

For Further Reading

Introduction: A Different Kind of Politics

Some of the many thoughtful books examining how Christians should respond to contemporary political issues and our current partisan political divide include Charles D. Drew's *Surprised by Community: Republicans and Democrats in the Same Pew* (self-published, 2019), Amy E. Black's *Honoring God in Red or Blue: Approaching Politics with Humility, Grace, and Reason* (Chicago: Moody, 2012), Lisa Sharon Harper's *Evangelical Does Not Equal Republican . . . or Democrat* (New York: New Press, 2008), and Ronald J. Sider's *Just Politics: A Guide for Christian Engagement* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2012). Drew and Black focus on how Christians should respond in a loving manner to other believers with whom they disagree politically, and both also discuss reasons why different groups of Christians might line up on different sides of the political debate. Sider, a progressive evangelical who generally leans toward the political left but who is also pro-life on abortion, offers thoughtful theological insight on the major hot-button issues of the moment from the perspective of social-justice-oriented evangelicalism. Philip Yancey's *Christians and Politics: Uneasy Partners* (Creative Trust Digital, 2012) is an excellent, succinct analysis of the temptation that political power poses to contemporary Christians. Mark A. Noll's *Adding Cross to Crown: The Political Significance of Christ's Passion* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996) calls for Christians to adopt a cross-shaped humility in their approach to politics.

Readers who are seeking a guide to the way that various Christian theological traditions might differ in their approach to politics might want to consult *Five Views of the Church and Politics*, edited by Amy E. Black (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015). Joshua D. Chatraw and

Karen Swallow Prior's *Cultural Engagement: A Crash Course in Contemporary Issues* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2019) is a thoughtful and comprehensive anthology of contrasting perspectives on a wide range of hot-button American political issues, with essays from competing viewpoints from across the contemporary Christian theological spectrum. The citations in Sider's *Just Politics* also offer a wide-ranging guide to some of the best works of political theology from Anabaptist, Reformed, and Wesleyan perspectives.

For an insightful secular critique of both political parties (albeit a critique that is heavily influenced by the liberal Catholic social justice theology of its author), E. J. Dionne Jr.'s *Why Americans Hate Politics*, 2nd ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), offers useful historical information and a perceptive analysis.

Theologically conservative evangelical Christians who wonder whether the Bible contains an imperative for social justice might find it useful to read Timothy Keller's *Generous Justice: How God's Grace Makes Us Just* (New York: Viking, 2010), which offers a compelling argument for the connection between cross-centered grace and a commitment to justice.

Several recent books by evangelicals have lamented the current political direction of American white evangelicalism and suggested a corrective. John Fea's *Believe Me: The Evangelical Road to Donald Trump* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018) offers a sympathetic critique of the modern white evangelical alliance with Donald Trump, written by an American historian who is himself an evangelical Christian. Thomas Kidd's *Who Is an Evangelical? The History of a Movement in Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019) laments the conflation of contemporary American white evangelical conservatism with evangelicalism itself and argues that, at its best, American evangelicalism has been politically diverse and not firmly identified with any particular political party. And Russell Moore's *Onward: Engaging the*

Culture without Losing the Gospel (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2015) suggests that perhaps Christians should replace partisan political strategies with gospel-centered outreach that combines an acknowledgment that Christians have largely lost the culture wars with an awareness of opportunities for missional living in a post-Christian, morally pluralistic society.

Finally, *To Change the World: The Irony, Tragedy, and Possibility of Christianity in the Late Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), by sociology professor James Davison Hunter, offers a detailed corrective to the Christian pursuit of political power, whether it comes from the right or the left.

Chapter 1: The Protestant Moralism of the Republican Party

There are several good academic histories of the Republican Party. Lewis L. Gould's *The Republicans: A History of the Grand Old Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) may be the most comprehensive, evenhanded survey. Heather Cox Richardson's *To Make Men Free: A History of the Republican Party* (New York: Basic Books, 2014) offers a critical appraisal of the GOP's shift from the antislavery politics of the 1860s to the party's long history of support for monied interests from the Gilded Age to the present. One of the best histories of the last halfcentury of the GOP, with a focus on conservatives who moved the party to the right, is Donald T. Critchlow's *The Republican Ascendancy: How the Republican Right Rose to Power in Modern America*, 2nd ed. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011). E. J. Dionne Jr.'s *Why the Right Went Wrong: Conservatism—From Goldwater to Trump and Beyond* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016) presents a more critical appraisal of this same half century of GOP history.

