


2003

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

Steven Alan Samson

*Liberty University, [ssamson@liberty.edu](mailto:ssamson@liberty.edu)*

Follow this and additional works at: [http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov\\_fac\\_pubs](http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov_fac_pubs)

 Part of the [Other Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#), [Political Science Commons](#), and the [Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Samson, Steven Alan, "George H. Nash: The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Study Guide" (2003). *Faculty Publications and Presentations*. Paper 161.

[http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov\\_fac\\_pubs/161](http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/gov_fac_pubs/161)

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Helms School of Government at DigitalCommons@Liberty University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Publications and Presentations by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@Liberty University. For more information, please contact [scholarlycommunication@liberty.edu](mailto:scholarlycommunication@liberty.edu).

**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

### Outline

- 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

### Outline

- 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**