallen, Horace, 55
- Kansans for Life, 211
- Kansas Experiment, 210–11
- Kansas Interfaith Action, 225
- Kazin, Michael, 8
- Kellogg-Briand Pact, 57
- Kennedy, John F., 85, 113
- Kentucky Baptist Homes for Children, 153
- Kerr, Hugh T., 36
- Kimberly-Clark, 204
- King, Martin Luther, Jr., 104, 124, 221
- Kirby, John Henry, 45–46
- Koch, David and Charles, 211
- Koch, Ed, 118
- Kodak, 199, 204
- Koinonia Farm, 111
- Korean War, 85, 91
- Kruse, Kevin M., 43
- Ku Klux Klan, 46, 65, 84, 106, 127
- labor, 31, 33, 191–92, 242. *See also* day-labor centers; living wage movement
- Laidler, Harry W., 29
- Landon, Alf, 37, 45
- Laski, Harold, 64
- Lasswell, Harold, 117
- Latif, Khalid, 180
- Lawson, James M., Jr., 221
- Lawson, William, 110
- Leaders of Good News, 133
- League of Nations, 58
- League of Ten Million, 43–44
- League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), 168
- Leib, Joseph, 41
- Leo XIII, Pope, 191
- LeTourneau, R. G., 190
- Levinson, Salmon Oliver, 38
- liberalism, religion in relation to, 17
- libertarianism, 43
- Life Tabernacle Church, 229
- Lincoln, Abraham, 35
- Lindsay, Michael, 216
- Literary Digest* (magazine), 36
- living wage movement, 220–23
- Locke, John, 106
- Long, Huey, 46
- Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), 221
- Lozano, Emma, 177–79
- Luce, Henry, 92
- Luther, Martin, 94

- Lutherans: and conscientious objection, 66;
and COVID-19 pandemic, 244;
immigrants as, 160; and New Deal, 32, 38;
numbers of, 97; and welfare, 130
- Lutheran World Relief, 113
- Madison, James, 9, 187, 248
- Mahoney, Roger, 169
- man-in-the-house rule, 128–30
- Maple River Education Coalition, 210
- Marighella, Carlos, 173
- Marxism, 20
- Mays, Benjamin, 49
- McCarthy, John D., 40
- McCaskill, Claire, 212
- McConnell, Francis J., 32
- McCormick, Mrs. Cyrus, 189
- McDonald's, 204
- McDonnell Douglas, 202
- McDowell, John, 36
- McPherson, Aimee Semple, 34
- measles, 234–36
- Mega March, 168, 169
- Mennonite Central Committee, 203
- Mennonites, 13, 60–61, 72
- Merton, Thomas, 111
- Methodist Federation for Social Service,
30, 32
- Methodists: and conscientious objection,
61, 66, 72, 73–74; and COVID-19
pandemic, 244; excessive wealth as
concern of, 189; and international issues,
112; and New Deal, 30, 37, 39, 41; numbers
of, 97; and peace, 57; and social welfare,
35; and welfare, 130
- Methodist Social Service Committee, 33
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible
Investment, 202
- military draft. *See* conscription
- Mill, John Stuart, 64
- Ministers' No War Committee, 59
- minority religions: benefits for democracy
from, 11; and conscientious objection,
78–79; democracy's benefits for, 11; and
religious freedom, 38
- Minuteman Project, 175
- Mobil, 202
- Moody, Dwight L., 189
- Moody Monthly* (magazine), 48
- Moral Majority, 134
- Moral Rearmament movement, 43
- Morgan, J. Pierpont, 189
- Mormons, 30, 98, 238
- Morrison, Charles Clayton, 75–76
- Mouffe, Chantal, 7, 254–57
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 118–19, 122
- Mt. Zion Baptist Church, 104
- Murray, Thomas, 92
- Muse, Vance, 45
- Muslim Community Association of Santa
Clara, 163
- Muslims: public opinion on, 159, 167; as
target of attacks, 157; Trump's ban
against, 179–82; in US population, 158
- Mussolini, Benito, 48
- NAACP. *See* National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
- NAACP v. Alabama*, 106
- National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People (NAACP), 32, 47, 49,
105–6, 108, 110, 127, 252
- National Association of Evangelicals, 92,
