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Review

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The speeches are placed in chronological order organized into eight parts defined by the occasion or the era, covering the funeral eulogies, Lincoln the Emancipator, the pride of his party, the centennial birthday celebrations, the birthplace ceremonies, the dedication of the Lincoln memorial, international recognition and the current mystique.

In addition to his thoughtful opening essay on the significance of the Lincoln eulogies, editor Waldo Braden provides an introduction to each of the eight parts, furnishing historic details about the context of the speeches. Thus for part one, the funeral eulogies, he supplies an account of the nation in mourning and the complete itinerary of the funeral train. For part seven on international recognition, he sets the stage with information about the recent Lincoln conference in Taiwan, and the traveling Lincoln exhibit in Japan. The significance of the birthplace celebration speeches of Teddy Roosevelt, William Borah and Woodrow Wilson is established with an account of the initial dismantling of the birthplace cabin, its display around the country, a description of the memorial now housing it, and the fact that hundreds of thousands visit it annually.

Each speech is preceded by Braden's commentary on the nature and expectations of the audience, and the problems, techniques and themes of the speaker. In his preface to Booker T. Washington's speech to the Republican Club of the City of New York in 1909, we learn that Washington was the first black speaker invited, are reminded of the potency of the racial prejudice he must have faced and are given insight into his rhetorical strategy. In the preface to William Howard Taft's address at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, Braden places Taft among a long line of orators who used religious symbolism to glorify Lincoln. Braden also provides biographical notes about each of the eulogists and a selected bibliography.

Braden has chosen wisely. In this collection are represented all the major themes of the Lincoln mystique: the Western frontier man, the prototypical American, the spokesman for the new world democracy, heaven's sainted minister, the Moses who led his people out of slavery, the Christ-like savior of the republic of freedom, the symbol of national reconciliation and aspiration. Students of history, culture and rhetoric, and especially all Lincoln devotees will want to place this collection in their libraries.

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WALTER H. CAPPS, *The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism, and Politics* (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 1990), 241 + pp. \$24.95 (ISBN 0-87249-607-4).

This book provides an "account" of the "New Religious Right," identified by Professor Walter H. Capps as a "movement" with impact on contemporary politics.

A preface and first chapter introduce the topic, and a final chapter pulls several strands together in “drawing the composite picture.” The five middle chapters make up the bulk of the book, each of them describing part of the New Religious Right mosaic. Those five chapters are organized around key charismatic figures, leaders of different constituencies of the Religious Right. That is a plan that makes sense given the marriage between the most of the Religious Right and television, with its focus on talking heads and personable characters.

The case studies in the five middle chapters are well chosen, representing a wide range of beliefs, styles, and public exposure among the constituencies of the New Religious Right. Capps first examines Jerry Falwell, mainly in the context of his pastorate at the Thomas Road Baptist Church and of his leadership of Liberty University. Falwell’s involvement in the Jim and Tammy Bakker imbroglio is also studied. The next chapter is about Francis Schaeffer, a lesser-known but influential intellectual pillar of the Religious Right. The fourth chapter of the book reviews the attempts of Bob Jones University to maintain both its federal tax-exempt status and its policy of racial segregation. This chapter is based on the court case that the University lost, and on the reactions of its officials and the Jones family to that loss. Chapter five concerns the Bakkers, Jim and Tammy, and covers largely the familiar ground of the collapse of their religious empire. Finally, the 1988 campaign for the presidency by evangelist Pat Robertson is studied.

Capps, speaking from his background in religion and as a Professor of Religious Studies at Santa Barbara, takes the stance of an *interpreter* of the New Religious Right, treating both their words and actions as a text in need of explanation. His method is based on a combination of personal observation from one-site visits (especially in the case of Falwell and Bob Jones University) and examination of public statements, news reports, books (especially for Schaeffer), and other available documents. He presents his “five narrative accounts” in what he himself describes as a “markedly anecdotal style.” That style is very readable without becoming flip or colloquial.

In terms of content, the book identifies some themes that are shared across most of the constituencies of the New Religious Right. One of the more interesting aspects of the Religious Right’s political agenda that Capps explores is the idea of paradox or contradiction. One source of contradiction is that many of the Right’s constituencies are, theologically, at odds with one another: fundamentalists and charismatics, for instance. Another source of contradiction is that many of those same constituencies have historically made a virtue of being a minority, out of the political arena or actively persecuted by the powers that be—yet they have recently made active bids to enter that political arena in strength, and even claim to be a *majority* (a Moral Majority, at that) of the electorate. Overall, however, Capps does not generate any startling new conclusions, nor does he construct any complicated theoretical structure to explain his subject. Because the level of content is not abstract or esoteric, and because the style is so readable and anecdotal, the book would be a good choice for an advanced undergraduate or a graduate class, as well as for general reading.

Alas for the time constraints of academic publishing! Capps’s book was published in 1990, but it must have been written a couple of years before that. One could

complain that the New Religious Right has gone out of style with Reagan; indeed, George Bush is not even mentioned in the book. Whether the Religious Right maintains the influence today that it did during the period in which Capps researched it is open to question. One might also argue whether Capps's subject matter is in fact a unified one. The paradox of so many strange theological bedfellows cohabiting for political reasons should also serve as a warning: perhaps there is *not* a single, unified movement called the New Religious Right. After reading Capps's description of Bob Jones, under attack by Reagan's Justice Department, branding Jerry Falwell a tool of Satan, one is led to wonder whether there is enough unity among these constituencies to justify calling them *a* movement.

Taking the stance of an interpreter, Capps is also opinionated, in the most constructive possible way. He articulates reasoned judgments of his subject matter, and pulls no punches while yet remaining civil and fair. That stance should stimulate similar commitments and hard thinking from students and from the general reading public.

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MICHAEL J. COHEN, *Truman and Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 342 + pp. \$24.95 hardcover (ISBN 0-520-06804-1).

Harry Truman's link to Israel was, to stretch a metaphor—a shotgun wedding, according to this study that examines a significant turning point in U.S.-Middle East relations. On May 14, 1948, President Truman, overruling State Department advice and ignoring Arab sensitivities, granted swift U.S. recognition to the nascent state of Israel. But he did not want to do it, expounds author Michael J. Cohen. Truman's action was "a wise acceptance of the inevitable." As Cohen demonstrates, the President's decision to recognize Israel sprang from a "unique conjunction of circumstances": British refusal to accept his proposal that they admit 100,000 destitute, post-Holocaust European Jews into British-controlled Palestine, and failure of the U.S. Congress to lower its immigration barriers to displaced Jews, fueled and extended the debate over the legitimacy of Zionist claims to a Jewish homeland. As the debate stretched on, influential pro-Zionist presidential insiders (particularly White House staffers David Niles and Max Lowenthal, and HST's Kansas City friends Eddie Jacobson and Abe Granoff) helped mute anti-Zionist voices within the Truman Administration. Perhaps more important, Jewish military victories over Arabs in the Palestine civil war (that erupted following a United Nations vote favoring partition there) "nullified" diplomatic efforts to divide Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab provinces. Additional Jewish triumphs (wherein by early 1949 the Israelis had consolidated their position by defeating the armies of five Arab nations) palliated Truman's great fear that following British relinquishment of its Palestine mandate