David Farber's *The Rise and Fall of Modern American Conservatism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) insightfully describes the philosophy and

assumptions of twentieth-century American conservatives, and also offers a series of fascinating biographical portraits of several politicians and movement activists who represented the various ideological strands of modern American conservatism, including libertarianism, neoconservatism, and social conservatism. The best intellectual history of mid-twentieth-century American conservatism is still George H. Nash's classic work, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945*, 2nd ed. (Wilmington, DE: ISI, 2006).

For earlier eras of moral regulation (much of which was conducted through the Republican Party), Gaines M. Foster's *Moral Reconstruction: Christian Lobbyists and the Federal Legislation of Morality, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) and Michael McGerr's *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) are useful historical surveys. Thomas R. Pegram's *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800–1933* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999) and W. J. Rorabaugh's *Prohibition: A Concise History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018) chronicle the rise and fall of what was perhaps American Protestants' most prominent moral crusade after the Civil War.

Matthew Avery Sutton traces the connection between conservative evangelical dispensationalist theology and opposition to the New Deal in *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014). For an analysis of the connection between church, state, and the Republican Party during the Cold War, see Kevin M. Kruse's *One Nation under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (New York: Basic Books, 2015). The development of conservative evangelicals' alliance with the Republican Party is traced in Darren Dochuk's *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011)

and my own *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Seth Dowland's *Family Values and the Rise of the Christian Right* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) surveys the cultural flashpoints that have shaped recent American cultural conservatism. Andrew Hartman's *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture Wars*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), presents an intellectual history of the conflicts that have energized many cultural conservatives since the 1960s and explains why social conservatives have lost nearly all their fights. David T. Courtwright's *No Right Turn: Conservative Politics in a Liberal America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010) focuses on popular culture and national politics rather than intellectual history but reaches a similar conclusion: social conservatives' alliance with the right has not stopped the liberalization of American cultural values.

A few prominent conservative activists who have left the Christian Right have come to similar conclusions. For their assessment of why the evangelical alliance with the Republican Party failed to change the direction of American culture, see Cal Thomas and Ed Dobson's *Blinded by Might: Can the Religious Right Save America?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999) and David Kuo's *Tempting Faith: An Inside Story of Political Seduction* (New York: Free Press, 2006).

Most of the books listed above present a critical assessment of the Christian Right, political conservatism, and the Republican Party, but for a thoughtful defense of conservative ideas from a Catholic natural-law perspective, see Robert P. George's *Conscience and Its Enemies: Confronting the Dogmas of Liberal Secularism* (Wilmington, DE: ISI, 2013) and *The Clash of Orthodoxies: Law, Religion, and Morality in Crisis* (Wilmington, DE: ISI, 2001). Readers are also encouraged to look at some of the classic mid-twentieth-century works of

intellectual conservatism, such as Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind* (1953), Richard M. Weaver's *Ideas Have Consequences* (1948), and William F. Buckley Jr.'s *God and Man at Yale* (1951).

Chapter 2: The Secularized Liberal Protestantism of the Democratic Party

The most comprehensive, engagingly written history of the Democratic Party currently available is probably Jules Witcover's *Party of the People: A History of the Democrats* (New York: Random House, 2003).

Unfortunately, there is as yet no single work that comprehensively traces the religious heritage of the Democratic Party, but several useful studies touch on aspects of this history. Michael Kazin's *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006) examines Bryan's blend of evangelical Christian faith and commitment to a progressive politics that championed the rights of the "commoner." Barry Hankins's *Woodrow Wilson: Ruling Elder, Spiritual President* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) and Cara Lea Burnidge's *A Peaceful Conquest: Woodrow Wilson, Religion, and the New World Order* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016) explore the influence of Wilson's theological beliefs on his political ideology. The influence of liberal Protestant Christianity on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's social consciousness is explored in John F. Woolverton and James D. Bratt's *A Christian and a Democrat: A Religious Biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2019). For Christianity's influence on the Cold War foreign policy of President Harry S. Truman, see William Inboden's *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945–1960: The Soul of Containment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Robert Bauman's *Fighting to Preserve a Nation's Soul: America's Ecumenical War on Poverty* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2019) analyzes liberal Christian support for President Lyndon

Johnson's social policies. The Christian roots of George McGovern's liberal political commitments are the subject of Mark A. Lempke's *My Brother's Keeper: George McGovern and Progressive Christianity* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017). For Democratic president Jimmy Carter's Christian faith, see Randall Balmer's *Redeemer: The Life of Jimmy Carter* (New York: Basic Books, 2014) and Carter's own *Faith: A Journey for All* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018). Barack Obama discussed his own liberal Protestant faith at some length in *The Audacity of Hope* (New York: Three Rivers, 2006).

