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George H. Nash: The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Study Guide

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**GEORGE H. NASH: THE CONSERVATIVE
INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT IN AMERICA
STUDY GUIDE, 2003
Steven Alan Samson**

CHAPTER ONE: THE REVOLT OF THE LIBERTARIANS

Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (1-3)
 - 1. 1945: Victory and Foreboding
 - 2. Bleak 1930s
 - 3. Domestic Superstate
 - 4. Dejection
 - 5. No Lost Cause
- B. TWO ÉMIGRÉ SCHOLARS (3-10)
 - 1. **Friedrich Hayek's *Road to Serfdom*** (1944)
 - a. Central Planning
 - b. **Collectivism Inherently Totalitarian**
 - 2. Classical Liberalism
 - a. Spontaneous Forces
 - b. Rule of Law
 - c. Interventions
 - 3. Response to *The Road to Serfdom*
 - 4. Distribution: *Reader's Digest* Condensation
 - 5. Reviews
 - 6. Reasons for the Left's Malaise
 - 7. Reaction of the Right
 - 8. **Ludwig von Mises**
 - a. Carl Menger and the **Austrian School** of Economics
 - 9. Great Migration
 - 10. *Omnipotent Government and Bureaucracy* (1944)
 - a. Centrality of Private Property
 - b. Étatism (Statism)
 - 11. Reactions
 - 12. *Human Action* (1949): Mises's Praxeology
- C. DISSENTERS (10-16)
 - 1. **Journalists**: Henry Hazlitt, John Chamberlain, Isabel Paterson, Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn, Felix Morley
 - 2. University of Chicago Economists (**Chicago School**): Henry C. Simons, Frank H. Knight
 - 3. Absence of a Movement
 - 4. **Albert Jay Nock** (and Ralph Adams Cram)
 - a. The **Remnant** ("Isaiah's Job")
 - 5. Nock's Influence: Nisbet, Kirk, Opitz, Chamberlain, Buckley
 - 6. Nock's Appeal
 - a. Passionate Anti-Statism
 - b. Stoic, Aristocratic Pose
 - 7. **Frank Chodorov**
 - 8. Henry George School
 - 9. *analysis*
 - a. Doctrine of Natural Rights

10. Trenchant and Sophisticated Classical Liberal Literature
 11. Hayek's *Individualism and Economic Order* (1948)
 12. **Henry Regnery**, Devin-Adair (Devin Garrity), and Caxton
 13. Networks of Influence
 14. Mobilization of the Remnant
- D. INSTITUTIONS (17-25)
1. **Foundation for Economic Education (FEE)**
 2. **Leonard Read**
 - a. W. C. Mullendore
 - b. Radical Nostrums
 3. Pamphleteers, Inc.
 - a. **Frederic Bastiat's *The Law*** (1850)
 - b. Need for a Freedom Philosophy
 4. FEE Established
 5. Mont Pélerin Society
 - a. **Walter Lippmann's *The Good Society*** (1937)
 - b. International Colloquium, 1938
 - c. Initial Conference, 1947
 6. ***The Freeman*** and *American Mercury*
 7. Spiritual Mobilization and **Edmund Opitz**
 8. Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (now **Intercollegiate Studies Institute**)
 - a. Frank Chodorov and **William F. Buckley, Jr.**
- E. NEW PLATEAU (25-29)
1. *National Review* Founded, 1955
 2. Hayek's *Capitalism and the Historians*
 3. Divided Movement
 - a. Differences over the Scope of Government and Religious values
 - b. **Wilhelm Röpke's** Neo-Liberalism (Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn)
 4. Two Factors in Classical Liberalism's Successful Revival

CHAPTER TWO: THE REVOLT AGAINST THE MASSES

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- A. TRADITIONALIST WING (30-42)
1. **Richard M. Weaver**
 2. Weaver's Intellectual Odyssey
 3. Features of the Southern Tradition
 4. South's Ethical Claim
 5. ***Ideas Have Consequences*** (1948)
 - a. William of Occam's **Nominalism**
 6. The Consequences of the Revolution in Ideas
 7. **Maladies of the West**
 - a. Egalitarianism and the Cult of the Mass
 - b. Egotism, the Great Stereopticon, and the Spoiled-Child Psychology
 - c. Absence of an Integrated World Picture
 8. Proposals for Reforms: Property, Language, and Piety
 9. Reactions
 10. Comparison with Hayek
 - a. Review by Herbert J. Muller
 11. Disagreements over the True Significance of Totalitarianism
 12. August Hecksher's *A Pattern of Politics* (1947): Lack of Moral Content
 13. Gordon Keith Chalmers's *The Republic and the Person* (1952): Semantics
 14. **John Hallowell**: Positivism

