That I am committed in particular to an ideal of community among men and women—rooted in spiritual values—is certainly true. And thus I welcome (and not merely imagine, I think) the unmistakable, if slow and incredibly diverse, drift of American civilization toward a reawakening regarding "community." There is no reason to assume that a more community-oriented society must involve abandonment of liberalism. Yet there is every reason to argue that liberalism must move more firmly to explore whether it can exist politically, in terms of civil society and as part of the growing global environment, without embracing a keener sense of community.

The risks are great. I am skeptical of naive communitarians (of whom there are too many) as well as of those who would create authoritarianism in the name of community. There always is danger, too, from those for whom community has become The Great End, which must (but never will) be realized once and for all. By its very nature, community is only an existential project, always in creation and never fully created.

Amid all the fascinating sides of contemporary American political thinking and the not entirely comforting signs that America's centrifugal tendencies flourish, I come back to hope. The Founders had a dream that their nation might become "a company of Engine-men," a free people who seek community, coming together for the good of the whole—as does a successful volunteer fire company. Movement in that direction will not be easy, but I am an optimist. I plan to enter the next millennium with such a hope.
Notes

1. Classic Interpretations


5. Ibid., 2: 23.


10. See note 8.


14. On this matter, as on so many others, see Allan G. Bogue, Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 166.

17. Ibid., 435.
20. Ibid., 435.
21. Ibid., 343.

24. Ibid., 46.


35. Ibid.
40. Ibid., 325.
41. Ibid., chap. 7.
43. There are, of course, innumerable conflicting accounts. A good one is Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985).
46. See chapter 3.
49. Ibid., chap. 3.
50. Ibid., 175–76.
51. Ibid., 53.
52. Ibid., 37, 239–40.
53. Ibid., 91.
54. Ibid., 12.
55. Ibid., chap. 3.
56. Ibid., 249–53.
57. Ibid., 280–81, 270–71.
61. Ibid., 442.
63. Ibid., 458–59.
70. Hartz, *New Societies*.
72. For a reflection on Hartz’s use of Locke, see Sternsher, *Consensus*, 350.
73. For example, see Donald J. Devine, *The Political Culture of the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972).
75. Hartz, Liberal Tradition, chap. 9, part 3.
76. Hofstadter, Progressive Historians, 449.
78. Hofstadter, Progressive Historians, chap. 11.
79. Hartz, Liberal Tradition, chap. 2.
80. Sternsher, Consensus, 353.
81. Hartz, Liberal Tradition, chap. 10.
82. Hofstadter, Progressive Historians, 448–49.
83. Sternsher, Consensus, chap. 6.
84. Hofstadter, Progressive Historians, 448.
89. Boorstin, Genius, chap. 1 and pp. 22, 30.
91. Boorstin, Genius, 63.
92. Ibid., 94.
93. Ibid., 84.
94. Ibid., 68–98.
95. Ibid., chap. 4.
96. Boorstin, National Experience, 430.
97. Boorstin, Democratic Experience, ix.
98. Ibid., 1.
99. Ibid., 600.
100. Boorstin, Genius, 1.
101. Ibid., 180.
102. Ibid., 188.
103. Boorstin, Democratic Experience, 327.
104. Ibid., 306.
105. Ibid., 408.
106. Ibid., 287.