For the early twentieth-century social gospel and the connection between liberal Protestantism and progressive politics, see Christopher H. Evans's *The Social Gospel in American Religion: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2017) and Heath W. Carter's *Union Made: Working People and the Rise of Social Christianity in Chicago* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). For liberal Protestant support for the civil rights and antiwar movements of the mid-twentieth century, see Michael B. Friedland, *Lift Up Your Voice Like a Trumpet: White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements, 1954–1973* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), James F. Findlay Jr.'s *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), Sarah Azaransky's *This Worldwide Struggle: Religion and the International Roots of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), and Doug Rossinow's *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). Charles Marsh's *The Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice from the Civil Rights Movement to Today* (New York: Basic Books, 2004) brings this story up to the twenty-first century.

For discussions of Catholic support for the New Deal and the social welfare state in the mid-twentieth century, see George J. Marlin's *The American Catholic Voter: 200 Years of Political Impact*, 2nd ed. (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press, 2006), and Kenneth J. Heineman's *A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). John T. McGreevy's *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003) is an exceptionally insightful and detailed analysis of points of both agreement and difference between Catholicism and American liberalism in the twentieth century. For Catholic social teaching and its points of agreement and disagreement with the contemporary Democratic Party, see Thomas Massaro's *Living Justice: Catholic Social Teaching in Action*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

For progressive evangelical theologies of social justice in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, see David R. Swartz's *Moral Minority: The Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), Brantley W. Gassaway's *Progressive Evangelicals and the Pursuit of Social Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), and Philip Goff and Brian Steenland's anthology *The New Evangelical Social Engagement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). All three of these books are academic histories written by sympathetic observers, but for a progressive evangelical's own perspective, see Jim Wallis's *God's Politics: Why the Right Gets It Wrong and the Left Doesn't Get It* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005). Erik S. Gellman and Jarod Roll's *The Gospel of the Working Class: Labor's Southern Prophets in New Deal America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011) as well as Roll's *Spirit of Rebellion: Labor and Religion in the New Cotton South* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010) chronicle evangelical social justice activism among

economically marginalized southerners in the 1930s. And Robert H. Abzug's *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) discusses the optimistic millennial vision and social activism of the early nineteenth-century northern evangelicals who brought their commitment to societal reform into the political sphere.

In recent years, several books lamenting the Democratic Party's secularization and abandonment of the priorities of its Christian supporters have been published. For complaints about the Democratic Party's secular turn, see Michael Sean Winters, *Left at the Altar: How the Democrats Lost the Catholics and the Catholics Can Save the Democrats* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), and Mark Stricherz's *Why the Democrats Are Blue: Secular Liberalism and the Decline of the People's Party* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007). For a thoughtful critique of contemporary American liberalism's focus on individual rights, see Mary Ann Glendon's *Rights Talk: The Impoverishment of Political Discourse* (New York: Free Press, 1991). James Davison Hunter's *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Control the Family, Art, Education, Law, and Politics in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991) offers additional insights on the moral relativism of contemporary cultural liberalism.

Chapter 3: Abortion

Most histories of abortion in America are written from a pro-choice perspective and present a similar narrative—namely, that prohibitions on abortion were repressive, misogynistic, and ineffective, and that the legalization of abortion was a victory for women's rights and the right to sexual privacy. Variations of this argument can be found in James C. Mohr's *Abortion in America: The Origins of National Policy, 1800–1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), Leslie J. Reagan's *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the*

