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Architects and Foot Soldiers: The Catholic Influence within the New Christian Right

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ABSTRACT

After the 1980 presidential election, the New Christian Right (NCR) became a political force that could no longer be ignored. Since the early 1980s the political agenda of the NCR has expanded beyond culture war issues. Currently the NCR addresses several international issues such as, human trafficking, the spread of HIV, and religious persecution. Since the NCR is one of many political forces that presently influences policy makers, it's become crucial for the public to possess a good understanding of what the NCR is, and grasp what lies behind its intersecting religious dynamics.

Unfortunately, much of the American public as well as the mainstream media are unaware of, or glaze over the intellectual and religious complexity of the NCR. Most media coverage highlights its evangelical leadership, while it fails to emphasize the role non-evangelical political activists, and intellectuals played in the development of this alliance. This type of media coverage not only mischaracterizes the NCR, but leads the public to believe that all evangelicals are a part of this interfaith alliance.

This thesis attempts to expand beyond the evangelical aspect of the NCR. Like evangelical leaders, a group of Catholic conservative elites played a pivotal role in establishing the intellectual as well as political foundation of the NCR. Although evangelical leaders provided the NCR with much of its public leadership, Catholic conservatives such as William F. Buckley, Phyllis Schlafly,

Brent Bozell, Paul Weyrich, and Richard Viguerie provided political guidance, and created a religious conservatism which became the intellectual foundation of the NCR.

These claims are argued by historically reconstructing the formation of the NCR. This reconstruction illustrates how historical events in conjunction with the actions of few Catholic conservatives, resulted in the formation of religious conservatism, and led to political activism in the defense of traditional family values. Another important reason I choose to reconstruct the formation of the NCR is to dispel common misconceptions regarding this interfaith alliance.

One misconception I hope to correct is that evangelical leaders primarily became politically involved to fight a moral quest against abortion. Although abortion became one of the prime culture wars issues, the *Roe v. Wade* decision was not the event that led to the political unification of these historically hostile faiths. I want the reader to understand that the formation of the NCR was a complex and lengthy process that did not occur overnight, or due to the efforts of leaders from one religious faith.

Conclusion:

After researching this topic, I concluded that the NCR is a fragile and loosely knit political alliance. Historical inter-faith tension still lingers amongst some leaders of the NCR, which leads me to believe that political pragmatism is the main adhesive keeping this interfaith alliance together. As author Randall

Balmer stated, “The New Christian Right is a marriage of political convenience.”¹ This coalition is extremely reminiscent of a business relationship, in which all parties gain from associating with one another. Simply put, at the core of the NCR there seems to be nothing more than a strategic coalition developed, and maintained to reach common political objectives.

While researching the formation of the NCR I also discovered that the events that took place from 1950 to the 1970s were catalysts that incited the formation of this defensive alliance. These historical events increasingly polarized religious faiths from within, and created common political goals amongst the religiously orthodox.² Although these historical events were important factors that contributed to the formation of the NCR, I also found that Catholic conservatives played a critical role in the development of this interfaith alliance. Catholic conservative intellectuals and political activists filled an intellectual void that existed within the evangelical political movement.

Thesis Sources:

In researching this topic I used a variety of sources. Throughout my research I attempted to balance my first and secondary sources. My first hand sources consisted of interviews, and several books written by some of the Catholic conservatives I focused on within the thesis. Interviewees Phyllis

¹ Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

² The word orthodox is not used in the traditional sense that describes specific doctrinal creeds or practices. But is used to describe a group of people whose world view and belief system is committed to an “external definable authority,” which defines “at least in abstract, a consistent, unchangeable measure of value, purpose, goodness, both personal and collective.” James Davison Hunter. *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America: Making sense of the battles over the family, art, education, laws, and politics* [New York: Basic Books, 1991], 44.

Schlafly, Randall Balmer, and George Weigel were chosen because I felt that they would provide my work with a variety of opinions and historical information regarding the NCR. Phyllis Schlafly, founder of the Eagle Forum and prominent political activist, provided my work with invaluable insight on the development of the pro-family movement. Author and Columbia University professor, Randall Balmer also provided my thesis with insight on the role evangelical leaders played in the formation of the NCR.

Secondary sources varied from books written by historians, to documentaries and internet resources. Although, I tried to minimally incorporate internet resources for this project. In order to write a comprehensive piece on this interfaith alliance, I included a wide variety of sources, and read books that varied within their historical interpretations regarding the formation of the NCR. Several other insightful books exist on the topic, however given the magnitude of this project I was unable to include them all.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1-12

Defining the New Christian Right

Objectives of the Thesis

Section I – The Catalyst: Anticommunism and the Development of Christian Conservatism 13-29

Glossing over the intellectual roots of the New Christian Right

Communism, Catholics, and the Republican Right

The New Conservatism

The National Review a Conservative Beacon

Section II –The Storm : The GOP and the 1960s 30-54

Kennedy and the Republican Right

The Engel and Schempp Supreme Court Decisions

The Effects of the Civil Rights Movement and the Banning of School

Prayer

Conservative Evangelicals no Longer Safe within Their Social Enclaves

Barry Goldwater, the Southern Strategy, and the GOP's Political

Realignment

Section III – The Rise of the New Christian Right

55-70

STOP ERA: The Birth of the Pro-Family Movement

Bob Jones University and the IRS V. the Abortion Myth

Conclusion **71-73**

Appendix **74-76**

Bibliography **77-79**

INTRODUCTION

Section I, Defining the New Christian Right:

In order to analyze the New Christian Right (NCR) it first must be defined. Although this seems like a simple task, it has proven to be problematic not only for journalists, but academics as well. The NCR is not a religiously uniform alliance making it incorrect to define in absolute terms. For example, making a

sweeping statement such as the NCR is composed of Catholics, Southern Baptists, and evangelicals is incorrect. Although, that statement is partially true, it oversimplifies the religiously complex composition of the NCR. The NCR is composed of several religious factions.³

Not all evangelicals, Jews, or Catholics identify with the NCR.⁴ In fact the majority of Americans “occupy a vast middle ground that does not embrace a particular moral vision wholly or uncritically.”⁵ Therefore it must be noted that the majority of the culture wars dialogue is dominated by a religiously polarized minority. This religious polarization began to occur at the turn of the 20th century. At the turn of the century several intellectual as well as social dilemmas began to create splinters within Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism. Industrialization and urbanization provided a series of social problems such as labor struggles, rise in crime and poverty, and public health issues.⁶ Simultaneously, debates emerged within these three faiths over theological modernity.

The 1925 Scopes Trail was a monumental event that profoundly impacted Protestantism. The trial brought to light disputes over theological modernism, which created permanent divisions within Protestantism. However, these intra-faith divisions were not limited to the Protestant faith. While

³ Although, the majority of the NCR is composed of religiously conservative individuals, conservative secularists also make up a small portion of this interfaith alliance. Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 45.

⁴ I want to emphasize that Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism are not the only faiths that identify with the NCR. For example some Mormons and non religious individuals such as conservative secularists, identify with this interfaith alliance. However, the majority of the NCR identify as stemming from some form of Protestantism (whether it be evangelical or Southern Baptist), Catholicism, and Judaism. That is why I choose to only mention these three faiths. Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 72-73.

⁵ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 43.

⁶ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 77.

Protestantism disputed biblical authority, Catholicism disputed loyalty to Rome, and Judaism disputed the inviolability of the Torah and traditional ritual observances.⁷ All of these faiths were caught in an intra-faith struggle that disputed the role and influence modernity should have on theological practices.

As a result of these intra-faith disputes, two distinct camps of thought emerged. In the book *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, James Davison Hunter defines and identifies these two philosophically distinct sects as the orthodox and progressive camp. Hunter does not use the term orthodox and progressive in the traditional religious sense describing a specific doctrinal creed and/or particular practices. But instead uses the terms to describe formal properties of a belief system and world view within these two sects.

In order to illustrate the religious nature of the NCR, I will use these terms as James Davison Hunter has defined them. Orthodox individuals believe in a “definable and transcendent authority that defines the measure of value, purpose, goodness, and identity, both personal and collective.” Progressive’s moral authority tends to be defined “in the spirit of the modern age, a spirit of rationalism and subjectivism.”⁸ Therefore, unlike the orthodox, progressive’s perceptions of what is moral, immoral and of value are subject to change with shifting conditions and variables.

Orthodox and progressive camps were busy clashing over theological programs of modernism when the dialogue shifted with the collapse of the Judeo-

⁷ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 95.

⁸ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 44-45.

Christian consensus.⁹ With an ever increasing religious and ethnic plurality within the United States, the Judeo Christian consensus dissipated.¹⁰ With the social upheavals and movements of the 1960s and 1970s, intra-religious divisions deepened, and the orthodox as well as the progressive camp became consumed with exerting their influence, and ideas on the public culture.¹¹

Hence, the culture war consists of small group of religiously polarized (and secularist) individuals battling over fundamentally different concepts of moral authority, and over different ideas and beliefs about truth, the good, and so on.¹² Although Protestants, Catholics, and Jews had been historically hostile to one another, this religious polarization established a cross religious commonality that they did not find with their own brethren.

Due to “common points of visions and concerns, the orthodox wings of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism formed associations with each other, as did the progressive wings of each faith community, each forming an opposition to the influence the other seeks to exert in public culture.”¹³ The NCR is a direct result of orthodox wings of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism forming a strategic political alliance. Another important point that needs to be raised is

⁹ The Judeo Christian consensus was an agreement among the three main faiths, Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism regarding the language of public debate. This was a religious consensus upon the symbols of moral discourse, biblical imagery and metaphor, symbols. With the expansion of pluralism in the second half of the twentieth century, that agreement largely disintegrated.

Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 76-77.

¹⁰ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 85.

¹¹ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 42.

¹² The culture war does not only consist of religious individuals. Secularists make up a very important portion of the progressive camp. Also, conservative secularists make up a small portion of the orthodox camp.

James Davison Hunter, *Before the Shooting Begins: Searching for Democracy in America's Culture War* [New York: The Free Press, 1994], 103.

¹³ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 47.

individuals who identify with either an orthodox or progressive belief system tend to favor certain political ideologies. Those who embrace the orthodox impulse are almost always social conservatives, while progressives tend to embrace liberal or libertarian positions.¹⁴

Although, I need to stress that even some individuals that primarily embrace the orthodox or progressive belief system may side from time to time with the opposition on certain issues. The divide between progressives and the orthodox is not sharp, and there are individuals who sway back and forth between conservative and liberal positions on particular issues. However, recognizing these exceptions does not negate the political tendencies of these two distinct camps of thought.¹⁵

As stated before most Americans are ambivalent or do not subscribe to a particular moral vision. Although people will lean toward a side, they're not the individuals who dominate the culture wars dialogue. Therefore it's a polarized minority that dominates the culture wars dialogue. However, even ordinary Americans who identify with the orthodox or progressives camp do not have access to public channels, and therefore do not actively participate in the public discussion of the culture wars.

Instead, it is elites such as university based scholars, lobbyists, public policy specialists in think tanks, journalists and editors, theologians, writers, lawyers, and political activists that define public discourse within the culture wars. These elites have the necessary tools to access public channels and

¹⁴ Hunter, *Culture Wars the struggle to Define America*, 46.

¹⁵ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 105.

influence public thought.¹⁶ The bottom line is that the reader needs to keep in mind is that the NCR consists of small orthodox factions of several religious faiths combined into one interfaith alliance. Another important point that needs to be understood is that the public discourse of the NCR is dominated by elites such as theologians, religious leaders, political activists, writers, journalists, public policy specialists etc.

In order for the reader to understand the role Catholic conservative elites played in the formation of the NCR, these two very basic points needed to be established. There first is that the NCR is mostly composed of polarized religious minorities, which by no means represent the religious liberal, or mainstream of their faiths. The second point is that elites, an even smaller minority, dominate the dialogue of the NCR.

The reason these points need to be taken into consideration is because I want the reader to be completely clear on who, and what I'm writing about. When the thesis discusses the Catholic element within the NCR, I need the reader to understand that I am not referring to all Catholics. What I am writing about is a small polarized group of Catholic conservative faction that identifies with the NCR. Within this section I also pointed out the critical roles elites play within the NCR. The reason I did this is so that the reader understands the critical role elites have played in the NCR, and consequently will understand why I choose to make a few Catholic conservatives elites the main focus of this thesis.

¹⁶ Hunter, *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America*, 59.

Section II, Thesis Objective:

Conservative evangelicals and certain political events often are associated with the New Christian Right (NCR). Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and James Dobson are just a few of the evangelical leaders who come to mind when the term the New Christian Right is mentioned. In turn, much of the media, along with prominent evangelicals within the New Christian Right, credit the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision as the event that provoked evangelicals to engage in the political arena.¹⁷ Unfortunately, much of this information is inaccurate, even if it's circulated by the media.

The NCR has largely been misunderstood by the media and much of the American public. Conservative evangelicals have been a highly vocal and politically active bloc within the NCR since the late 1970s. Due to conservative

¹⁷ Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics* [New York: World Publication, 1994], 17.

evangelicals' intense political involvement, much of the media and entertainment coverage has tended to overemphasize this aspect of the NCR.¹⁸ As a result of this type of coverage, the NCR has inadvertently been portrayed as an interdenominational alliance created and dominated by conservative evangelicals.

Two prime examples of this type of coverage are illustrated in the November 11, 2006, issue of *Newsweek*, entitled *The Politics of Jesus*, and in a documentary film entitled, *With God on Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*. Even though both the *Newsweek* article and the documentary film attempt to educate the public regarding the NCR, neither of the sources addresses or stresses the influence and impact conservative Catholic individuals have had on this interfaith alliance

Throughout the *Newsweek* article, reporter Lisa Miller focuses exclusively on evangelical political involvement, as well as the impact leaders such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and even Billy Graham have had on the NCR.¹⁹ Similarly, in the documentary *With God on Our Side*, the historical focus is also placed on evangelicals.²⁰ Unfortunately, solely focusing on the evangelical aspect of the NCR only reinforces preconceived misconceptions of this interfaith alliance.

Due to the media and the entertainment industry's preoccupations with the evangelicals, other important aspects of the NCR, such as the Catholic element are virtually unexplored. As George Weigel, an influential Catholic senior fellow

¹⁸ Michael Cromartie, ed., *No Longer Exiles: The Religious New Right in American Politics* [Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1993], 100.

