

Is Christianity Necessarily Conservative?



By Dick Jones

cover illustration by Krieg Barrie from *World Magazine*, June 18, 2011

“But there are some principles which we may safely inculcate in you, because whatever else may change these cannot change...the principles of truth and righteousness are eternal as their divine legislator. These must be upheld....”
(Robert Louis Dabney—1882)

Prologue

Defining conservatism is no small thing. There is no single, succinct definition that all who see themselves as conservatives would endorse without caveats. Nevertheless, there are certain characteristics and objectives which are emblematic of conservatism. The principles and fundamental premises which are generally understood to form the conservative world-and-life view have been present throughout human history. The purpose of this study will be to consider American conservatism and its relationship to the Christian world-and-life view, especially since the Second World War. American conservatism did not emerge as a self-conscious movement until the early 1950’s.¹

One author explains that conservatism is the “adherence to a political disposition that tends to prefer the status quo and accepts change only in moderation.” He goes on to attribute the conservative’s desire to resist change to the potential to lose wealth and property. This implicitly connects conservatism with the wealthy. While there is some element of truth to this assertion, it ignores the core presuppositions which conservatives usually share, most of which have more to do with metaphysical, moral, or ultimate questions.²

American conservatism is often associated with Edmond Burke (1729-1797), the British politician who authored what many believe to be

¹ Allitt, Patrick N., *The Conservative Tradition*, lecture.

² Shafritz, Jay M., *The HarperCollins Dictionary of American Government and Politics*, New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1992: 139.

“conservatism’s founding document,” *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. The theme of his book is captured in his statement, “It is with infinite caution that any man ought to venture upon pulling down an edifice which has answered in any tolerable degree for ages the common purposes of society.” Edmond Burke had a profound influence on a significant figure in American conservatism after World War II—Russell Kirk.³

The characteristic common to virtually all English and American conservatives is “the belief that human nature is the way it is and it is not going to be transformed” through social, governmental, or educational manipulations. Orthodox Christians would call this *condition* original sin. Not all conservatives would be comfortable with that phrase, though it is fundamental to orthodox Christianity. However, most would agree that there is a sinful or destructive propensity in man that is explained by the doctrine of original sin. The corruption of the nature of man is determinative in substantially limiting any moral progress he may make. This is true for men individually and it is true for collections of individuals. Another way to understand this is by recognizing that the belief that the world is not perfect and it is not perfectible is inherently conservative. In fact, conservatives would maintain that “efforts to make the world perfect may do more harm than good.”⁴

³ *Ibid*, p. 139.

⁴ Allitt, *op. cit.*

Introduction

One might pose the question: Is Christianity necessarily conservative? A comprehensive answer to this question will be attempted below. The short answer is *yes*. Orthodox Christianity is necessarily conservative in its epistemology, which rests finally on specially revealed propositional truths regarding God, man, and the nature of creation. Even that which is revealed to all men generally in and through nature moves men toward conservative presuppositions. Man's subordinate position to God the Creator and his duty to God are known to all men. Notwithstanding this knowledge, man is unable and unwilling to respond in a manner consonant with what is evident to him. The farther he moves from this knowledge, the less conservative he becomes. The Apostle Paul explained in his letter to the church in Rome:

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who suppress the truth in unrighteousness, because that which is known about God is evident within them; for God made it evident to them. For since the creation of the world His invisible attributes, His eternal power and divine nature, have been clearly seen, being understood through what has been made, so that they are without excuse. For even though they knew God, they did not honor Him as God or give thanks, but they became futile in their speculations, and their foolish heart was darkened...And just as they did not see fit to acknowledge God any longer, God gave them over to a depraved mind, to do those things which are not proper... (Rom. 1:18-21, 28—NAS)

Christianity is also conservative in its centripetal effect on the lives of individuals, families, communities, culture, and society at large. The Apostle Paul explained this in his letter to the church in Colossae, in which he writes of Christ, “And he is before all things, and in him all things *hold together*” (ESV). It conserves and preserves the best that man can hope to achieve.

Russell Kirk wrote, “Belief in a transcendent order, or body of natural law, which rules society as well as conscience” is a fundamental principle of conservatism.⁵ Centuries before, Sir Edward Coke had written,

“Law of nature is that which God at the time of creation of the nature of man infused into his heart, for his preservation and direction; and this is *lex aeterna*, the moral law, called also the law of nature.”⁶

Note especially the phrase “preservation and direction,” which alludes to the conserving effect of conformity to “the transcendent order” of creation.

