
Christian Nationalism: Primer on an American Heresy

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The prominence and influence of Christian nationalism in the last decade gives expression to a distinctly American heresy due to its distortions of historic Christian faith. It is necessary from the outset to make a clear distinction between Christian nationalism and patriotic Christianity. Note the differences between these two terms. In the first, the noun is nationalism and Christian a mere adjective to describe nationalism as the central focus. In the second, Christianity is the noun with patriotic as the descriptor. In this way, Christians in different countries can be patriotic without compromising the heart of the Christian faith,¹ whereas for Christian nationalism “America” is always first.²

Christian nationalism is a movement with many antecedents. A notable flashpoint occurred with the presidency of Barack Obama, the first US President of African American descent.³ This symbolic moment evoked fear in the Religious Right at shifting demographics that project white Americans of European descent to become the minority by 2045.⁴ The MAGA movement leveraged this symbolic event to strengthen its following by appealing to white racism.

Heresy can be defined as a set of beliefs that distort and conflict with the core teachings of historic ecumenical Christianity.⁵ Among the core Christian beliefs contradicted by Christian nationalism, we highlight four:

1. God created all people in the image of God, who are worthy of intrinsic respect and dignity.
2. Jesus Christ died and was resurrected to bring God’s forgiveness and love to all people.
3. Jesus Christ taught the Great Commandment—love of God

1. Keith W. Clements, *A Patriotism for Today: Love of Country in Dialogue with the Witness of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

2. Stephen Wolfe, *The Case for Christian Nationalism* (Moscow, ID: Canon Press, 2023).

3. Andrew L. Whitehead and Samuel L. Perry, *Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States* (New York: Oxford, 2020), 55-88.

4. Robert P. Jones, *The End of White Christian America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016).

5. “Ecumenical Christianity” represents a consensus about normative Christian teachings and practices among mainline Protestant churches.

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and love for the neighbor as oneself.

4. The core practices of Christian faith embodied by Jesus Christ include hospitality, generosity, feeding the hungry, healing the sick, and peacemaking.

Christian nationalism is an American heresy with beliefs and practices that distort and contradict an ecumenical consensus about the core teachings that are normative for Christian faith as embedded in Scripture, creeds, confessions, and doctrines.⁶ In contradicting this historic tradition, it must be rejected as endangering historic Christianity.

Genealogy

Five antecedents influenced the shape of Christian nationalism: American civil religion, British Israelism, American evangelicalism, fundamentalism, and dispensationalism. Each contributes elements taken up into Christian nationalism, though none by itself is sufficient for explaining the contemporary movement.

American civil religion (starting in the sixteenth century) is

6. See Jim Wallis, *The False White Gospel: Rejecting Christian Nationalism, Reclaiming True Faith, and Refounding Democracy* (New York: St. Martin’s Essentials, 2024).

deeply embedded in the history and identity of the United States.⁷ Early Puritan leaders praised America as the New Israel with the characteristics of the Promised Land. America had been appointed a Manifest Destiny from God to expand its dominion across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. During the Cold War in the 1950s, the term “under God” was added to the Pledge of Allegiance and “in God we trust” was added to US currency. Presidents routinely end speeches by invoking, “God Bless America.” There is a long history of understanding the US as a nation favored by God above other countries. This leads to a belief in American exceptionalism that contends that the US never has done and never could do wrong.

British Israelism (starting in the sixteenth century) deepens the biblical claims justifying American civil religion.⁸ The central conviction holds that Anglo-Saxons are racially and linguistically descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. These Anglo-Israelites are the inheritors of God’s promise that gave them a new promised land as they came to the US (a belief that also appears in Mormonism). Although the earliest references date from the sixteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth century that British Israelism groups were organized both in Britain and the US, some of which are still active today.

American evangelicalism (beginning with eighteenth to nineteenth century revivalism) belongs to the origin story of many different Christian traditions. While Christian nationalism does not accord with its original intent, elements from evangelicalism have been incorporated into it. One element is a biblicism that interprets and cites Scripture with little attention to original context and draws nationalist conclusions based on passages taken out of context. A second element involves the spirit of revivalism that invites people to convert to a different set of beliefs. A third element is the sense of urgency that belongs to a culture of conversion based on individual religious experiences and testimony to others through the media.

Fundamentalism (late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries) is a movement derived from evangelicalism that intensifies biblicism into biblical literalism. Fundamentalism emerged as a reaction to the threat of modernity that employed scientific reasoning to the interpretation of Scripture. Fundamentalists invented a theory of verbal inspiration to argue for the literal truth of the Bible, for example, claims for a seven-day creation or forty-day flood. One of its most fervent concerns aims to refute “Darwinism” and the theory of evolution. Among the “fundamentals” that became the measure of true Christian faith were literal belief in the virgin birth, bodily resurrection, historical miracles, and death of Jesus as substitutionary atonement.

Dispensationalism (mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries) takes fundamentalism in an apocalyptic direction with the

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theology of John Nelson Darby (1800-1882) and the Scofield Reference Bible.⁹ Darby interpreted the Bible as a series of events that predict the end times, including a pre-tribulation rapture whereby true Christians will be taken up to God prior to a time of great tribulations on earth at Christ’s return. The Scofield Reference Bible, edited and annotated by Cyrus I. Scofield (1843-1921), divided history into seven dispensations with the expectation that the world is now entering its final stage. The Bible is understood to prophesy contemporary events as signs of the end of the world through a literal interpretation of the Book of Revelation and other apocalyptic books.

Theological foundations: Dominionism

Christian Reconstructionism (beginning in the 1970s) is one of the lesser known but extremely influential origins of Christian nationalism. R. J. Rushdoony stands as the intellectual founder of Christian Reconstructionism,¹⁰ also called Dominionism, with reference to Genesis 1:26: “Let us make humans in our image, according to our likeness, and *let them have dominion*...” Building on the theological legacy of Dutch Calvinism (Abraham Kuyper) that gave theological warrants to apartheid in South Africa, Rushdoony produced three massive volumes titled *The Institutes of Biblical Law*.¹¹

Rushdoony’s project interprets and promotes the Bible as the basis for the American legal system: “Precisely because lawyers, courts, and scholars today are usually radical humanists and anti-Christian, there is commonly a hostility towards any full acknowledgment of the Biblical nature of the legal heritage of Western civilization.”¹²

Clearly, with the growing decline of public and private

9. R. Todd Mangum, Mark S. Sweetnam. *The Scofield Bible: Its History and Impact on the Evangelical Church* (Lisle, IL: IVP Books, 2010).

