

**AN INQUIRY INTO THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM  
IN AMERICAN LITERATURE IN THE  
SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

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**A Dissertation  
Presented to  
the College of Education  
University of Houston**

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**In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Education**

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**by  
John McCluhan, Jr.**

**July, 1951**

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AN ABSTRACT

The relationships of man in his ideological and educational environment have long been the concern of investigators. This study is an attempt to investigate an educational environment--American literature in the secondary schools--in its relationship to an ideological environment--the concept of nationalism.

This survey is based on a query addressed to the Department of Public Instruction of the several states, requesting information pertinent to their program in American literature. The various textbooks utilized in these programs were then analyzed for writings with nationalistic implications.

The introductory chapters of this study deal with various background concepts which are necessary for a complete understanding of the terms involved in such a study. These terms are discussed from the standpoint of their historical evolution.

Chapter III deals with nationalism as discovered in primary political writings, from the period of colonization to the present day. Chapter IV is a continuation of this survey in the utilitarian and belletristic writings of the same period.

Chapter V treats of nationalism in its relationship to patriotism, internationalism, the development of American public education, and the teaching of American literature. The following conclusions were then drawn:

1. Our American literature contains much in itself which, when properly presented and understood, makes for an intelligent nationalism.
2. A nationalism which is the result of cultural growth and which recognizes the dynamic nature of the universe in which we live, is a justifiable ballast against the insecurity of a chaotic world.
3. The historical milieu in which that literature was produced promotes a sound historical commentary on the American scene.
4. The anthologies utilized in the teaching of American literature in the secondary schools, are for the most part, well edited.
5. A course in American literature to be vital, must be relevant to present-day needs.

In the light of the readings done in the completion of this study, it was felt that certain recommendations relative to the teaching of American literature in the Secondary schools should be made. These were:

1. Teachers of American literature in the secondary schools should be well-prepared in the subject-matter area, in the areas of American history and government, and in the Art of teaching.
2. Textbooks should be even more carefully edited, and much material removed. This investigator sees little value in many of the questions which appear in various texts.



3. More selections should be given in their entirety, and many selections whose literary qualities are doubtful should be removed.

4. School administrators should seriously consider, from the standpoint of educational and financial economy, the correlation of courses in American literature with those of American history. Both of these areas focus attention on man in his social relationships, and both aim to develop a mature sensitivity.

## PREFACE

One engaged in educational activities today is acutely aware of the problems which beset the American public. Many solutions to these problems have been proffered, some the result of reflective analysis, and others the result of unfounded generalizations.

It is felt by many observers that something is wrong with American society--that somewhere the ideals of our progenitors have become lost--that we are not a politically conscious people, and that as a result those rights which are the essence of American democracy are being destroyed.

As a nation, we have become group-conscious, stressing the needs of the particular group to which we belong, over and above the needs of our fellow-Americans. It is necessary that we become conscious of these divisive tendencies, and recognize our fellow-Americans not on the basis of creed, color, or educational background, but on the basis of equality before the law.

The schools, as an American institution, must accept this challenge. Educational theory is, unfortunately, not always educational practice. As educators we have been guilty of platitudes. It behooves us then, in the light of

dispassionate analysis, to discover any area in which we might more effectively implement the workings of the democratic process.

This study, which is an investigation into such implementation, was first suggested by Dr. June Hyer, who has also directed the research involved. It would be impossible for me to adequately express my gratitude for her guidance and stimulation in the preparation of this study and in the years of its formation. Her background in the field of International Education has been a never-failing source of supply.

To Dr. R. Balfour Daniels, Dr. Matthew W. Rosa, Dr. Laurie T. Callicutt, and Dr. Esther Gibney, the other members of my committee, I can but be humbly grateful. My association with them as a student prepared me for their genuine scholarship and their effective stimulation of those students with whom they come in contact. Had it not been for their example, I fear this task would have proved well-nigh insurmountable.

It would be amiss if I failed to acknowledge the assistance given me by other members of the University faculty: Dr. W. W. Kemmerer, to whose vision this University is a tribute; Dr. Arvin W. Donner, who planned my work in its

early stages; and to Mrs. Bessie Ebaugh, Mrs. Anne Phillips, Mrs. Jean Rosa, Dr. Helen B. Rufener, Mrs. Evelyn Thompson, and Murray A. Miller, whose encouragement have meant much to me.