As a fundamental premise, the orthodox Christian faith insists on a transcendent basis for creation. That transcendence is provided by God, who exists before, over, and beyond the universe which He created. John wrote of this in Revelation:

⁵ Kirk, Russell, *The Conservative Mind*, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1999:8

⁶ Sandoz, Ellis, *Republicanism, Religion, and the Soul of America*: Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2006:59.

“Worthy are you, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honor and power, for you created all things, and by your will they existed and were created” (ESV).

The Psalmist wrote:

“The Lord has established his throne in the heavens, and his Kingdom rules over all” (ESV).

Recorded in the book of Job, God asks questions which ought to be considered by any who would challenge the sovereign transcendent position God holds over His creation:

“Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?...Who set its measurement?...Or who stretched the line on it? On what were its bases sunk? Or who laid the cornerstone when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy? Or who enclosed the sea with doors...have you ever in your life commanded the morning and caused the dawn to know its place...have you understood the expanse of the earth? Tell me, if you know all this” (NAS).

The Anglican parish priest Richard Hooker explained that “the universe is pervaded by laws which are natural...natural law...divine law”...and...“justice

depends on conformity to natural law.”⁷ Christians are conservative in that they seek to conform to the transcendent principles which God the Creator has communicated through General and Special Revelation

Four Streams within Conservatism

Some confusion regarding whether or not the Christian faith can be closely identified with conservatism results from the failure to recognize the differences within conservatism. While each of the four principal streams of conservatism embraces many presuppositions which are usually present in the Christian world-and-life view, only two branches of conservatism are self-consciously Christian. The four branches or streams of conservatism are Neo-Conservatism, Paleo-Conservatism, Libertarian Conservatism, and Religious Conservatism.⁸ A fifth, which might be termed Fusionism, developed after World War II primarily in response to the threat of communism. (See Figure 1)

The following diagram identifies the four streams of Conservatism along with Fusionism.

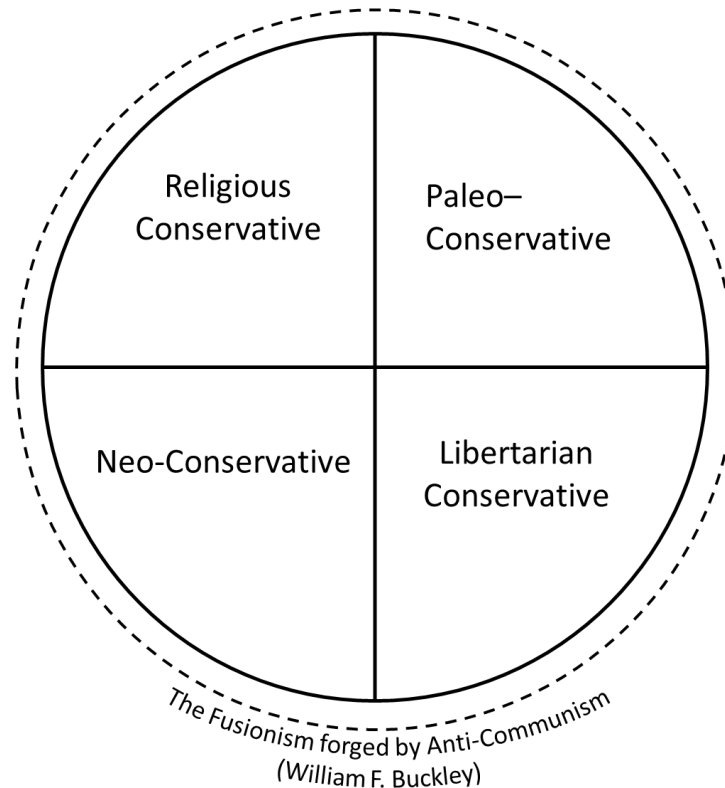
⁷ Curtis, Michael, ed., *The Great Political Theories*, New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008:358.

⁸ Nash, George, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, Wilmington, Delaware, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996:passim.5

*Please note that Figures 1-4 were developed by this author and thus are not included in the footnotes.

(Figure 1)

Four Streams within Conservatism



Frank Meyer, former Communist with whom Fusionism is often associated, wrote that “the Christian understanding of the nature and destiny of man is what conservatives were trying to save.” He maintained that in order to resist and triumph over Communism, the various branches of conservatism needed to join together and affirm certain fundamental premises which he believed all conservatives could embrace.⁹

Fusionism largely disappeared along with the Cold War, but it remains significant because it articulated certain core principles which most conservatives could affirm to some degree:

⁹ Ibid, p. 161.