10. For a critical study of Rushdoony’s thought, see Michael McVicar, *Christian Reconstruction: R. J. Rushdoony and American Religious Conservatism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2015).

11. R. J. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law: Three Volumes*. (Vallecito, CA: Chalcedon, 2020).

12. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 1:805

7. Philip Gorski, *American Covenant: A History of Civil Religion from the Puritans to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).

8. Aiden Cottrell-Boyce, *Israelism in Modern Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

morality, no arrangement of men or political institutions can provide relief. The evil is primarily in man, and in his institutions and environment insofar as they reflect his nature. Rabshakeh was right with reference to Egypt: “Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him” (2 Kings 18:21). The future does not rest with pierced-hand politics but with the sovereign and triune God and His absolute law.¹³

Christian Reconstructionism seeks to establish and enforce biblical law as the foundation for American government. Provisions include:

- Reconstructing a Christian government to legislate a Christian State¹⁴
- Christian law to regulate the legal system and courts¹⁵
- Legislation to control nonconformists (fornicators, homosexuals, revilers, adulterers)¹⁶
- Women are subordinate to men¹⁷
- God authorizes a Christian order, not democracy¹⁸
- Spiritual rule by right-thinking Christian elders¹⁹
- Federal government programs, public health care, and liberal education are enemies²⁰
- Education should be directed by Christians, not the State²¹
- Submission to the Bible as the Word of God as the law of the land²²
- Free market capitalism as an outgrowth of Christianity²³
- A Christian “remnant” needs to retake American civilization²⁴

Gary North, Rushdoony’s son-in law, was another central proponent for Christian Reconstructionism. An Austrian School economic historian and theological author, North was the founder of the Institute for Christian Economics. He wrote more than fifty books from the perspectives of history, economics, and Reformed theology.²⁵ North advocated for the establishment

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Rise of the Christian Religious Right (1970s-1990s)

Until the late twentieth century, American evangelicals were largely distinguished by a concentrated focus on evangelism and bringing people to Christ. Their lack of attention to social ethics led Ron Sider to found the movement, “Evangelicals for Social Action” in 1978 (now Christians for Social Action),²⁷ based on the 1973 Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern.²⁸ During these same years, the “Religious Right” first emerged in defense of an IRS threat to the tax exempt status of Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina. The key issue, as described by Randall Balmer, was the court ruling that “any organization that engaged in racial segregation or racial discrimination was not by definition a charitable organization, and therefore had no claims on tax exempt status.”²⁹

Paul Weyrich of the Heritage Foundation (founded in 1973) saw an opportunity with this lawsuit to motivate apolitical evangelicals to become a voting block for the Republican Party. Weyrich wrote in the mid-1970s:

The new political philosophy must be defined by us

of *Divine Influence* (Moulton, AL: Axehead Press, 2022). The online version of *The Biblical Structure of History* includes a listing of North’s books: <https://www.garynorth.com/TheBiblicalStructureOfHistory.pdf>.

26. Jerome E. Copulsky, *American Heretics: Religious Adversaries of Order* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2024) refutes the claims of Rushdoony and North, counting them among American heretics.

27. Christians for Social Action, “CSA History,” <https://christiansforsocialaction.org/about-us/history/>.

28. From the Vault: Voices from Wheaton Archives and Special Collections, “‘A Prophetic Document’: The 1973 Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern,” <https://fromthevault.wheaton.edu/2023/11/01/a-prophetic-document/>.

29. Randall Balmer, *Bad Faith: Race and the Rise of the Religious Right* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2021), 43.

13. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 1:807.

14. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 1:795.

15. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 1:23-26.

16. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 3:25.

17. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 1:352-359.

18. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 2:641-643.

19. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 1:753-757.

20. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 3:169-170.

21. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 2:71-75.

22. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 2:690-692.

23. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 1:532-536.

24. Rushdoony, *The Institutes of Biblical Law*, 3:185-186.

25. His books include Gary North, *The Biblical Structure of History: Unfolding of God’s Redemptive Purposes* (Dallas, GA: Five Point Press, 2022) and Gary North, *The Five Pillars of Biblical Leadership: The Covenantal Pattern of Divine Influence: The Covenantal Pattern*

[conservatives] in moral terms, packaged in non-religious language, and propagated throughout the country by our new coalition... When political power is achieved, the moral majority will have the opportunity to re-create this great nation.³⁰

Balmer argues that it was this resistance to the forced integration of evangelical campuses, not abortion (or the Equal Rights Amendment), that initially galvanized conservative evangelicals into political action. This means that *defending racial segregation was the precipitating issue that created the Religious Right*, although this was masked as protecting “religious freedom.”³¹

Weyrich served as a major figure linking political operatives and the religious leaders starting to organize political action by conservative Christians. There were many evangelical leaders and organizations involved in the mobilization of the Religious Right, first as a voting block for conservative issues aligned with the Republican Party and later as the base for Christian nationalism in support of Donald Trump and the MAGA movement.³² While Loren Cunningham (Youth with a Mission) and Bill Bright (Campus Crusade for Christ) founded their organizations to promote global evangelism, it was their collaboration led to the formulation of the Seven Mountain Mandate that became the heartbeat of the Christian nationalist movement. They were among those evangelical leaders who turned away from Jimmy Carter, an evangelical Christian, to support Ronald Reagan for President, due to Reagan’s alignment with those issues deemed most vital for establishing a Christian culture: rejecting humanistic media influences, opposition to globalism in education, and the drift of the nation into sexual immorality.³³

Francis Schaeffer, the founder of L’Abri in Switzerland, was a prolific author and advocate for these causes.³⁴ He exerted intellectual influence on many evangelical leaders, including Jerry Falwell at the founding of the Moral Majority in 1979. Falwell’s Lynchburg Christian School had also been threatened by the tax exemption ruling against “segregationist academies.” Falwell claimed that America had been a Christian nation since

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its founding and called for a return to its origins.³⁵ Pat Robertson was a televangelist with a large audience through his Christian Broadcasting Network and his featured show, *The 700 Club*. Robertson founded the Christian Coalition of America in 1987, and motivated Christians to influence public policy at every level of government, including by the publication of voter guides to support candidates loyal to Christian morality.