Friendship is a quality not lightly to be prized, and in this I am singularly blest in Mr. and Mrs. Jon Miller, Mr. Ben J. DuBoze, and Dr. Jerome Rosenbloom, who, in the dark nights of despair incident to the completion of this study, watched with me until the dawn.

I can but hope that this investigation is worthy of the trust and confidence placed in me by those who have engendered my curiosity.

John McCluhan, Jr.

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## CHAPTER I

### ON THE RELEVANCY OF NATIONALISM AND LITERATURE

#### I. THE PROBLEM

For long centuries the peoples of the earth have been obeying the impulse to unite into nations. Groups of men marked out by origin, by shared characteristics, and by language, have banded themselves together and have sought either the reign of law and the dominance of justice, or its opposite, the reign of terror and lawlessness. It is important that we recognize the implications of this evolutionary process, for our political systems, our ethical standards, and our moral aspirations are a development, and are in the process of development today.

It is important then that we analyze the contributions which preceding generations have made to this development, for in so doing we may discover that the problems which we face today, were, in their essence, faced by those generations. We must remember that we are the products not of an age, but of all preceding ages, and the interpretation of the events with which we are confronted can be based only upon this concept of cultural unity. T. S. Eliot in "Burnt Norton," echoes this concept of the unity of time:

Time past and time future  
 What might have been and what has been  
 Point to one end, which is always present.<sup>1</sup>

As educators, we must deal with this awe-inspiring concept of the relevancy of the present. We must instill in those in our charge those ideals and principles which will enable them to create their--and our--world of the future.

In the light of this concept of the relevance of the present to the future and the past, this study is directed toward the concept of nationalism in American literature in the secondary schools. It is not concerned primarily with the rationale of such a course of study, but accepts the obvious fact that such a course does exist in the majority of states, and will undoubtedly continue to exist, although possibly in a changed form.

The two major divisions of this study deal with the problem of the historical evolution and meaning of nationalism and its related concepts and of the discovery of those readings in American literature in the secondary schools which contribute to a national consciousness. These writings will be discussed in their historical context, for only in that context can their nationalistic propensities be wholly understood.

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<sup>1</sup>Four Quartets, p. 4.



## II. THE RELEVANCY OF THE PROBLEM

This generation lives in a dynamic world, at a critical point in the history of the human race. We are a generation of crisis, living in a time of inevitable changes, and it should be our function to determine, insofar as it is humanly possible, the direction which those changes will take.

A study such as this is particularly relevant at the present time, for we need a re-evaluation of those ideas which constitute nationalism, as well as an historical overview of the development of the idea of the nation as a political fact, together with the associated concepts of nationality and nationalism. We are all aware that mere acquaintance with these areas will not, inso facto, create a citizen whose ideals are best exemplified by the "American Way of Life," for mere contact is not learning, nor does an acquaintance with the great figures of our national heritage produce in the student the desire--nor the opportunity--to go and do likewise. Mere facts of history or government do not, unless intelligently discerned or interpreted, point out a principle, and therein lies their weakness, for only as they become a living part of the individual can they possess meaning.

Their study should not be decried, but in conjunction with learning the facts which they present, the student should also be confronted with the way men at a particular time concerned themselves with and responded to those facts. This is the particular function of literature, for the stuff of which any literature is made is the life of men.

In Conducting Experiences in English, this significant comment is made:

Literary critics and great teachers of literature have long been agreed that literature is the embodiment of experience and that the function of reading literature is to broaden the reader's experience. . . . It may often--very profitably--be followed by reflection upon that experience, connecting and comparing it with other experiences both direct and vicarious, interpreting it, evaluating it.<sup>2</sup>

If this should be the function of literature, it behooves us to consider seriously the type of literature which we present to our students. If we are concerned with the preservation of democracy, then let us determine those elements in our literature which exemplify this national consciousness, and in our teaching aid in their interpretation and evaluation by the student.

Harold R. Walley, in an article entitled "Literature and Crisis" says:

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<sup>2</sup>Angela M. Broening, et al., Conducting Experiences in English, p. 11.

The present crisis poses the fundamental question with brutal simplicity: Has literature, have the humanities, a vital function in time of stress? . . . Are books as important as bombs or planes and tanks? Granted that we have dedicated ourselves to arts most appropriate to peace, if these arts have no virility or meaning in war, if they do not minister to the whole life of man, if they prove impotent in time of stress then truly are they little but a luxury and their fundamental validity is suspect.<sup>3</sup>

This study is an effort to demonstrate that within the framework of our course in American literature, we can help preserve the democratic tradition in the United States. We teach literature which reveals the democratic tradition in its growth and in its power, in its emphasis of the importance of man as a human being with rational moral capabilities sufficient for himself and for society.