“...they all believed in ‘an objective moral order of immutable standards by which human conduct should be judged’...they unanimously valued ‘the human person’ and opposed liberal attempts to use the State to enforce ideological patterns on human beings...they all thought the State should be circumscribed...they were...suspicious of planning and attempts to centralize power...they joined in defense of the Constitution ‘as originally conceived’ and shared in aversions to the ‘messianic’ Communist threat to ‘Western Civilization.’”¹⁰

William F. Buckley would come to epitomize Fusionism during the Cold War as he demonstrated an ability to draw the various streams of conservatism together in his periodical *The National Review*.

Neo-Conservatism

The “founding father of Neo-Conservatism” is Irving Kristol.¹¹ He quipped that a neo-conservative is a liberal who has been mugged by reality. Another wag described neo-conservatives as people who give “two cheers for capitalism instead of three.” That explains a great deal about how neo-cons, as they are often termed, differ from other conservatives. Many of neo-conservatism’s early leaders had been New Deal Democrats or socialists in their youth. They often brought their confidence in big government with them as

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 161.

¹¹ Williamson, Chilton, Jr., *The Conservative Bookshelf*, New York, New York, Citadel Press Books, 2004:xviii.

they embraced divergent elements of conservatism.¹² According to one writer, this view of big government is evident in their continuing desire to replace “federalism by centralism...advocacy for the welfare state...and foreign adventurism.” Further, neo-cons “have relentlessly promoted the secularization of government and of society to an extent that is wholly at odds with the explicitly Christian character of the Western tradition.”¹³

Neo-cons tend to be more pragmatic than the other conservatives in dealing with domestic issues and more idealistic in regard to international relations. Neo-cons argue the notion that democracy can be exported and consequently are much more likely to encourage nation-building around the world, such as has been seen recently in the Middle East. Neo-cons have become very influential in contemporary America. Typically, most of those who are characterized as conservative by the media today are neo-cons. Certainly the upper echelons of the Republican Party are made up of neo-conservatives, and most of those speaking as conservatives in the media, whether on cable news or elsewhere, are neo-cons.

Paleo-Conservatism

If Kristol can be called “the godfather of neo-conservatism,” Richard M. Weaver can be given a similar appellation with respect to Paleo-Conservatism. Weaver was profoundly influenced by the Southern agrarian movement, especially John Crowe Ransom in his book *God Without Thunder*. In 1948 he published *Ideas Have Consequences*, which would “become in the opinion of many, ‘the *fons et origo*’ [source and origin] of the contemporary American

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

conservative movement.” A critic explained, as he railed against *Ideas Have Consequences*, “...the trouble with Weaver was that he believed in absolute, immutable, eternal truths.”¹⁴

Paleo-Conservatism is also referred to as Traditionalism for its unapologetic embrace of the traditions of Western Civilization. Conservative author Chilton Williamson, Jr. maintains that this stands in stark contrast to the neo-cons, who want to “replace the old, individualistic, federalistic, free-enterprise, and largely WASP conservatism with something better suited to the reality of a modern educational welfare state and an increasingly multicultural society.”¹⁵ He writes that Traditionalists—

“condemn an individualism torn loose from family, community, and civic responsibility—an individualism that has metamorphosed into egocentrism, personal irresponsibility, and a loss of civic discipline. They have...an older Christian notion of a God-given dignity of the personality”...which...“requires roots in the community and, above all, the family.”¹⁶

Traditional or Paleo-conservatism persists in the support of “the Christian faith, national sovereignty, cultural identity, federalism, republicanism”...“community”...and...“agrarianism.”¹⁷ Within American conservatism, it is the paleo-con who most often stands in vocal opposition to the extreme individualism and autonomous (some would say antinominan) impulse of the Libertarian conservatives.

¹⁴ Nash, pp. 31, 35.

¹⁵ Williamson, p. xviii.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Williamson, p. xviii

Libertarianism

Libertarianism has been described as “a pure form of classical liberalism which asserts that a government should do little more than provide police and military protection...it should not interfere in the lives of its citizens.”¹⁸ While there is a large element of truth in this characterization, it ignores some important differences with classical liberalism. Libertarians are hyper-individualistic, ignoring the inter-connectedness of the community. Libertarianism also tends to reach toward individual moral autonomy, hence implicitly rejecting any transcendent authority outside the individual. For example, libertarians almost universally advocate the legalization of marijuana, believing that most of our contemporary laws against drug use impinge on individual liberties and autonomy. Libertarian Congressman Ron Paul has said, “Marijuana should be legal...along with heroin, prostitution, and unpasteurized milk.”¹⁹ There is little appreciation for the effect of drug abuse on the larger community among Libertarians. The practical antinomianism of Libertarianism is less reflective of classical liberalism and more characteristic of postmodern relativism and subjectivism.

