

RETHINKING
—— *the* ——
TEACHING
—— *of* ——
AMERICAN
HISTORY

EDITED BY MICHAEL P. FEDERICI

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In the formation of Project TEACH and this book, I relied on the wisdom, industry, and experience of Richard M. Gamble of Hillsdale College and Chris J. Magoc, my colleague at Mercyhurst College. Both are contributors to this volume. They served as conference tutors for the entirety of the project, helping me choose conference topics, lecturers, and historical sites to visit. Without their help the conferences would not have been as great a success as they were, nor would this book have been possible. As a political scientist, I relied on their judgment as historians to find scholars who could reignite American history teachers' passion for their discipline. From the many scholars who presented at the conferences, I selected the essays included in this volume as among the best suited for the purpose of the book.

I would also like to thank Joseph Baldacchino of the National Humanities Institute and Chad Kifer of the Intercollegiate Studies

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Introduction

The purpose of the Teaching American History Grant that was the impetus for this book was to provide professional development for American history teachers of all grade-levels. The focus of Project TEACH was to widen and deepen teachers' understanding of traditional American history beyond what they learned from their college education and years of teaching experience. The TAHG program assumes that many colleges and universities are deficient in providing history-education majors with content knowledge. Emphasis on teaching methods and the fragmentation of the curriculum (social studies supplanting history) have combined to depreciate the once central place of American history in the college, primary, and secondary school curricula.

Project TEACH's approach was not to limit conference material to information that was directly applicable to the classroom, but to expand teachers' intellectual horizons by engaging them in readings, lectures, and conversations that conveyed both the expanse of American history as well as its particular insights into the human condition. Working toward this objective meant moving away from the superficial scope of typical textbooks by immersing participants into a vast body of literature that was designed to increase the intellectual range of TEACH's participants. The program was not limited to classroom lectures, but included visits to important historical sites like Philadelphia, Gettysburg, and Washington, D.C. We spent time in museums examining historical artifacts and at places like Harper's Ferry, Antietam, Valley Forge, Independence

Hall, and the American Philosophical Society listening to experts explain what happened there that changed the course of American history. Being in these places helped to bring the past to life in a way that historical texts, by themselves, could not. Walking the same ground as Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton helped participants realize that time changes more and less than we often realize. The ground we walked was and was not the same as when it reached its greatest point of historical significance. This experience conveyed the idea that America is and is not the same as it was in the past. Learning about the historical origins of the United States and its evolution through time helped to illuminate the degree to which constitutional practice and political thinking maintained fidelity to the Constitution.

“TEACH” is an acronym that stands for “teaching excellence in American constitutional history.” Constitutional history provided the focus of the grant, but the content covered by the conferences was not limited in a narrow way to legal or constitutional matters. Rather, because the Constitution and the search for constitutional order have played such a prominent role in American history, constitutional issues were used as the backdrop for examining American history. For example, in analyzing the Civil War, the failure to resolve the crisis of slavery within the boundaries of peaceful political deliberation says something about what it takes to make constitutional government work. As the faculty and participants worked through various periods of American history, they were aware that what transpired took place in a political context. In one sense, Project TEACH was the union of history and political science.

The content of the book is divided into two sections. The first part focuses on issues of a more pedagogical nature, (i.e., how history is taught). The second part of the book provides examples of historical analysis that illustrate how one goes about the task of understanding American history while being mindful of its connection to other academic disciplines. The intention of this organization is to address

the two aspects of teaching American history that guided Project TEACH. To teach history well, one must know something about the content of history and be equipped to effectively convey historical knowledge to students. What should be evident from the essays in this volume is that imparting historical knowledge requires that one develop certain habits of mind that include the regular reading of good history books and a disposition of thinking that avoids problems like presentism and the ideological distortion of historical experience. At the beginning of each chapter, readers will find a paragraph of biographical information about the author and another paragraph summarizing the author's essay.¹

Like Project TEACH itself, this book should neither be the beginning nor the end of historical search and understanding; it will hopefully be a part of the middle, something that is found along the way to searching for historical knowledge and that inspires new and deeper searching for historical understanding.

1. Lesson plans written by Project TEACH participants are available on the web at: tahg.mercyhurst.edu/resources/lesson_plans.php.