183, 184; War Relief Commission, 113
- National Association of Manufacturers, 43
- National Baptist Convention, 58, 97, 240
- National Catholic Reporter* (magazine), 111
- National Catholic Welfare Conference, 28,
94, 113, 117, 122
- National Catholic Welfare Council, 105
- National City Christian Church, Washing-
ton, DC, 58
- National Conference of Catholic Charities, 29
- National Conference of Christians and
Jews, Commission on Religious
Education, 91–92

- National Conference of Clergymen and Laymen, 43–44
- National Conference on the Spiritual Foundations of American Democracy, 92
- National Council for Prevention of War, 56
- National Council of Churches, 112, 123, 130, 134, 201
- National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, 107
- National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference, 184
- National Hispanic Leadership Conference, 171
- National Industrial Recovery Act, 28–29, 42
- National Labor Relations Act, 28
- National Peace Conference, 59
- National Prayer Breakfast, 92, 211
- National Religion and Labor Foundation, 31, 32, 33
- National Service (Armed Forces) Act (Britain), 67
- National Student Christian Movement, 107
- National Vaccine Information Center, 236
- NCR, 202
- neoliberalism, 219
- Nero, 230
- Nestlé, 203
- Nevins, Allan, 52
- New Deal: criticisms of, 25–31, 35–50, 52, 88; emergency measures of, 27, 38, 75–76; fears of government overreach in, 12, 19, 25–53, 207; organized opposition to, 41–45; partisan divisions in, 45–50; religious responses to, 12, 25–53, 251; religious unity as issue preceding, 20–23; Social Gospel and, 193; spiritual/moral aspect of, 23, 24, 29, 38; as threat to democracy, 25–26, 36, 42, 48, 50; as threat to religious freedom, 26–28, 30, 36
- New Democratic Network, 171
- New England Methodist Episcopal Conference, 58
- New Sanctuary Movement, 176–79, 181, 223
- Niebuhr, H. Richard, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 20–22, 50
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, 20, 32, 43, 66, 150
- Nisbet, Robert, 91
- No-Conscription League, 62
- Nollner, Ralph E., 43–44
- Norris, J. Frank, 48
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 178
- North Carolina Association for the Preservation of Segregation, 108
- Northern California Ecumenical Council, 203
- Northern Virginia, 169–76
- North Rocky Mount Missionary Baptist Church, 101–2
- NumbersUSA, 169–70
- Obama, Barack, 231
- Ockenga, Harold J., 48
- Office of Economic Opportunity, 124
- Olasky, Marvin, 144–45
- Open or Industrial Church League, 191
- Operation PUSH, 136, 143
- Osteen, Joel, 214
- pacifism, 12, 56–60, 66, 73, 75. *See also* conscientious objection
- Palmer Home for Children, 131
- Partners Worldwide, 216
- patriotism, 90–94
- Paul VI, Pope, 132
- Paynter, Suzii, 181
- Peale, Norman Vincent, 35, 92
- Pedreira, Alicia, 153
- Peña, Raymunda J., 169
- Penn, William, 86
- Penney, J. C., 93
- Pentecostal church, 61
- People's Church, 141
- personal responsibility. *See* individual responsibility
- Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, 117, 141

- Pew, J. Howard, 43, 190
Pfeffer, Leo, 78, 105–6
Phelps, Bill, 139
philanthrocapitalism, 214–17
Piketty, Thomas, 215
Pilgrims of Prayer for the Public Schools, 107
Plato, 77
Pledge of Allegiance, 93
politics: Catholicism and, 22, 26; partisan-
ship in attitudes on immigrants, 159, 183;
religious organizations' and leaders'
commentary on/participation in, 122,
197, 257; religious partisanship in, 16, 22,
45–50, 131–32, 165, 183, 260–61