United States, 1867–1973 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), N. E. H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer's *Roe v. Wade: The Abortion Rights Controversy in American History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), and David J. Garrow's *Liberty and Sexuality: The Right to Privacy and the Making of Roe v. Wade*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). For a discussion of what the enactment of new prohibitions on abortion will likely mean, see Michelle Oberman's *Her Body, Our Laws: On the Front Lines of the Abortion War, from El Salvador to Oklahoma* (Boston: Beacon, 2018). Unfortunately, pro-lifers who have rejected the philosophy behind many of these books have too often dismissed the evidence that laws against abortion in early twentieth-century America really were ineffectively enforced. Marvin Olasky's *Abortion Rites: A Social History of Abortion in America* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1992), written from a conservative Christian pro-life perspective, presents a thoughtful, nuanced history of the pre-*Roe* era that resists this temptation and instead acknowledges gaps in enforcement of the law, as well as reasons why American attitudes toward abortion changed over time. Olasky's thoughtful history is essential reading for any Christian who wants to understand the long history of abortion in the United States.

For the early history of the American pro-life movement and the development of pro-life arguments, see John T. McGreevy's *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003) and my own *Defenders of the Unborn: The Pro-Life Movement before Roe v. Wade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), which also includes a lot of information about *Roe v. Wade* and the reasons why the Republican and Democratic Party adopted different positions on abortion after the mid-1970s. For the abortion debate after 1973, with a focus on legal history, see Mary Ziegler's *After Roe: The Lost History of the Abortion Debate* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015) and *Abortion and the Law in America: Roe v.*

Wade to the Present (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020). Andrew R. Lewis's *The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics: How Abortion Transformed the Culture Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017) argues that conservative evangelicals' pro-life political commitments have made them more supportive of other social justice issues.

For histories of the Christian tradition's view of the sanctity of unborn human life, see John Connery's *Abortion: The Development of the Roman Catholic Perspective* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1977) and David Albert Jones's *The Soul of the Embryo: An Enquiry into the Status of the Human Embryo in the Christian Tradition* (London: Continuum, 2004). For philosophical and scientific arguments in defense of the value of unborn human life, see Robert P. George and Christopher Tollefsen's *Embryo: A Defense of Human Life* (New York: Doubleday, 2008) and Francis J. Beckwith's *Defending Life: A Moral and Legal Case against Abortion Choice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For comprehensive pro-life arguments, see also Pope John Paul II's *Evangelium Vitae* (1995). For those who would like to read the perspective of a Protestant ethicist and New Testament scholar, Richard B. Hays's *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996) offers an insightful, nuanced overview of the New Testament's implications for discussions of abortion. Discussions of this issue can also be found in Glen H. Stassen and David P. Gushee's *Kingdom Ethics: Following Jesus in Contemporary Context* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003), Ronald Sider's *Just Politics*, and John Stott's *Issues Facing Christians Today*, 4th ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006). Sider's *Completely Pro-Life: Abortion, the Family, Nuclear Weapons, the Poor* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1987) defends a comprehensive pro-life ethic for the protection of human life before and after birth. Charles C. Camosy's *Beyond the Abortion Wars: A Way Forward for a New Generation*

(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015) and *Resisting Throwaway Culture: How a Consistent Life Ethic Can Unite a Fractured People* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2019) suggest ways to apply the consistent life ethic across the political divide. No political party in the United States fully reflects this perspective, as I point out in my essay, “Pro-Lifers of the Left: Progressive Evangelicals’ Campaign against Abortion,” in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, ed. Philip Goff and Brian Steensland (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Chapter 4: Marriage and Sexuality

Numerous academic and journalistic accounts chronicle the twentieth-century American sexual revolution, the gay rights movement, changes in cultural and legal definitions of marriage, and the reasons why conservative opponents of these changes lost their battles. The vast majority of these books are written from a culturally liberal, secular perspective that takes a generally positive view of the liberalization of sexual norms, but biblically minded Christians can still benefit from reading these works to understand why these cultural changes occurred—and why conservative Christians’ strategies to thwart these changes did not succeed. Beth Bailey’s *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) and *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) explore the causes of the sexual revolution and its effects on heterosexual young people over the course of the twentieth century. Leigh Ann Wheeler’s *How Sex Became a Civil Liberty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) is a legal history of the sexual revolution throughout the twentieth century, with a focus on the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Supreme Court. Paula S. Fass’s *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977) and Joshua Zeitz’s *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern* (New York: Three Rivers, 2007)

