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Review

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tion levels quickly skyrocketed, and relations between parents and children became more instrumental and egalitarian.

Integration into a money economy also changed the consumption patterns of Oberland villagers in a more individualistic and cosmopolitan direction, much to the dismay of local Zwinglian ministers. To be sure, the first stages of protoindustrialization had been accompanied by a heavy dose of the Protestant work ethic, inculcated by ministers concerned with the breakdown of morality and by clothiers who demanded greater output. Eventually, however, work discipline itself opened the way for a nascent consumer culture which gradually spread from the increasingly prosperous clothiers to the ordinary cottage workers whom they employed. Rising family incomes and the newfound availability of exotic foreign goods like wine, sugar, potatoes, fashionable clothing, and strong coffee all awakened new tastes, excited new aspirations, and began to stimulate their own demand. Without ever leaving the traditional household family economy, women, in particular, were empowered to assert greater independence as they were fully integrated into productive, money-making work.

In this argument Braun emphasizes cultural consensus to a greater extent than his own evidence allows. Particularly toward the end of the eighteenth century, when textile markets fluctuated and food prices increased, the precariously balanced culture of the protoindustrial Oberland seems to have come unraveled as cottagers were reduced en masse to poverty and subjected to intermittent bouts of widespread unemployment. Though many seem to have responded with despair and resignation, class tensions with employers also significantly increased. In the end this bleak picture was further darkened by the appearance of the factory, which finally destroyed the last vestiges of the protoindustrial household economy, while simultaneously laying the foundations upon which a new social order could subsequently be built.

Notwithstanding its occasional lapses and shortcomings, Braun's book stands the test of time remarkably well. Given the profusion of excellent scholarship which has accumulated in his aftermath, all enriched by the benefit of his pioneering work, it would be only natural if the forerunner had been superseded as, in his new introduction, Braun himself suspects. Set alongside Levine's sophisticated demographic studies, Berg, Hudson, and Sonenscher's detailed economic analyses, or Kriedte, Medick, and Schlumbohm's bold theoretical forays, this book does look a trifle amateurish by contrast. Yet, if Braun has been surpassed on particular topics, his work still constitutes the richest exploration of protoindustrial culture, the most painstaking inquiry into its regional context, and the most satisfying case study of a protoindustrial community as a whole.

Theodore KODITSCHKEK, *University of Missouri—Columbia*

Walter CAPPS. *The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism, and Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990. 241 pages. \$12.95 paper.

The New Religious Right (NRR) is not a sinister monolith; it is instead a complex cloth woven with colorful strands of pentecostalism on a warp of fundamentalist militancy and dogmatics. It is a "neonationalist" revitalization movement, says Capps. The NRR equates biblical history, prophecies, and taboos with America's "organic" Constitution, with its mythology as God's chosen people, and with its presumed Manifest Destiny. NRR social criticism is grounded in a sense of man's utter depravity. Hence, like all conservatism, it takes up arms against the optimistic creed of enlightenment humanism. Unlike European brands of conservatism, however, the NRR is infused with the bloody imagery of millenarianism. The NRR is Protestant evangelism gone political.

The balance of this book details the backgrounds and ignominious fates of five pivotal carriers of the NRR and the organizations they founded: Jerry Falwell (Moral Majority), Presbyterian theologian Francis Schaeffer, Pat Robertson (700 Club), Jim and Tammy Bakker (PTL), and the three reverends Robert Jones and their namesake university. These are associated with Oral Roberts, Jimmy Swaggart, Paul Weyrich, and others of less notoriety, such as Jessica Hahn and Oliver North. Capps does not address the more violent and fanatical element of the NRR like the Idaho-based Church of Jesus Christ Christian (Aryan Nations), but even without this we are reminded of what is still possible to achieve in America with the proper mix of righteous conviction, entrepreneurial audacity, and pure humbug. We are also retaught the pitfalls of overweening pride: public "misstatements" (Robertson), embarrassing hyperbole (Falwell),

sexual scandal and criminal fraud (Bakker), “moral failure” (Swaggart), and simple dishonesty (Roberts).