James Dobson, the founder of the Family Research Council and the program Focus on the Family, was a leader in promoting traditional “family values.” The author of many books on raising children and Christian marriage, Dobson brought his credentials as a child psychologist to authorize the use of corporal punishment to discipline children and to endorse complementary gender roles for men and women as the basis for society. Through his broadcasts, newsletters, and books, Dobson became a fixture for defining the “Christian family” and exercised his influence to support partisan politics in the late 1980s.³⁶ At the decline of the Moral Majority and Christian Coalition, Focus on the Family became a key influencer for political engagement by evangelicals.³⁷ Together the leaders of these evangelical networks exerted enormous influence in building the Religious Right through their organizing, broadcasting, and publishing. Their work was foundational for those carrying forward this agenda today, such as Paula White-Cain, now Senior Advisor to the White House Faith

30. Paul Weyrich Papers, “The Moral Majority” (undated paper, Box 19, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming), as cited by Balmer.

31. Balmer, *Bad Faith*, writes in Chapter 9 about ‘Why the Abortion Myth Matters’: “So, what does it matter that their political movement, the Religious Right, grew out of (to put it plainly) racism, a defense of racial segregation in evangelical institutions? On the face of it, it matters not at all. I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of evangelicals who oppose abortion—some have devoted their entire lives to this cause—even as I suspect the motives of those who brought the issue to their attention. I believe the abortion myth matters because unacknowledged and unaddressed racism has a tendency to fester.” Fester it did—eventually into *white* Christian nationalism.

32. Laura K. Field, *Furious Minds: The Making of the MAGA New Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2025).

33. Matthew Boedy, *The Seven Mountains Mandate: Exposing the Dangerous Plan to Christianize America and Destroy Democracy* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2025), 10.

34. Barry Hankins, *Francis Schaeffer and the Shaping of Evangelical America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

35. Michael W. Austin, *American Christian Nationalism: Neither American nor Christian* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2024) refutes these claims.

36. Kristin Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation* (New York: Liveright, 2020), 78–87.

37. Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne*, 206–208.

Office,³⁸ and Charlie Kirk's Turning Point.³⁹

The origin story of Christian nationalism begins in the last decades of the twentieth century. "Christian nationalism" eventually became the designation for this new faith expression, wedded to Republican party politics and eventually to the MAGA movement.⁴⁰ In the early 2000s, it became ever clearer how true Christians in this movement share a common racial-religious-nationalist identity. Though the racist commitments have often been disguised, the religious beliefs and political commitments make clear that the designation "white Christian nationalism" is an even more accurate description.⁴¹ The romanticizing of the Confederacy (and its monuments) and the propagation of fear through conspiracy theories—especially "racial replacement theory"—incited increasing support during and after the Obama presidency.⁴² There was a growing sense of urgency that America needed to remain a white Christian nation and that Christian values must be legislated as the law of the land.

The New Apostolic Reformation

How was it possible to mobilize pastors and churches for the political agenda of Christian nationalism without denominational structures? Matthew D. Taylor explains that the primary sector within American Christianity for the dissemination and influence of the New Apostolic Reformation has been among charismatic, nondenominational churches, which he calls "independent charismatics" (such as Word of Faith, the Apostolic and Prophetic Movement, and Messianic Judaism).⁴³ These churches "feel a strong charismatic kinship with Pentecostals, even if they ultimately reject the denominational elements."⁴⁴

C. Peter Wagner devoted much of his career serving on the faculty of Fuller Theological Seminary after spending sixteen years as a missionary in Bolivia. His passion in ministry and teaching was to promote church growth, working first as a student and then as a colleague of Donald McGavran at Fuller.⁴⁵ Due to his growing appreciation for and fascination with charismaticism, Wagner invited John Wimber, his former student and Vineyard

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pastor, to co-teach a course with him at Fuller titled "Signs, Wonders, and Church Growth."⁴⁶ In the class, Wimber prayed for the coming of the Holy Spirit, gave personalized divine revelations to students, taught them how to pray for healing, cast out demons, and disclosed God's instructions for their lives. This course became a phenomenon, breaking enrollment records with hundreds of students and visitors in attendance over four years until it was cancelled by the seminary. By then, Wagner had become charismatic himself and turned from mainstream evangelicalism to collaborate with Cindy Jacobs, who opened to him new horizons about prophecy, prayer for healing the nations, and spiritual warfare.⁴⁷ After Jacobs introduced Wagner to the Latter Rain network of charismatic pastors, prophets, and apostles, he turned his full attention to global nondenominational charismatic Christianity as the future of church growth.⁴⁸

This shift immersed Wagner into a world of engaging in "spiritual warfare." Reflecting on the possibility of spiritual warfare not only as an individual but as a global phenomenon, he developed the notion of "territorial spirits," demons that afflict the world.⁴⁹ These are especially active in what is called the "10/40

38. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 22-48, in his first chapter titled, "A Televangelist in the White House," describes the career of Paula White that prepared her to become "the first pastor to offer an official blessing over an attempted American insurrection" (48).

39. Boedy, *The Seven Mountains Mandate*, 52-54, 121-25, and throughout, deals extensively with the contributions of Charlie Kirk and Turning Point.

40. See Angela Denker, *Red State Christians: Understanding the Voters Who Elected Donald Trump* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2019).

41. Bradley Onishi, *Preparing for War: The Extremist History of White Christian Nationalism—And What Comes Next* (Minneapolis: Broadleaf, 2023).

42. Katherine Stewart, *The Power Worshipers: Inside the Rise of Religious Nationalism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2020).

43. Matthew D. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force: The Christian Movement that Is Threatening Our Democracy* (Minneapolis: Broadleaf, 2024), 17-22.

44. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 20.

45. Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, rev. and ed. C. Peter Wagner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990).

46. C. Peter Wagner, ed., *Signs and Wonders Today: The Story of Fuller Theological Seminary's Remarkable Course on Spiritual Power. Revised and Expanded Ed.* (Altamonte Springs, FL: Creation House, 1989).

47. Cindy Jacobs, *The Voice of God: How God Speaks Personally and Corporately to His Children Today* (Ventura, CA: Chosen Books, 1995). Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 80, writes that "no Christian woman living today has capitalized more on this experiential point of access to authority or attained greater spiritual renown than Cindy Jacobs."

48. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 56-59.