15. Cult of the Common Man
16. **Bernard Iddings Bell**
17. Anthony Harrigan: Modernist Code of Immorality
18. John Dewey's Progressive Education
 - a. Dewey's Critics
19. **Eliseo Vivas**
20. Key to the Conservative Complaint: Liberal Complicity in Moral Decline
- B. ÉMIGRÉ SCHOLARS AND OTHERS (42-49)
 1. **Eric Voegelin**: Gnosticism
 - a. ***The New Science of Politics*** (1952)
 2. Revival of Gnostic Speculation in Scotus Eriugena
 3. Joachim of Flora: "Immanentization of the Eschaton"
 4. Reformation as a Revolutionary Eruption
 5. **Leo Strauss**
 6. Critique of Thomas Hobbes
 7. ***Natural Right and History*** (1952): Natural Rights Theories, Positivism, Historicism
 8. **Robert Nisbet's *The Quest for Community*** (1953)
 - a. Centralized Territorial State and the Ersatz Community
 - b. Theory of the Total State
 - c. **Vacuum Theory of Totalitarianism**
 9. **John Hallowell's *Main Currents of Modern Thought*** (1950)
 - a. Conscience, Keystone of Liberalism, Corroded by Positivism
 - b. Liberalism, Formed in a Christian Matrix, Despised Its Inherited Cultural Capital
 10. **J. L. Talmon: *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy*** (1952)
 11. Lord Percy of Newcastle: *The Heresy of Democracy* (1955)
 12. Albert Salomon: *The Tyranny of Progress* (1955)
 13. **Peter Viereck**: Blood and Iron Nationalism
 14. Features of Conservative Historiography
 - a. Repudiation of Optimistic Theories of History
 - b. Focus on Intellectual History
 - c. Intellectuals Had Created the Masses
 15. Goal: Recovering the Great Tradition

CHAPTER THREE: THE RECOVERY OF TRADITION AND VALUES

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- A. TRADITIONALIST CONSERVATISM (50-61)
 1. Counter-Enlightenment
 - a. **New Humanists**
 - b. **Southern Agrarians**
 2. Intellectual Barrenness
 3. Revival of Interest and Belief in Christianity
 - a. C. S. Lewis
 - b. C. E. M. Joad
 - c. Ernest van den Haag's Pragmatic View
 - d. Douglas Hyde
 - e. William F. Buckley, Jr.
 - f. John Hallowell
 - g. Richard Weaver

- h. Eliseo Vivas
 - i. Bernard Iddings Bell
 - 4. Medieval Cast of Mind
 - a. Richard Weaver
 - b. John Hallowell
 - c. Frederick Wilhelmsen
 - 5. Revival of Traditional Christianity
 - a. Eric Voegelin
 - b. H. Stuart Hughes
 - 6. Ancient or Classical Political Philosophy
 - a. Leo Strauss
 - b. Battle of the Books
 - 7. **Natural Law**
 - a. John Hallowell
 - b. Karl Popper vs. Plato
 - c. John Hallowell and John Wild in Defense
 - d. Weaver's Ethics of Rhetoric
 - e. Walter Lippmann
 - 8. **Alexis de Tocqueville**
 - a. *Democracy in America*
 - 9. **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn**
 - a. *Liberty or Equality*
 - b. Totalitarianism
 - 10. **Peter Viereck**
 - a. Defense Against "Communazis"
 - b. *Conservatism Revisited*
 - c. Conservative Values
 - d. Metternich
 - 11. **Edmund Burke**
 - a. Ross J. S. Hoffman
 - b. Crane Brinton
 - c. Peter Viereck
- B. **RUSSELL KIRK (61-68)**
 - 1. *The Conservative Mind*
 - 2. The South
 - 3. Drifting
 - 4. Drafted into the Army
 - 5. Four Sins of Public Education
 - 6. Six Canons of Conservatism
 - 7. Full-Scale Challenge to Modernity
 - 8. Response to *The Conservative Mind*
 - 9. Reviews
 - a. Gordon Keith Chalmers
 - b. Whittaker Chambers
 - 10. Deeper Trends
 - 11. American Thinkers
 - a. Francis Graham Wilson
 - b. Daniel Boorstin
- C. **NEW CONSERVATISM (68-73)**
 - 1. **Peter Viereck**
 - 2. Differences with Classical Liberal Revival
 - a. Academic Setting
 - b. European Orientation
 - c. Lack of Parochialism: Reinforcing Factors
 - 1) Outside Perspective
 - 2) Émigrés

3. Thomas Molnar
4. Catholics
 - a. Catholic Bashing
5. Traditionalist vs. Libertarian Conservatives
 - a. Peter Viereck
 - b. Kirk's Critique of Mises
 - c. Robert Nisbet
6. Bonds Linking Them
 - a. Albert Jay Nock
7. The Gap
8. Conservative Resurgence

CHAPTER FOUR: NIGHTMARE IN RED