populism: Christian-based, 46; and
opposition to New Deal, 46–47, 50;
wealth as target of, 188
poverty. *See* welfare
Powell, Adam Clayton, 49
premillennial theology, 48
Prentis, H. W., Jr., 43, 190
Presbyterian Church (USA), 203
Presbyterians: Committee on Social and
Industrial Relations, 27, 28, 31; and
conscientious objection, 66–67; and
homosexuality, 133; and New Deal,
23–24, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 41; numbers of,
97; and welfare, 130–31
Presbyterians United for Biblical Concerns,
133
privacy: voluntary association and, 104–6;
welfare and, 129–30
Pro-America, 112
Prohibition, 22, 32, 42, 44
Project Equality, 199
Project Unity, 240
prosperity gospel, 213–14
Protestantism: and abortion, 132; Catholi-
cism in relation to, 22, 26, 27, 249; civic
authority of, 48–49; and conscientious
objection, 69; diversity characterizing,
20, 22, 249; and freedom of conscience,
62; and homosexuality, 133; and peace,
57; and political partisanship, 131; and
premillennial theology, 48; sectarianism
of, 94; and welfare, 130–31. *See also* White
evangelicals
public health. *See* COVID-19 pandemic
public opinion: on immigrants, 158–59,
164–67; on wealth gap, 195, 209
Public Works Administration, 23
publishing, 111
Pueblo sin Fronteras, 178
Puritans, 11
Putnam, Robert D., 98

Quaker Oats, 201
Quakers: and conscientious objection, 13,
60–61, 65–66, 72; and individual free-
dom, 27, 65; as model of dissent, 11; and
religious freedom, 65, 86

racial equality, 49
Raphael House, 139
Rauschenbusch, Walter, 190–92
RCA. *See* Reston Citizens Association
Reagan, Ronald, 118–21, 130, 134, 142
Reed, Ralph, 210
Reich, Charles, 128–29, 140
religion: agonistic practices in, 256–62;
attitudes toward science, 15; benefits for
democracy from, 1–3, 7–8, 10–11, 17–18,
55, 87, 91–94, 175–76, 248, 250–51, 253–59,
262; conceptualization of, 6, 68–71, 77–81,
155; consensus/unity as aim/ideal of, 8,
20–21, 87, 92–95, 250, 258; contention as
aspect of, 6, 8–11, 17–18, 50–51, 87, 94–95,
143, 255–62; cooperation in, 12; extremism
related to, 9, 256; fundamentalists vs.
modernists in, 45; government as threat
to authority of, 26, 40–41; identities
associated with, 255; of immigrants,
158–64; individual expressions of, 82;
legal issues pertaining to welfare services
associated with, 147–55; opposition to,
11–12; personal/individual focus of, 8,

- 52–53, 82, 88, 219, 233, 261; polarization in, 260–61; and political participation, 122, 197, 257; and political partisanship, 16, 22, 45–50, 131–32, 165, 183, 260–61; postwar resurgence of, 90–96; prejudices associated with, 9; prevalence of, 3–4, 24, 97–98; standard views of civic role of, 4, 5, 17; threats to democracy from, 9, 17, 256; unity as concern in, 20–23. *See also* freedom of religion; minority religions; religious diversity
- Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, 245–46
- religious diversity: as American trait, 4, 8–10, 17, 21–22, 78, 98, 250–51, 261; attitudes toward secularity, 249–50; and autocratic government, 26, 259–60; benefits of, 6, 8–9, 11, 248; blunting of, by partisan politics, 16, 260–61; conceptions of religion influenced by, 78–79; contention and conflict, 248–49; contention and conflict arising from, 2, 6, 8–10, 17–18, 51, 87, 143, 255–62; costs of, 9; and COVID-19 pandemic, 228, 246–47; democratic role of, 1–2, 5–9, 17–18, 26, 50–51, 55, 86–87, 168, 248, 250–51, 253–59, 262; and freedom of assembly, 108–9; and freedom of conscience, 55, 62–63, 74, 78–80, 82–83; and immigration, 16, 157–58, 160–61, 164, 171; individualism arising from, 82; institutional context for, 10, 52, 86, 250–51, 259; in New Deal era, 32, 49, 52, 251; role of minority religions in, 11; typical positions on, 5, 250; and wealth issues, 190, 196, 225–26; and welfare, 143, 146