¹⁹ Lisa Miller, "An Evangelical Identity Crisis," *Newsweek*, November 13, 2006, <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15566654/site/newsweek/> [accessed November 15, 2006].

²⁰ Calvin Skaggs, Davis Van Taylor, and Ali Pomeroy, *With God on Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*, DVD [New York: Lumiere Productions Inc., 2004].

at the Ethics and Public Policy Institute based in Washington D.C. pointed out, “journalists’ tend to miss the Catholic element within the NCR because most of them are theological ciphers.”²¹ The notion of a select group of Catholic conservatives having a paramount influence on the development of the NCR is a foreign concept to the majority of the general public, media, and academia.

Even Bill O’Reilly, a Fox News commentator and self proclaimed Catholic traditionalist, is unaware of the Catholic conservative influence within the NCR.²² His ignorance towards Catholic involvement was exemplified during an interview on the *700 Club* with Pat Robertson. In his interview Bill O’Reilly stated, “The Roman Catholic Church has been very silent in the culture wars. The lead in the culture wars has been taken by evangelical Christians. They’re the ones that are outspoken. But the regular folks and the Catholics, and things like that-they’re afraid.”²³

Bill O’Reilly is mistaken. Even though Catholic conservatives have been perceived as mere foot soldiers who joined an evangelical cause against secular humanism, the reality is an elite group of Catholic conservatives played a critical role in engineering the intellectual and political foundation of the NCR.

Evangelical leaders have been extremely important in politically mobilizing

²¹ George Weigel, interview by author, Columbus, GA, March 9, 2007.

²² Although, Bill O’Reilly claims to be a Catholic traditionalist, he is not. Usually if a Catholic identifies themselves as a traditionalist it is indicative of that person observing Catholic liturgical practices that predate the Second Vatican Council. When Bill O’Reilly identified himself as a Catholic traditionalist he meant it in the context of being a religious social conservative. Roman Catholic Traditionalism?, “A Simple Introduction,” http://www.geocities.com/catholic_traditionalist/ [accessed July, 15, 2007]. Bill O’Reilly.com, “A special message from Bill on Culture Warrior,” under Bill’s Official Home on the Web, <http://www.billoreilly.com/pg/jsp/general/culturewarriormessage.jsp> [accessed July 15, 2007].

²³ Media Matters for America, “O’Reilly, appearing on 700 Club: Catholic Church ‘very silent in the culture war,’” <http://mediamatters.org/items/200611300008>, [accessed November 30, 2006].

congregants. However, a generation of Catholics conservatives who became politically active throughout the mid 1950s and 1960s played a pivotal role in the development of the Christian conservative political ideology that would become the intellectual base of the NCR. During the 1970s Catholic conservative's also played the crucial role of inciting the pro-family movement, and mobilizing energetic evangelical leaders.

William F. Buckley Jr., Brent Bozell, Clarence Manion, Paul Weyrich, Richard Viguerie, and Phyllis Schlafly are all Catholics conservatives that tremendously contributed to the development of the NCR.²⁴ Unfortunately, much of the media as well as academia fail to explore the relationship between their faiths, political activism, and the development of the NCR. The argument of the thesis is that the NCR embodies a fundamental Catholic element. Catholic conservative elites played a significant role in intellectually orienting, organizing, and mobilizing the NCR.

This thesis reconstructs how pivotal historic events (occurring from 1950 to the 1970s) in conjunction with Catholic conservative's political thought and leadership played a critical role in laying out the political foundation of the NCR. The thesis will be split into three sections to clearly illustrate the impact these Catholic conservatives had on the development of the NCR. The first section of the thesis introduces the political conditions under which Christian conservatism developed. Understanding this notion is crucial for readers to understand the

²⁴ Note that plenty of other Conservative Catholics such as, George Weigel, Robert Novak, and John Richard Neuhaus have played tremendously influential roles within the New Christian Right. However, given the scope of this project, I decided to focus on a select group of Catholics conservatives so that the reader could get a detailed description of how these individuals directly impacted the development of the NCR. See Appendix for brief biographies.

second section, which explores Catholic conservatives' role within the development and promotion of a new Christian conservatism.

The third section focuses on Catholic conservatives whom were politically active within the 1970s. This section focuses on how these Catholic conservatives helped mobilize evangelical leaders, and incited the pro-family movement. The reader will be able to see how these Catholic conservatives were on the front lines of the culture wars, when the battles commenced. Hopefully the reader will take with them the notion that Catholic conservatives' are not only allies within the NCR, but were important organizers and political activists that helped bring together this alliance, and brought to light social issues that the NCR battles to this day.

The overall goal of this thesis is to convey to the reader that a multitude of historical events, and individuals from several religious faiths contributed to the development of this interfaith alliance. However, this thesis highlights the crucial influence Catholic conservative individuals had on the development of the NCR. Many people associate Catholics with being liberal Democrats. However, this thesis attempts to unveil that the American political-religious landscape was, and has become increasingly more complicated as time passes.

Another goal of this thesis is to debunk several misconceptions regarding the NCR. The first and most important misconception that I hope to dispel is that the NCR formed in response the *Roe v. Wade* decision. By reconstructing the formation of the NCR I hope the reader will walk away with the idea that this religious-political force was in the process of forming long before abortion was

legalized, or Jerry Falwell founded the Moral Majority. One last concept that I'd like the reader to take away from this thesis is that the NCR is a fragile loosely knit political alliance.

Throughout the thesis I try to point out that this alliance was formed in order to strategically achieve political goals. Therefore political pragmatism is a prominent feature of this alliance and can be subject to erode if these religious factions no longer share common political interest. Take for instance the current split within the evangelical camp regarding environmental political activism. Once, common political objectives are in question this fragile alliance is subject to splinter.

Currently, this fascinating interfaith alliance has surpassed its interest in domestic affairs, and currently tackles a wide variety of international issues ranging from HIV in Africa to human trafficking. Since the NCR has become a prominent political force that not only wishes to influence domestic policy, but international as well, it serves the public to be knowledgeable of this interfaith alliance. However, in order to gain a deep understanding this interfaith alliance is, the reader needs to comprehend its political origins, and its complex interreligious dynamics. This thesis does not pretend to delve into every aspect of the NCR; however, it does provide an insightful account of the role a few Catholic conservatives played in its development. Ultimately this thesis aims to spark discussion, expand people's previous perception of the NCR, and encourage people to further research this interfaith alliance.

The Catalyst: Anticommunism and the Development of Christian Conservatism

Glossing Over the Intellectual Roots of the New Christian Right:

Many books that attempt to trace the intellectual foundation of the NCR credit figures of the Old Christian Right (OCR) with sparking the intellectual development of this interfaith alliance. Since the NCR encapsulates a highly visible evangelical component, many historians, like the media tend to focus on the historical fundamentalist and evangelical aspect of the NCR. Countless Books and documentary films, such as Leo P. Ribuffo's, *Old Christian Right: the Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War*, to the documentary film, *With God On Their Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*, stress the influence OCR figures had on the intellectual

development of the NCR.²⁵ Figures often emphasized are Billy Sunday, Gerald L.K. Smith, Billy James Hargis, Gerald Winrod, and Carl McIntire.²⁶

Although, there is something to these claims, I also think that they overlook a critical Catholic conservative influence within the NCR. Catholic conservative elites played a key role in developing a coherent Christian conservative ideology that would fill an intellectual void within the evangelical movement. Figures of the OCR never developed an intellectual ideology that could simultaneously mobilize congregants, bridge interfaith hostilities, and promote interfaith dialogue. Although leaders of the OCR, such as Coughlin, Winrod, and Smith, attempted to lead a unified front against communism, they never formed a well-respected cohesive movement.²⁷

In fact, in a documentary, Billy James Hargis a leader of the OCR confesses to having difficulties convincing people within his own congregation to care about the dangers of communism. Hargis explained that, “in the beginning it was hard to sale, I had to put the fear in there, I’ll be real honest, and I hesitate to use the word, but I had to tell them some horrible things that I thought would happen.”²⁸ The truth is that some leaders of the OCR not only had difficulties politically mobilizing their own congregants, but also found it hard to maintain their public popularity.

Figures such as Gerald Winrod and L.K. Smith were anything but a

²⁵ Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* [Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998].

²⁶ See Appendix for brief biographies on individuals of the Old Christian Right.

²⁷ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 22.

²⁸ Calvin Skaggs, Davis Van Taylor, and Ali Pomeroy, *With God on Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*, DVD [New York: Lumiere Productions Inc., 2004].

unifying force among historically hostile faiths. Smith and Winrod frequently made pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic remarks, which resulted in many of their former supporters publicly castigating and writing them off as radical fringe leaders.²⁹ Unfortunately, as George Marsden points out, many evangelicals suffered the same fate as Winrod and Smith. “From 1928-1968, there were always right wing evangelists trying to rally support on political issues, but most evangelicals remained on the fringes of American politics.”³⁰

Even if leaders of the OCR were capable of rallying congregants politically, some fundamentalist leaders like Carl McIntire refused to overlook theological differences. For leaders of the OCR theological differences were more important than political issues at hand.³¹ These theological differences were going to remain an issue until Christian conservatism emerged which united historically hostile faiths under one political ideology.

Christian conservatism was developed mostly by Catholic conservative elites. These Catholic conservative intellectuals would bridge theological chasms by promoting general Judeo-Christian values that appealed to most religious social conservatives. The development of this new Christian conservatism was a groundbreaking event because this new conservatism would provide the intellectual foundation for the NCR. However, in order to understand Christian conservatism and its role within the NCR, you need to first explore its Catholic anticommunist roots.

²⁹ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 17-22.

³⁰ Michael Cromartie, ed., *No Longer Exiles; The Religious New Right in American Politics* [Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1990], 9.

³¹ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 22.

Communism, Catholics, and the Republican Right:

Many Catholics (both liberal and conservative) spearheaded the anticommunist movement. Communism was perceived as a political ideology that was a danger to democracy, and geared towards destroying Christianity.³² After World War II, communism especially proved to be an enemy of the Catholic Church. Catholics were regularly persecuted in countries such as East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.³³

Government officials within these countries prohibited priests from conducting Mass and, if they disobeyed, were imprisoned, severely beaten, and even killed. These governments choose to dismantle religious institutions because they had the “potential to create adversaries and alternatives to the communistic authority and dogma. Religion could conceivably lead the population to challenge governmental authority, and its materialist ideology.”³⁴

The Roman Catholic Church had been denouncing communism since 1846. However, it wasn't until 1937 with the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, (entitled *On Atheistic Communism* in its English version), that Pope Pius XI made a “root and branch condemnation on communism.”³⁵ During the time of the encyclical, Pope Pius XI declared that an attack on “Christian Civilization,” from

³² Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 24.

Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 73.

³³ WNET, *Faith Under Fire*, VHS [New York: D.L Sage Productions Inc., 1993].

³⁴ WNET, *Faith Under Fire*, VHS [New York: D.L Sage Productions Inc., 1993].

³⁵ Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1943], 272.

Moscow, was being carried out by ‘the most persistent enemies of the Church’; and issued a warning to the faithful against collaboration with communism “in any undertaking whatsoever.”³⁶

Catholic societies, politicians, and prelates took the Communist threat seriously, and were extremely active in attempting to purge suspected communist influences from the United States. For example, Senator Joe McCarthy, a notorious anticommunist was a Catholic. Like many Catholics fighting against Communism, Senator McCarthy believed that the battle against communism was not solely for political reasons, but for the perseverance of Christianity, as well. At a Republican women’s club meeting McCarthy declared, “Today we are engaged in a final, all out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity.”³⁷

Several Catholic leaders aided public figures such as Richard Nixon, and J. Edgar Hoover in their anticommunist endeavors; For example, Father John Cronin a Baltimore Catholic priest, and member of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, aided Richard Nixon, and Senator McCarthy.³⁸ Father Cronin wrote several reports regarding Communist infiltration, and also organized shipyard workers against suspected communists in Baltimore.³⁹ Catholic societies such as the Knights of Columbus, and the Catholic War Veterans were also involved in

³⁶ William B. Prendergast, *The Catholic Voter in American Politics: The Passing of the Democratic Monolith*. [Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1999], 125.

³⁷ History Matters, “Enemies from Within: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy’s Accusations of Disloyalty,” under Speech of Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, 1950, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6456/> [accessed May 21, 2007].

³⁸ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 21.

³⁹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 66, 89.

anticommunist activities.⁴⁰

Catholics did not publicly shy away from their firm anticommunist stance. In 1951, 50,000 Roman Catholics gathered in the Baltimore Memorial Stadium “to pray for the conversion of Russia from godless communism to Christianity.”⁴¹ Then In 1954 many Catholics played an important role in the successful national campaign to include “under God,” in the pledge of allegiance.⁴² The communist threat was clearly a pressing issue for many Catholics, but more importantly this issue caused political divisions to emerge within the Catholic community.

Catholic polarization began to occur in the 1930s. Differences over how the United States should respond to the communist threat created divisions within the Catholic community. Right-wing Catholics argued that unions and liberal programs weakened the United States, and provided a wedge for communist infiltration.⁴³ Right-wing and left-wing Catholics argued over liberalism, socialism, and New Deal programs enacted during the Roosevelt administration.⁴⁴ The communist issue politically polarized the Catholic community into left and the right wing camps of thought.

It was these right-wing Catholics, along with many other individuals that made up a new faction within the GOP called the Republican Right. The Republican Right was extremely different from moderate republicans and liberals. Unlike moderate and liberal republicans, these right wing republicans were

⁴⁰ William B. Prendergast, *The Catholic Voter in American Politics: The Passing of the Democratic Monolith* [Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1999], 126.

⁴¹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 66.

⁴² Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade*, 68.

⁴³ Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1943], 273-274.

⁴⁴ Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy*, 279.

aggressively anticommunist. Many individuals who identified with the Republican Right opposed the liberal wing of the Republican Party because it did not place a high enough priority on the communist issue, and was too willing to promote collectivist social programs in order to appeal to the mainstream public and win elections.⁴⁵ Many individuals who identified with the Republican Right joined aggressive anticommunist organizations such as the John Birch Society.