Capps convincingly shows why the NRR is doomed to fail. Its fusion of Christian with Patriot is exegetically incorrect and unfaithful to historical fact (the most notable Founding Fathers were anti-clerical, free-thinking Masons, or if church-goers, nonfundamentalists); it is too sectarian to appeal to a heterogeneous American population; and it is self-defeating (core Christianity does not seek so much to remake the world as to save us from it). It has nevertheless reinvigorated an essential element of American civil religion, introducing to it new communications media, clothing fashions, music, and newspapers, cultural criticism, educational institutions, political action groups, social service agencies, and think tanks.

In his classic history of American right-wing resurgence, *The Politics of Unreason*, Lipset argued that evangelical Protestantism is only “cultural baggage” employed by those whose reactionary extremism is caused by status insecurity. While Capps is evidently unaware of this theory, his data refute it. Those spearheading the NRR are not undergoing downward mobility and increasing marginality. Protestant evangelism has “always” and “perennially” been marginalized, says Capps. On the contrary, the biographies of NRR leaders reflect the muscular enthusiasm of the newly empowered white middle class of the American Southeast and Sun Belt states. If anything, the NRR of the 1980s confirms the theory of rising expectations.

This readable, thought-provoking book is recommended for public and undergraduate libraries, for scholars of extremism who prefer something more than statistics, and for lay readers ready to move beyond moral condemnation of or apologies for the extremist right. Although theologically and politically a liberal, Capps succeeds in placing himself in the shoes of his subjects, seeing the world as they do.

James AHO, *Idaho State University*

Greg RUSSELL. *Hans J. Morgenthau and the Ethics of American Statecraft.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990. 258 pages. \$27.50.

Several studies have recently appeared on the thoughts and lives of cold war scholars such as Reinhold Niebuhr and George Kennan. Greg Russell's work focuses on an often neglected but equally important scholar, Hans Morgenthau. Russell's work is not biographical. Its purpose is to discuss the complex interplay of idealism and realism in foreign policy from Morgenthau's perspective. Morgenthau's role as a leader of the realistic school of diplomacy and critic of cold war foreign policy provide interesting material for Russell. Russell relies primarily on Morgenthau's publications for his material making this work a compilation of Morgenthau's thoughts as presented in his books. Russell rarely cites private documents and provides no interviews with contemporaries, leaving Morgenthau's personal relationship to his ideas unexplored.

Morgenthau accepted the complex interplay between the idealism embodied in moral goals and the reality of national self-preservation but felt moral crusading, regardless of the consequences, was dangerous. As a realist, Morgenthau “deplored the tendency of idealists . . . to sacrifice prudent calculations of American national interest for the promotion of moral absolutes.” The primary concern of statecraft must be maintaining the health and vitality of the nation, with idealist causes playing a secondary role. When idealism and reality conflict in the international arena, expedience demands sacrifice of idealism for the safety of the nation. Morgenthau argued national leadership must calculate the costs of moral crusading and limit these activities, particularly in the bipolar nuclear age. Fighting for ideals not shared by the rest of the world is at best political hubris and at worst self-destructive. Morgenthau's criticism of certain cold war policies, such as Vietnam, exhibit his belief that America often sacrificed national strength for abstract moral causes of limited value. Russell's explanation of Morgenthau's views are quite enlightening, but readers may question whether Russell became too close to his subject.

Russell's avoidance of political science jargon is laudable, but the structure of the book sometimes presents abrupt shifts in focus. The first chapter, which discusses the development of diplomatic realism, is particularly contrived and out of place in this monograph. In contrast, Russell's linkage of Morgenthau's ideas with contemporary issues in the final chapters is succinct. These chapters represent the strongest part of the book. Morgenthau's ideas and the questions they raise are particularly pertinent as we embark on a “just war” in the Persian Gulf