- Religious Freedom Restoration Act (Indiana), 151
- Religious Implications of the National Recovery Act (conference), 28–29
- Republican Party: attitudes on immigrants, 159, 183; and faith-based initiatives, 143; before New Deal, 22; in New Deal era, 45
- Rerum Novarum* (papal encyclical), 15, 191
- Residence for Children, 139
- responsibility: corporate social, 15, 198–207, 246; moral, 12, 76–77, 81–82, 88, 121, 259; personal/individual, 27–28, 76–77, 81–82, 88, 117–22, 121–22, 130; to society, 73, 76–77
- Reston Citizens Association (RCA), 173–74, 176
- Reston Interfaith, 172–76
- Reston Interfaith Housing Corporation, 173
- Rice, John R., 48
- Richardson, Sid, 190
- Roberts, John, 182
- Robertson, Pat, 151, 170, 210
- Robinson, John A. T., 79
- Rockefeller, David, 118
- Rockefeller, John D., 189, 192
- Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 190, 192
- Rockefeller Foundation, 203
- Roe v. Wade*, 132
- Roloff, Lester, 140–41
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 45, 116, 117
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano: and New Deal, 19–20, 23–29, 31–32, 35–42, 44–45, 47–49, 51, 88–89, 251; and World War II, 54–55, 57, 59, 113
- Rose, Arnold, 99–100
- Rosenblum, William, 94
- Russell, Bertrand, 75
- Russian Orthodox, 98
- Ryan, John A., 191–93
- Ryan, John K., 74
- Ryan, Paul, 212
- Ryle, Gilbert, 69–70
- Salvation Army, 138, 153–54
- Sara Lee, 204
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, 117
- “Save Our Children” campaign, 133
- Schenck, Charles, 63
- Schenck v. United States*, 63–64
- Schervish, Paul, 218–19
- Schlesinger, Arthur, 84–85, 113

- School Sisters of St. Francis, Milwaukee, 202
science, religious attitudes toward, 15
Second Vatican Council, 132
secularism, opposition to, 92, 95, 249
Seeger, Daniel, 77–79
segregation: religious responses to, 107–8,
110; in Reston, Virginia, 173
Selective Service Act, 60, 63, 64
Selective Service System, 81
Selective Training and Service Act, 68–69
September 11, 2001 attacks, 157, 158, 167
Sessions, Jeff, 230
Seventh-day Adventists, 61, 72, 98
Seventh Generation Interfaith Coalition for
Responsible Investment (SGI), 201–3
shareholder actions, 198–206
Shoemaker, Samuel, 59
Simon, Robert E., 172–74
Sisters of Mercy, 203
Sisters of St. Francis, Philadelphia, 202
Sisters of the Precious Blood, 203
Skocpol, Theda, 212
Slater, Samuel, 102
small government: political advocacy of, 27,
207; religious advocacy of, 43, 45–46, 48,
207
smallpox, 232–33
Smith, Al, 22, 26, 41–42
Smith, Gerald L. K., 47, 268n68
Smith, Kelly, 135
Soaries, DeForest “Buster,” 143
Social Gospel, 15, 48, 190–93
Socialist Party, 63
Social Security, 139
Social Security Act, 123
social welfare. *See* welfare
Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
Solidarity Sundays, 225
Sotomayor, Sonia, 182
South Africa, corporate investments in,
202–3
Southern Baptist Ethics and Religious
Liberty Commission, 184
Southern Baptists: and abortion, 132; and
conscientious objection, 74; and homo-
sexuality, 133; and New Deal, 26–27, 37;
numbers of, 97; and peace, 57
Southern Christian Leadership Conference,
171
Southern Christian Leadership Council, 221
Southern Committee to Uphold the
Constitution, 45
Southern Democrats, 46–47, 49, 89
Soviet Union, 41, 56, 59, 88, 116