The John Birch Society, founded in 1948 by Robert Welch, blended “traditional fears of federal power with economic orthodoxy, militant anti-communism, and the concerns of America’s weakening moral fiber.”⁴⁶ The Society estimated that the U.S. was 40% to 60% Communist-controlled. This anticommunist society had more than 300 chapters, and utilized both educational and secretive methods to purge communists. Hundreds of American Opinion libraries were established across the United States, providing the public with an abundant amount of anti-communist literature.⁴⁷

Several front organizations were established by the John Birch Society to outmaneuver the alleged conspirational genius of communists. Some of the front organizations included the Committee of One Million, the Committee for Withdrawal of Recognition, Committee for Impeachment of Earl Warren, and the Committee to Investigate Communist Influences at Vassar College.⁴⁸ The John Birch Society accused President Eisenhower, CIA Director Allen Dulles, and

⁴⁵ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 63.

⁴⁶ Robert Alan Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater* [New York: Yale University Press: New York, 1995] 137.

⁴⁷ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 99.

⁴⁸ David Bennett, *The Party of Fear: The American Far Right From Nativism to the Militia Movement* [New York: Vintage Books, 1995], 317.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles of being communist agents. One of the Society's biggest projects was to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren.⁴⁹

In short, organizations such as the John Birch Society appealed to members of the Republican Right because it embodied their fundamental beliefs. For the Republican Right communism was an attack directed by the Soviet Union on American values, religion, patriotism, independence, family, and local civic society.⁵⁰ Individuals who identified with the Republican Right felt that communism was an ideology incapable of changing, and therefore should not be trusted or negotiated with.⁵¹

The emergence of the Republican Right would change the Republican Party. Catholic conservative individuals that identified with this GOP faction would develop a political ideology that would appeal to a wide variety of Americans that had not traditionally identified with the Republican Party. By promoting Judeo Christian values, and taking a firm anticommunist stance, this new conservatism would appeal to a variety of religious social conservatives.⁵² With the emergence of this new conservatism, the GOP would be transformed in the 1960s from the party of elites and big business, to a party of traditional values with a populist message.⁵³

Since this new Christian conservatism would appeal to a wide variety of

⁴⁹ Time Magazine, "The Americanists," March 10, 1961,"

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,826912,00.html> [Accessed March 26, 2007].

⁵⁰ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 76.

⁵¹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 73, 75, 95.

⁵² Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 15.

⁵³ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectual and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 5.

individuals this would create the possibility for new coalitions to coalesce within the GOP. In order to understand the conservative movement and its role within the formation of the NCR, conservatism first needs to be defined. However, in order to understand this political ideology, the reader needs to reflect upon its Catholic conservative intellectual roots.

The New Conservatism:

This new conservatism was primarily developed to combat communist infiltration. Liberalism, secular humanism, and socialism were all social philosophies that were condemned by conservatives. These social philosophies were perceived by conservatives to weaken America's ideological defense against communism, and eliminate the need for religion.⁵⁴ Liberalism was severely criticized by conservatives.

According to the book, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy*, "A common theme that emerged within conservative circles was that communism and liberalism were fellow materialistic philosophies, essentially 'blood brothers tarred with the same atheistic smudge.'⁵⁵ William F. Buckley, a prominent Catholic conservative, felt that American liberalism "had made a fetish of pragmatism and relativism, so they lacked the firm intellectual foundation on which to stand in the coming war for civilization; thus providing, either knowingly or unwittingly, an entering wedge for communism."⁵⁶ Therefore, this

⁵⁴ Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1943], 32.

⁵⁵ Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy*, 286.

⁵⁶ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca:

new political ideology demonized liberalism.

Secular humanism was just as problematic to conservatives who emphasized the importance of religion, and Judeo-Christian values in America. Communism encompassed secular humanism within its intellectual framework, and eliminated society's need for religion. Secular humanism stressed the self-enlightenment of individuals, which disposed the need for individuals to seek guidance through religion or something divine.⁵⁷

As mentioned previously, conservatism was developed to counteract the detrimental effects of these social philosophies. The promotion of Judeo Christian values and beliefs were thought to be the best method to counteract the detrimental effects of these social philosophies. Therefore, when Catholic conservatives developed this political ideology they incorporated religious natural law as its code of ethics. As Richard Viguerie, a prominent Catholic conservative and founding member of the NCR stated, "the new conservatives urged a return to traditional religious and ethical standards."⁵⁸ Unlike conservatives of the Old Right that were strictly interested in state rights and economics, this new brand of conservatism was just as interested in addressing social issues, as it was in fiscal policy.⁵⁹

The new Christian conservatism of the 1950s and 60s was primarily

Cornell University Press, 1993], 32.

⁵⁷ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 32.

⁵⁸ Richard Viguerie, *The New Right We're Ready to Lead* [Falls Church: The Viguerie Company, 1981], 42.

⁵⁹ William B. Prendergast, *The Catholic Voter in American Politics: The Passing of the Democratic Monolith*. [Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1999), 28.

Catholic in composition.⁶⁰ “Catholic laypeople worked out many of the principles of the new conservatism, beginning in the late 1930s and 1940s, organizing journals in the 1950s, and gradually winning the adherence of other intellectual and electoral groups.⁶¹ During the 1950s, no other Catholic conservative would advance conservatism as William F. Buckley did.

Buckley played a particularly critical role in promoting conservatism, and getting a wide array of individuals to identify with this small faction of the GOP. In the book, *The New Right We’re Ready to Lead*, Richard Viguerie states that “the New Right owes much of what we believe in and are fighting for to such outstanding men and the catalyst who brought them together, William F. Buckley.”⁶² William F. Buckley and his writers at the *National Review* were able to bring in libertarians, and social conservatives into this new conservative movement.

He and his writers were able to do this by promoting the “third strand of conservatism, the angry anticommunism of the 1950s, which overlapped the traditionalist-authoritarian and the libertarian capitalist kind of conservatism.⁶³ As Richard Viguerie stated, “the *National Review* jump started the conservative movement and helped the young struggling movement to survive.”⁶⁴ This new movement would change the GOP platform, and become the political base from

⁶⁰ Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1943], 3.

⁶¹ Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy*, Preface.

⁶² Richard Viguerie, *The New Right We’re Ready to Lead* [Falls Church: The Viguerie Company, 1981], 43.

⁶³ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 17-18.

⁶⁴ Richard Viguerie, *America’s Right Turn: How Conservatives Used New and Alternative media to Take Power*, 62.

where the NCR stemmed from.

The National Review a Conservative Beacon:

As a young Catholic student attending Yale, William F. Buckley became increasingly dissatisfied with academia's treatment of Christianity; which he clearly articulated in his groundbreaking book, *God and Man at Yale*. Buckley thought that "colleges engaged in discouraging intellectual and spiritual ties to Christianity."⁶⁵ Not only was Buckley disappointed with academia, but also resentful of the Warren court. Buckley was especially disturbed over the 1948 *McColum* decision which forbade students to have time releases for religious studies, and curbed most public funding for children attending religious schools.⁶⁶

These developments were extremely troubling for Buckley. He thought that religion in general, not only Catholicism, was being undermined by relativism and materialism.⁶⁷ Like many Catholics conservatives', Buckley was a staunch anti-communist that felt that Christianity needed to be preserved in order to defeat communism. His political beliefs were rooted in preserving and promoting Christianity.⁶⁸ William F. Buckley, like many other Catholic conservatives subscribed to what author Damon Linker defines as "theoconservatism."

According to Linker, theoconservatives believe that a secular society is

⁶⁵ William F. Buckley, *Nearer My God: an Autobiography of Faith* [New York: Double Day Publishing Group, 1997], 30.

⁶⁶William F. Buckley, *Nearer My God: an Autobiography of Faith*, 36.

⁶⁷ William F. Buckley, *God and Man at Yale* [Washington D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 1977], 57.

⁶⁸ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 48.

not only unattainable, but undesirable. To a theoconservative, America is a Christian nation founded on absolute moral principles that make no sense outside of its religious context.⁶⁹ Buckley feels so strongly about the incorporation of religion in the political sphere that in a recent interview with Jim Lehrer he openly stated that he felt that the total separation of church and state is a mistake. Buckley stated, “I feel that completely separating Christianity and politics is a terrible idea because the principal animus for a harmonious polity, I think, is religion.”⁷⁰

Within theoconservatism, America is also thought to be under siege by secular elites spreading their influence through the media, school system, and courts.⁷¹ Since William F. Buckley subscribes to a Christian conservative ideology, he felt that in order to curb the spread of liberalism, secular humanism, and communist influence, the American public needed to adhere to the moral strictures of biblical religion.⁷² Buckley was so convinced of this that, in one of his first publications, he stated that teachers should be indoctrinators, in the sense of implanting the traditional wisdom of civilization, and should extirpate errors from the minds of their students.⁷³ Like William F. Buckley, Brent Bozell (his brother-in-law and Catholic conservative) also subscribed to the same religious

⁶⁹ Damon Linker, *The Theocons: Secular America Under Siege* [New York: Double Day Books, 2006], 4.

⁷⁰ Public Broadcasting Channel (PBS) Online Focus-Online News Hour, “Jim Lehrer interview with Barry Goldwater-transcript and conducted May 29, 1998,” http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/media/july-dec04/buckley_09-08.html [accessed March 5, 2007].

⁷¹ Damon Linker, *The Theocons: Secular America Under Seige* [New York: Double Day Books, 2006], 4.

⁷² Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectual and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 23.

⁷³ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 45.

and political beliefs.

Both Buckley and Brent Bozell argued that if a society is to cohere, conformity is agreed upon values must be upheld, and even sometimes by use of force.⁷⁴ These men perceived the Cold War as an eschatological struggle in which Christian Western civilization was the preserver of true faith. Bozell, like Buckley, argued that the West had been “vouchsafed the truth about man and the nature of the universe” and that the “West asserts God-given right, and think of it as God-given duty, to conserve and spread its truth,” of which, “the church was the primary custodian.”⁷⁵

In 1955, William F. Buckley founded the *National Review*, which was the perfect medium to promote this new Christian conservatism. As Richard Viguerie stated in his book, *America’s Right Turn*, “the *National Review* gave conservatives a center of gravity, some focal point that addressed them as members of a movement and taught them, in Lenin’s words, what is to be done.”⁷⁶ Not all of the writers at the *National Review* were Catholic, however, many of them were.⁷⁷ Catholic conservative journalists, such as Brent Bozell, Russell Kirk, and Garry Wills, all worked for the *National Review*, and were instrumental in solidifying this Christian conservative ideology.⁷⁸

The magazine’s main priority was to oppose communism and socialism. However, the two main strategies these writers used to defeat these political

⁷⁴ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectual and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 43.

⁷⁵ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 21.

⁷⁶ Richard Viguerie, *America’s Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power* [Los Angeles: Bonus Books, 2004], 62.

⁷⁷ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 5.

⁷⁸ See Appendix for brief biographies on each of these Catholic intellectuals.

philosophies was to promote Christian conservatism; which meant openly condemning these social philosophies, and stressing the importance of religion, and the preservation of Judeo-Christian values.⁷⁹ Buckley and the writers at the *National Review* wrote columns that brought religion onto the political stage. As noted by historian Patrick Allitt, the *National Review* did not separate religion and politics, but promoted conservatism that had found a special congruence between Catholicism and political conservatism.⁸⁰

The *National Review* discussed a wide variety of issues, issues ranging from national security to prayer in schools.⁸¹ William F. Buckley quickly became a prominent intellectual figure within conservative movement.⁸² Buckley not only established one of the first widely respected conservative magazines, but also became a prominent political commentator. He was the host of the long running show, *Firing Line*, where he debated liberal figures such as John Kenneth Galbraith, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. As Richard Viguerie points out, the key to the Buckley phenomenon is that “he was first and foremost a debater. He took no prisoners and that sort of aggressive stance was exactly what was needed, conservative kids were sick of being humiliated and branded as yahoos by their liberal professors.”⁸³

George Weigel pointed out that, “this was very old history,” and thought that Catholic scholars such as himself, Michael Novak, and John Richard

⁷⁹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 76.

⁸⁰ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 1.

⁸¹ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 45-134.

⁸² Allitt, *Catholic Intellectual and Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 89.

⁸³ Richard Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power* [Los Angeles: Bonus Books, 2004], 62.

Neuhaus, “had more of a conceptual impact on evangelicals regarding life issues.”⁸⁴ I agree with Weigel, and think scholars such as himself, Michael Novak, and John Richard Neuhaus have been extremely influential in further developing the intellectual thought of the NCR. However, that does not downgrade the role William F. Buckley and Brent Bozell’s played in creating and solidifying conservatism. This new conservatism stressed the importance of traditional values, and would be the primary intellectual foundation from which the NCR stemmed from.

This new political ideology developed primarily by Catholic conservatives like William F. Buckley and Brent Bozell, stirred up a new political movement that would eventually lead to the political realignment of the GOP.⁸⁵ Due to the establishment of this new conservatism, social conservatives of various faiths would have an ideological platform from which to be able to politically identify with one another. In order for the development of the NCR to occur, historically hostile faiths would need to unite under an ideology that would transcend religious differences; conservatism would be the ideology that would overcome those religious barriers. Conservatism’s emphasis on Judeo Christian values appealed to many social conservatives of various faiths, and would draw many individuals into this faction within the GOP.

This new conservatism provided a place within the GOP for “distinct and separate religious moral traditions to share resources and work together towards a

⁸⁴George Weigel, interview by author, Columbus, GA, March 9, 2007.

⁸⁵ Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 212.

common objective.”⁸⁶ However, the establishment of Christian conservatism would not be the event that triggered the formation of the NCR. Conservatism would undergo a transformation during the 1960s and 70s. Social and political upheavals of the 1960s and 70s would play a critical role in the expansion of the conservative political agenda.

Conservatives political agenda would go from solely promoting free market and fighting communism, to taking stances on pressing social issues such as the civil rights movement, and feminism.⁸⁷ When this political ideology began to promote a pro-family, antifeminist agenda, religious social conservatives, such as evangelicals, began to turn away from the Democratic Party and turn to the GOP.⁸⁸ Disgruntled social conservatives had felt alienated by the Democratic Party, and found more in common with this newly emerging conservative movement.⁸⁹ Appealing to these social conservatives was imperative because these individuals would make up the future NCR.