The Historian's Virtues

RICHARD M. GAMBLE

Every history teacher is a historian. Middle school and high school history teachers may rarely think of themselves as professional historians. Nevertheless, just like their fellow historians in liberal arts colleges and research universities, they struggle every day to find their way through the labyrinth of the past and to interpret that past in a way their students will understand, benefit from, and maybe even enjoy. Whether they realize it or not, their tools come out of the same toolbox as the academic historian's. Along with their colleagues in higher education, they have to know the limits and possibilities of the historian's methods, how to handle sources and evidence with integrity, how to simplify the tangled story of the past into a clear narrative, and how to develop historical consciousness in students all too easily distracted by a world of entertainment. Not every historian does all of these things as well as he ought to, but every historian worthy of the name strives to develop these skills for the sake of the highest possible level of craftsmanship. Here, then, in no particular order, are a few of the virtues essential to the historian's calling as a scholar and teacher.

The historian must be a *good reader*. It is hard to imagine a successful history teacher—or any teacher for that matter—who does not like to read. Sadly, we all hear of such cases. We may even have

colleagues who boast in front of their students that they do not read in their free time. What could be deadlier to the spirit of education than a teacher bored by books? A teacher of any subject ought to be brimming over with excitement about the book (or books) he is currently reading. That excitement ought to be infectious in the classroom. Such delight is worth sharing even if only one student a year follows our example and becomes a serious reader. A teacher of any subject ought to model the life of the mind by reading at least something every day, by talking as a matter of habit about the ideas in books, by recommending good books to students, by comparing more than one book on a given subject, by finding new authors, and by rereading old favorites. Building what we might call an “internal library” takes a lifetime. But the task begins with one page. Reading merely ten pages a day would add up to a staggering 3,650 pages in a year! That’s ten large books. Surely even our hectic lives allow room enough for ten pages a day.

A good reader doesn’t simply read a lot of books, though. A good reader listens attentively to the author, stays alert to patterns, watches for key words, follows threads of ideas, and traces arguments as they build to their conclusion (or watches them fall apart in the attempt). A good historian must be sensitive to language—language in the works of historians and biographers but also in the documents of the past. Words often change meaning over time, or take on new coloring or significance from changing contexts. What the word *innovation* conjured up to an American colonist in the 1770s who worried about a perceived conspiracy against liberty is not at all what that word denotes in modern advertising where no product would dare present itself as less innovative than the competition’s. Quite simply, in the words of the great nineteenth-century historian Jakob Burckhardt, “you must know how to read.”¹

1. Quoted in John Lukacs, *A Student’s Guide to the Study of History* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2000), 26-27.

Thoughts on History and the American Founding

MICHAEL P. FEDERICI

Historians and history teachers have among their burdens not only to get the story straight but to explain its significance and meaning. Accomplishing these objectives means contending with the problem of ideology and the limits of human understanding. The problem of ideology exists because human understanding is limited. As Claes G. Ryn notes, “Cognition is a dialectical straining towards, never the achievement of, perfect clarity.”¹ Historical knowledge is acquired in increments and to varying degrees as historians search the past and measure new evidence against older more firmly established knowledge. New insights require reconsideration and reconstitution of old knowledge. Increased clarity comes gradually and not without moments of confusion and obscurity. Perfect clarity is impossible.

Unable to reach the point of complete knowledge, humans are tempted to short-circuit the search for truth by substituting ideological presuppositions and dogmas (e.g., racial superiority, class warfare, economic reductionism) for an imperfect conception of historical reality. Herbert Butterfield calls history of this kind, “the Whig

1. Claes G. Ryn, “Knowledge and History” *The Journal of Politics* 44 (May 1982): 395.

interpretation of history.” It has among its characteristics the tendency to read the present into the past, what Butterfield calls “presentism,” and to avoid what he calls “unlikenesses.” Presentism occurs when historians interpret the past as if it is always the logical antecedent of a progressive (or in the case of many conservatives, a regressive) conception of the present. To make the historical record fit the historian’s ideological wishes, it is necessary to accentuate historical evidence that supports the preconceived conception of history and to ignore or mischaracterize evidence (unlikenesses) that calls it into question. Whig history, then, is ultimately about vindicating the self by making the experiences of past generations little more than the prelude to contemporary political causes.