The most significant characteristic of Libertarianism is economic determinism. Whether it is found in the heart-felt convictions of Congressman Ron Paul or the heartless *objectivism* of Ayn Rand (1905-1982), economics is understood to be either the cause or solution to virtually all societal problems. According to Libertarians, to the extent that a society embraces *lassiez-faire* economic policies, it can expect to prosper over the long run. Further, they

¹⁸ Shafritz, p. 335.

¹⁹ Emily Belz, “Father of the Tea Party,” *World* (July 16, 2011): 44.

assert, government interference with private businesses or the free market will cause unintended consequences which will have detrimental effects on society.

Virtually all American conservatives would identify with and embrace many of Libertarianism's core premises, but not all. In particular, most conservatives are not willing to reject the notion that all men must answer to an authority which transcends the individual. Moreover, conservatism is not intrinsically hyper-individualistic in its understanding of duty and moral responsibility, as Libertarianism tends to be. Finally, while most conservatives embrace *lassiez-faire* economics, though often in an inconsistent manner, few embrace economic determinism as the cornerstone of their world-and-life view.

Religious Conservatism

Religious conservatives are most often associated with social issues such as opposition to abortion, gay marriage, and the effect of radical secularization of government and public education. It is true historically that religious conservatives tend to be galvanized as a coherent movement only in opposition to particular moral or social issues. However, it would be unfair to characterize all religious conservatives as single issue citizens or to suggest that they are against more than they are for.

The center of the religious conservative's world-and-life view is theism. In that regard, they are especially comfortable with the proposition that there must be a transcendent basis for morality and law in any sustainable, orderly community. Their concerns regarding the single issues cited above result from this firm conviction. Their inconsistency is the consequence of an uncertainty about how moral convictions ought to be applied to the society at large.

Exacerbating this inconsistency is an established history of ambivalence toward cultural engagement, evident in both Roman Catholic Quietism and in Protestant Pietism.

Religious conservatives are often attacked by the mainstream media. One author refers to this stream of conservatism as “the New Right” and explains that it is simply “the politics of resentment”...“with an evangelical and intolerant edge to it.”²⁰ Thomas J. McIntyre, former senator from New Hampshire, said of religious conservatives:

“The New Right cannot comprehend how people of opposing viewpoints can find common ground and work together. For them there is no common ground. And this, in my judgment, is the best indicator of what they truly are—radicals, who aim not to compete with honor and decency, not to compromise when necessary to advance the common good, but to annihilate those they see as enemies.”²¹

The antagonism reflected in Senator McIntyre’s comments is unjustified and reflects his worldview more than that of the New Right. However, the inconsistent manner in which religious conservatives engage culture and the divergent theological viewpoints among religious conservatives contribute to this sort of negative public perception.

²⁰ Shafritz, p. 499.

²¹ Ibid.

Theological Presuppositions and their Effect on Conservatism

One's worldview is the paradigm or conceptual framework from which life and the world are understood and comprehended. Presuppositions are particular ideas or convictions, perhaps even perceptions, which together make up one's worldview. The late Francis Schaeffer wrote in his classic *How Should We Then Live?*—