49. Insofar as Christian nationalism, especially through the New Apostolic Reformation, has interest in spreading its religious and moral agenda internationally, one could refer to "Christian supremacism." Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 240.

window,” encompassing nations between those latitudes, which include North Africa, the Middle East, and much of Asia. Wagner organized a campaign of “strategic-level spiritual warfare” through annual prayer and fasting cycles that involved an estimated fifty million evangelical Christians across the world. This was the initial foray by Wagner into what would become the New Apostolic Reformation.⁵⁰

Renewed belief in present-day prophets and apostles had circulated within the world of independent charismatics already for decades. Wagner’s contribution was to organize these beliefs into a movement.⁵¹ This began with a symposium of 500 world leaders that led to linking independent charismatic congregations with the designated as prophets and apostles who were to guide them. The symposium gave birth to the name, the New Apostolic Reformation. Wagner “deeply believed that God was calling him to organize and oversee leadership networks to further this transformation of the church.”⁵² Together with Chuck Pierce, Wagner taught courses first at Fuller and later at the Wagner Leadership Institute in Colorado Springs on Spiritual Strongholds, Confronting the Powers, and Churches of the New Apostolic Paradigm. The crucial instruction was that churches and ministries must be guided and governed by contemporary prophets and apostles.

Wagner served as the convening apostle of his own International Coalition of Apostles that sought “to introduce as many other leaders as possible to the New Apostolic Reformation and its implications for the Kingdom of God.”⁵³ This led next to the formation of a roundtable of charismatic prophets called the Apostolic Council of Prophetic Elders, organized by Wagner together with Cindy Jacobs. Eventually, an inner group of the twenty-five apostles and prophets closest to Wagner became the Eagle’s Vision Apostolic Team. Wagner thus served as an apostle and “spiritual father” to his “spiritual children.”⁵⁴ Cindy Jacobs had already discerned that she was a modern-day prophet in the 1980s. This network placed her in the company of many others who believed that God had commissioned them as prophets or apostles.⁵⁵

So, what is the role of prophets and apostles? The role of prophets and apostles is to guide and direct independent charismatic pastors, congregations, and their members to engage together in spiritual warfare against the principalities and powers.

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They believe that Christians need to conquer the high places of influence in society and govern from top down. Engaged in a cosmic spiritual war against the forces of darkness, they believe God has mandated them to use spiritual violence to defeat Satan and then build the kingdom of God on earth.⁵⁶

Wagner describes *prophets* as those “who can hear from God more accurately and communicate that message to the body of Christ...but most of the time they have little or no idea what to do with it.”⁵⁷ *Apostles* are those who exercise leadership by “hearing what the Spirit is saying to the churches and by setting things in order accordingly for the expansion of the Kingdom of God.”⁵⁸ Prophets give their messages to the apostles who put them into practice with the pastors and their churches.

Local pastors voluntarily submit to the authority of the apostles insofar as their pastoral responsibilities do not permit them a wide enough vision for advancing God’s plans. “By joining an apostolic network, a pastor agrees to be subject to the authority of the apostle who rules over the network.”⁵⁹ They also agree that their church will give financial support to the apostolic network and allow it to assume spiritual authority over the pastor and church. Because this is a voluntary arrangement, the church and pastor may sever ties at will. Wagner explains why this seldom happens:

It is because apostolically oriented pastors feel that the apostle adds value to their life and ministry. They are convinced that they would not be able to reach their full

50. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 60-61.

51. C. Peter Wagner, *Apostles and Prophets: The Foundation of the Church* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 2000).

52. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 63.

53. For this quote and the following, Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 66.

54. Five members of the Eagle’s Vision Apostolic Team were present at the January 6 insurrection. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 76.

55. This company included Bill Hamon, *Apostles Prophets and the Coming Moves of God: God’s End-Time Plans for His Church and Planet Earth* (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image, 1997), who writes, “This book is dedicated to the great company of Prophets and Apostles that God is bringing forth in these last days.”

56. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 3.

57. C. Peter Wagner, *Dominion! How Kingdom Action Can Change the World* (Grand Rapids: Chosen Books, 2008), 27.

58. Wagner, *Dominion! How Kingdom Action Can Change the World*, 31.

59. R. Douglas Geivett and Holly Pivec. *The New Apostolic Reformation? A Biblical Response to a Worldwide Movement* (Wooster, OH: Weaver Book Company, 2014), 41-42. This book gives an extensive biblical critique of the New Apostolic Reformation and its teachings: “As we await the next great event on God’s revelatory calendar—the return of Christ—we do well if we give ourselves to the careful study of Scripture, and look not to so-called new truths from present-day prophets” (208).

destiny in serving God apart from the spiritual covering of the apostle.⁶⁰

In this way, churches choose to come under the sway of prophets and apostles committed to the beliefs and politics of Christian nationalism. Taylor describes this arrangement as a “spiritual oligarchy, one in which the newly commissioned apostles and prophets take over huge chunks of the Independent Charismatic landscape.”⁶¹

One of the most powerful tools guiding the ministry of this network is an instrumentalist understanding of the power of prayer. “Strategic level spiritual warfare” transforms prayer into an instrument that directs God to accomplish that for which the prophets, apostles, and people pray, because God depends on their intercessions.

God’s purpose may or may not be accomplished depending, to one degree or another, on the obedience of His people and their willingness to use the weapons of spiritual warfare that He has provided.⁶²

God’s action, in this view, is contingent upon the intercessions by prayer warriors and their apostolic generals. “God’s will might be thwarted if the enemies are too strong or if God’s people don’t muster enough spiritual warriors.”⁶³ If one prays earnestly enough, God will do it. This conviction led the prophets Dutch Sheets and Chuck Pierce to make a fifty-state tour in 2002 to rally the network into prayer for the nation, believing that it had been their intercessory prayer outside the White House that was the decisive factor in the 2000 presidential election, giving the office to George W. Bush over Al Gore.⁶⁴ Based on such convictions about prayer, Sheets popularized the “Appeal to Heaven” flag that symbolizes Christian nationalist beliefs.⁶⁵ This flag appeared prominently among the faithful at the January 6 insurrection.⁶⁶

Seven Mountains Mandate

The core beliefs of Christian nationalism coalesced into a program called the Seven Mountains Mandate. The origin story goes back to the 1970s in the joining of minds between Loren Cunningham and Bill Bright, the founders of two evangelical college campus evangelism organizations.⁶⁷ Bright brought to Cunningham a

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goes back to the ... joining of minds between Loren Cunningham and Bill Bright, the founders of two evangelical college campus evangelism organizations. ... Because cultural trends in America are leading the country down the road to destruction, Christians need to take dominion over seven institutions in society: education, family, religion, government, business, media, and entertainment.

