

Contents

I. Introduction	1
1. HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY	2
2. TYPES OF IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	4
3. CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONALISM	7

Part One: Ideology and American Nationalism

II. Ideology and the American Way of Life	17
1. THE IMPACT OF IDEOLOGY ON AMERICAN HISTORY	17
2. THE AMERICAN IDEOLOGY: THE PROBLEM STATED	19
3. THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN IDEOLOGY: A PRELIMINARY ANSWER	22
III. National Unity: the American Interpretation	31
1. "A MORE PERFECT UNION"	31
2. "WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES"	39
3. THE NEW WORLD	42
4. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THE "FIRST AMERICAN"	45
IV. The First National Creed: American Whiggism	49
1. "THE FREEST PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION"	50
2. THE RISE OF AMERICAN PATRIOTISM	62
V. The American, the New Man: The Image of a New Nation	71
1. THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN LIFE	71
2. "THE FOUNDATIONS ARE LAID: THE NATION IS BORN"	79
VI. "Natural Society"—the Evolution of a Social Ideal	90
1. STATE AND SOCIETY	90
2. "NATURAL SOCIETY"—THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT; LORD SHAFTESBURY	98
3. LORD BOLINGBROKE	104
4. FREEDOM AND DETERMINATION IN SOCIETY	108
5. THE NATURAL SYSTEM OF LIBERTY—LAISSEZ FAIRE	115

VII.	Free Society—the Formulation of the Jeffersonian Social Ideal	123
1.	FREEDOM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE	124
2.	NATIONAL ISOLATION AS A DUTY TO HUMANITY	128
3.	THE IDEAL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT	132
4.	THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE FREE SOCIETY	144
VIII.	The Jeffersonian Ideal—Social and Political Democracy	158
1.	THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF A FREE SOCIETY	158
2.	INDIVIDUALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY	168

Part Two: Individualism and the Free Society— The American Quest for Utopia

IX.	A European Concept Crosses the Atlantic	183
1.	THE NATURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONSENSUS	184
2.	INDIVIDUALISM AND DEMOCRACY	190
3.	LIBERTY AND INDIVIDUALISM	193
4.	FIRST REACTIONS TO A NEW CONCEPT	199
5.	INDIVIDUALISM AS AN AMERICAN CHARACTER TRAIT— MICHEL CHEVALIER	204
6.	FREE TRADE AND INDIVIDUALISM—FRIEDRICH LIST	207
X.	Individualism and Socialism: the Birth of Two New Concepts	211
1.	THE GREAT CHALLENGE; THE RISE OF ROMANTIC UTOPIANISM	212
2.	THE RISE OF HISTORICISM	216
3.	INDIVIDUALISM AS A TERM CRITICAL OF MODERNISM	221
4.	THE LIBERAL DEFENSE OF INDIVIDUALITY	222
5.	THE SAINT-SIMONIAN CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUALISM	226
6.	INDIVIDUALITY VERSUS INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM	231
XI.	Social Criticism in America	235
1.	ALBERT BRISBANE	236
2.	ORESTES A. BROWNSON	238
3.	WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING AND SOCIAL PERFECTIONISM	243
XII.	Foundations of the American Ideal of Individualism	246
1.	PURITANISM AND THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE	246
2.	THE UNITARIAN IMPULSE AND THE RISE OF A PURITAN HUMANISM	256
3.	ON THE PERFECTION OF THE SOUL	263
4.	THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN AMERICA: A RELIGIOUS AND A SECULARIZED VERSION	269

Contents	xiii
XIII. Utopian Individualism: Theory and Practice	277
1. EMERSON: "INDIVIDUALISM HAS NEVER BEEN TRIED"	277
2. INDIVIDUALISM TURNS ANARCHISM—JOSIAH WARREN	289
XIV. The Great Debate on the Nature of the American Ideal	297
1. THE SOUTHERN HERESY—"FREE SOCIETY" UNDER ATTACK	298
2. FORMATIVE FORCES IN THE RISE OF A RADICAL NORTHERN NATIONALISM	309
3. "A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM"—THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF A NEW NATIONALISM	315
XV. Epilogue	323
Notes	351
Index	437

