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

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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

C. DISSENTERS (10-16)
   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 Pèlerin 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)
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

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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
9. Reactions
10. Comparison with Hayek
    a. Review by Herbert J. Muller
11. Disagreements over the True Significance of Totalitarianism
12. August Heckscher’s *A Pattern of Politics* (1947): Lack of Moral Content
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   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

   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
   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
      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)

   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
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
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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)
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   b. European Orientation
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      2) Émigrés
3. Thomas Molnar
4. Catholics
   a. Catholic Bashing
5. Traditionalist vs. Libertarian Conservatives
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   b. Kirk's Critique of Mises
   c. Robert Nisbet
   a. Albert Jay Nock
7. The Gap
8. Conservative Resurgence

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