The study and teaching of history are shaped by several factors including language, political ideas, and intuitions about human nature that have some bearing on the accuracy and meaning of history. As historians examine documents, texts, and historical places, they bring to their analysis preconceptions about what is both possible and desirable in human life. They carry with them an understanding of the human condition that can range from assuming that its basic structure is unchanging (human nature is fixed) to believing that human beings are not bound by ontological limits (human nature can be changed). In this way history is connected to philosophy.

Progressive or Marxist historians may assume that historical life does not occur within a permanent structure of existence with boundaries and limits. They are likely to find that history itself is moving toward the fulfillment of an ideological story that is marked by the emancipation from an older unsatisfactory order. Herbert Croly (1869-1930), the founding editor of *The New Republic* magazine, is an example of an early twentieth century progressive who tended to view history as an evolutionary process that culminates in the perfection of human nature. He refused to accept the very idea of limits and believed that, “What a democratic nation must do is not to accept human nature as it is, but to move in the direction of its

The Power of Place in Teaching American Constitutional History

CHRIS J. MAGOC

When I lived in other places I looked on their evils with the curious eye of a traveler; I was not responsible for them; it cost me nothing to be a critic for I had not been there long, and I did not feel that I would stay. But here, now that I am both native and citizen, there is no immunity to what is wrong. It is impossible to escape the sense that I am involved in history. . . . And every day I am confronted by the question of what inheritance I will leave.

—Wendell Berry¹

History is the essence of the idea of place.

—Henry Glassie²

Former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neil, once famously remarked that “all politics are local.” There is undoubtedly much truth in O’Neil’s maxim, which I have always believed applies equally to the discipline of history. Time and again in my classroom I have discovered great value for my students in establishing a local or regional connection to a large national event or episode in American history. For those who study and preserve local history, English historian H. P. R. Finberg’s axiom

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1. Wendell Berry, *The Long-Legged House* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1969), 178.
 2. Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 664.

that the past can be understood as a series of “concentric circles” radiating outward from one’s place is well understood.³ Finberg argued that what happens to an individual or a family at a given moment in time invariably reverberates outward. Personal matters and local events intersect and resonate with—and more importantly, can quite often illuminate—broader patterns of regional, national, and even international history. This truism is central to the fields of public history and museum studies. Material, artifactual traces of the contributions of countless American lives, lying in museum exhibits and collections across the country, testify to the adage that ordinary Americans have done extraordinary things throughout our history. Similarly, the built environment of our communities is suffused with multiple, layered stories of political, economic, and cultural transformation through time.

Having straddled the worlds of academe and public history over the past two decades, I have come to appreciate the value and the possibilities of linking the local and the personal with the larger sweep of American history. This chapter will survey a bit of what I have learned, with a particular focus on how we might enrich our teaching of American constitutional history with a close reading of the places where that history has transpired, including our own communities. I am convinced that alerting students (and ourselves) to the idea that the story of the country lies under our very feet can be more than simply instructive in telling them what happened. It might instill a truer “sense of place,” more fully connecting students to the heritage, and perhaps the future of their communities.

Local history suggests that place, perhaps even *their* place, somehow matters in the grand scheme of things. Further, in ways that words alone cannot, the tangible authenticity of place has the power to reveal more fully the struggle over the meaning of the ideas, values

3. H. P. R. Finberg, “Local History,” *Local History: Objective and Pursuit*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg and V. H. T. Skipp, (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1967), 39.

Inerrant Wind?

Lies and Lessons about the Ways We Teach and Remember the Scopes Trial

MARK A. KALTHOFF

Some American history textbooks discuss the modern roaring twenties—the *new era* of Coolidge prosperity—without mentioning the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy and its iconic event, the Scopes “Monkey” Trial. But not many.¹ Somehow it has become obligatory for teachers and texts to focus student attention upon the famous trial of 1925, if only long enough to establish it as the prime symbol of backward rural resistance to the winds of modernity and the last attempt of the Bible Belt’s yokels and hayseeds to thwart the new world of science and urban progress. Often taught hand in hand with the classic 1960 film, *Inherit the Wind*, the Scopes Trial has risen in the American collective memory to the rank of textbook legend. The real trial and the real lessons to be learned are all too often obscured by factual errors, sloppy generalizations, and agenda-driven scholarship. This chapter distinguishes Scopes rhetoric

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1. For a rare example of a recently published American history text that omits consideration of the Scopes Trial see Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen, *A Patriot’s History of the United States: From Columbus’s Great Discovery to the War on Terror* (New York: Sentinel, 2004).

from Scopes reality and thereby burns away the mythmaker's fog that surrounds popular accounts of the twentieth-century's greatest trial.