list of seven cultural areas in need of Christian influence and leadership. When they met, Cunningham disclosed that God had revealed to him the same list, only worded somewhat differently. Because cultural trends in America are leading the country down the road to destruction, Christians need to take dominion over seven institutions in society: education, family, religion, government, business, media, and entertainment.⁶⁸

- *Education.* Public education is understood as an enemy to Christian faith due to its secularizing influence and indoctrinating of students. A key step in turning America back to God requires opposition to public schools and the promotion of private education, including vouchers that direct public money to Christian schools. The election of school board officials at every level of government is instrumental for conquering this mountain. This allows for Christian nationalists to control the adoption of curriculum and to implement policies in public schools, such as the posting of the Ten Commandments.
- *Family.* At the heart of this movement is the reestablishment of a Christian family structure to counteract the disintegration of family values in American society. This requires that men reclaim their role as heads of the household and women uphold their responsibilities in the home as wife and mother. Anti-transgender politics fuels the defense of the traditional nuclear family as God’s revealed order. This family structure authorizes traditional masculinity to guide male leaders in the struggle for the seven mountains and traditional femininity to give stability to society through biblical marriage.

60. C. Peter Wagner, *Changing Church* (Ventura, CA): Regal Books, 2004), 36.

61. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 122. Taylor, 127-129, explains the dynamics solidifying this arrangement.

62. C. Peter Wagner, ed., *Destiny of a Nation: How Prophets and Intercessors Can Mold History* (Colorado Springs: Wagner Publications, 2001), 12.

63. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 211.

64. Dutch Sheets and Chuck D. Pierce, *Releasing the Prophetic Destiny of a Nation: Discovering How Your Future Can Be Greater Than Your Past* (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image, 2005), 17-18.

65. Dutch Sheets, *An Appeal to Heaven* (Dallas: Dutch Sheets Ministries, 2015).

66. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 238-239.

67. Boedy, *The Seven Mountains Mandate*, 1-2.

68. For the following, see Boedy, *The Seven Mountains Mandate*.

- *Religion.* Christian nationalism engages in a culture war to shift public opinion and implement policies favoring its religious priorities. This involves spiritual warfare against clergy, denominations, and religions that are contributing to the moral and spiritual decay of America. God works through prophets, apostles, pastors, and their churches to organize events, hold trainings, influence social media, and publish materials to win the hearts and minds of citizens and persuade them to support their theocratic agenda throughout the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.
- *Government.* Dominionism aims to convert democracy into theocracy by implementing biblical law as the norm for American government (Rushdoony). Christian nationalism views secular democracy as the enemy of God and seeks to elect leaders who will accomplish this transformation from within. The effort begins on the level of local and state government, including elected positions that appear less important. Public officials can then restore traditional American values. Project 2025 reflects these values for policy implementation. Through this strategy, a political minority can prevail over the majority.
- *Business.* Overtaking this mountain involves commissioning business leaders to employ their wealth and influence to rebuild the nation according to God's economy. Free market capitalism affords the opportunity for wealthy people to invest in political influence to shape public policy in favor of wealth creation and profit. The prosperity gospel endorses financial success as a reward to God's faithful people and a measure of divine approval. According to Wagner, business leaders can be "marketplace apostles" to transfer wealth and transform the nation to reshape the culture according to Christian values.
- *Media.* The secular media promote interpretations of the news that malign and contradict God's will for the nation. Leaders in the movement that became Christian nationalism have long engaged in battle against mainstream media. With the advent of Fox News, cable news channels, and social media, there now are networks with an extensive media reach both for supporters and to attract new viewers: "Christians must become aware of the awesome power of the media to mold our moral and political consensus."⁶⁹ Conspiracy theories are especially powerful to grip and hold attention.
- *Entertainment.* The Religious Right has established its own entertainment empire to construct and promote Christian culture. Movies, TV shows, radio, books, periodicals, and videos have become widely available to influence and persuade the American public to adopt their values and counter secular morality. The culture war extends to every interest area, including sports and pop culture. Powerful memes populate and saturate the internet with images that lampoon enemy views and win sympathy in the culture war. Brilliant

The Seven Mountains Mandate has been enjoined for implementation by the prophets and apostles of the New Apostolic Reformation, transforming them from a grassroots effort to a top-down agenda accomplished by a vanguard of influential leaders in each of the seven areas.

memes often prevail over reasoned arguments and factual documentation.

Both Cunningham (Youth with a Mission) and Bright (Campus Crusade for Christ) implemented this seven-point program as "mind molders" for their respective organizations. Subsequently, Francis Schaeffer added the intellectual respectability of Christian Reconstructionism (Rushdoony) by calling them "spheres."⁷⁰ Taking up the promotion of this agenda from Cunningham in 2000, Lance Wallnau popularized them as "seven mountains" through many conferences, books, and videos.⁷¹ His core narrative held that "Christians are the embattled and beleaguered cultural exiles and...the real Americans and the destined leaders at the tops of all the mountains of influence."⁷² Johnny Enlow writes: "The favor to 'invade' these seven mountains is already upon us as part of God's end-time strategy to establish Him as Ruler of the Nations."⁷³

The Seven Mountains Mandate has been enjoined for implementation by the prophets and apostles of the New Apostolic Reformation, transforming them from a grassroots effort to a top-down agenda accomplished by a vanguard of influential leaders in each of the seven areas.⁷⁴ The inner circle of collaborators with Wagner included Ché Ahn, Cindy Jacobs, Bill Hamon, Becca Greenwood, and Dutch Sheets. These influential evangelical leaders amplified attention to the Seven Mountains in their ministries, broadcasts, and writings.⁷⁵ Peter Wagner joined together the Seven

70. Francis A. Schaeffer, *How Should We Then Live? The Rise and Decline of Western Thought and Culture* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1976).

71. Lance Wallnau, *Seven Mountains: The Rise and Fall of Nations*, DVD and CD series (Lance Wallnau, 2019).

72. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 170.

73. Johnny Enlow, *The Seven Mountain Prophecy: Unveiling the Coming Elijah Revolution* (Lake Mary, FL: Creation House, 2008), 10.