2. The Fall of Consensus

2. For example, see "Ideology: A Debate," Commentary 38 (October 1964): 69–76.
5. Ibid., 229–30.
7. Including this author.
9. For example, ibid., 87, 77.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 159, 146.
31. Ibid., chap. 1.
32. Ibid., 124, 150.
33. Ibid., 157.
34. Ibid., 151-69.
35. See Hester Eisenstein, Contemporary Feminist Thought (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983).
36. A good treatment of feminism and feminist thought is found in Myra Ferree and Beth B. Hess, Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement (Boston: Twayne, 1985); an example of a feminist analysis that talks in terms of liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, and so forth, is Eisenstein, Contemporary Feminist Thought.
37. Eisenstein's Contemporary Feminist Thought is an excellent example of this approach, and I have gratefully drawn on her work; I thank Marion Smiley for directing me to it.
43. Ibid., chap. 6.
45. For example, Daly, Pure Lust; Catharine A. MacKinnon, Feminism Unmodified (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987); and see Eisenstein's treatment in Contemporary Feminist Thought.
47. See, for example, Shane Phelan, Getting Specific: Postmodern Lesbian Politics (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Dana R. Shugar, Separatism and Women's Community (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); and Sarah Lucia Hoagland and Julia Penelope, eds., For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology (London: Only Women Press, 1988).
50. bell hooks, Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism (Boston: South End Press, 1981); and bell hooks, Feminist Theory from Margin to Center (Boston: South End Press, 1984).


64. Kristol, *Two Cheers*, chaps. 10, 1.


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71. Ibid., 183, 192, 178.
72. Ibid., 179.
78. Ibid., 130.
81. Marion Smiley is an able example of a theorist who discusses and supports pragmatic constructivism; see her "Feminist Theory and the Question of Identity," 91-122.
84. Ibid., chap. 3.
87. Fowler, *The Dance with Community*, chap. 5, has an account of this focus.
94. Ibid., 134.
98. Ibid., p. 9 and chap. 2.
99. Ibid., 3, 6, 13, 40, 81, 83, 90.
100. Ibid., pp. 32, 49 and chap. 1.
104. Ibid., chaps. 10–12.
107. Ibid., introduction.
108. Ibid., chap. 4.
109. Ibid., chap. 8.
114. Kluiegel and Smith, Beliefs About Inequality.
118. Ibid., 186.
121. Dennis, "Do We Believe Aristotle," 18–37.
122. I want to thank those at the Carl Albert Institute of the University of Oklahoma, where I gave a talk in the spring of 1995, for their vigorous criti-
cism of my argument. Nowhere did I face tougher critics. Nowhere did I learn more that I hope improved this manuscript.


3. The Broader Critique and Alternative Perspectives


3. Sternsher, Consensus, 212–13 and passim.


23. Ibid., p. xi and chap. 7.
24. Ibid., chap. 2.
25. Ibid., chap. 5.
27. Ibid., 21.
35. As became very clear among many of the historians and other intellectuals promoting the multiple-strands approach in the national history standards controversy of 1994–96.

38. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 198, 128.
39. Ibid., 5.
41. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville."
42. Ibid.
43. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, chaps. 2, 3, 8.
44. Ibid., 489.
46. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 496, 503, 473.
47. Ibid., 478.
49. Ibid., 989.
50. Ellis, *American Political Cultures*.
51. Ibid., chap. 4.
52. Ibid., chap. 5.
53. Ibid., chap. 1.
54. Ibid., chap. 6.
55. Ibid., chap. 8.
56. Ibid., chap. 7.
57. As one reviewer of my manuscript suggested.
59. Ibid., 221, 226.
60. Ibid., 259.
61. For a good introductory treatment of postmodern views, see Joseph Natoli and Linda Hutcheon, eds., *A Postmodern Reader* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); the distinctions here are ones that my colleague Marion Smiley urged me to clarify.
62. Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth*.
72. Ellis, *American Political Cultures*.


102. Appleby, *Capitalism*.


108. As Marion Smiley put it to me.

110. For example, see Mark Kann, "A Republic of Men: Manhood, Citizenship, and Leadership during the American Founding" (unpublished manuscript, chaps. 1–2).

4. Liberalism in the Public Sphere

3. Especially valuable here is John R. Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, Congress as Public Enemy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
12. In the discussion that follows, besides the empirical literature on tolerance that I cite, I draw on the excellent analysis in Andrew R. Murphy, "Tolerance and Toleration: Political Psychology and Liberal Theory" (paper, International Society of Political Psychology, July 1996).