celebrate the sexual rebellion of young people during the “Roaring Twenties”; Barry Hankins’s *Jesus and Gin: Evangelicalism, the Roaring Twenties and Today’s Culture Wars* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2010) offers a more nuanced perspective that takes evangelical critiques of the cultural changes of the era far more seriously. Nancy F. Cott’s *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000) chronicles changing definitions of marriage in public law during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while Stephanie Coontz’s *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Penguin, 2005) traces the cultural history of changing American expectations of marriage during the same period. Elaine Tyler May’s *Great Expectations: Marriage and Divorce in Post-Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) is a highly insightful comparative study of the reasons for divorce in California in the 1880s and 1920s—a study that reveals a great deal about changing attitudes toward marriage in the early twentieth century. Another informative history of divorce in the United States is J. Herbie DiFonzo’s *Beneath the Fault Line: The Popular and Legal Culture of Divorce in Twentieth-Century America* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

There are numerous histories of the gay rights movement, but one of the most readable and comprehensive (though now somewhat out-of-date) is Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney’s *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999). Lillian Faderman’s *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015) brings the story up to the second decade of the twenty-first century. Margot Canaday’s *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009) details the regulation of homosexuality in mid-twentieth-century America. Joanne Meyerowitz’s *How Sex Changed: A*

History of Transsexuality in the United States (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002) sheds light on why psychologists and others began to consider gender and sexuality fluid, malleable categories in the mid-twentieth century. Michael J. Klarman's *From the Closet to the Altar: Courts, Backlash, and the Struggle for Same-Sex Marriage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) is a legal history that sheds light on why the argument for legalization of same-sex marriage rapidly won acceptance in the nation's courts.

Several books chronicle the acceptance of the sexual revolution among Christians—at least theologically liberal Christians and, at times, evangelicals. R. Marie Griffith's *Moral Combat: How Sex Divided American Christians and Fractured American Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 2017) offers a lot of insight on liberal Protestant attitudes toward sexuality from the 1920s to the late twentieth century. Heather R. White's *Reforming Sodom: Protestants and the Rise of Gay Rights* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015) examines the liberal Protestant ministers who supported gay rights in the 1960s and 1970s. Tom Davis's *Sacred Work: Planned Parenthood and Its Clergy Alliances* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004) and Doris Andrea Dirks and Patricia A. Relf's *To Offer Compassion: A History of the Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2017) chronicle liberal Protestant ministerial support for Planned Parenthood, birth control, and abortion rights.

Evangelicals' cultural and political opposition to the sexual revolution receives extensive attention in Sara Moslener's *Virgin Nation: Sexual Purity and American Adolescence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), Hilde Lovdal Stephens's *Family Matters: James Dobson and Focus on the Family's Crusade for the Christian Home* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2019), and Seth Dowland's *Family Values and the Rise of the Christian Right*

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(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). Amy DeRogatis's *Saving Sex: Sexuality and Salvation in American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) and Christine J. Gardner's *Making Chastity Sexy: The Rhetoric of Evangelical Abstinence Campaigns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) present a critical (but also insightful) analysis of evangelical purity culture. My own essay, "Sex and the Evangelicals: Gender Issues, the Sexual Revolution, and Abortion in the 1960s," in *American Evangelicals and the 1960s: Revisiting the "Backlash,"* ed. Axel Schaefer (University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), suggests that evangelicals adopted far more of the prevailing culture's view of sexuality in the 1960s than they were willing to admit. Alan Petigny's *The Permissive Society: 1941–1965* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) likewise suggests that evangelicals, like other Americans, experienced a liberalization of sexual attitudes and other cultural values during the supposedly conservative 1950s. Allan C. Carlson's *Godly Seed: American Evangelicals Confront Birth Control, 1873–1973* (New York: Transaction, 2012) argues that American evangelicals' acceptance of contraception in the mid-twentieth century was at odds with Protestants' historic opposition to the practice. And for evidence that evangelical teaching on sex has not deterred evangelical teens from sexual experimentation, see Mark D. Regnerus's *Forbidden Fruit: Sex and Religion in the Lives of American Teenagers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

While most histories of the sexual revolution are written from a culturally liberal perspective, there are at least a few good conservative scholarly analyses of the negative aspects of this cultural shift. Mary Eberstadt's *Adam and Eve after the Pill: Paradoxes of the Sexual Revolution* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2012) and *Primal Screams: How the Sexual Revolution Created Identity Politics* (West Conshocken, PA: Templeton, 2019) offer perceptive historical overviews and cultural critiques from a conservative Catholic perspective. Elizabeth Fox-

Genovese's *Marriage: The Dream That Refuses to Die* (Wilmington, DE: ISI, 2008) is a historical survey and defense of traditional marriage written by a leading academic historian who was also a Catholic convert. Mark Regnerus's *Cheap Sex: The Transformation of Men, Marriage, and Monogamy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017) argues that the sexual revolution did not advance women's rights (as cultural liberals often claim) but instead privileged men's sexual desires at women's expense.