74. See Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 154-156.

75. Ché Ahn, *Into the Fire: How You Can Enter Renewal and Catch God's Holy Fire* (Ventura CA: Gospel Light, 1998); Cindy Jacobs, *The Reformation Manifesto: Your Part in God's Plan to Change Nations Today* (Minneapolis: Bethany House, 2008); Bill Hamon, *Prophets and Prophecy: Guidelines for Receiving, Understanding, and*

69. Pat Robertson, "A Christian Action Plan for the 1980s," *Biblical Economics Today* 2 (Dec/Jan 1980): C-16.

Mountains with dominion theology and his prophetic-apostolic network for spiritual warfare in his 2008 book, *Dominion! How Kingdom Action Can Change the World*. Among the proponents of Christian nationalism, Lance Wallnau was instrumental for connecting the Seven Mountains agenda with the MAGA movement of Donald Trump.⁷⁶ This role led Taylor to conclude that “Lance Wallnau is the most important evangelical political theologian of the twenty-first century.”⁷⁷

One of the most astounding political developments in relation to Christian nationalism was the coalescing of support among American evangelicals for the candidacy and election of Donald J. Trump as President of the United States.⁷⁸ Kristin Kobes Du Mez documents the growing support for Trump from few early endorsers to a virtual evangelical consensus on his anointing as their “New High Priest.”⁷⁹

Evangelicals were looking for a protector, an aggressive, heroic, manly man, someone who was not restrained by political correctness or feminine virtues, someone who would break the rules for the right cause. Try as they might—and they did try—no other candidate could measure up to Donald Trump when it came to flaunting an aggressive, militant masculinity. He became in the words of his religious biographers, “the ultimate fighting champion for evangelicals.”⁸⁰

None of the reasons Trump might have been repugnant to evangelical Christians proved as important as his potential for furthering their political goal of conquering the Seven Mountains.⁸¹

After his meeting with Trump in September 2015, Wallnau received a revelation from God telling him that “Trump is a Cyrus.”⁸² Just as the restoration of the Jewish people took place through deliverance from the Babylonian Exile by the Persian emperor, Cyrus (called an “anointed one” in Isaiah 45:1), so God has anointed another political leader, Trump, to restore Christians to power in America. Wagner explained:

God is not limited to using Christians to accomplish His purposes. We need only to recall Cyrus, the idolatrous king of Persia, whom God used to help get His people

Fulfilling God's Personal Word to You (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image, 2010); Rebecca Greenwood, *Destined to Rule: Spiritual Strategies for Advancing the Kingdom of God* (Ada, MI: Chosen, 2007); and Dutch Sheets, *Intercessory Prayer: How God Can Use Your Prayers to Move Heaven and Earth* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1996).

76. Lance Wallnau and Bill Johnson, *Invading Babylon: The 7 Mountain Mandate* (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image, 2013).

77. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 171.

78. David Brody and Scott Lamb, *The Faith of Donald J. Trump: A Spiritual Biography* (New York: Broadside Books, 2018).

79. Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne*, 250–271.

80. Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne*, 253. The citation is from Brody and Lamb, *The Faith of Donald Trump*, 260.

81. Lance Wallnau, *God's Chaos Candidate: Donald J. Trump and the American Unraveling* (Keller, TX: Killer Sheep Media, 2016).

82. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 160.

In the subsequent decades, elaborating the Seven Mountains teaching became architecture for the political platform of the Republican Party with Project 2025. This is widely accepted as the consensus agenda by conservative evangelicals and their leaders across a broad spectrum of Christian traditions.

back to Jerusalem... Let me point out that influence is related to spirituality in the Religion Mountain, but this is not true in any of the other six mountains that are the molders of culture. The chief producer [of] influence in the six non-Religion mountains is not spirituality but success.⁸³

In the subsequent decades, elaborating the Seven Mountains teaching became architecture for the political platform of the Republican Party with Project 2025.⁸⁴ This is widely accepted as the consensus agenda by conservative evangelicals and their leaders across a broad spectrum of Christian traditions.

Conquering the Seven Mountains can command militancy under the cover of Scripture: “... until now, the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and violent people take it by force” (Matt 11:12). The argument for an armed populace, including assault weapons, is covered by the Second Amendment. The Bible and Bill of Rights go hand in hand. The roots of paramilitarism in America stretch back to the post-Vietnam era and the white power movement.⁸⁵ Antecedents for the Christian nationalist commitment to violence, if necessary, include the Branch Davidians, Oklahoma City Bombing, and survivalist movement.⁸⁶ The militancy of Christian nationalism manifested itself again in the terror of January 6. Taylor concludes: “If we don’t pay close attention to the theologies, prophecies, decrees, and declarations of the far-right charismatic Christians, we may sleepwalk into

83. Quoted by Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 163.

84. Project 2025, “Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise (Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation, 2023): https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULL.pdf.

85. Kathleen Belew, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

86. Craig L. Nessan, “When Faith Turns Fatal: David Koresh and Tragic Misreadings of Revelation,” *Currents in Theology and Mission* 22 (June 1995):191–199.

another Christianity-influenced insurrection.”⁸⁷

Responding to Christian nationalism

How can ecumenical Christians make a faithful response to the challenges of Christian nationalism? Amanda Tyler, lead organizer of Christians against Christian Nationalism, has articulated an 8-point program.

1. Name and understand the threat of Christian nationalism
2. Ground yourself in God’s love
3. Denounce violence
4. Commit to the separation of church and state
5. Take on Christian nationalism close to home
6. Organize for change
7. Protect religious freedom in public schools
8. Take your place in the public square⁸⁸

Pamela Cooper-White offers psychological insights about those attracted to Christian nationalism and how to talk with them. Once a relationship has been established, it may be possible to look for common ground by maintaining kindness, checking one’s assumptions, and avoiding arguments. Cooper-White acknowledges there are many contextual factors that can inhibit or promote constructive exchanges. While such encounters can be very challenging, they can also be a form of “holy work.”⁸⁹

As Christians prepare themselves to respond to Christian nationalism, some core theological commitments and ministry practices can guide us. Above all, one needs to remain clear that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is the central confession of Christian faith. The doctrine of justification by grace through faith in Christ Jesus needs to center both our own lives and our engagement with others. This Gospel message roots us in God’s mercy, love, forgiveness, and eternal life as a gift we receive, not a political agenda we must enact. This Gospel then sets us free: *free from* political ideology that demands loyalty and *free for* serving our neighbors and an endangered creation through political action and advocacy.

As we reflect on Christian faith convictions, we can turn to the ecumenical creeds, confessions, catechisms, and doctrines we have inherited from our faith ancestors in the Great Tradition. These can serve as standards for evaluating the claims of Christian nationalism and alert us to its distortion of nationalism by turning the nation into an idol.