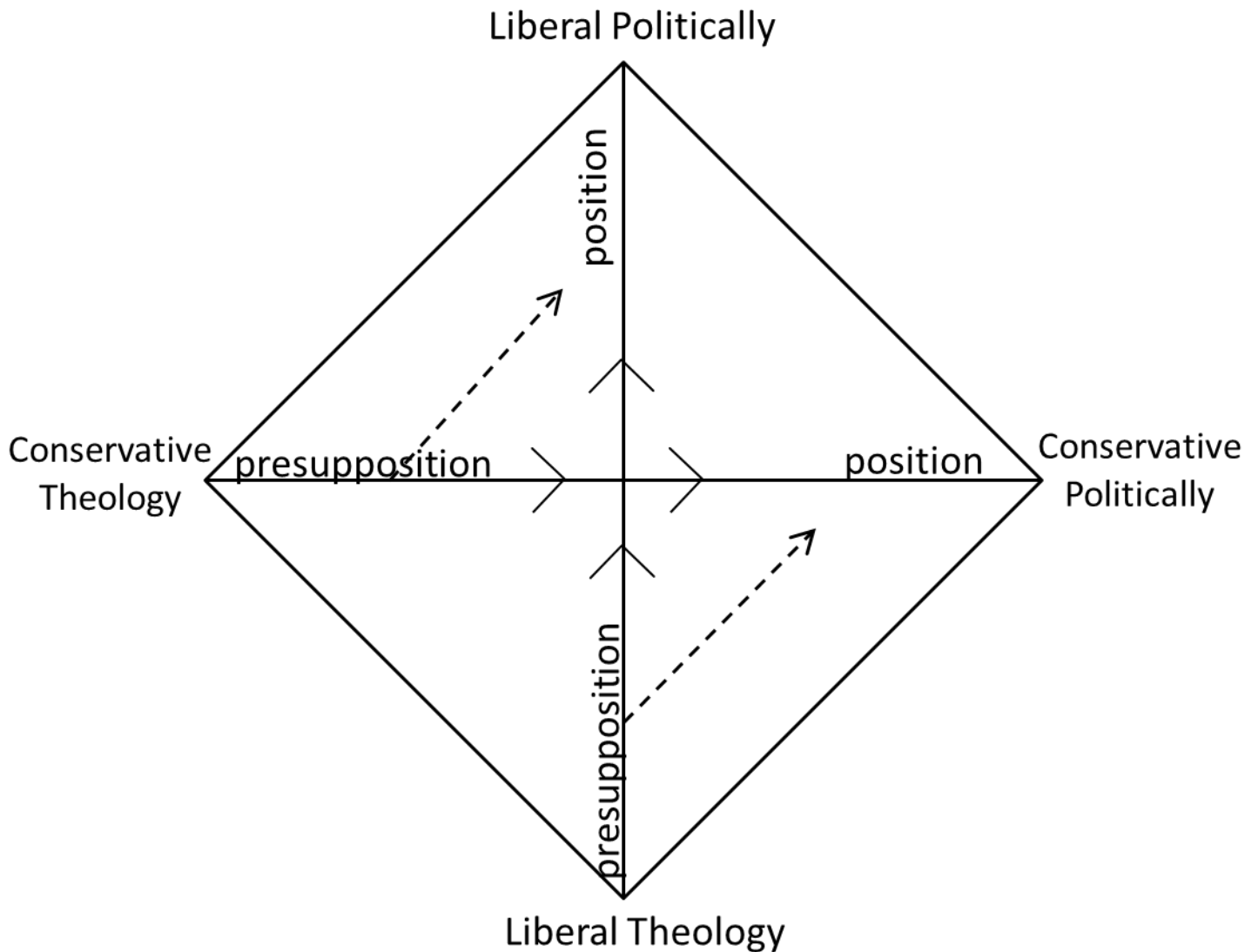
“People have presuppositions, and they will live more consistently on the basis of their presuppositions than even they themselves may realize...Most people catch their presuppositions from their family and surrounding society the way a child catches measles. But people with more understanding realize that their presuppositions should be chosen after a careful consideration of what worldview is true.”²²

Christians are especially concerned with embracing presuppositions which reflect God's General and Special Revelation. The presuppositions they embrace will determine how closely their worldview corresponds to true conservatism. (See figure 2)

²² Schaeffer, Francis A., *How Should We Then Live: The Rise and Decline of Western Thought and Culture*, Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1976:19.

Theological Presuppositions and their Effect

Figure 2



With the above assertions in mind, a conservative theological presupposition would closely parallel revealed truth, especially special, propositional revelation. While a conservative theological presupposition may not readily translate into a specific political position in a particular cultural

context, it will tend to be evident in conservative political assumptions. In other words, theological conservatives tend to be political conservatives, just as theological liberals (those who reject the notion of reliable revelational truth) tend toward liberal political positions.

Notwithstanding the above, there will be people who are theologically conservative but who have adopted liberal political positions. Typically, this is the effect of presuppositional inconsistencies which have been adopted, as Schaeffer said, “from their family and surrounding society the way a child catches measles.” This writer recalls his favorite aunt, a devout Southern Baptist, conservative in most respects of her life, who remained a *yellow dog democrat* to the end of her life. In one conversation regarding President Bill Clinton, she was unable to explain how she could continue to vote for and support a politician whose personal morality and whose position on abortion were repellant to her. Yet her political support for Clinton never wavered. As a sixth generation Southerner in Arkansas, she would vote for the Democratic candidate no matter who or what he was.²³

This political phenomenon described above is more common than one might suppose. Schaeffer explained why Christians tend to be inconsistent in their worldview. Yet he challenged believers to examine their presuppositions in the light of propositional truth or scripture.