For conservative arguments in favor of defending traditional marriage and gender norms in the political arena, a good place to start is *What Is Marriage? Man and Woman: A Defense*, written by Sherif Girgis, Ryan T. Anderson, and Robert P. George (New York: Encounter Books, 2012), which presents a natural-law perspective. Anderson's *When Harry Became Sally: Responding to the Transgender Moment* (New York: Encounter Books, 2018) applies a similar analysis to the debate over transgender rights and public policy.

The influence of poverty and social class on marriage practices and attitudes toward marriage is explored in Kathryn Edin and Maria Kefalas's *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood before Marriage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and William Julius Wilson's *More Than Just Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner City* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009). Edin, Kefalas, and Wilson explain why the poorest Americans are unlikely to marry, but W. Bradford Wilcox's scholarship presents social science arguments to demonstrate why the lives of the poor improve when they do marry. For some of Wilcox's findings and arguments, see *Why Marriage Matters: Thirty Conclusions from the Social Sciences*, 3rd ed. (New York: Broadway Books, 2011).

For a gospel-centered, evangelical theology of marriage, an excellent resource is *The Meaning of Marriage: Facing the Complexities of Commitment with the Wisdom of God*, written

by Timothy Keller with Kathy Keller (New York: Dutton, 2011). Keller's book reminds us of what marriage is, according to the Bible, and why even conservative defenses of marriage have sometimes lost sight of its real, gospel-based significance. *Sexual Brokenness and the Hope of the Gospel*, ed. Russell Moore (Nashville: Leland House, 2014), applies a gospel-centered ethic to a wide variety of sexual sins in contemporary American culture. There are far too many other thoughtful evangelical books on sexuality to list here, but one that should certainly be mentioned is Christopher Yuan's *Holy Sexuality and the Gospel: Sex, Desire, and Relationships Shaped by God's Grand Story* (Colorado Springs: Multnomah, 2018).

Chapter 5: Race

Books on the history of the African American experience number in the thousands and cannot possibly be listed comprehensively here. For a classic comprehensive survey of African American history, see John Hope Franklin and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham's *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, now in its ninth edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011), or, for a more popularly oriented (but still academically sound) treatment, Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Donald Yacovone's *The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross* (New York: Smiley Books, 2013).

A few of the titles that I would recommend on the history of slavery and the origins of racism in America and the Western world include Peter Kolchin's *American Slavery, 1619–1877*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), Ira Berlin's *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), Marcus Rediker's *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007), Hugh Thomas's *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), George M. Fredrickson's *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

2002), Winthrop D. Jordan's *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), Edmund S. Morgan's *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), Eugene D. Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Random House, 1974), Edward E. Baptist's *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), and Ibram X. Kendi's *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Nation Books, 2016).

For segregation, racial discrimination, and the African American experience after 1865, see Jacqueline Jones's *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1985), Leon F. Litwack's *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), Douglas A. Blackmon's *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Anchor Books, 2008), and Thomas J. Sugrue's *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008).

For structural racism in American housing and economic development after the Second World War, see Thomas J. Sugrue's *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law: The Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright, 2017) and Ira Katznelson's *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005) offer excellent historical analysis of the codification of structural racism into American law in the twentieth century.

For analyses of contemporary structural racism, see Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2010), Elizabeth Hinton's *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), James Foreman Jr.'s *Locking Up Our Own: Crime and Punishment in Black America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2017), and Dorothy Roberts's *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 2016). Personal reflections by contemporary African Americans on the persistent effects of racism in twenty-first-century America include Ta-Nehisi Coates's *Between the World and Me* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2015) and Ibram X. Kendi's *How to Be an Antiracist* (New York: One World, 2019). Both of these books are written by non-Christians, and I would not give a complete endorsement to their entire analysis, but they offer useful food for thought, especially for white Christians who are attempting to understand the contemporary African American experience. Christians who want to know what policy proposals they can support that might address the issues of structural racism and mass incarceration highlighted in these works might be interested in Dominique DuBois Gilliard's *Rethinking Incarceration: Advocating for Justice That Restores* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2018).