19. Kluegel and Smith, *Beliefs About Inequality*.


27. Although Bellah has not taken the path of conversion to Roman Catholicism as has Fox-Genovese.

28. Fox-Genovese, *Feminism Without Illusions*.


33. Ibid.
34. Fowler, *The Dance with Community*, chap. 2.
44. Witte, Sterr, and Thorn, *Fifth-Year Report*.
46. For an argument on the limited evidence, which is from Milwaukee, see John Witte, who collected the data, *Fifth Year Report*; and Peterson, Greene, and Noyes, "School Choice in Milwaukee."


48. I would especially recommend, for a historical treatment, Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement*, and, for a controversial but clear-eyed current analysis Frum, *Dead Right*.


53. We are fortunate, now at last, to have a sophisticated treatment and comparison of these two thinkers in one book: Ted V. McAllister, *Revolt Against Modernity: Leo Strauss, Eric Voegelin, and the Search for a Postliberal Order* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996).


64. For example, see Irving Kristol, *Two Cheers for Capitalism* (New York: Meridian, 1977); Jeane Kirkpatrick, *Dictatorships and Double Standards* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982).

65. See Jeane Kirkpatrick, *Human Rights and American Foreign Policy* (Gambier, Ohio: Kenyon College Public Affairs Conference Center, 1982); Kirkpatrick, *Dictatorships*.

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67. Kristo!, Two Cheers.
71. Ibid., chap. 4.
72. Ibid., 23–32.
73. Ibid., chap. 5.
74. Ibid., 215.
75. Ibid.

5. Liberalism in the Private Realm

3. See the discussion of Tocqueville in chapter 1.
10. Mayer, Changing American Mind, chaps. 3, 6–9; McClosky and Zaller, American Ethos; Page and Shapiro, The Rational Public.
11. George Gilder, Men and Marriage (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1986); and Ehrenreich, Hearts of Men.
15. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart*.
20. See identity discussion in chapter 7.
26. Ibid., 10.
27. Ibid., 53, 40.
28. Ibid., 9.
29. Ibid., 40.
35. For example, see Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family*.
36. See Sommers, *Who Stole Feminism?*
41. Sommers, *Who Stole Feminism?*
43. I make a much fuller argument on this point in Fowler, *Unconventional Partners*.
46. Ibid., 194.
49. Robert Wuthnow, *Sharing the Journey: Support Groups and America’s New Quest for Community* (New York: Free Press, 1994); my own experiences in a Bible-study group have proved to be fully in line with the findings in Wuthnow’s systematic work.
51. Ibid.
53. For a splendid discussion of the more mixed findings of technical social science studies on tolerance in general, see Andrew R. Murphy, “Tolerance and Toleration: Political Psychology and Liberal Theory” (paper, International Society of Political Psychology, 1996).
55. Ibid., chap. 6.


6. Community as a Point of Redirection


4. Ibid.


12. Ibid., 82.
14. Ibid.
15. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart*.
28. Ibid., 109.
29. Ibid., 5.
30. Ibid., chaps. 5, 9.
31. Ibid., chap. 9.


45. The classic case here continues to be Carole Pateman’s enthusiastic celebration of Yugoslavia as the ideal of modern participatory democracy in her *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).


49. Dryzek is not an American citizen, but his work on democracy was done while he was teaching in the United States.


54. Wuthnow, *Sharing the Journey*.

55. For example, see the excellent book by Irene Diamond and Gloria Femans Orenstein, eds., *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1990).


57. Neuhaus, *Naked Public Square*.


63. Tinder, Community.


66. Nisbet, Quest for Community.


68. Peter Berger, Pyramids of Sacrifice (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976).


71. Ibid.


73. Although how this might be achieved Nicholson does not discuss; Linda Nicholson talk, University of Wisconsin–Madison, March 5, 1996.


77. Ibid., 141, 148.

78. Ibid., 70–72.


80. As one reviewer of this manuscript suggested.

81. For example, see Damon, Greater Expectations.

82. See chapters 5 and 6 for discussion and data.

7. Environmentalism as a Point of Redirection

1. For an interesting argument on this theme, see Ian Tyrrell, “American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History,” American Historical Review 96 (October 1991): 1031–55.