Jesus also knows those others, the representatives and preachers of the national religion, those powerful, respected people, who stand firmly on the earth inseparably rooted in the national way of life, the spirit

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of the times, the popular piety. But Jesus does not speak to them; he speaks only to his disciples when he says, blessed—for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.⁹⁰

Orthodox Christian teachings offer sound biblical grounding that has been tested by the church over the generations. These teachings include the belief that all human beings are created with value and worth as those made in the image of God, the Great Commandment, the Sermon on the Mount, the parable of the Good Samaritan, and God’s preferential concern for hungry, thirsty, stranger, homeless, sick, and imprisoned (Matt 25:31-46). Such foundational Scripture passages contradict the claims and commitments of Christian nationalism.

As we talk with and care for those who defend and advocate for Christian nationalism, we need to remain centered in our own belovedness in Jesus Christ by relating to others in the spirit of the Gospel. Jesus instructed us to love our enemies and pray for those who persecute us (Matt 5:44). It is better not to engage in arguments or debates. These only foster the polarization that already divides and tears society apart. We are called to respect the dignity of those with whom we disagree for we all are made in God’s image.

In our conversations, we can model civility by accenting the value of relationships over the need to be right. That involves active listening, even though we may hear claims that are difficult to fathom. When discussions devolve into anger and reach an impasse, it is better to conclude the conversation and agree to disagree. Afterward, we can pray for the welfare of others and recenter ourselves in Christian charity. Such engagement can be

87. Taylor, *The Violent Take It by Force*, 240.

88. These are full chapters in Amanda Tyler, *How to End Christian Nationalism* (Minneapolis: Broadleaf, 2024).

89. Pamela Cooper-White, *The Psychology of Christian Nationalism: Why People Are Drawn In and How to Talk Across the Divide* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2022), 136.

90. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Discipleship*, ed. Geoffrey B. Kelly and John D. Godsey, trans. Barbara Green and Reinhard Krauss (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 103.

extremely difficult and exhausting. For that reason, we need to mind our own wellness and tend to our own soul care in prayer, spiritual practices, worship, and Christian community.

Literature on Christian Nationalism: An Annotated Bibliography

Alberta, Tim. *The Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory: American Evangelicals in an Age of Extremism*. New York: Harper, 2023.

This book, written by a journalist who understands evangelical Christianity at the grassroots, portrays how authentic evangelicalism has been compromised and corrupted by political partisanship. The pursuit, exercise, and abuse of political power have exchanged the kingdom of Christ for the lure of worldly influence and contributed to the demise of the evangelical church.

Austin, Michael W. *American Christian Nationalism: Neither American nor Christian*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2024.

The allegiance of Christian nationalists to a Christian nation and Christian culture guide their efforts to gain political power and cultural control to impose their views on all Americans. This agenda is contrary both to American values and Christian virtues. The author articulates an alternative agenda based on Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision of Beloved Community.

Balmer, Randall. *Bad Faith: Race and the Rise of the Religious Right*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2021.

This book, written by a scholar and keen observer of religion in America, analyzes the emergence of the Religious Right in the 1970s as a reaction against the elimination of tax-exempt status for racially discriminatory institutions, not originally against abortion. Rejecting the evangelical Jimmy Carter and rallying loyalty for Ronald Reagan, the evangelical movement shifted its alignment toward Christian nationalism.

Belew, Kathleen. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. Cambridge: Harvard, 2018.

Beginning with the aftermath of the Vietnam War, this book documents the underground leaders and racist commitments behind violent paramilitary groups in the US, including Ruby Ridge, the Branch Davidians at Waco, and the bombing at Oklahoma City.

Boedy, Matthew. *The Seven Mountains Mandate: Exposing the Dangerous Plan to Christianize America and Destroy Democracy*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2025.

This book is a primer on each of the Seven Mountains (education, government, religion, family, business, media, and entertainment) that drive the agenda of Christian nationalism. The author gives attention to major leaders of

this movement, especially to the role of Charlie Kirk and Turning Point. Videos by Boedy are available on each of the seven mountains to summarize the book.

Cooper-White, Pamela. *The Psychology of Christian Nationalism: Why People Are Drawn In and How to Talk Across the Divide*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2022.

This is a study in the psychological dynamics of those who support Christian nationalism. It provides helpful guidance for understanding, relating to, and engaging those involved in the movement. The book offers very practical considerations for dealing with family, friends, and church members influenced by this movement.

Copulsky, Jerome E. *American Heretics: Religious Adversaries of Order*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2024.

This book is a historical study that examines illiberal thinkers (Rushdoony) and movements that for religious reasons opposed American liberal democracy, especially the separation of church and state. Criticizing pluralism and secularism, they anticipated the collapse of an unrighteous nation and looked forward to the founding of a Christian commonwealth.

Denker, Angela. *Disciples of White Jesus: The Radicalization of American Boyhood*. Minneapolis: Broadleaf, 2025.

The radicalization of young white men in America is one of the most disturbing aspects of Christian nationalism. Saving young boys and young men here means making them disciples of White Jesus to validate their worth and condemn all those who disagree. The book describes the digital and physical spaces where this formation is manufactured.

Denker, Angela. *Red State Christians: Understanding the Voters Who Elected Donald Trump*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2019.

Based on extensive interviews with followers of the MAGA movement, especially in those states that voted for Donald Trump, this book portrays the issues (abortion, guns, economics) and populations (farmers, blue collar, evangelicals, conservative Catholics, Muslims, Latinx Christians) that led to his triumph in the 2016 election.

Du Mez, Kristin Kobes. *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation*. New York: Liveright, 2020.

This book explores the politicization of the Religious Right beginning with the 1970s to the MAGA movement, which coalesces around male domination in support for the death penalty, racism, and gender hierarchy, and opposes immigration, gay rights, gun control, and public education. These same commitments also alienate many from evangelical churches.

Fanestil, John. *American Heresy: The Roots and Reach of Christian Nationalism*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2023.

This book explores American history to discover how truth and heresy are intertwined in white Christian nationalism according to six themes: creation (order and violence), providence (destiny and nostalgia), salvation (progress and white racism), truth (innovation and propaganda), liberty (independence and conspiracy theories), and virtue (patriotism and nationalism).

Field, Laura K. *Furious Minds: The Making of the MAGA New Right*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2025.

This book chronicles the rise of the New Right and the intellectuals directing the ideology behind the MAGA agenda (Project 2025), including Patrick Deneen, Christopher Rufo, Peter Thiel, and J. D. Vance. The furious minds of the New Right use state power to wage culture war against liberal democracy and those supporting it in universities, journalism, public media, and international institutions.