African Americans' development of a Christian theology of suffering and liberation is succinctly chronicled in Albert J. Raboteau's *Canaan Land: A Religious History of African Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). For primary sources from black Christians of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, see Milton C. Sernett's *African American Religious History: A Documentary Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). One of the most widely circulated black Christian theological reflections of the mid-

twentieth century was Howard Thurman's *Jesus and the Disinherited*, first published in 1949 (repr., Boston: Beacon, 1996). Martin Luther King Jr.'s *Strength to Love* (repr., Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010), a collection of his sermons, is another useful guide to the black Christian theology that guided the civil rights movement. For the influence of Christianity on the civil rights movement, see David L. Chappell's *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), David J. Garrow's *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: HarperCollins, 1986), and Charles Marsh's *God's Long Summer: Stories of Faith and Civil Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Biographies of civil rights activists who were motivated by their Christian faith include Andrew M. Manis's *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999) and Kay Mills's *This Little Light of Mine: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (New York: Dutton, 1993). John M. Perkins's *Let Justice Roll Down*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2014; originally published in 1976), is an autobiographical account of an African American Christian from Mississippi who found the ability to forgive in the power of the gospel and who worked closely with conservative white evangelicals to bring a commitment to racial justice to the church. For a white Reformed evangelical pastor's account of his own journey of repentance of the sin of cooperation in perpetuating racial injustice, see John Piper's *Bloodlines: Race, Cross, and the Christian* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2011).

For a black Christian's historical critique of white evangelicalism's racism and alliances with conservative political causes that hurt black Americans, see Jemar Tisby's *The Color of Compromise: The Truth about the American Church's Complicity in Racism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2019). Other books that touch on the challenges that white evangelicals face in

understanding African Americans' experiences and working toward racial justice include Michael O. Emerson and Christian Smith's *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) and J. Russell Hawkins and Philip Luke Sinitiere's *Christians and the Color Line: Race and Religion after Divided by Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). A lot has been published on this topic in the two decades since Emerson and Smith's work first appeared, but *Divided by Faith* as well as Hawkins and Sinitiere's anthology of scholarship remain useful introductions. Mark Noll's scholarship on race and religion—especially his *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)—is also a highly useful guide to the historical reasons why black and white American Christians have very different understandings of race and politics.

Readers who want to explore the reasons for the unpopularity of the Republican Party among most African Americans can consult Michael K. Fauntroy's *Republicans and the Black Vote* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007) and Jeremy D. Mayer's *Running on Race: Racial Politics in Presidential Campaigns, 1960–2000* (New York: Random House, 2002). Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall's *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991) examines the racial backlash associated with some conservative campaigns against high taxes and social welfare programs.

Many of the books listed above focus on structural racism as the explanation for the wealth divide between blacks and whites, but for an analysis of the roles that marriage and family, as well as poverty, play in this phenomenon, see James T. Patterson's *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Moynihan Reform and America's Struggle over Black Family Life from LBJ to Obama* (New York: Basic Books, 2010) and William Julius Wilson's *The Truly Disadvantaged:*

The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Stephan Thernstrom and Abigail Thernstrom's *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible: Race in Modern America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997) also examines the connection between family life, race, and poverty and advances an argument for conservative color-blind policies—an argument that is at odds with the views presented in most of the other books listed here.

For surveys of the challenges confronting low-wage Hispanic immigrants, see Angela Stuesse's *Scratching Out a Living: Latinos, Race, and Work in the Deep South* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016) and Helen B. Marrow's *New Destination Dreaming: Immigration, Race, and Legal Status in the Rural American South* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011). Paul Ganster and David E. Lorey's *The U.S.-Mexican Border into the Twenty-First Century*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), is a historical survey of changes in American policy toward Mexican immigration and the country's border with Mexico. Marisa Abrajano and Zoltan L. Hajnal's *White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015) examines the role that opposition to Latino immigration has played in hardening racial attitudes and converting whites to the Republican Party. For thoughtful Christian reflections on American immigration policy, see Robert W. Heimburger's *God and the Illegal Alien: United States Immigration Law and a Theology of Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018) and M. Daniel Carroll R.'s *Christians at the Border: Immigration, the Church, and the Bible*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2013).