“Presuppositions rest upon that which a person considers to be the *truth* of what exists. People’s presuppositions lay a grid for all they bring forth into the external world. Their presuppositions also

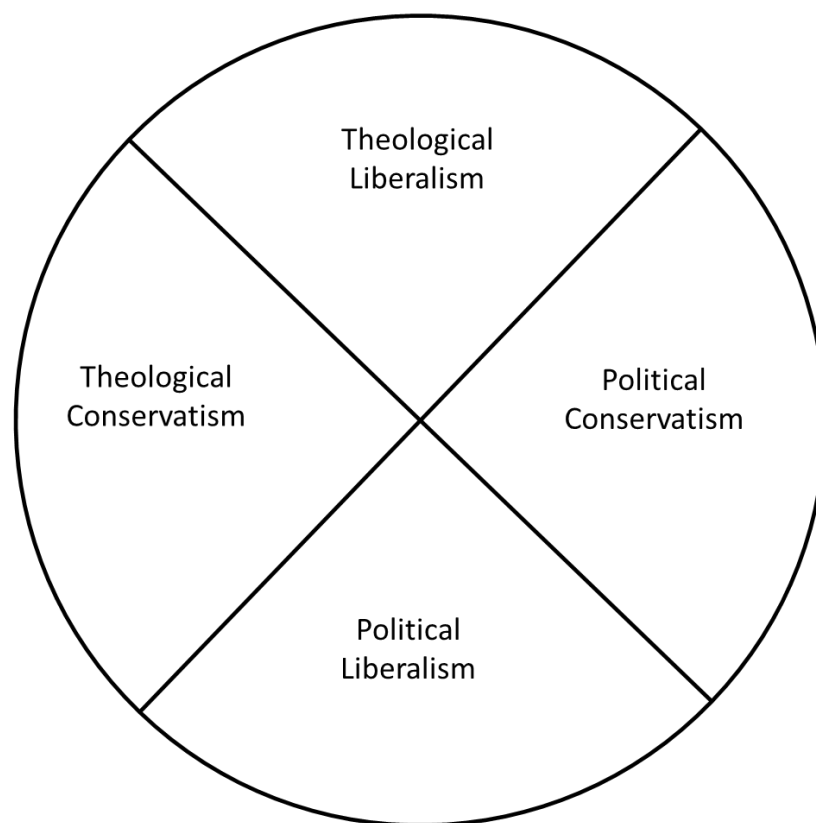
²³ Shafritz, p. 174. (explaining the phrase, the author asks of a loyal Democrat—“How loyal? So loyal he’d vote for a yellow dog if it ran as a Democrat.”)

provide the basis for their values and therefore the basis for their decisions...‘As a man thinketh, so is he.’”²⁴

Genuine conservatives will view the world more or less consistently, depending on whether or not their presuppositions and worldview correspond to what God has revealed generally and specially to men regarding His creation. (See figure 3)

Diagram of the Intersection and Correspondence of Theology and Politics

Figure 3



²⁴ Schaeffer, p. 19.

Consistent Conservatism

According to Charles W. Dunn, conservatism is “the defense of inherited political, economic, religious, and social tradition from the forces of abrupt change.” He describes the substance of conservatism by contrasting it with liberalism. The nine points of contrast are:

Conservatives “(1) place more emphasis on orthodox and traditional religious values (2) express less faith in the goodness, reason, and perfectibility of mankind (3) voice greater opposition to the power of centralized government (4) place a greater emphasis on state and local governments than they do the national government or the federal system (5) identify with nationalism more than internationalism, and as such tend to be less supportive of the United Nations and other international organizations (6) express a more fervent patriotic spirit (7) put greater emphasis upon the responsibilities and duties of individuals than upon their rights (8) trust capitalism and free markets more than government regulations in determining economic policy, and (9) believe that gradual changes within existing structures offer the best way to ensure society’s economic, political, religious, and social health.”²⁵

Charles Dunn’s nine points of contrast may be summarized as follows: The first two suggest a more or less pessimistic view of human nature. This is also true by implication of the third and fourth points. The fifth and sixth points are the result of

²⁵ Dunn, Charles W., *The Future of Conservatism—Conflict and Consensus in the Post-Reagan Era*, Wilmington, Delaware: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2007:ii.

an appreciation for and awareness of the importance of culture and tradition. The seventh and eighth points reflect the common assumptions and promises typically associated with *laissez-faire* capitalism. The ninth point reflects the conservative predisposition against precipitous change.