For the interpretation of the drama of human experience, we have little choice but to look to the disciplines of history, philosophy, literature, and the fine arts. Of these literature possesses an advantage over and above the rest, for at its best it is the embodiment of history and philosophy and the fine arts. History and philosophy tend toward a consideration of values in the abstract; and art, because of its form, must speak by implication, but literature is both

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<sup>3</sup>College English. 3:151, November, 1941.

specific and explicit. Its values are those of human experience in action, vividly reflected by a sensitive mind. It is, therefore, most immediate to the human experience itself.

By and large, Americans have seldom known enough about their own country in terms of the origin and development of democratic concepts and institutions. We have been trained in the minutiae of its history--dates, battles, and heroes--but in the most important aspects of its history--that of ideas--we have, on the whole, been woefully unlearned.

We must understand that democracy, in its basic concept, is an idea and an ideal far more than a political process or group of institutions: not a thing achieved, but a thing in motion. It is as an idea and philosophy that it is being threatened today by a powerful force representing another philosophy of life which is the complete denial and negation of every value and principle which the democratic concept embraces. It must be rediscovered in terms of its true nature--that of a dynamic force emanating from deep-seated convictions relative to the inherent integrity of the human spirit.

In our enthusiasm for the interpretation of democracy by means of American literature, we must not lose sight of the fact that it is not contact alone which produces the

desired result, nor is our "democratic heritage" an end in itself. Emerson spoke wisely when he announced, "Every age, it is found, must write its own books."<sup>4</sup> More accurately, each age must re-evaluate and revitalize its heritage. A heritage worshipped as an end in itself is of little or no value. The concept of our heritage as Americans remains a form, a symbol of a former vitality rather than the living, dynamic force which it should be.

A course in American literature, to be effective, must have a twofold purpose and function. It must explain and interpret the meaning and implication of our American heritage, by reference to historical origins and backgrounds. It must relate the abstract idea to its practical application by a reference to the history of the ever-continuing struggle for human freedom. It must honestly, by a strict adherence to the historical record, reveal the shortcomings of the evolving concept of nationalism, with regard both to motives and techniques.

That such a program is in accord with the philosophy of the secondary schools is demonstrated by the various objectives set up by agencies concerned with secondary education. Chris A. DeYoung discusses these objectives in Intra-

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<sup>4</sup>"The American Scholar," Nature Addresses and Lectures, p. 68.

duction to American Public Education, pages 201-203, which cites the following: In 1918, the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education stated that one of the objectives should be "Civic participation," which presupposes a knowledge of the democratic tradition. In its Quarterly for March, 1927, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools presented as one of its goals "To sustain successfully certain definite social relationships such as civic, domestic, community, and the like." The National Association of Secondary School Principals lists as one of the "Imperative Needs of Youth" that "All youth need to understand the rights and duties of the citizen of a democratic society, and to be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation." The Educational Policies Commission in Education for All American Youth states that the school should "Prepare the student to assume the full responsibilities of American Citizenship." Obviously then, anything which would contribute to this awakened consciousness on the part of the student is within the purview of the study of American literature.

This survey is an effort to determine what concepts of nationalism exist in American literature as it is presented

in the secondary schools, and to determine whether or not these concepts can contribute to the development of political acumen on the part of the individual student.

In its preparation, an inquiry<sup>5</sup> was submitted to the Departments of Education of the forty-eight states. It was felt that this approach would be the most feasible one in determining the scope of instruction. It has obvious defects, as do the majority of studies which deal with teaching methods or curricula. The most apparent of these defects is that the method of approach is quantitative rather than qualitative. This is a fault, but the only way in which a true qualitative analysis could be made would be entry into an actual learning situation. Another defect is that many states do not have state-adopted courses of study. This defect is more apparent than real, for those states which did submit answers indicated a definite trend insofar as textbook adoptions are concerned. It is fair to assume then, that most high schools which have established their own course of study utilize one of the textbooks analyzed. Another mitigating factor is that enough replies were received to indicate regional tendencies.

A study of this nature presupposes familiarity with some of the leading writers of American literary history.

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<sup>5</sup>See Appendix A.

The most important is the late Professor Parrington, whose Main Currents in American Thought was published posthumously in a partially completed form. It is an influential study, but is not a history of American literature. In the Preface, page iii, he states:

I have undertaken to give some account of the genesis and development in American letters of certain germinal ideas that have come to be reckoned traditionally American--how they came into being here, how they were opposed, and what influence they have exerted in determining the form and scope of our characteristic ideals and institutions. . . .