Charles Darwin published the *Origin of Species* in 1859. Protestant America did not wait until the twentieth-century to note the agnostic British naturalist's challenge to traditional faith.² Opposition to evolution had been around a long time when, in the 1920s, resistance reemerged with a new vigor, focused upon limiting its teaching. Several factors contributed to this. Throughout the nineteenth-century, Americans understood themselves to be living in a Protestant "Christian" nation. This meant that—whatever religious diversity there might have been—most Americans read the King James Version of the Bible and interpreted it in a fairly simple way, even if after 1909 many did so with the assistance of the Scofield Reference Bible's marginal notes. The Bible was "America's Book."³ Further, the prevailing political culture and national moral compass were clearly informed by ideas and symbols steeped in the American Protestant heritage. By the early twentieth century, however, this combined legacy of Biblicism and Protestant cultural hegemony seemed threatened in unprecedented ways.

The urbanization, industrialization, and new immigration of the post-civil war decades ignited an explosion of cultural change. More than these, however, the old Protestant establishment seemed imperiled by two creations of nineteenth-century Europe, biblical "higher" criticism and Darwinism. The former, a creation of German scholars, subjected the Bible to intense textual scrutiny and treated it like any other human book. The implications of this method shocked

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2. Jon H. Roberts, *Darwinism and the Divine in America: Protestant Intellectuals and Organic Evolution, 1859-1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988) and James R. Moore, *The Post Darwinian Controversies: A study of the Protestant struggle to come to terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
 3. Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, editors, *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

George Washington's First Command

The Start of the French and Indian War and the Making of America's Greatest Leader

GARY L. GREGG II

Whenever I speak about George Washington at schools and at meetings of civic organizations, the first thing I do is ask my audience to close their eyes and imagine the man we know by such grand titles as “The Father of Our Country.” I have found little diversity in the pictures reported, whether from fifth grade history students or life-long members of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Almost inevitably, the same iconic pictures of Washington emerge from my listener’s imaginations: bearing a sword, astride a majestic white horse, crossing an ice-choked Delaware, gracing the face of Mount Rushmore, the dollar bill, and the quarter. It is my hope that the following essay will add some new and dynamic pictures of George Washington to the readers’ imaginations and help them better appreciate the young man who would grow up to be America’s first and greatest president.

* * *

The George Washington of our popular imagination is cold and one-dimensional. He peers down at us from his rocky crag in South Dakota or up from the flat paper in our wallets. Most attempts to

portray the “Father of Our Country” with the printed word are similarly unapproachable and distant. We know Washington more as a caricature of mythic greatness than as a man. But there is another Washington that I have recently come to know.

This Washington is not the cold and distant figure high atop the bare mountain, but the ambitious and hot-blooded youngster trying to find his place in the world. It is the Washington full of pride and recklessness with a deep seated sense of honor that drives his actions. This is the story of the young man who volunteered for dangerous missions into the wilderness; who negotiated with Native Americans in councils of war; and who risked his life repeatedly to serve his King. This is Washington before the powdered wig and false teeth, when he is just learning his own limits and knocking off the rough edges of his character.

In many ways, it is shocking that we don't know this young ambitious Washington. I first hit upon this young man only after years of studying and thinking about the mature Washington most of us know something about. As I prepared lectures I was to give to a group of educators, I ran across the story of young Washington's first mission. That glimpse of a Washington I had not seen before sent me back into his papers. What I discovered in the tattered pages of his diaries and letters was a dynamic young Washington, burning with pride, searching for his place in the world, and willing to risk his life to serve his country and gratify his own ambition. But, to my surprise, it was difficult to find that young man in popular books that have been written about Washington in the last few decades. Like me until just recently, most authors have been blinded by the greatness of the statesman on Mount Rushmore and so have missed what is in some ways the even more interesting story of the formation of the boy that would become the Father of our Country.