Chapter 6: Wealth and Poverty

James T. Patterson's *America's Struggle against Poverty in the Twentieth Century*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), Michael B. Katz's *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), and Frank Stricker's *Why America Lost the War on Poverty—and How to Win It* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) offer detailed, scholarly analyses of the effect that both the Great Society programs of the 1960s and the cuts in social welfare programs during the late twentieth century had on poverty rates in the United States. Edward N. Wolff's *A Century of Wealth in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017) is a lengthy, data-rich analysis of wealth inequality from the early twentieth century through the beginning of the twenty-first-century Great Recession. Matthew P. Drennan's *Income Inequality: Why It Matters and Why Most Economists Don't Notice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015) and Paul Krugman's *The Conscience of a Liberal* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007) present concise overviews of the trends that Wolff examines in detail, and most readers will probably find them more accessible. Most of these works focus primarily on income inequality or poverty, but for a detailed study of the economics of the middle class, see Robert J. Gordon's *The Rise and Fall of American Growth: The U.S. Standard of Living Since the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016). For the American economy before World War II, Jeremy Atack and Peter Passell's *A New Economic View of American History: From Colonial Times to 1940*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), is a useful guide. For the history of debates over health insurance in the United States, see Paul Starr's *Remedy and Reaction: The Peculiar American Struggle over Health Care Reform* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011). For Social Security, see Daniel Béland's *Social Security: History and Politics from the New Deal*

to the Privatization Debate (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005). For the nation's punitive treatment of the poor after the 1970s, see Julilly Kohler-Hausmann's *Getting Tough: Welfare and Imprisonment in 1970s America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017). The reasons why conservative defenses of the free market became an article of faith for many middle-class white Americans in the late twentieth century is explored in the first chapter of Daniel T. Rodgers's *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

Books are useful guides to the history of wealth and poverty in the United States, but for the latest economic data, online resources are indispensable. The Kaiser Family Foundation (www.kff.org) offers nonpartisan, data-driven analyses of the current state of health care in the United States. The US Bureau of Labor Statistics (www.bls.gov) and the US Census Bureau (www.census.gov) offer comprehensive, reliable data on American income, wealth, and employment by race, age, and gender. The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Atlantic*, and the *Economist* also regularly cover these topics and are useful guides to summaries and analyses of the latest data and research.

For evangelical Christian reflections on how followers of Jesus should think about poverty, two widely read books offer useful guides: Ronald J. Sider's *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger: Moving from Affluence to Generosity*, rev. ed. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2015), and Steve Corbett and Brian Fikkert's *When Helping Hurts: How to Alleviate Poverty without Hurting the Poor . . . and Yourself*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Moody, 2012). The two books differ in their perspective, and neither deals precisely with the issues covered in this volume, but both are filled with biblically grounded insights on the responsibility that Christians have to love the economically impoverished (whether in the United States or the developing world) and how they can best do that by thinking and acting counterculturally.

Afterword: The Politics of the Cross and the Preservation of the Nation

James T. Kloppenberg's *Toward Democracy: The Struggle for Self-Rule in European and American Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) is far from the only book published within the past five years on the fragility of democracy and the reasons for its success or failure, but its emphasis on the altruistic or religious grounding of successful democracies makes it especially useful for Christian reflection—even though it is not in any way a religious book. Steven Zablitsky and Daniel Ziblatt's *How Democracies Die* (New York: Broadway Books, 2018) pinpoints the decline of unwritten institutional norms as a leading cause of democracy's failure internationally and offers a sober assessment of the current state of democracy in the United States. For a Christian reflection on the value of democracy, see Nicholas Wolterstorff's essay "Do Christians Have Good Reasons for Supporting Liberal Democracy?," in Wolterstorff and Terence Cuneo's *Understanding Liberal Democracy: Essays in Political Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 305–28. D. A. Carson's *Christ and Culture Revisited* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008) points out the reasons why Christians should work to preserve both social justice and the democratic political order, even while recognizing that the promotion of democracy is not our ultimate aim.