Geivett, R. Douglas and Holly Pivec. *The New Apostolic Reformation? A Biblical Response to a Worldwide Movement*. Wooster, OH: Weaver Book Company, 2014.

This book provides an evangelical appraisal, based on Scripture, of the origin, leaders, writings, and claims of the New Apostolic Reformation, especially its views on apostles and prophets, and their role in leading spiritual warfare, working miracles, and organizing for political action.

Gorski, Philip S. and Samuel L. Perry. *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022.

This book traces the rise of Christian nationalism over several decades as it became a religious force upholding right-wing politics and the MAGA takeover of the Republican Party. The white Christian nationalist worldview—with its commitments to authoritarian leadership, exclusionary racism, and the use of violence—is an acute threat to democracy as demonstrated by the January 6 insurrection and its aftermath.

Jones, Robert P. *The End of White Christian America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016.

The author analyzes survey data about demographic changes that project the future minority status of white Americans that are raising fear and anxiety about family, race, culture, and religion. This research is foundational to understanding key factors in the rise of Christian nationalism.

Looper, Joel. *Another Gospel: Christian Nationalism and the Crisis of Evangelical Identity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2024.

Politicized evangelicals follow a gospel of anti-democratic nationalism and cultural conservatism that displaces the church as the focus of Christian mission. In contrast to Christian nationalism in Putin's Russia, the way forward involves a return to the evangelical vision of community centered in Jesus Christ and guided by the Holy Spirit.

McVicar, Michael. *Christian Reconstruction: R. J. Rushdoony and American Religious Conservatism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2015.

This book offers a critical introduction to Christian Reconstructionism (also known as Dominionism) and its founder and theological architect, Rousas John Rushdoony (1916–2001). Rushdoony helped set the agenda of the radical Christian Right, advocating for theocracy and rule by Christian law in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches to “reconstruct” individuals under Christian governance.

Miller, Paul D. *The Religion of American Greatness: What's Wrong with Christian Nationalism*. Grand Rapids: IVP Academic, 2022.

While nationalism has a long tradition in American history, the phenomenon of Christian nationalism is an entirely new manifestation, seeking to elevate American greatness at the expense of following democratic process and respecting political differences. This is a careful and balanced critique from a conservation perspective.

Nessan, Craig L. and Angela Denker. “Declaring Independence from Christian Nationalism.” Theme Issue of *Currents in Theology and Mission* 53 (July 2026): www.currentsjournal.org

This issue engages Christian nationalism through historical, theological, biblical, and anthropological perspectives. The authors criticize the racist, antidemocratic, and exploitative politics fueled by Christian nationalist ideology that distorts interpretation of the Bible and theology to support authoritarian rule in the United States.

Onishi, Bradley. *Preparing for War: The Extremist History of White Christian Nationalism—And What Comes Next*. Minneapolis: Broadleaf, 2023.

This book introduces Christian nationalism within the history of right-wing politics and the takeover of the Republican Party. The author relates this history to the white Christian nationalist worldview, authoritarian leadership, and strongman masculinity to analyze the January 6 insurrection and its aftermath.

Stackhouse Jr., John G. *Christian Nationalism: A Christian Guide*. New Brunswick: ThinkBetter Media, 2025.

This is a book for Christians about the meaning of citizenship and patriotism with reference to the United States and Canada. It engages in discussion of the dangers of theocracy in general terms, not the current debate about Christian nationalism.

Stewart, Katherine. *Money, Lies, and God: Inside the Movement to Destroy American Democracy*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2025.

This book investigates how money, lies, and religion inform an antidemocratic coalition engaged in conspiracy theories, backroom political strategies, and building extremist churches. Massive increases in economic inequality and dislocation have fueled the turn toward “reactionary nihilism” led by an authoritarian oligarchy that threatens the future of American democracy.

Stewart, Katherine. *The Power Worshipers: Inside the Rise of Religious Nationalism*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2020.

With singleness of purpose, religious nationalism has zeroed in on polarizing issues and done whatever was politically necessary to achieve its goals: distorting truth, rewriting history, and brokering deals with morally corrupt politicians. Mastering state rights, reviving the racist ghosts of the confederacy, conquering Supreme Court appointments, and sacrificing democracy for theocracy—nothing was out of order to achieve power.

Taylor, Matthew D. *The Violent Take It by Force: The Christian Movement That Is Threatening Our Democracy*. Minneapolis: Broadleaf, 2024.

This is a meticulously researched and detailed study of the figures and events involved in the New Apostolic Reformation, Seven Mountains Mandate, and spiritual warfare leading to the January 6 insurrection and its aftermath. Taylor references all the major figures and events leading the Christian nationalist movement.

Tyler, Amanda. *How to End Christian Nationalism*. Minneapolis: Broadleaf, 2024.

Tyler is the lead organizer of the Christians Against Christian Nationalism campaign. She provides eight steps to end Christian nationalism: 1) understand the threat, 2) center in God’s love, 3) denounce violence, 4) preserve separation of church and state, 5) work locally, 6) organize for change, 7) safeguard religious freedom in public schools, and 8) advocate publicly.

Wallis, Jim. *The False White Gospel: Rejecting Christian Nationalism, Reclaiming True Faith, and Refounding Democracy*. New York: St. Martin’s Essentials, 2024.

This book makes an energetic case for rejecting Christian nationalism based on white supremacy as its major tenet. The author provides an alternative understanding of genuine Christian faith that can contribute to the rebuilding of democracy.

Whitehead, Andrew L. *American Idolatry: How Christian Nationalism Betrays the Gospel and Threatens the Church*. Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2023.

This book aims to disentangle authentic discipleship in Jesus Christ from those who claim that civic life should be organized according to the ideology of Christian nationalism. It is informed by the author’s interactions with people and organizations who struggle to distinguish authentic Christian faith from American idolatry.

Whitehead, Andrew L. and Samuel L. Perry. *Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States*. New York: Oxford, 2020.

The authors base their study of Christian nationalism on a wide range of survey data and in-depth interviews to investigate American views on key issues—gun control, immigration, political protests, religious diversity, gender roles, and family life, among others—to analyze political commitments, voting trends, and the religious movement to make America first.

Wolfe, Stephen. *The Case for Christian Nationalism*. Moscow, ID: Canon Press, 2023.

This is an unapologetic argument for Christian nationalism. Wolfe contends that a Christian nation governed by Christian leaders and implementing civil laws according to Christian culture promise renewal for America, the procurement of both earthly and heavenly good. This book makes the case for Christian nationalism by a loyalist to the cause.