In my research I've uncovered a young Washington, cutting his teeth by taking on a dangerous mission of diplomacy and espionage in the wilderness of the Ohio Country. I found a twenty-one-year-old

Spirits of America

The Founding and Civil War

WALTER A. McDOUGALL

The creation of the United States of America is the central historical event of the past four-hundred years. If some ghostly ship, some *Flying Dutchman*, were transported from the year 1600 into the present the crew would be amazed by our technology and the sheer number of people on the globe. The array of civilizations, however, would mostly be recognizable. There is today, as then: a huge Chinese Empire run by an authoritarian, but beleaguered bureaucracy; a homogeneous, anxious, suspicious Japan; a teeming mosaic of Hindus and Muslims trying to make a world power of India; an amorphous Russian empire pulsing outward or inward in proportion to Muscovy's force projection; a vast Islamic crescent hostile to infidels but beset by ethnic and sectarian strife; a devolved but still dynamic Christian civilization in Europe aspiring to unity; a sub-Saharan Africa vexed by poverty, disease, and tribalism; and a Latin America blessed with a rich multi-cultural mix but little geopolitical relevance. The only continent that would astound the Renaissance time-travelers would be North America, which was primitive and nearly vacant as late as 1607, but which today hosts the mightiest, richest, most creative civilization on earth—a civilization

that perturbs the trajectories of all other civilizations just by existing. The United States was not only born of revolution, it is one.¹

What were the character and spirit—or more accurately the multiple characteristics and spirits—of the people who settled the colonies that eventually became the United States? Who were the people that presumptuously took to calling themselves “Americans” (to the exclusion of other inhabitants of the western hemisphere)? What traits and traditions did they bear in their hearts, minds, and baggage when they emigrated from the Old World? How were their cultural, economic, political, religious, perhaps even psychological profiles then transformed by experience in the New World? This essay will literally “essay” (make a feeble attempt) to answer those enormous, amorphous questions. Its first part will excavate the colonial origins of American identity in early modern English and British history, in the colonies’ histories from 1607 to 1776, and in the early national era during which Americans self-consciously invented their republic. Its second part will then excavate the sectional origins of the civil war fought over the definition of the American identity down to the end of Reconstruction in 1877. If successful, those excavations will expose the characters and spirits of the republic (forged in the crucible of the War of Independence) and the nation (forged in the crucible of the Civil War) whose superpower would dominate the entire twentieth century.

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1. This article derives from the keynote addresses delivered at Mercyhurst College on May 10, 2005, and May 12, 2006. They adumbrate several of the most important themes in my synthetic narratives of the founding and evolution of the United States. So readers desiring fuller development and documentation of these themes may profitably (and enjoyably) consult Walter A. McDougall, *Freedom Just Around the Corner: A New American History 1585-1828* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), and *Throes of Democracy: The American Civil War Era 1829-1877* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008).

The Problem of Community

Agrarian Remedies, Urban Prospects

MARK T. MITCHELL

The decline of community is a theme taken up by many today both on the right and the left. The solitary bowler, a memorable image from Robert Putnam's book *Bowling Alone*, represents the loss that many feel and confirms the intuition that, despite the many advantages the modern world provides, something has indeed been lost. The situation is made more complex by the fact that the word *community* has been employed to cover a variety of social and political aspirations.

Setting aside the various ways the term has been used, there is something in the word that seems to touch on a deep and abiding human need. Consider the way real-estate developers advertise their wares. They regularly employ words that invoke a sense of belonging, security, peace, and happiness, a place to enjoy neighbors often in the context of a Disney-fied version of nature: "Falling Waters: A Real Community" or "Come Home to Rolling Acres" or "Experience the Good Life: Spring Meadows." Rarely do such developments actually contain a waterfall (except for the artificial falls tumbling over the jumble of rocks at the gated entrance) or a meadow much less the wildlife that such words evoke. But the fact that these words are successfully employed to market homes indicates an important fact: humans long for a community to which they can belong.