Brent Bozell, and William F. Buckley’s intellectual influence is also important because they played a major role in the formation of future Catholic conservative leaders political outlook. Catholic conservative leaders such as Richard Viguerie, and Phyllis Schlafly would play critical roles in politically mobilizing evangelicals during the late 1970s. During an interview with Phyllis Schlafly, she candidly stated that Buckley and Bozell were conservatives that she

⁸⁶ James Davison Hunter. *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America: Making sense of the battles over the family, art, education, laws, and politics* [New York: Basic Books, 1991], 97.

⁸⁷ Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 213-214.

⁸⁸ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 159.

⁸⁹ Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America*, 159-160.

highly respected, and influenced the formation of her political views.⁹⁰

Richard Viguerie also admits to being influenced by Buckley and other Catholic intellectuals such as, Russell Kirk, and Brent Bozell.⁹¹ This is important to note because these Catholic conservatives would promote this newly created conservatism in the 1960s, and be the ones who played a critical role in expanding conservatism's political agenda.

The Storm: The GOP and the 1960s

The 1960s was a decade full of events that alarmed many social conservatives. Historical events such as the Kennedy Administration's foreign policy towards the Soviet Union, the civil rights movement, and Supreme Court decisions all concerned social conservatives with the direction country was heading in. According to historian Jay P. Corrin, "In the years of the Kennedy presidency, Supreme Court rulings against school prayer and Bible reading in public schools confirmed perceptions about the secularization of American life."⁹²

These events would cause enough apprehension among social

⁹⁰ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

⁹¹ Richard Viguerie, *The New Right We're Ready to Lead* [Falls Church: The Viguerie Company, 1981], 42.

⁹² Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1943], 83.

conservative elites, that by the 1970s, leaders such as evangelical Jerry Falwell, and Catholic conservative Phyllis Schlafly would be able overlook theological differences in order to achieve common political goals. The events of the 1960s played a pivotal role in forcing social conservatives from historically hostile faiths to recognize that they had much in common with former religious foes, and more importantly had something to gain in forming an interfaith alliance.

Kennedy and the Republican Right:

In the book, *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith in American Politics*, Ralph Reed claims that “John F. Kennedy’s election in 1960 buried the Catholic boogeyman forever.”⁹³ I disagree with Ralph Reed, Catholics did not stop being discriminated against once Kennedy was elected. However, what the Kennedy’s presidency did cause was for Catholic conservative elites to perceive a commonality with other Christian leaders; however, it was not to support his presidency, but it was to oppose it.

Unlike Ralph Reed’s statement in his book, many evangelicals were horrified at the thought of a Catholic president. As author Randall Balmer, pointed out, “When I was growing up in an evangelical community during the 1950s and 1960s we were taught to be very suspicious of Catholics, it was so bad, that if we were to marry a Catholic, I knew that I’d be disowned.”⁹⁴ Historic conflicts with Catholics made it difficult for evangelicals to trust Kennedy.

⁹³Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics* [New York: World Publication, 1994], 16.

⁹⁴Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

Evangelicals were afraid that Catholics were incapable of acting independently of the Vatican.⁹⁵

During the presidential campaign Kennedy attempted to extinguish these suspicions by stating, “I believe that the separation of church and state is a fundamental to our American heritage.” Kennedy told a group of fundamentalist students that he would “simply not obey,” any political directives from the church. Also, during a televised interview Kennedy stated that he would “not take any orders from any Pope, cardinal, bishop, or priest.”⁹⁶ Although Kennedy tried to defuse negative perceptions of Catholics, many prominent evangelical leaders continued to oppose his candidacy.

For example, the National Association of Evangelicals sponsored a Study Conference on the Relationship of Religion and Freedom, which stressed the political nature of the Roman Catholic Church and the threat it posed to democracy.⁹⁷ Other attempts were made by prominent evangelical leaders to stop Kennedy from being elected. In August and September of 1960, Billy Graham along with twenty five other evangelical leaders met in Switzerland to discuss methods of thwarting Kennedy’s election.⁹⁸

Catholic conservatives as well as many Protestants disliked much about the candidate and his future administration.⁹⁹ Given Kennedy’s criticism of the

⁹⁵ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 50.

⁹⁶ David Bennett, *The Party of Fear: The American Far Right from Nativism to the Militia Movement* [New York: Vintage Books, 1995], 320.

⁹⁷ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: the Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 50.

⁹⁸ Martin, *With God on Our Side: the Rise of the Religious Right in America*, 32.

⁹⁹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 77.

former administration, and his strong anticommunist platform, most would think that Catholic conservatives would have had several reasons to support the candidate. Throughout his campaign he openly criticized President Eisenhower for “lacking vigor in the contest with the Soviet Union.”¹⁰⁰ Also, as the Senator of Massachusetts he supported Joe McCarthy’s anti-communist purges. In fact in front of a Harvard audience Kennedy admitted that he thought, “Joe may have something” in alleging communist infiltration in unions and government agencies.¹⁰¹

Then during his presidency he authorized the Bay of Pigs, which took a toll on U.S. foreign relations with the U.S.S.R. John F. Kennedy’s brother, and Attorney General was also involved in anti-communist activities during the McCarthy era; Robert F. Kennedy served as Assistant Counsel on Investigations chaired by Senator McCarthy. Although, Kennedy and the people surrounding him were perceived by many Americans a staunch anti-communist, Catholic conservatives saw them as anything but Cold War warriors.¹⁰² This was one major reason Kennedy did not capture the Catholic Conservative vote.¹⁰³

As Kevin Phillips points out in his book *The Emerging Republican Majority*, socially mobile Catholics, which tended to be conservative in the early 1960’s, did not support John F. Kennedy as a presidential candidate.¹⁰⁴ Phyllis

¹⁰⁰ CNN, “Perspective Series on the Cold War,” under CNN.com Perspective Series Cold War, http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/kbank/profiles/kennedy_20 [Accessed March 20, 2007].

¹⁰¹ William B. Prendergast, *The Catholic Voter in American Politics: The Passing of the Democratic Monolith*. [Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1999], 151.

¹⁰² Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 93-96.

¹⁰³ Kevin Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* [New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969], 164.

¹⁰⁴ Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, 160.

Schlafly, a staunch Catholic conservative pointed out to me, “oh no, I never voted for Kennedy, he was terrible, he was a Democrat, and was not anything I admired at all!”¹⁰⁵ Kennedy made several comments regarding the United States and the Soviet Union co-existing which angered many Catholic Conservatives.

One such comment was made at a banquet in Seattle, President Kennedy stated, “we are neither warmongers nor appeasers, neither hard nor soft. We are Americans, determined to defend the frontiers of freedom by honorable peace, if peace is possible, but by arms if arms are used against us.”¹⁰⁶ His willingness to improve relations with the Soviet Union was one the major reasons many Catholic conservatives detested Kennedy and his administration.

Many Catholic conservatives like Brent Bozell felt that Kennedy and his administration had, “joined the Liberal Establishment, sold out the interests of the Catholic Church, and would surely go down as the softest on communism.”¹⁰⁷ The failure of the 1961 Bay of Pigs operation resulted in many Catholic conservatives viewing Kennedy as a “weak kneed leader.”¹⁰⁸ The Kennedy Administration had presented the Cuban missile crisis to the American public as a great victory, but Catholic conservatives saw this as a tremendous defeat. In their eyes Kennedy had compromised American interests by giving up bases in Turkey, and Italy, while guaranteeing Castro against any invasion, and accepting

¹⁰⁵ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

¹⁰⁶ Time Magazine, “Thunder Against the Right, November 24, 1961,” <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,828828,00.html> [accessed March 20, 2007].

¹⁰⁷ 92 Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 92.

¹⁰⁸ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 94.

Khrushchev's word on the amount of missiles he withdrew.¹⁰⁹

Like Bozell, Phyllis Schlafly not only disliked Kennedy but his administration as well. She especially detested Robert McNamara because he “was working towards unilateral disarmament despite the growing Soviet Union weapons’ threat.”¹¹⁰ The fact that Kennedy reached out to Nikita Khrushchev and was willing to co-exist with the Soviet Union was inexcusable to many Catholic conservatives. As author Donald Critchlow points out, “conservatives rejected the possibility of détente, their goal was victory over the Soviet Union not containment, coexistence, disengagement, or stalemate.”¹¹¹

The Kennedy's administration was already intensely disliked by Catholic conservatives, but it only got worse when the Kennedy Administration criticized the right. Both John F. Kennedy and his Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy were unsupportive of aggressive anticommunist activities launched by right wing organizations, such as the John Birch Society. While on a trip in Dallas, Robert F. Kennedy lashed out at Birchers stating, “Birchers are a tremendous danger to the United States, I do not have sympathy with those, who in the name of fighting Communism, sow the seeds of suspicion and distrust.”¹¹²

However, conservatives became increasingly agitated with the Kennedy administration after discovering the Fulbright memorandum. The Kennedy administration was afraid that the U.S. Armed Forces were being politicized by

¹⁰⁹ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 96.

¹¹⁰ Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority* [New York: Double Day, 1981], 216-217.

¹¹¹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 93-94.

¹¹² Time Magazine, “Thunder Against the Right, November 24, 1961,” <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,828828,00.html> [accessed March 20, 2007].

right-wing anticommunist propaganda, and thought this would make it increasingly difficult to improve relations with the Soviet Union.¹¹³ Therefore this memorandum declared to the secretaries of the army, navy, and air force to establish a new office to evaluate materials designed for the indoctrination of personnel.¹¹⁴ This memorandum instructed the Department of Defense “to take swift action to correct this problem in order to protect the administrations foreign policy and address a dangerous development.”¹¹⁵

The Kennedy presidency had a tremendous impact on Catholic conservative’s political loyalty to their liberal Catholic co-religionists. Although political unity among Catholics had been deteriorating since the late 1930’s, the Kennedy presidency would be the proverbial straw that broke the camel’s back.¹¹⁶ Catholic conservatives no longer exhibited the “super-loyalist element in the American Catholic community” and were now contemplating “bridging the chasm of the Reformation.”¹¹⁷ Catholics conservatives began to perceive evangelicals as potential allies, and began to turn a blind eye to historical grudges. As William F. Buckley once stated, “Christians might have to overlook their internal distinctions in order to face their common foes.”¹¹⁸

The Effects of the Civil Rights Movement, and Banning School Prayer:

¹¹³ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 100.

¹¹⁴ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade*, 100.

¹¹⁵ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade*, 101.

¹¹⁶ Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1943], 278-284.

¹¹⁷ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 92.

¹¹⁸ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy*, 48.

Although, conservative Catholics had begun to contemplate allying with evangelicals, they still were hesitant to reach out to other religious faiths. However, two Supreme Court decisions, and declarations of the Second Vatican Council would invigorate Catholics conservatives to seek reinforcements within other religious traditions. The Second Vatican Council was a historical event for the Catholic Church. The council commenced under Pope John XXIII in 1962, and concluded under Pope Paul VI in 1965. This council was an attempt of the Catholic Church to reform in order to thrive in the modern world.¹¹⁹ Several encyclicals produced by the Second Vatican Council shook up the Church, and caused much controversy and discussion among the religious community. The Second Vatican Council touched upon a variety of contemporary issues ranging from forms of worship, to artificial birth control.¹²⁰

However two particular decrees would grant permission for Catholic conservatives to politically engage other non-Catholic Christians. The decree on ecumenism promoted religious freedom, and encouraged Catholics to engage with Christians outside of the Roman Catholic Church. “In the past the church had repeatedly cautioned American bishops about poisoning the church through contact with American culture, and required them to defend their faith by insulating the church from secular influence.”¹²¹ However, the Second Vatican Council insisted on ecumenical alliances with all Christians. The council stated,

¹¹⁹ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy*, 123-124.

¹²⁰ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 124.

¹²¹ Timothy A. Byrnes, *Catholic Bishops in American Politics* [New York: Cornell University Press, 2006], 40.

“Catholics are encouraged to join in ecumenical activity, and to meet non-Catholic Christians in truth and love.”¹²²

Although Catholic writers at the *National Review* had attempted to intellectually ally themselves with other faiths that had been the extent of their involvement. It wasn't until the Second Vatican Council endorsed the declaration of religious liberty that these historical restraints would be lifted by the Roman Catholic Church. “Abandoning the long tradition, the document spoke of Protestants not as heretics but a ‘separated brethren,’ and treated the Reformation as a tragic regrettable rift rather than a massive outbreak of heresy.”¹²³ The Second Vatican Council encouraged bishops to engage in conversations with non-Catholics in an effort to build a more humane and just society.

Two Supreme Court decisions banning school prayer were also important factors that encouraged Catholic conservatives to ally with other social conservatives. The 1962 *Engel v. Vitale* decision and the 1963 *Abington Township School District v. Schempp* decisions convinced Catholic conservatives that the federal government was increasingly secularizing the United States. The *Engel* decision banned institutionally sponsored school prayer, while the *Schempp* decision attempted to clarify the deeply controversial ruling against school prayer.

Justice Black found that the religious activity of reciting the Regent's prayer violated the Establishment Clause. His opinion stated that the Founders

¹²² The Second Vatican Council Dedicated to The Immaculate, “Decree on Ecumenism,” <http://christusrex.org/www1/CDHN/v1.html> [accessed, March 25, 2007].

¹²³ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 123,142.

had included the First Amendment to ensure that the majority could not officially recognize any particular religion as the use of school prayer did.¹²⁴ This decision outraged both conservative Catholics and Evangelicals. Evangelical leaders, such as Jerry Falwell, were up in arms over the decision.¹²⁵

For the majority of the south, which largely consists of evangelicals, the Supreme Court decision was an outrageous attack on God's word.¹²⁶ Also, conservative Catholic writers at the *National Review* wrote articles that denounced the courts decisions. These two decisions resulted in *National Review* undergoing a transformation. Before the decision the *National Review* focused on strictly solidifying the Christian conservatism, after the decision Buckley actively recruited religious reinforcements outside the Roman Catholic Church to write regarding their religious grievances.¹²⁷ Writers at the *National Review* aggressively pursued Christian's writers outside the Catholic Church to denounce the increasing secularization of America.¹²⁸

William F. Buckley had admitted to an interviewer that he felt a "visceral impatience with the ecumenical movement."¹²⁹ For the most part the *National Review* tried to minimize theological difference in order to form an interfaith alliance to battle the increasing secularization of American society. After the *Engel* and *Schempp* decision the *National Review*, "showed sympathetic attention

¹²⁴ We the People, "Engel v Vitale 1962,"

http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/court/enge_v_vita.html, [Accessed March 10, 2007].