10. Ibid.

12. Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb Jr., For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future (Boston: Beacon, 1989).


28. See, for example, Sale, The Green Revolution.


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35. Ibid., 96.
36. Ibid.
37. For example, Daly and Cobb, *For the Common Good*; Lewis W. Moncrief, “The Cultural Basis for Our Environmental Crisis,” *Science*, October 30, 1970, 506–11; and Eugene Hargrove, *Religion and the Environmental Crisis* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986). It is important to note also the considerable ecocorporatist literature; a good place to start is with James O’Connor and his journal, *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*.
38. See Fowler, *The Greening*.
44. A distinction made to me by John Meyer.
46. As my colleague John Meyer has pointed out to me.
49. But see Taylor’s *America’s Bachelor Uncle*, arguing that Thoreau was very much a public intellectual and political theorist.
53. See Romans 8:21.
55. Santmire, *Travail of Nature*.


60. An excellent introduction to ecofeminism is Irene Diamond and Gloria Feman Orenstein, eds., *Reweaving the World: The Political Emergence of Ecofeminism* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1990); see also Charlene Spretnak, *The Politics of Women’s Spirituality* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1982).


65. Merchant, *Death of Nature*.


70. For a discussion of these approaches that accurately concentrates on their strength in the European green movement, see Eckersley, *Environmentalism*, chaps. 4, 6.


74. Eckersley, *Environmentalism*, chaps. 1, 2.


76. For example, see Brian Roherty and Marius de Geus, *Democracy and Green Political Thought: Sustainability, Rights and Citizenship* (New York: Routledge, 1996).


78. For example, see Bruce Stokes, *Helping Ourselves: Local Solutions to Global Problems* (New York: Norton, 1981).

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Press, 1990). Dryzek is an Australian, but he did his work on democracy while living in the United States.


82. Ibid., 83.

83. Ibid.

84. Fox, Original Blessing.


86. Spretnak, Green Politics; Fowler, The Greening, chap. 8.


88. On global dimensions, see Paul Wapner, Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, Global Civil Society and Global Environmental Governance (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); on the religious side, see Fowler, The Greening.

8. To Revive Civil Society


4. In these opening reflections, the contribution by Charlie Anderson is large.


6. Thus, for an interesting contemporary discussion of civil society, see Michael Walzer, “The Concept of Civil Society,” in Toward a Global Civil Society (Providence, R.I.: Berghahn, 1995), part 1, pp. 7–67.

7. Gellner is used here because of his insight, not with the suggestion that he is an American.


10. Ibid.


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.; indeed, this is what much of Democracy on Trial is about.


20. Ibid., 8.

21. Ibid., 27.

22. Ibid., 8.


24. Ibid., 16.

25. Ibid.

26. Although his column in the New Republic tends to lack much substance.


28. See Walzer, On Toleration.

29. Although not those devoted to the rejection of pluralism and worse, for example, the societies of Hitler, Stalin, and Mao.

30. See Walzer, Company of Critics.

31. As presented in Thick and Thin.

32. Ibid., chap. 1.

33. Ibid., 49.


35. The argument in Company of Critics.


38. Bennett, Book of Virtues.

39. Bennett, De-valuing, 13, 38, 256.

40. Ibid., 252.


44. Brigitte Berger and Peter L. Berger, The War over the Family: Capturing the Middle Ground (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1983).
63. Ibid.
68. As suggested by my usually not so suspicious friend Charlie Anderson.

9. To Revive Civil Society II

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24. Ibid., 154.


27. For example, see Anthony T. Evans, No More Excuses (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1996).


35. See, for example, the standard findings from the Roper Center’s publication The Public Perspective (for example, May/June 1990, 109).

36. For example, see Steven R. Burkett and Mervin White, “Hellfire and


39. Ibid., chap. 5.

40. Ibid., chap. 4.


45. An excellent source of data on these matters may be found in Religion in America. These regular reports from the Princeton Religion Research Center in cooperation with George Gallup Jr., though, are but an excellent version of a common message from multiple surveys that include questions on prayer in the public schools with highly consistent results.