But what, exactly, is a community? Does any group of individuals living in close proximity to each other constitute a community? Is an urban neighborhood necessarily a community? What about a suburban housing development? If not, what are the ingredients that would make it so? It seems clear that the first step in seeking a restoration of community is defining, or at least describing, community. And this leads us to ask, among other things, if the physical setting limits the possibility of community. Does a healthy community exist more easily in an urban, suburban, or rural environment?

Wendell Berry, a farmer, poet, essayist, and novelist, has written eloquently on the idea of community. He writes out of the agrarian tradition, and his vision of community is articulated in a rural context centered around a small town. Berry's work is useful in developing a sense of the various ingredients necessary for a viable community. But once Berry's ideas have been presented, it is necessary to ask if and how this vision of community, if indeed it is compelling, can be translated into urban and suburban contexts. Ultimately, the discussion of community is rooted in the question of human flourishing, and, interestingly, both Berry as well as certain urban designers point to the modern affinity for specialization as a prime culprit in the destruction of modern communities.

WENDELL BERRY'S AGRARIAN VISION

Wendell Berry's book, *The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture*, describes a movement away from the small agrarian communities championed by Jefferson toward an urbanized, industrialized, and centralized society. As agribusiness has forced the small family farmer to "get big or get out" the resulting exodus from the farm has led to a general unsettling of the farmlands of America. Farmhouses, once the vibrant centers of family life, remain as decaying memorials to an era that simply could not survive the inevitable wave of "progress." At the same time, this physical unsettling has generated

Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and the Ancient Wisdom Tradition

GREGORY S. BUTLER

One of the insights of the contemporary political philosopher Eric Voegelin was that the great revolutionary ideological movements of modernity owe much of their persuasive power to a certain psychological appeal, rather than to any philosophical coherence. Voegelin noted that movements as diverse as romanticism, communism, fascism, progressivism, and scientism tend to draw their adherents from the ranks of the spiritually alienated, i.e., those who have somehow lost touch with the transcendent source of meaning for their lives and who long for an existential reconnection to the ground of being. It was for this reason that, in one of his earliest examinations of the subject, Voegelin referred to modern ideologies as political “religions” of a sort.¹

In his most well-known work, *The New Science of Politics*, he discusses the phenomenon as part of a universal human drive to secure *existential representation*, a condition in which meaningful

1. Eric Voegelin, “The Political Religions,” in *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin*, vol. 5 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 19-73. See also *Science, Politics, and Gnosticism*, in *Collected Works*, vol. 5, particularly the chapter on “Ersatz Religion” (295-313).

symbols of existential truth are institutionalized as a way to conform to and participate in the life-giving force of the ground of being.² This insight helps us to understand the nature of the modern attack upon traditional modes of existential representation, particularly as those modes are derivative of Judeo-Christian and Greek philosophic experience. According to Voegelin's analysis, modernity is not simply a matter of an "enlightened" age dispensing with the superstitions of the past, as though human beings had somehow progressed beyond the need for spiritual fulfillment. Rather, the modern attack represents an attempt to *replace* traditional transcendental conceptions of fulfillment with modern immanentist ones, which Voegelin has characterized as Gnostic in their structure.

A student of Voegelin, Stephen A. McKnight, described this attempt to "sacralize" immanent reality as one of the definitive characteristics of the modern age, and one that began to make its appearance as early as the Renaissance. For McKnight, the utopianism of figures as diverse as Bacon, Comte, and Marx is driven by a spiritual quest to "transform and transcend the basic conditions of existence" so as to regain our humanity and enter into a realm of perfect freedom.³ The spiritual angst that animates this imaginative longing for transformation is highly political, for the Gnostic-like experience of "flungness" in an "alien world"⁴ is rendered acute by the collapse of the surrounding society's ability to embrace the individual as part of a meaningful and integrated ontological order, stretching to the ground of being itself. Ideological programs of revolutionary social and political change promise psychic deliverance and reassurance in the midst of such chaos. According to Robert Nisbet, modern ideology can be understood fully only in its "proffer of community to individuals for whom sensations of dissolution and alienation

2. Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics*, in *Works*, vol. 5, 88.

3. Stephen A. McKnight, *Sacralizing the Secular: The Renaissance Origins of Modernity* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 5, 21.

4. Voegelin, *Science, Politics, and Gnosticism*, 255.

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