¹²⁵ Calvin Skaggs, Davis Van Taylor, and Ali Pomeroy, *With God on Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*, DVD [New York: Lumiere Productions Inc., 2004].

¹²⁶ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 171.

¹²⁷ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 133.

¹²⁸ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 134.

¹²⁹ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 135.

to the dilemmas facing Protestant and Jewish conservatives.”¹³⁰

The actions of the *National Review* after the *Engel* decision were extremely important in the formation of the NCR. The *National Review* established an interfaith dialogue between historically hostile faiths that would have been inconceivable in the past. Although, this development was a crucial step forward in the formation of the NCR, it would not be the event to propel evangelical leaders to become active within the political sphere.

Evangelical leaders had sporadically engaged in political activities, but overall tried to isolate their communities from influences outside their religious faith.¹³¹ However, the civil rights movement, and the banning of school prayer convinced many evangelical leaders that “much of the country had sunk into a state of moral chaos.”¹³² Given the religious undertones of this new conservatism, this GOP faction would appeal to many evangelicals and mark an important time when social conservatives’ began to perceive moral commonalities among themselves, despite their theological differences.

Conservative Evangelicals’ no Longer Safe within Their Social Enclaves:

As author James Davison Hunter points out in his book *Culture Wars a*

¹³⁰ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 133.

¹³¹ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 159. Michael Cromartie, ed., *No Longer Exiles; The Religious New Right in American Politics* [Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1990], 14.

¹³² Susan Fried Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000], 11.

Struggle to Define America, by the 1950s divisions among progressive and orthodox religious camps had been defined.¹³³ This was very true within Protestantism. In the 19th century Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists all split into Northern and Southern denominations. “The modern evangelical tradition descends from the Southern church that justifies slavery, not from the Northern abolitionist branches.”¹³⁴ This is extremely important because it would be conservative evangelicals, mostly from the South and the Midwest that would feel affected by the social changes that occurred during the 1960s and 50s.¹³⁵

After the 1920’s Scopes Trial, the majority of evangelicals isolated their communities from outside influences, and avoided for the most part becoming politically involved.¹³⁶ Evangelicals turned away from the political sphere, and developed their own social enclaves.¹³⁷ As author William Martin notes, after the Scopes trial, Fundamentalist Christianity underwent a transformation. “Since they had lost the fight over control of dominations and seminaries, fundamentalists set out to create a new set of institutions and structures, in which

¹³³ James Davison Hunter. *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America: Making sense of the battles over the family, art, education, laws, and politics* [New York: Basic Books, 1991], 86.

¹³⁴ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 161.

¹³⁵ Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America*, 166.

Kevin Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* [New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969], 464.

¹³⁶ Michael Lienesch, *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right* [Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1993], 78.

¹³⁷ Note that when I use the term evangelical I use it to describe a composite group of individuals consisting born again protestant fundamentalists, charismatic born agains, evangelical born agains, and Pentecostal born agains. These individuals retained their separate cultural and theological identities, but they also forged jointly held rhetoric focused on specific moral, social, and political issues.

Michael Lienesch, *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right* [Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1993], 81.

the pure unadulterated Christian message could be preserved and preached.”¹³⁸

“Their leaders refrained from overtly mixing religion and politics in public venues or events, avoided partisan activities, and restricted themselves to private fellowshiping activities and lobbying along the lines already established by the mainline church organizations.¹³⁹ As Jerry Falwell stated in an interview, “the idea was that we would cure the political and social ills by providing for the spiritual needs of society.”¹⁴⁰ According to Randall Balmer, the evangelical community as well as its leaders wanted to protect their children from the increasing exposure of liberalism and secular humanism within mainstream American society. They wanted to isolate their community to avoid the government from impeding on their right to be able to teach their children Judeo Christian values, and their religious beliefs.¹⁴¹

According to Paul Weyrich, conservative evangelicals “had accepted the notion (which may have taken root historically at the Scopes trial) that a good Christian would raise his family in the proper manner and would not participate very much in the public life.”¹⁴² The idea was that if evangelicals avoided participating frequently in public life, then they would be able to avoid the corruption that politics manifests. Therefore Evangelicals launched crusades in terms of converting individuals, not by political means. As Jerry Falwell stated in

¹³⁸ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: the Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 17.

¹³⁹ Susan Friend Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000], 17.

¹⁴⁰ Calvin Skaggs, Davis Van Taylor, and Ali Pomeroy, *With God on Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*, DVD [New York: Lumiere Productions Inc., 2004].

¹⁴¹ Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

¹⁴² Michael Cromartie, *No Longer Exiles: The Religious New Right in American Politics* [Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1990], 25.

the documentary, *With God on Our Side*, “during my training for the ministry I was instructed repeatedly that religion and politics do not mix.

The banning of school prayer, and the 1964 Civil Rights and 1965 Voting Rights Act, tremendously affected conservative evangelical leaders’ outlook on political activism, and what they perceived as the increasing secularization of America. Although the *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision had taken place in the 1950’s, many white Southerners were not impacted. Many white suburban schools were not desegregated due to a lack of African Americans residing in the neighborhood.¹⁴³ However, the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act would change this all.

The 1964 Voting Rights Act would provide African Americans the opportunity to live in areas that they previously could not afford, and desegregate several public places such as, swimming pools, restaurants, and hotels.¹⁴⁴ However, what was more of a concern to conservative white Southerners was the 1965 Voting Right Act, and its subsequent voter registration drives.¹⁴⁵ Many white Southern conservatives (along with catholic conservatives, and other social conservatives) felt alienated by the Democratic Party due to the much of the legislation passed within President Johnson’s Great Society.¹⁴⁶ With the race riots erupting, and the Democratic Party focusing heavily on minority rights and

¹⁴³Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 174.

¹⁴⁴Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America*, 174.

Theodore White, *The Making of the Presidency*

¹⁴⁵ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996], 174.

¹⁴⁶ Kevin P. Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* [New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969], 471.

welfare programs, many white conservatives turned to the Republican Party.¹⁴⁷

Conservative evangelicals especially felt disappointed with the Democratic Party. The Banning of school prayer and the desegregation of the South, represented to many conservative evangelicals that their way of life and values were under attack.¹⁴⁸ Two important developments would result from these historical developments. The first was conservative Evangelicals began to establish alternative Christian schools in order to avoid these social transitions.¹⁴⁹ For example, in 1966 Jerry Falwell announced that he was going to establish a Lynchburg Christian Academy in order to “counteract the effects of the *Engel* and *Schempp* decisions.”¹⁵⁰

The second effect of this development was conservative evangelicals began to increasingly identify with the conservative movement. During the civil rights movement, right-wing organizations such as the John Birch Society openly condemned the movement by linking it with communist activity.¹⁵¹ Pamphlets such as the *Black Revolution is Red Subversion* and *Two Revolutions at Once* identified the civil rights movement as part of a world wide communist revolution.¹⁵² Also, conservative magazines such as the *National Review* criticized the civil rights movement.

¹⁴⁷Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 184.

¹⁴⁸ Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendency in America*, 171-172.

¹⁴⁹Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendency in America*, 171-172.

¹⁵⁰ Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelicals Lament* [New York: Basic Books, 2006], 88.

¹⁵¹ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendency in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1], 58.

¹⁵²Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendency in America*, 50-53.

In a 1957 William F. Buckley was asked whether white Southern whites would be justified in taking measure to prevail, politically, and culturally, where that did not predominate numerically. Buckley's answer, which he later clarified due to being pressured to do so by Brent Bozell, was "yes the white community is entitled because, for the time being, is the advanced race."¹⁵³ Therefore, the conservative movement was more representative of their political beliefs, and created a shift in voting behavior among conservative evangelicals. Conservative whites who had previously voted for Democratic candidates began to vote for Republicans.¹⁵⁴ "The civil rights movement profoundly altered the American political landscape, and caused the political parties refashion themselves."¹⁵⁵

However the emergence of a cohesive conservative movement would not emerge until Barry Goldwater, an Arizona senator would run for president. The Goldwater campaign would have a profound effect on the conservative movement, and the development of the NCR. As historian Donald Critchlow stated, "It marked the beginning of a coherent conservative movement."¹⁵⁶

Catholic conservatives such as Brent Bozell and Clarence Dean Manion would play a pivotal role in aiding Goldwater develop his conservative message.¹⁵⁷ Also, Catholic conservatives such as, Paul Weyrich, Richard Viguerie, Phyllis Schlafly, Connie Marshner, and Terry Dolan, who would

¹⁵³Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America*, 81.

¹⁵⁴ Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America*, 174.

¹⁵⁵ Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 212.

¹⁵⁶ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 135.

¹⁵⁷Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and the Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 111-116.

politically energize evangelical leaders in the 1970s would gain much political experience in this campaign. But more importantly the Goldwater campaign would split the GOP into a conservative and moderate faction.¹⁵⁸

Barry Goldwater, The Southern Strategy, and the GOP's Political Realignment:

From the mid 1950s until the early 1960s this new Christian conservative ideology solidified under the guiding hand of several writers at the *National Review*; however, it had never been placed into practical political use. The 1964 presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater would change this. Goldwater conservatism encompassed a Catholic intellectual dynamic that many people are unaware of. Goldwater's political platform consisted of taking a hard line anti-communist stance, and stressing the importance of traditional values: two trademarks of Christian conservatism.¹⁵⁹

He spoke the lack of moral leadership in America, violence in the streets, corruption in the highest offices, aimlessness among the youth, and virtual despair among the many who look beyond material success for the inner meaning of their lives.¹⁶⁰ Goldwater's speeches were frequently emphasized the relationship of

¹⁵⁸ Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 212-213.

¹⁵⁹ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 1-3.

Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 161-162.

¹⁶⁰The Washington Post, "Barry Goldwater 1964 speech at the 28th Republican National Convention," The Washington Post, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/may98/goldwaterspeech.htm> [accessed March 12, 2007].

morality, religion, faith and politics.¹⁶¹ His anticommunist campaign slogan, ‘extremism in defense of liberty is no vice,’ was a statement straight from the Red baiting McCarthy years of the early 1950’s.¹⁶²

Much of Goldwater’s political message was reminiscent of the Christian conservative ideology that was developed by Catholic conservative writers at the *National Review*. Catholic intellectuals such as Brent Bozell, William F. Buckley and Clarence Manion played critical roles in creating and promoting Goldwater’s political platform.¹⁶³ As Richard Viguerie points out, by the beginning of the sixties it was obvious that a conscience conservative movement had emerged. “Barry Goldwater was the political spokesperson; the *National Review* was its principal organs.”¹⁶⁴

However, Goldwater’s rise to become the political spokesperson of the conservative movement did not come naturally to the Arizona senator. Although much is written about Buckley and Bozell’s influential role within the Goldwater campaign little is written about Clarence Manion, an influential Catholic conservative within the Goldwater campaign. Clarence Manion was a Notre Dame Law School Dean, Birch Society national council member, and popular conservative radio broadcaster.¹⁶⁵

Like most members of the John Birch Society, Manion was extremely

¹⁶¹ Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 162.

¹⁶² Ron Elyng, “GOP May Replay Historic Choice of 1964,” National Public Radio, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=7755203> [accessed March 12, 2007].

¹⁶³ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 111-116.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power* [Los Angeles: Bonus Books, 2004], 69.

¹⁶⁵ Alan Robert Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater*, [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995], 219.

supportive of the Goldwater campaign. Although, Goldwater did not agree with all of the society's anti-communist activities, he did not turn away from their support. While in Los Angeles Goldwater stated, "A lot of people in my hometown have been attracted to the society, and I am impressed by the type of people in it."¹⁶⁶ As a big Goldwater supporter, Manion along with several other conservatives recruited enough public support to enable Barry Goldwater to run for president.

Manion vigorously wrote letters to conservatives inviting them to join the 'Goldwater Committee of 100' to draft Barry Goldwater, the junior senator from Arizona, for the Presidency.¹⁶⁷ Clarence Manion played a critical role in convincing Goldwater to run for president as well as write a book outlining his conservative beliefs.¹⁶⁸ This book would transform Barry Goldwater's image from being a senator from the western state of little political importance into a principled statesman who stood for what he believed. Barry Goldwater would become the acknowledged spokesperson of the new conservative movement due to the book, *The Conscience of a Conservative*.¹⁶⁹

Goldwater's book, "sought to bridge the gap between theory and practice by showing how basic conservative principles applied to domestic and foreign policy."¹⁷⁰ *Conscience of a Conservative* would become conservative intellectual beacon during the 1960s, a time that was not very welcoming of the conservative

¹⁶⁶Time, "Storm over Birchers," *Time.com*, April 7, 1961, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,872342,00.html> [accessed November 5, 2006].

¹⁶⁷ Alan Robert Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater*, [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995], 217-220.

¹⁶⁸ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 110-111.

¹⁶⁹ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 111-112.

¹⁷⁰ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 112.

movement.¹⁷¹ However, Barry Goldwater played a minimal role in developing the conservative message within the book. When Manion first approached Barry Goldwater about the book, Goldwater “demurred to having a book written from a sense of inadequacy.”¹⁷²

Finally, when Goldwater consented to having the book written using his name, Manion convinced a Catholic conservative writer of the *National Review*, Brent Bozell, to write the book.¹⁷³ Bozell took Goldwater speeches (which Bozell had written), and condensed and created the book the *Conscience of a Conservative*.¹⁷⁴ According to Bozell “Goldwater didn’t know much about conservatism until he read that book.”¹⁷⁵ Brent Bozell influenced Barry Goldwater’s campaign message by injecting ideas that stemmed from his Christian conservative political beliefs. “By presenting Goldwater’s words in this manner, Bozell gave Goldwater’s rhetoric coherence, which otherwise it would not have held.”¹⁷⁶

Within the book Bozell makes strong arguments for the preservation of Judeo-Christian values and upholding traditional moral values, while taking a hard line anti-communist stance.¹⁷⁷ With this conservative message the Arizona Senator portrayed himself as a rugged, plain-spoken man whom advocated a

¹⁷¹ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade*, 69.

¹⁷² Alan Robert Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater*, [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995], 215.

¹⁷³ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 110.

¹⁷⁴ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993], 142.