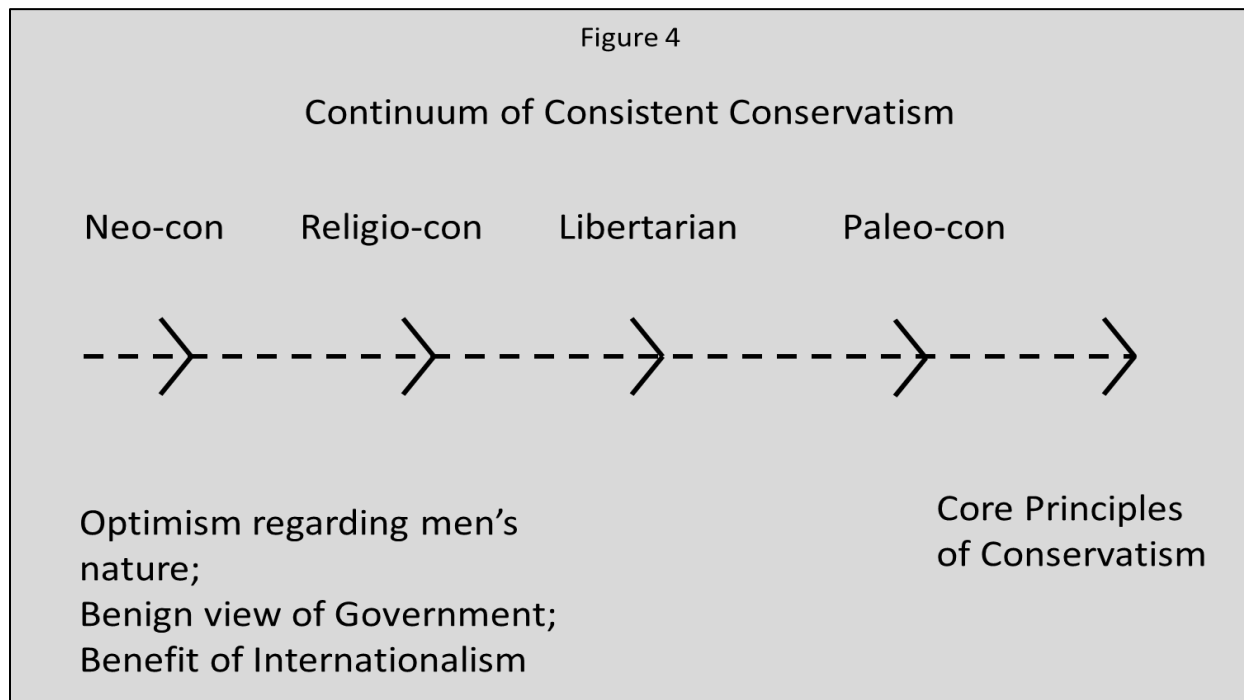
It is noteworthy that the nine points listed above correspond roughly to what is known historically as Jeffersonian Republicanism or Democratic-Republicanism. During the presidential campaign of 1800, Thomas Jefferson and his political supporters began to argue for conservative principles. These became the party platform of the Jeffersonian Republicans. They can be summarized in five points:

1. The locus of federal power would be at the state level rather than the national level, except those functions of government relating to national defense.
2. A balanced budget government and the avoidance of or elimination of deficit spending.
3. Free trade and either no or low tariffs
4. The avoidance of international treaties which would tend to supersede American interests.
5. Minimum international bureaucracy and the avoidance of too much institutionalization in the practice of foreign relations.²⁶

²⁶ Rutland, Robert Allen, *The Democrats—From Jefferson to Clinton*, Columbia, Missouri: Louisiana State University Press, 1995:15-16.

American conservatism has been largely Jeffersonian in character until Neo-conservatism became predominant. In that regard, the various strains of conservatism may be understood to be either more or less genuinely conservative.

(See figure 4)



The Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans emerged as the party of consistent conservative principles in response to the less conservative Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists. Hamilton was Secretary of Treasury under President George Washington and continued, until his untimely death, to offer a powerful voice in favor of a strong, centralized government. Historian Clarence Carson wrote:

“Hamilton had little attachment to state or local government...and almost exclusive concern with the national government...He was a nationalist...inclined toward the broad interpretation”...of the Constitution...“while the Jefferson Republicans leaned heavily

toward a strict construction...the Federalists (and Hamilton) tended to favor a strong and extensive role for the national government. The Jeffersonians, by contrast, insisted upon a limited role for the general government...The Federalists sought government policies which promoted manufacturing while the Jeffersonians leaned heavily toward free trade and free enterprise...and generally opposed government intervention in the economy.”²⁷

When compared to political parties and supposed conservatives of our day, both the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans of 1800 would be considered relatively conservative. Notwithstanding this, Hamilton’s Federalists were much farther from consistent conservatism than were Jefferson and his followers.

Neo-cons reflect the position of Alexander Hamilton much more than that of Thomas Jefferson. Religious Conservatives tend to embrace much that Hamilton espoused as well, albeit inconsistently. Libertarians and paleo-cons are much more likely to evince a relatively consistent conservatism, especially in regard to the political effect of their convictions. Certainly there is more affinity for Jeffersonianism among libertarians and paleo-cons but especially with paleo-cons.