Spell, Tony, 229
Sperry Rand, 202
Spinoza, Baruch, 77
Spiritual Mobilization, 42–43, 93, 112, 190
Spofford, William B., 29
Sprague, Delores, 233
Stalin, Joseph, 38, 48
states’ rights, 88
States Rights Association of South
Carolina, 108
Stelzle, Charles, 35, 191
Stephens, Harold M., 70–71, 77
Sternberger, Estelle M., 59
St. James Congregational Church Forum, 33
St. John African Methodist Episcopal
Church, 106–7
St. Louis Christian Home, 139
Stoddard, Henry L., 27
Stout, Jeffrey, 223
Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee, 107
Student Volunteer Movement, 189
Sullivan, Winnifred Fallers, 155
Sunday School Times (magazine), 48
Supreme Being. *See* God
Sutton, Matthew Avery, 48
Sweet, William E., 29
Synagogue Council of America, 123
systemic racism, 254
Talmadge, Eugene, 45, 46
Tarbell, Ida, 40

- Tea Party, 207–12
Teasdale, Joseph P., 139
Teen Ranch, 148–49
Tennessee Valley Authority, 46
Texas Church Council, 105–6
Texas Southern University, 110
Thomas, Norman, 32
Tillich, Paul, 79
Tilly, Charles, 185
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 13, 84–86, 95, 96, 120, 188
Tolstoy, Leo, 77
trickle-down economics, 210–12
Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), 207
Trueblood, Elton, 92
true private choice, 149–51
Truett, George Washington, 26–27, 30
Truman, Harry S., 70, 91, 113, 116
Trump, Donald, 167, 179–81, 183, 185–86, 231, 238, 244, 245
tyranny. *See* autocracy/authoritarianism
Tyson Foods, 217, 242
- Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 132
Union Seminary (New York), 109
Unitarians, 30, 32, 61, 69
United Brethren in Christ, 41
United Christian Council for Democracy, 31
United Christian Parish, 174, 176, 284n41
United Church of Christ, 102, 122, 130, 133, 203
United Farm Workers, 168
United Methodists, 143; Board of Church and Society, 221, 244; Church Board of Missions, 201; Committee on Relief, 113
United Mine Workers, 230
United Nations, 112, 116
United Presbyterian Church, 132, 201
United States v. Kauten, 69
United Synagogue of America, 105
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 112, 116
Universalists, 66
Universal Military Training and Service Act, 77
Urban League, 135, 136
US Agriculture Department, 88
US Census Bureau, 104, 158, 171
US Conference of Catholic Bishops, 123, 181, 184, 240, 245
US Congress: and conscientious objection, 64–65, 68, 77–79; and corporate responsibility, 206; and COVID-19 pandemic, 243–45; “In God We Trust” motto adopted by, 93; and immigration policy, 159; and welfare policy, 127–28
US Constitution: conception of government in, 45; strict interpretation of, 42, 209
US Homeland Security Department, 245
US House of Representatives, and immigration policy, 159
US Justice Department, 68, 70, 231
US Senate: and immigration policy, 159; Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, 94–95; and welfare policy, 124–25
US Supreme Court: and abortion, 132; and conscientious objection, 62–64, 69–71, 75, 77–80; and COVID-19 church closings, 232; and freedom of assembly, 102–6; and Muslim ban, 180, 182; Roosevelt and, 41, 42; and vaccinations, 232–33
Vaccination Act (Britain), 232
vaccinations, 15, 232–37
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 189
Van Dusen, Henry, 75–76
Vasquez, Joe, 181
Verba, Sidney, 113
Vietnam War, 199–200, 202
Virginia Baptist State Convention, 107–8
Virginia Conference on Church Social Work, 34
Virginia Interfaith Center, 240
Virginians Organized for Interfaith Community Engagement (VOICE), 172

- Virginia Theological Seminary and College, 108