¹⁷⁵ Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Conservative Politics in America 1950-1985*, 127.

¹⁷⁶ Jay D. Hartz, “The Impact of the Draft Goldwater Committee on the Republican Party,” Ashbrook.org, Fall 2000, under “John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs,” <http://www.ashbrook.org/tools/printerpage.asp> [accessed March 10, 2007].

¹⁷⁷ A&E Network, *Barry Goldwater the Conscience of a Conservative*, VHS [New York: A&E Production, 1998].

return to traditional family values, and anti-communism.¹⁷⁸ The 1964 Goldwater campaign would be the historical event that would change the public orientation of the Republican Party's platform, and show prominent politicians such as Richard Nixon, that it would be in his interest to appeal to this 'silent majority.'¹⁷⁹

The Goldwater conservatives' were at odds with the moderate faction of the GOP. This is clearly illustrated in another groundbreaking conservative book that was written by Catholic conservative Phyllis Schlafly. Schlafly's book, *A Choice Not an Echo* was a "no holds bar attack on the liberal Eastern internationalist wing of the GOP, what she called 'me too' republicanism."¹⁸⁰ Conservatives', such as Phyllis Schlafly were against the liberal and moderate wing of the Republican Party because they felt that the internationalists wanted to expand the welfare state, and compromise with the Soviet Union.

Conservatives faulted the 'internationalist' wing of the Republican Party with encouraging the United Nations to trade with the Soviet Union, and with advocating the distribution of foreign aid to communist countries.¹⁸¹ To conservatives presidential candidate Nelson Rockefeller, embodied everything that was wrong with the party.¹⁸²

During the 1964 Republican primaries the GOP erupted with interparty fights. What Rockefeller called a 'subversive, radical, well-financed, and highly disciplined minority,' fought against Republican liberals and moderates over the

¹⁷⁸ A&E Network, *Barry Goldwater the Conscience of a Conservative*, VHS [New York: A&E Production, 1998].

¹⁷⁹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 135.

¹⁸⁰ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 109.

¹⁸¹ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 111.

¹⁸² Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 111.

direction of the Republican Party. By the end of the Republican primaries it was clear to many within the GOP that this conservative minority was a force to be reckoned with. This was apparent when this small conservative minority got the 1964 Republican platform to break away from the 1960 platform.¹⁸³ The 1964 Republican Platform mirrored much of the conservatives' concerns. Within the 1964 platform an emphasis was placed on battling moral decay and materialism, the implementing the of Civil Rights act of 1964 and all other statutes with the changing needs of times, and combating the communist threat.¹⁸⁴

This is a landmark historical event for the formation of the NCR. In order for the NCR to develop in the late 1970s, three developments needed to be in place. The first development is that Christian conservatism was now incorporated into the Republican Party's political platform. The second major development is the Goldwater campaign gained a youthful national following which produced several important figures which would politically mobilize evangelicals in the 1970s. The third and final development is that these young Catholic conservatives', who would politically mobilize evangelicals gained much political experience from the Goldwater campaign, which enabled them to politically mobilize evangelicals in the 1970s.

Catholic conservatives such as Paul Weyrich, Richard Viguerie, and Phyllis Schlafly would play a critical role in politically mobilizing evangelicals in the 1970s, got their political start in the Goldwater campaign. "As Paul Weyrich states, even if we did nothing but wear a Goldwater button or attend a rally, and

¹⁸³ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 134

¹⁸⁴ Historic documents, "Major American Political Party Platforms 1964 Republican Party," <http://patriotpost.us/histdocs/platforms/republican/rep.964.html> [accessed July 4, 2007].

some of the New Right were so young that is all they did, that campaign left an indelible mark on us.”¹⁸⁵ Like Paul Weyrich, Richard Viguerie also stresses the importance of the Goldwater campaign on the architects of the NCR, “the Goldwater mobilization paid dividends far into the future: Thousands of those precinct level workers became the officials and strategists of the movement in years to come.”¹⁸⁶ These youthful Catholic conservatives not only were highly energetic, but more importantly encompassed the conservative Christian ideology that the *National Review* had solidified.

Phyllis Schlafly’s also gained a loyal conservative following after writing *A Choice Not an Echo*, which helped Goldwater win the California primary, and ultimately the presidential nomination.¹⁸⁷ This national following that would later enable her to fight the Equal Rights Amendment, one of the first battles of the pro-family movement. During an interview Schlafly stated, “The influx of my national following began in 1964. But at any rate, I had gained a loyal following of people who had worked in politics, who were Republicans, and who knew how politics operates.”¹⁸⁸ According to Schlafly it was the Goldwater campaign that gave her political leadership credibility.¹⁸⁹

Similarly, Paul Weyrich began his political career as a political strategist for the Goldwater campaign.¹⁹⁰ This experience also aided Weyrich in acquiring political experience that he’d strategically utilize when the opportunity to

¹⁸⁵ Richard Viguerie, *The New Right We’re Ready to Lead* [Lynchburg: Viguerie Co., 1981], 25.

¹⁸⁶ Richard Viguerie, *The New Right We’re Ready to Lead*, 45.

¹⁸⁷ Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority* [New York: Double Day, 1981], 170.

¹⁸⁸ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

¹⁸⁹ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

¹⁹⁰ Adele M. Stan, “House of God?,” *Mother Jones.com*, November/December 1995, <http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/1995/11/stan.html> [accessed July 4, 2007].

politically mobilize evangelicals in the 1970s. Richard Viguerie worked for the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), and was also highly active within the Goldwater campaign.¹⁹¹ One of Richard Viguerie's first political jobs was as an account executive for YAF. As a YAF account executive, Richard Viguerie recalls becoming an expert on direct mailing.¹⁹² As Viguerie recalls "direct mailing was almost my whole focus-for fundraising subscriptions to YAF magazine, *The New Guard*, YAF membership, everything."¹⁹³

Viguerie's acquired direct mail expertise would become an invaluable political skill, and later be utilized to politically empower the NCR. Direct mailing raised funds for the NCR, and aided in promoting its political messages.¹⁹⁴ The last thing the Goldwater campaign provided for the architects of the NCR were mailing lists. The Goldwater campaign compiled lists of conservative contributors, and workers, which would be utilized to propel these new conservatives Republicans to power.¹⁹⁵

Although, Barry Goldwater lost in one of the worst presidential defeats in U.S. history the conservative movement would go on.¹⁹⁶ Having perceived a shift to conservatism, some of Richard Nixon's party strategists concluded that the party could benefit by reaching out to certain traditional Democratic voters

¹⁹¹ Richard Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power* [Los Angeles: Bonus Books, 2004], 65-68.

¹⁹² Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power*, 99.

¹⁹³ Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power*, 93.

¹⁹⁴ Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power*, 99.

¹⁹⁵ Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power*, 94-95.

¹⁹⁶ A&E Network, *Barry Goldwater the Conscience of a Conservative*, VHS [New York: A&E Production, 1998].

(Catholics, white Southerners, and working class ethnics) who rejected many of the social transformations of the 1960s.¹⁹⁷ Therefore Nixon and his party strategists (including Pat Buchanan a Catholic conservative) came up with what they called the ‘Southern Strategy.’¹⁹⁸

“The Southern Strategy sought to woo traditional Democratic voters by suggesting that he may slow down the pace of the black civil rights advancement.”¹⁹⁹ This Southern Strategy would have a profound impact on the Republican Party by moving those in the party’s Goldwater anti-communist wing to mix with positions on race, religion, family, and gender roles of what became known as the new right.²⁰⁰

“The strategy was an attempt by a new generation of conservative leaders to merge supporters of conservative single issues into a larger political coalition.”²⁰¹ Due to Nixon’s reliance on this political strategy he won the 1968 election, but more importantly created a new Republican coalition.²⁰² Now the necessary political structure was set for the NCR to develop, and the feminist movement would officially bring the pro-family agenda into the conservative political ideology.

¹⁹⁷ Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 212.

¹⁹⁸ Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right*, 212.

¹⁹⁹ Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right*, 212.

²⁰⁰ Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right*, 213.

²⁰¹ Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right*, 213

²⁰² Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right*, 212-213.

The Rise of the New Christian Right

STOP ERA: The Birth of the Pro-Family Movement

Before the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) caught Phyllis Schlafly's attention, she mostly worked on issues regarding national defense, and the Soviet strategic balance. Schlafly, an ardent anti-communist, political activist,

Goldwater supporter and Catholic conservative began in to publish a weekly newsletter entitled, *The Phyllis Schlafly Report* in 1967.²⁰³ This newsletter focused on a ‘potpourri of political topics,’ which she sent out to the national following she had developed throughout her political career.²⁰⁴ Then in February of 1972, she came across the ERA, which was just coming out of Congress.²⁰⁵

At first she claims that she saw nothing harmful in the amendment. However, after carefully examining it she said its repercussions were detrimental to traditional family roles and values.²⁰⁶ “She feared that the federal government, emboldened by the ERA would threaten traditional gender roles in families to make women sexually and economically vulnerable.”²⁰⁷ Schlafly’s argument against the ERA was that it could separate several gender fronts by eliminating laws to separate restrooms, draft women to serve in combat duty, protect women from sex crimes, and make alimony laws gender neutral.²⁰⁸ Schlafly stated that, “the ERA was an attack on the family, an attack on the whole culture, on our way of life.”²⁰⁹

After discovering what she perceived as the troublesome consequences of the ERA, she decided to organize the STOP ERA movement. So in December of 1972 Schlafly wrote another of her *Phyllis Schlafly Reports*, entitled “What’s Wrong with Equal Rights for Women?” This would be just one report of the many

²⁰³ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²⁰⁴ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²⁰⁵ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²⁰⁶ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²⁰⁷ Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 214.

²⁰⁸ Phyllis Schlafly, *STOP! Equal Rights Amendment*, [Alton IL: Eagle Forum P.O. Box 618, 1982].

²⁰⁹ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

debating the detrimental effects the ERA would have on women. The newsletter provided the perfect medium to rouse conservative women throughout a struggle that would last for 10 years.²¹⁰

Every month the *Phyllis Schlafly Report* would make new arguments against the ERA, keep a tally of votes by state, and advice on campaign strategies and tactics.²¹¹ “By early 1973, STOP ERA organizations existed in 26 states and were especially strong in the states critical to the ratification of the era, Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Utah, Nevada, North and South Carolina, and Virginia.”²¹² In the beginning of the STOP-ERA movement consisted of activists from her network of Republican women.

Schlafly had gained a loyal national following from years of political activism within the Republican Party, and after publishing her book *A Choice Not and Echo*²¹³. According to Schlafly the STOP ERA movement was decentralized. Hundreds of little groups flourished in towns, cities, and suburbs. “The groups raised their own funds, elected their own officers, and lobbied their legislators.”²¹⁴

In the beginning of the STOP ERA movement, Schlafly and her Republican women held ground until they perceived that the majority of the public supported the ERA²¹⁵. Schlafly stated, “Well everybody who was anybody was for the ERA.” Nixon, Ford, Carter, senators, congressman, governors, and it

²¹⁰ Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority* [New York: Double Day, 1981], 269.

²¹¹ Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 221.

²¹² Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade*, 219.

²¹³ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade*, 247.

²¹⁴ Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority* [New York: Double Day, 1981], 263.

²¹⁵ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

had Hollywood and the media all supported the ERA.²¹⁶ The only outside organization that aided her in the battle against the ERA from 1972-1974 was the National Council of Catholic Women, who had opposed the ERA before Schlafly had.²¹⁷

Schlafly stated that, “the pro-ERA camp was getting a little annoyed with me, and that’s when I realized that the tsunami was coming at me. I realized that we needed reinforcements, and sent out the call to churches, all the churches, but the date I think I invented the pro-family movement was April 27, 1976, and I have to say Illinois was always the frontline, always, because I lived there.”²¹⁸ Conservative Christians were eager to get involved in this anti-feminist, pro-family political battle.

“Schlafly had initiated a direct response to the feminist challenge from Christian women who saw traditional culture under attack.”²¹⁹ According to author Michael Lienesch, religious social conservatives’ desire to protect the family from society, and think the family is the most important of social institutions.²²⁰ However, what religious social conservatives specifically want to protect is traditional gender roles within the family structure. “Men are to act as authorities, women are to be submissive and children are to obey. Sexual roles are clear and distinct, and deviations are disapproved, especially in cases such as

²¹⁶ Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 232.

²¹⁷ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade*, 215.

²¹⁸ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²¹⁹ Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women’s Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 217.

²²⁰ Michael Lienesch, *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right* [Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1993], 52.

feminism and homosexuality.²²¹

The brilliance behind the STOP ERA movement was that Schlafly and the women in her movement were able to manipulate the public's perception of what the ERA stood for. By the time the ERA was defeated this amendment was synonymous with gay rights, and abortion. But in all fairness, the pro-ERA movement was deeply divisive, and brought the majority of this perception on itself. Two major organizations made up the pro-ERA movement, the National Organization for Women (NOW), and ERA America which was an umbrella group for 120 groups (representing labor unions, ACLU, and several religious organizations).²²²

These two groups had several problems deciding on a political strategy, as well as the image, and message it wanted to convey to the public.²²³ The biggest disagreement that existed among these two groups was NOW's insistence on linking abortion, and gay rights to the ERA.²²⁴ However, Schlafly took advantage of the ERA movement's identity crisis, and further linked this movement with abortion, and gay rights.²²⁵

Phyllis Schlafly and the people in her movement were extremely successful in tying the gay rights movement, and the pro-choice movement to the ERA amendment. As author Carol Felsenthal points out, "she called feminists (in her mind and the public's mind synonymous with ERA activists) 'a bunch of

²²¹ Lienesch, *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right*, 52.

²²² Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 227-228.

²²³ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 227.

²²⁴ Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 226.

²²⁵ Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the Religious Right* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006], 225.

anti-family radicals and lesbian elitists'-and feminists seemed to go out of their way to prove her right." Schlafly recalls that after a well televised ERA rally held in Houston, the American public permanently associated lesbians, feminists, and the pro-choice movement with the ERA movement, which worked in favor of Phyllis's fight against the ERA.