²⁷ Carson, Clarence B., *Basic American Government*, Phenix City, Alabama: American Textbook Committee, 2001:245.

Epilogue

Orthodox Christians face the same challenges regarding living in a manner consistent with their presuppositions as others do. It is difficult to develop a consistent, coherent world-and-life view. It is even more difficult to live accordingly. Nevertheless, it is especially incumbent on Christians to do just that. Christians have a basis for knowing (epistemology) that is inherently conservative. It is God's Revelation to man. It is known mediately through the *medium* of creation and scripture as well as immediately through the innate sense of God's law implanted in the human heart. This Revelation provides immutable moral benchmarks and an eternal plumb-line of truth from which to frame an orderly view of the world and life. It creates an accountability and ethical responsibility which allows the Christian to live effectively in overlapping and competing communities, i.e., the world and the church, while maintaining a consistent moral standard. He can be conservative, even in communities bent on the destruction of the permanent things and eternal verities.

The Christian faith, properly understood, is decidedly conservative in the very best sense of the term. It is salt and light when darkness and decay seem likely to overwhelm what is good in a culture. It conserves the best of man's endeavors while providing a grid from which to discern the chaff. It allows for the integration of truth, especially what Schaeffer called *true truth*, with the exigencies of practical necessity. Both the needs of the community are preserved and the dignity of the individual is protected when the Christian faith is properly understood and applied. This is conservatism at its very best.

While a sincere believer may not be consistently conservative philosophically, politically, or practically, he ought to be. He has been given the

intellectual and moral tools to be a conservator of what is good and what is worth conserving. Christianity is necessarily conservative when conservatism is properly understood.

“There are those...who exclaim: ‘Let us bury the dead past. Its issues are all antiquated, and of no more practical significance. Let us forget the passions of the past. We are in a new world. Its new questions alone concern us! I rejoin: Be sure that the former issues are really dead before you bury them! There are issues which cannot die without the death of the people, of their honor, their civilizations and their greatness.’” (Robert Louis Dabney—A Discourse delivered at the Annual Commencement of Hampton Sidney College, June 15, 1882)

Bibliography

Allitt, Patrick N. *The Conservative Tradition*, lecture.

Belz, Emily. "Father of the Tea Party," *World* (July 16, 2011):44

Bork, Robert H. *Slouching Towards Gomorrah*. New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1996.

Bradford, M.E. *Remembering Who We Are: Observations of a Southern Conservative*. Athens, Georgia, University of Georgia Press, 1985.

Carroll, John. *The Wreck of Western Culture: Humanism Revisited*. Wilmington, Delaware: ISI Books, 2008.

Carson, Clarence B. *Basic American Government*. Phenix City, Alabama: American Textbook Committee, 2001:245.

Curtis, Michael, ed. *The Great Political Theories*. New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008:358.

Dunn, Charles W. *The Future of Conservatism—Conflict and Consensus in the Post-Reagan Era*. Wilmington, Delaware: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2007:iii.

Genovese, Eugene D. *The Southern Tradition: The Achievement and Limitations of an American Conservatism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University press, 1994.

Gottfried, Paul Edward. *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2002.

Kirk, Russell, *The Conservative Mind*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1999:8.

Muggeridge, Malcolm. *The End of Christendom*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980.

- Nash, George. *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*.
Wilmington, Delaware: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1996:passim.
- Nisbet, Robert. *The Present Age: Progress and Anarchy in Modern America*.
Indianapolis, Indiana: Liberty Fund, Inc., 1988.
- Rutland, Robert Allen. *The Democrats—From Jefferson to Clinton*. Columbia,
Missouri: Louisiana State University Press, 1995:15-16.
- Sandoz, Ellis. *The Conservative Mind*, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc.,
1998:8.
- Schaeffer, Francis A. *How Should We Then Live: The Rise and Decline of Western
Thought and Culture*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company,
1976:19.
- Shafritz, Jay M. *The HarperCollins Dictionary of American Government and
Politics*. New York, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1992:139.
- Sowell, Thomas. *The Vision of the Anointed*. New York, New York: HarperCollins
Publishers, Inc., 1995.
- Veith, Gene Edward Jr. *Modern Fascism: Liquidating the Judeo-Christian
Worldview*. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1993.
- Weaver, Richard M. *The Southern Tradition at Bay: A History of Postbellum
Thought*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 1989.
- Weaver, Richard M. *Visions of Order: The Cultural Crisis of Our Time*.
Wilmington, Delaware: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1995.
- Williamson, Chilton, Jr. *The Conservative Bookshelf*. New York, New York:
Citadel Press Books, 2004:xviii.