- voluntary association, 84–114; as American trait, 13, 84, 96–100, 114, 120; common features of, 98–99; conformity and individuality as issues for, 84–86, 96; constraints on, 13; dark side of, 84; democratic role of, 84–85, 99–100; and freedom of assembly, 100–104; legal framework for, 87; in 1950s vs. 1960s, 85–87; and privacy concerns, 104–6; religion's role in, 86–87, 97–98, 108–12, 252
- Waldstreicher, David, 63
- Walker, Jimmy, 32
- Walker, Raymond B., 24
- Wallace, Henry A., 29
- Walmart, 217, 219
- Wanamaker, John, 189
- Ward, Harry F., 32, 190–91
- War on Poverty, 117, 122, 134, 144
- War Relief Control Board, 113
- War Resisters League, 68, 69
- Washington Hebrew Congregation, 91
- wealth and wealth gap, 187–226; corporate social responsibility and, 198–207; democracy in relation to, 15, 187–89, 194–96, 215, 219, 224–26; executive compensation and, 204; faith-based community organizing and, 220–24; growth of, since 1979, 193–97, 225; individualistic justifications of, 15; philanthrocapitalism and, 214–16; public opinion on, 195, 209; reasons for, 194; religious beneficiaries of, 189–90, 192; religious responses to, 15, 197, 224–26; small-government approach to, 207–12; social issues diverting attention from, 225; social responsibility approaches to, 15; wealth ministries and, 212–19. *See also* welfare
- wealth ministries, 212–19
- Weber, Max, 218
- Webster, Noah, 187
- Weinberger, Henry, 62–63
- welfare: communism linked to, 121; dignity as issue in, 14, 117–18, 120–21, 123, 128–30, 136, 147–56; eligibility determination for, 128–30; government policies on, 118–30; government responsibility for, 28; health and safety issues as priority in, 140, 148, 151; legal issues pertaining to religious involvement in, 147–55; personal responsibility for, 27–28, 117–22, 130; public vs. private approaches to, 27–28, 118, 125, 130, 134, 196; religious groups' involvement in, 34–35; religious responses to, 14, 27–28, 117–18, 122–27, 130–31, 134–36, 138–47, 196–97, 252; theological differences on, 144. *See also* wealth and wealth gap
- Welsh, Elliott, 80
- Welsh v. United States*, 80
- Wendy's, 204
- Wesleyan-Holiness tradition, 76
- Westphal, Manon, 298n10
- Whigs, 189
- White Christian nationalism, 14. *See also* Christian Right
- White evangelicals: anti-government sentiment of, 48, 260; attitudes toward immigrants, 165, 179, 183–84; and faith-based initiatives, 142; grievances of, 145, 166; and Muslim ban, 180; nationalism of, 92; network of readers, 111; political participation of, 131, 165, 171, 183, 231, 260–61; Tea Party affinity of, 208–9
- White Protestantism, 49, 145, 166
- white supremacy, 47
- Whitman, Christie, 143
- Will, George, 248
- Williams, Lacy K., 30, 49
- Williamson, Vanessa, 212
- Winrod, Gerald R., 45
- Wise, Stephen S., 32, 150
- Witness* (magazine), 28, 29
- Woman's Peace Party, 56

- Women's Bureau, 126
Women Who Want to Be Women, 112
The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), 124
World Alliance for International Friendship
 through the Churches, 56, 59
World Christian Endeavor, 117
World Council of Churches, 112
World Disarmament Conference, 59
World Health Organization, 203
World Narcotic Defense Association, 44
World Peace Foundation, 56
World Peaceways, 59
The World Tomorrow (magazine), 75
World Vision, 216
World War I, 12–13, 27, 28, 32, 54, 56
World War II, 19, 54, 64, 72, 88, 116
Worthington, Bruce, 229
Wycliffe, John, 62
YMCA/YWCA, 72
York, Alvin C., 75–76
Yukich, Grace, 178
zoning, 103–4
Zuckerberg, Mark, 215
Zwingli, Ulrich, 62