Schlafly stated, "all the publicity killed them, even the governor of Missouri said, 'I was for equal pay, equal rights, but after these women went down to Houston and got mixed up with all those abortionists, and lesbians, I can tell you the ERA will never pass in this state.'"²²⁶ Since the ERA movement linked themselves abortion and gay rights, many Christian social conservatives' jumped aboard the STOP ERA movement.²²⁷

Many young Christian conservative women were involved in the anti-ERA movement. Most of these Christian conservatives tended to be stay at home mothers, although some did work outside the home.²²⁸ Evangelical women were drawn from the Church of Christ, Southern Baptists, Mormons, Orthodox Jews, Fundamentalists, and independent Churches into the STOP ERA movement.²²⁹ The reason Schlafly marks April 27, 1976 as the birth of the pro-family movement is because she was able to get 1,000 mainline Protestants, evangelicals, Catholics, Mormons, and orthodox Jews to attend an anti-ERA rally in Springfield Illinois.²³⁰

²²⁶ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²²⁷ Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 221.

²²⁸ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 221.

²²⁹ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 221.

²³⁰ Ralph Z. Hallow, *Conservatives' First Lady Sparked Pro-Family Effort* *Washington Post Article* [Alton IL: Eagle Forum P.O. Box 618, 1983].

However, in the beginning it was not simple to get these historically hostile faiths to work with one another, or become politically active. Schlafly stated, “These were people who had never participated in politics, and worst didn’t know each other, and were leery of each other, especially Sothern Baptists, they were the biggest hump.”²³¹ She remembers one of her friends trying to convince some of her evangelical friends to lobby at the capitol and they said, “do you mean you really want me to go talk to those awful people,” and those were the legislators.²³²

Schlafly also recalls the interfaith suspicion that still lingered among these religious social conservatives. “It was something to get them to work with other denominations, it was a big awakening to them they had never been in a room with a Catholic before. I’d say to them, the person next to you may not be saved but we are going to work together to beat the Equal rights Amendment, so I just made them work together, and built a really, and truly ecumenical movement.”²³³

Schlafly made this interfaith alliance work by stressing common political goals. During the interview Schlafly joked and said, “I guess they assumed that I was one of them, and by the time they found out I was a Catholic they already had accepted me. Some tried to convert me, but once they figured out that they couldn’t even get me to quite drinking coffee, they gave it up.”²³⁴ Schlafly was intolerant of criticism of other people’s churches, and made sure not to parade

²³¹Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²³²Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²³³Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²³⁴Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

around her beliefs either.²³⁵

Although, Schlafly gladly overlooked theological differences to defeat the ERA, other religious leaders and their congregants were not so tolerant of their differences. Even though Schlafly had been invited to speak at Falwell's sanctuary in the late 1970's, evangelicals were still upset over their political involvement with Catholics. Schlafly explained that when James Robison a preacher out of Fort Worth Texas invited her to speak to his congregation regarding the ERA, the preacher was severely criticized within his own community.

But as Schlafly explained, "it was not only an awakening process for the congregants, but just as much of a process for their religious leaders."²³⁶ Bob Billings a prominent evangelical leader who played a critical role in the formation of the NCR and later would become Ronald Regan's liaison to the Religious Right admitted to Schlafly that "a few years ago I would have felt exactly the same way, but I've learned."²³⁷ Besides getting evangelicals to politically ally with other Christians, Schlafly also taught them political skills which they did not possess. Schlafly held annual training sessions that would teach evangelicals how to speak in public, testify, write to their legislator, and use the arguments against the ERA.²³⁸

The STOP ERA movement would be the event that would inextricably link the Republican Party to the pro-family movement, a staple within the

²³⁵Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²³⁶Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²³⁷Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²³⁸ Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority* [New York: Double Day, 1981], 195.

political agenda of the NCR.²³⁹ Due to Phyllis Schlafly's anti-ERA movement, Christian conservatives would for the first time become a part of this larger conservative movement, and participate in an interreligious alliance to combat legislation that was perceived to be a threat to the traditional family structure.²⁴⁰ The STOP ERA movement, led by Catholic conservative Phyllis Schlafly, was the first time a truly ecumenical alliance formed, and set the pace, and political agenda for the NCR.²⁴¹

This anti-feminist movement was groundbreaking movement within the development of the NCR. For the first time not only did religious social conservatives perceive a commonality with other historically hostile faiths, but became actively involved in an ecumenical alliance to fight against a perceived threat to their lifestyle. Theological differences were set aside to form what author James Davison calls a "pragmatically necessary alliance."²⁴² Many other events and leaders from various faiths would play a tremendous role in solidifying the development of the NCR. However, the STOP ERA movement was a major step forward in the political development of the NCR, and it was a Catholic conservative activist who seized the opportunity to unite historically hostile faiths.

Bob Jones University and the IRS V. the Abortion Myth:

The 1970s is an extremely chaotic period in the development of the NCR.

Many events occurred during the 1970s that contributed to the official

²³⁹ Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 225.

²⁴⁰ Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Women's Crusade*, 221.

²⁴¹ Phyllis Schlafly, interview by author, St. Louis, MO, April 13, 2007.

²⁴² James Davison Hunter. *Culture Wars the Struggle to Define America: Making sense of the battles over the family, art, education, laws, and politics* [New York: Basic Books, 1991], 103.

development of the NCR (which I mark with the founding of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority). During the years that Phyllis Schlafly was engaged in battling the ERA, another landmark event would take place that would immensely contribute to the political mobilization of evangelicals. Although some conservative evangelicals had been edging onto the political scene before the 1964 Goldwater campaign, many were still hesitant to politically engage.²⁴³

However an IRS action against Bob Jones University would be as author Godfrey Hodgson called it, "the last nail in the coffin of any idea of evangelicals being politically neutral."²⁴⁴ In the 1972 *Green v Connally* decision, the court decided that it would strip an institution of their tax-exempt status if any form of segregation was practiced.²⁴⁵ Then in 1975, the IRS sought to revoke the tax-exempt status of Bob Jones University because it forbade interracial dating, and had altogether denied admission to African American students until 1971.²⁴⁶ As Randall Balmer points out, evangelicals were already discontent with the Kanawha County controversy, and the school prayer rulings, however the 1975 IRS action that was the last straw.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1], 180.

²⁴⁴ Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1], 177.

²⁴⁵ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 169.

²⁴⁶ Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, 169.

²⁴⁷ Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

The Kanawha controversy was a movement led by evangelical Alice Moore who was upset with the Kanawha County Board of Education over the material that she found in her children's textbooks. Subjects such as sex education material, to teachings about Greek mythology were disputed within this movement which consisted of socially conservative parents. This battle against the school board erupted in protests, and eventually led to a firebombing, a shooting, and school vandalism.

William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 119-143.

Evangelicals perceived this action as “an assault on evangelical subculture.”²⁴⁸ At the time Jerry Falwell and James Dobson were outraged and complained, “In some state’s it’s easier to open a massage parlor than to open a Christian school.”²⁴⁹ Evangelicals were also displeased with Jimmy Carter’s presidency. A large portion of Evangelicals had voted for Cather thinking that he held the same moral values as they did, but were proven wrong.

President Carter supported the IRS actions against Bob Jones University, supported the ERA, and was pro-choice. Evangelicals were visibly shaken by the accumulation of all of these events. From this point on conservatives Catholics such as, “Paul Weyrich, and Richard Viguerie, tapped into this simmering discontent.”²⁵⁰ After the 1975 IRS situation, Catholic conservatives (along with several other social conservatives who were not Catholic, such as Howard Phillips who was Jewish) sought out to form a political alliance with conservative evangelical leaders.

Paul Weyrich, a Catholic conservative, had been trying for years to energize evangelicals over school prayer, abortion, and the proposed equal rights amendment, however he admits, “I utterly failed.”²⁵¹ According to Weyrich the only thing that worked was the IRS actions against Bob Jones University, “this absolutely shattered the Christian community’s notion that Christians could isolate themselves in their own institutions and teach what they pleased.”²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

²⁴⁹ Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelicals Lament* [New York: Basic Books, 2006], 15.

²⁵⁰ Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

²⁵¹ Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelicals Lament* [New York: Basic Books, 2006], 15.

²⁵² Michael Cromartie, ed., *No Longer Exiles: The Religious New Right in American Politics*

Weyrich immediately pounced on the opportunity to politically mobilize evangelicals.

He had already been trusted within the evangelical circles due to his institution, the Heritage Foundation's involvement in the Kanawha County text book protests.²⁵³ Despite evangelical leader's enthusiasm they still were hesitant to become involved in politics. Therefore, Paul Weyrich convinced religious leaders to donate \$1,000.00 to conduct a national study to see what their congregants wanted them do about the moral issues of the time.²⁵⁴ It was at this point in time that he revealed to them that congregants not only wanted them to get involved, but were a little resentful that they hadn't gotten involved before.²⁵⁵

After this had been established, Bob Billings recruited Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Jim Bakker, and James Dobson to fight the IRS actions. After an abundant amount of letter writing, and much opposition, the IRS backed down and did not revoke Bob Jones University's tax exempt status.²⁵⁶

After their success in the IRS situation, Paul Weyrich was convinced that an interfaith alliance was not only possible, but politically potent. Therefore Paul Weyrich with the help of Robert Billings, Ed McAteer, and Howard Phillips set out to convince prominent evangelical leaders to become active within the political sphere.

In an interview Morton Blackwell, another important architect of the NCR, admitted that "In the later 1970's we had made a decision to target a

[Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1990], 26.

²⁵³ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 172.

²⁵⁴ Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, 172.

²⁵⁵ Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, 215.

²⁵⁶ Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, 173.

prominent skilled communicator to see if he would start moving people into political participation.”²⁵⁷ This religious leader they targeted was Jerry Falwell founder of the Moral Majority. However, convincing Jerry Falwell to embrace working with individuals who were not saved was difficult. Francis Schaeffer, evangelical author, and filmmaker had to talk Falwell into working with people from other faiths.²⁵⁸

“When Falwell expressed doubts that there were enough evangelicals to change the nation, Schaeffer said, ‘listen, God used pagans to do his work in the Old Testament, so why don’t you use your pagans to do his work now?’”²⁵⁹ After being encouraged by Schaeffer, Jerry Falwell agreed to attend a second meeting with Weyrich to discuss the possibility of forming an interfaith political alliance. In May of 1979, Paul Weyrich, Ed McAteer, Bob Billings, Richard Viguerie, and Howard Phillips met with Jerry Falwell for the second time at a Holiday Inn in Lynchburg to try to convince him to get politically involved and form an interfaith political organization.

Weyrich leaned towards Falwell and said, “out there is what one might call the moral majority-people who agree on principles based on Decalogue (the Ten Commandments), for example-but they have been separated by denominational differences that has caused them to vote differently. The key to any kind of political impact is to get these united in some way, so they can see

²⁵⁷ Calvin Skaggs, Davis Van Taylor, and Ali Pomeroy, *With God on Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*, DVD [New York: Lumiere Productions Inc., 2004].

²⁵⁸ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 197.

²⁵⁹ Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, 197.

that they are battling the same thing and need to be unified.”²⁶⁰

This time Jerry Falwell liked the proposition, and even named the Moral Majority after hearing Weyrich use the phrase in this conversation.²⁶¹ The remainder of the discussion focused on issues this interfaith organization would incorporate. Abortion was one issue that Falwell decided to address.

Although, many evangelical leaders did not approve of abortion; “the vast majority virtually said nothing about it.”²⁶² According to Robert Balmer many evangelicals had to be convinced to take on the abortion issue, because they primarily saw it as a Catholic issue.²⁶³ However, Francis Schaeffer’s film, *What Ever Happened to the Human Race* had a powerful effect, and would convince many evangelicals that abortion was an immoral action.²⁶⁴

Robert Balmer states that the film was shown in churches, and some religious leaders held private viewings to depict the horrors of abortion to their congregations.²⁶⁵ Jerry Falwell also began to preach against abortion in 1978, long after the *Roe v. Wade* decision. During Falwell’s sermon he tried to convince his congregation that abortion was not a Mormon, or a Catholic issue but a theological issue, and a human rights issue for the unborn child.²⁶⁶ From this point on more evangelical leaders began to take on the abortion issue.

²⁶⁰ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 200.

²⁶¹ Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, 201.

²⁶² Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: An Evangelicals Lament* [New York: Basic Books, 2006], 12.

²⁶³ Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

²⁶⁴ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* [New York: Broadway Books, 1996], 194-196.

²⁶⁵ Randall Balmer, interview by author, Columbus, GA, April 24, 2007.

²⁶⁶ Calvin Skaggs, Davis Van Taylor, and Ali Pomeroy, *With God on Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right*, DVD [New York: Lumiere Productions Inc., 2004].

What I want to convey to the reader is abortion was not the primary reason conservative evangelicals were politically mobilized. As James Dobson stated in an interview, “I sat in the non-smoke-filled back room with the Moral Majority, and frankly I do not remember abortion ever being mentioned or a reason why we ought to do something. I think a series of threats, broadly described as secular humanism, caused a community that had been separatists for fifty years to act.”²⁶⁷ Therefore, it was a series of events that convinced evangelical leaders to become politically involved, and engage in building a political interfaith alliance.

I also want the reader to note that the religious leaders of the NCR such as, Jerry Falwell utilized the help and advice of Catholic conservatives to politically and financially organize themselves. A perfect example of this is depicted in the Richard Viguerie’s relationship to the NCR. Richard Viguerie was extremely instrumental in organizing the public message of the Moral Majority, and raising its funds.²⁶⁸ After working for the Goldwater campaign, Viguerie was able to collect the donor names of the Goldwater campaign, and over the years accumulated a lengthy list of conservative donors. Since Viguerie had an exorbitant amount of experience in direct mail he was an invaluable asset to this new interfaith organization.

According to Viguerie, “Falwell got his message out to the nation through the aggressive use of alternative media. He did it by buying television time and radio time, by the use of news conference, by faxes, by special events in

²⁶⁷ Michael Cromartie, ed., *No Longer Exiles: The Religious New Right in American Politics* [Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1990], 52.

²⁶⁸ Richard Viguerie, *Americas Right Turn: How the Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power* [Los Angeles: Bonus Books, 2004], 133.

auditoriums and convention centers across America, and by direct mail.”

²⁶⁹However, it was Richard Viguerie that made the Moral Majority’s initial successes possible.

Viguerie stated, that at that time, “they were the largest religious direct mailer in the county. We had some 500 employees involved, from the mailing house to the cash receiving and the data processing.”²⁷⁰ Viguerie like Weyrich, were Catholic conservative political strategists that had envisioned furthering their conservative agenda, and did so by allying with evangelical leaders, and aiding them in establishing the Moral Majority.

Catholic conservatives such as, Phyllis Schlafly, Paul Weyrich, and Richard Viguerie played crucial roles in bringing religious conservative leaders out of religious isolation, and motivating them to become involved in the fight against social issues that were troubling their communities. Although, many of these evangelical leaders were outraged by events that had unfolded, these Catholic conservatives were crucial in organizing, and prepping them for political activism.

These Catholic conservatives played a major role in motivating religious social conservatives, however, I don’t want to suggest that they are the sole reason, nor the main reason the NCR came together. The NCR came together due to the collective efforts of religious leaders stemming from various different faiths, and the effects historical events had on social conservatives’ perception of

²⁶⁹ Richard Viguerie, *The New Right We’re Ready to Lead* [Lynchburg: Viguerie Co, 1981], 133-136.

²⁷⁰ Richard Viguerie, *The New Right We’re Ready to Lead* [Lynchburg: Viguerie Co, 1981], 133.

America. However, given the lack of acknowledgment Catholic conservatives received for their contributions to the development of the NCR, I decided to write a thesis that highlighted the impact just a few Catholic conservatives had on this historic interfaith alliance.

CONCLUSION

Catholic conservatives played a critical role in the intellectual development, and political mobilization of conservative evangelicals. William F. Buckley and Brent Bozell played pivotal roles in the development of a Christian conservative ideology that in time would evolve into a prime component within the intellectual foundation of the NCR. Historical events such as the civil rights

movement, the Goldwater campaign, and Nixon's 'Southern Strategy' would transform conservatism into a political philosophy that would address social issues that concerned many religious social conservatives. Phyllis Schlafly, Paul Weyrich, and Richard Viguerie all played an immense role in politically mobilizing evangelicals, and getting interfaith coalitions to form and organize.

However, I want to make clear that Catholic conservative elites are not solely responsible for the creation of the NCR, but played just as an important role as evangelical leaders in the development of this historic political alliance. Given mainstream media's lack of attention to the significant role historical events such as the civil rights movement, anti-communism, and the Catholic conservatives had on development of the NCR, I thought it was crucial for the public to be exposed to some of the many forces that contributed to the formation of this interfaith alliance.

Several elements needed to come together in order for historically hostile faiths to work toward a common political objective. Events that occurred throughout the 1950s to the 1970s were extremely important in the creation of this interfaith alliance. The civil rights movement, Goldwater campaign, and Nixon's 'Southern Strategy,' all played a significant role in creating the right political atmosphere for the NCR to develop. Much of the development of the NCR was contingent upon the social transformations of the 1950s to the 1970s infuriating social conservatives.

As Paul Weyrich points out in the book *No Longer Exiles*, this movement was a defensive movement that only wanted to defend their faith and values,

against what they perceived as an increasingly secular society.²⁷¹ This by far was the most interesting characteristic of the NCR that I discovered while researching this topic. The NCR developed due to religious social conservative elites' reaction to events that occurred within the 1950's to the 1970s.

However that does not overshadow the important role Catholic conservatives played in the intellectual as well as political development of the NCR. The history of conservative Catholics influence within the NCR is much more detailed and complicated than what my thesis could possibly convey. For one thing I could go back to the late 1930s and 1940s to discuss important influence of Catholic intellectuals such as, John Courtney Murray had on the development of conservative thought. Or I could go beyond the 1970s and discuss the important intellectual contributions of conservative Catholics such as George Weigel, Michael Novak, and John Richard Neuhaus, had on pertinent issues life issues within the NCR.

However, for the scope of this project I choose a few Catholics conservatives and a particular time frame that played a vital role in the development of the NCR. I purposefully choose these individuals and historical events to try to give the reader a basic understanding of important historical figures and events that contributed to the intellectual and political formation of the NCR. I wanted the reader to be able to trace the evolution of Christian conservatism thought from the early days of the *National Review* until the 1970s.

This is by no means a religious political phenomenon that occurred overnight over an issue like abortion. However, that does not downgrade the

271

importance abortion issue has played within this interfaith alliance.

Unfortunately, like the topic, the history of abortion politics and the NCR is complex, and deserves to have an entire thesis focus on it. Many other issues and leaders play an extremely important role on the development of the NCR.

Unfortunately as previously stated, the scope of the project limits the depth I could explore the topic. Nevertheless, this is an interesting field, and I plan on further researching this topic during my graduate studies. Hopefully, then I can give this topic some justice, and write a more detailed account of the important role conservative Catholics have played in the development of the NCR.

APPENDIX

Introduction

6. **George Weigel** is a Roman Catholic theologian, “and one of America’s leading commentators on issues of religion and public life.” Born and raised in Baltimore, he attended and graduated from St. Mary’s Seminary College, and obtained his graduate degree from the University of St. Michael. In 1975 George Weigel was an Assistant Professor of Theology (and later acting) Dean

of studies at the St. Thomas Seminary School of Theology. From 1984-1985 Weigel was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for scholars, and wrote his first book entitled, *Tranquillitas Ordinis: The Present Failure and Future of promise of American Catholic Thought on War and Peace*. From then on Weigel went on to author and/or edit seventeen other books such as, *Catholicism and the Renewal of American Democracy*, and *the Final Revolution: The Resistance Church and the Collapse of Communism*. From 1986 to 1989, Weigel served as the founding president of the James Madison Foundation. Then from 1989 to June of 1996, Weigel was the president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center located in Washington D.C. As president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, George Weigel led a wide ranging ecumenical and inter-religious program of research and publications on foreign and domestic policy. At the present time George Weigel is a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, and holds the William E. Simon Chair in Catholic Studies.

Ethics and Public Policy Institute, "Fellows and Scholarship Page," <http://www.eppc.org/scholars/scholarID.14/scholar.ssp> [Accessed July 4, 2007].

8. **William F. Buckley Jr.** was born in New York City in 1925, and spent most of his early school years in England and France. While enrolled in Yale University, Buckley wrote his first highly acclaimed book, *God and Man at Yale*. Then in 1950 he graduated with honors, and went on to found *The National Review*. William F. Buckley is a highly revered conservative author, debater, and television commentator. Buckley hosted *Firing Line*, a highly acclaimed political debate show for 33 years. Buckley has authored more than 40 books, and has received some of America's highest honors such as, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, an American Book Award, an Emmy and many others. Some of William F. Buckley's articles have appeared in publications such as, *The Atlantic*, *Monthly*, *Esquire*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Harper's*, *Life*, *The New Republic*, *The New Yorker*, *the New York Times*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*.

Viguerie, Richard A. *America's Right Turn: How Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power*. Los Angeles: Bonus Books, 2004.
Answers.com, "William F. Buckley Jr.," under William F. Buckley Jr. Biography, <http://www.answers.com/topic/frank-buckley> [accessed July 4, 2007].

Brent Bozell, is William F. Buckley's brother-in-law, and an extremely successful conservative television commentator, debater, syndicated columnist, publisher, and political activist. Early on in his career, Brent Bozell was a featured writer in his brother-in-laws publication, *The National Review*. Brent Bozell became a well-respected conservative due to his editorial pieces in the *National Review*, and is best known for ghostwriting Barry Goldwater's extremely popular and influential book entitled the *Conscience of a Conservative*. Not only did Brent Bozell write a large portion of Goldwater's book, but also wrote several of his speeches. In 1987 Brent Bozell founded one of "the largest media watchdog organizations in America," and still runs it. He is the Executive Director of the Conservative Victory Committee and the founder and president of both the Parents Television Council and the Media Research Center. During Pat Buchanan's campaign in 1992, Brent Bozell became his Finance Chairman. Currently, Brent Bozell is a member of the Council for National Policy. Bozell's writings have appeared in numerous publications such as, *Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Post*, *The L.A. Times*, *Investors Business*, and *The National Review*. He also frequently appears on television shows such as, *Hannity and Colmes*, *The O'Reilly Factor*, *Today*, *Inside Politics*, *Larry King Live*, *Good Morning America*, and *CSPAN*.

Media Research Center, "L. Brent Bozell III," Under President of the Media Research Center, Parents Television Council, and the Conservative Communications Center, <http://www.mediaresearch.org/bios/lbb/welcome.asp> [accessed July 10,2007].

Goldberg, Alan Robert. *Barry Goldwater*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Paul Weyrich is an influential conservative activist, columnist, and pundit. He played an

influential role in the founding of the Heritage Foundation, and helped establish Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. He is the founder and former director of the American Legislative Exchange Council, and is currently the Chairman and CEO of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation. Paul Weyrich has published and written columns in the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. Mr. Weyrich was named by *Regardie's Magazine* as 'one of 100 most powerful Washingtonians.'

News Max.com, "Paul Weyrich," <http://www.newsmax.com/pundits/bios/Weyrich-bio.shtml> [accessed July 10, 2007].

Richard Viguerie is an author, grassroots activists, direct mail pioneer, and founder of the *Conservative Digest*. Viguerie became politically active during Barry Goldwater's campaign. It was during this campaign that Richard Viguerie discovered the direct mail business. After Goldwater's defeat Viguerie compiled a list of the senator's conservative supporters' names and set off to begin his own direct mail services. Viguerie played a pivotal role in transforming American politics in the 1960s and 70s by using direct mail fundraising for the conservative ideological sphere. His computerized direct mail service directly contributed to the build up of the conservative movement.

Viguerie, Richard A. *America's Right Turn: How Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power*. Los Angeles: Bonus Books, 2004.

Phyllis Schlafly is a pro-family conservative grassroots activist, debater author, and lawyer. Mrs. Schlafly was married to her late husband Fred Schlafly for 44 years, has six children (John, Bruce, Roger, Liza, Andrew, and Anne), and 14 grandchildren. Phyllis Schlafly received her B.A. from Washington University, and worked her way through college on a night shift as a laboratory technician at the St. Louis Ordinance Plant firing rifles and machine guns. Then in 1945 she received her master's in government from Harvard University, and later obtained her J.D. from Washington University law School. Mrs. Schlafly has always been is extremely politically active woman. While volunteering for the Goldwater campaign, she decided to write the notoriously influential book *A Choice Not an Echo*. Then in 1972 she founded the pro-family movement opposition to the ERA. In the process of fighting the ERA, Schlafly founded the Eagle Forum, which presently still exists in St. Louis, MO. During the Reagan administration, Schlafly was appointed by the president to serve as a member of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. Mrs. Schlafly is a highly respected conservative whose *Phyllis Schlafly Report* is printed in 100 newspapers. Not only does she publish her work, but her commentaries are also heard daily on over 460 radio stations. Phyllis Schlafly has also the authored and edited 20 books whose subjects vary from feminism to family.

Eagle Forum.org, "Phyllis Schlafly," under Phyllis Schlafly Bio, <http://www.eagleforum.org/misc/bio.html> [accessed March 1, 2007].

Chapter One

9. **Billy Sunday** (1862-1935) was a former baseball player, turned evangelical preacher. Sunday was a national figure who gained popularity because of his enthusiastic style of preaching, and criticism of prohibition, biblical criticism, and evolution.

Martin, William. *With God on our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right*. New York: Broadway Books, 1997.

Gerald L.K. Smith (1898-1976) was an ordained minister in the Disciples of Christ denomination, and radio broadcaster in Shreveport, Louisiana. In 1932 Smith became good friends with Huey Long, a Louisiana Governor and Senator, and they both founded the Share Our Wealth Society. In 1935 Long was assassinated and Smith took over the society; from then on the society took on a pro-fascist, anti-Semitic tone. Smith also formed the American First Party, and

ran for the U.S. senate in 1942. The in 1944 Smith ran as an American First candidate for the presidency.

The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture, "Gerald Lyman Kenneth Smith (1898-1976), <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=1767> [accessed July 10, 2007].

Martin, William. *With God on our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right*. New York: Broadway Books, 1997.

Billy James Hargis Billy James Hargis was born in Texarkana, Tex., on Aug. 3, 1925. Hargis was ordained at 17 in the Disciples of Christ denomination, studied at a Bible college in Bentonville, Ark., and later received a theology degree from Burton College. Billy James Hargis was an ardent anti-communist who organized the Christian Crusade, and supported Senator Joe McCarthy on extracting the communist influence for America. In 1971 he founded the American Christian College in Tulsa in 1971 to teach "God, government and Christian action.

Martin, William. *With God on our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right*. New York: Broadway Books, 1997.

Bernstein, Adam, "Evangelist Billy James Hargis Dies; Spread Anti-Communist Message," under Washingtonpost.com, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A20975-2004Nov29.html> [accessed July 4, 2007].

Reverend Dr. Gerald Winrod was a Wichita evangelist, author, and political activist. Winrod founded an association called the Defenders of Christian Faith, and established *Defender* magazine. Many of the social issues Winrod focused on were biblical criticism, evolution, the Social Gospel, alcohol, and modernism in the Church and other institutions.

Martin, William. *With God on our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right*. New York: Broadway Books, 1997.

Carl McIntire was a fundamentalist who was an outspoken critic of modernists. From 1938 to 1998, the Rev. McIntire served as pastor of Collingswood Bible Presbyterian Church in Collingswood, N.J.; and from 1948 until his death, he served as president of the International Council of Christian Churches, a group of fundamentalist denominations. In 1941 McIntire establishes the American Council of Christian Churches, which was militantly pro-gospel, and anti-modernists. This organization was separatist in nature and barred and churches or denominations that associated with modernists.

Martin, William. *With God on our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right*. New York: Broadway Books, 1997.

San Francisco Chronicle, "The Rev. Carl McIntire-radio evangelist," under sfgate.com, <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2002/04/01/MN238870.DTL> [accessed July 4, 2007].

22. **Clarence Dean Manion** was an influential professor at Notre Dame Law School. In 1955 he wrote the influential book, *Key to Peace*. Manion also served in the Eisenhower's Administration as a chair to a commission designed to restore states power which had been usurped during the FDR years. Dean Manion had faith not in government but in the "laws of nature and of nature's God," therefore he established the Manion Forum, and became an influential Christian conservative whom also had a weekly radio broadcast which was carried over hundreds of stations throughout the country.

Manion, Christopher, "The Twilight of Conservatism," under LewRockwell.com,

<http://www.lewrockwell.com/manion/manion50.html> [accessed July 4, 2007].

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