In consequence, this work is actually a history of political, economic, and social ideas. Lewis Mumford, in 1926, published The Golden Day, an admirable study, but obviously limited, inasmuch as it was first delivered as a lecture series in Switzerland. Ludwig Lewisohn's Expression in America is an exposition of American literature in Freudian terms rather than a literary history, and The Great Tradition of Granville Hicks is an effort to demonstrate that literature improves in proportion as it approaches the proletarian point of view.<sup>6</sup>

The majority of the other writings concerned with American literary history deal with a particular period, group, or individual, and consequently will be treated as they have significance.

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<sup>6</sup>For an interesting refutation of Hick's theory, see Donald Davidson, "Regionalism and Nationalism in American Literature," American Review, 5:48, April-October, 1935.



In analyzing textbooks for the concept of nationalism, a modification of the pattern suggested by Robert Whitney Bolwell<sup>7</sup> was followed. This consists of two divisions: the first of which deals with writings concerning nationalism, and the second with nationalistic literary exploitation of American themes. These two divisions were further subdivided into three periods: 1607-1800; 1800-1870; and 1870 to the present day.

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<sup>7</sup>"Concerning the Study of Nationalism in American Literature," American Literature, 10:405-416, January, 1939.

## CHAPTER II

### LINGUISTIC AND SEMANTIC IMPLICATION OF NATIONALISM AND RELATED WORDS

We are all aware of the peculiar difficulties involved in the problem of word definition, for language expresses thought, and every complication that can entangle thought can entangle language. This phenomenon is particularly, even peculiarly, true in the realm of those symbols which have come to represent some aspect of our political life.

So is it with nationalism. It is a word seized upon and bandied about indiscriminately, either by itself or in combination with other words or parts of words whose definition is often equally confused. It is important then, that early in this study these terms should be clearly defined in order that our point of reference might be fixed.

A minor difficulty, albeit a no less real one, must be dealt with at the very outset, and this concerns the different and sometimes conflicting uses and significance of the words people, nation, and nationality, which are related in meaning to nationalism. Yet, if we are to understand and eventually to evaluate the attitude of mind and concomitant action which these words express, we must seek

some understanding of their meaning and their relationship one to another. It will be imperative that precise definitions be assigned to them, in spite of an awareness that these definitions may be arbitrary and even tentative.

Fundamental to the study of these terms is a careful distinction between the concepts people and nation. Both are the products of historical evolution, but a people comes into being by a slow psychological process, whereas the rise of a nation implies today merely a political process: the creation of a state.<sup>1</sup> That such was not always the concept of the word nation will be demonstrated subsequently.

People. A mere arbitrary combination or collection of men has never given rise to a People.<sup>2</sup> Even the freely given social contract of a group of individuals cannot create one. To form a people, the experiences and fortunes of several generations must cooperate, and its permanence is never certain until a succession of families have handed down its accumulated culture from generation to generation. The essence of a people, which is understandable only from a psychological point of view, lies in its civilization, its cohesion, and its separation from other peoples. Its innate qualities can be revealed only in

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<sup>1</sup> J. K. Bluntschli, The Theory of the State, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

the mutual spirit which inspires it.

Nation. The word nation is provocatively ambiguous. As derived from the Latin natio, it meant birth or race, and signified a tribe or social grouping based on real or fancied community of blood, and usually possessed of a common language. In the Greek, we find this idea expressed by the word ethnos, which means a multitude or company distinguished from the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> This is shown clearly in the New Testament, as in Matthew 4:14-15:

Γῆ Ζαβωγλῶν καὶ Νεφθλίου.  
ὁδὸν θαλασσης πέραν τοῦ Ὠρδάνου  
Γαλιλαία τῶν ἔθνων

Matthew 10:5:

· · · εἰς ὁδὸν ἔθνων μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε  
καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαρειτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε.

and Luke 2:32:

φῶς εἰς ἀποκόλυψιν ἔθνων

During the Middle Ages, the word nation denoted, rather loosely, a group characterized by community of origin, language, and custom. The faculty and student body of medieval universities were not infrequently divided into "nations." Du Cange defines the term thus:

<sup>3</sup> Karl Feyerabend, editor, A Greek-English Dictionary, p. 115.

Nationes in quas studiorum seu Academicarum Scholastici dividuntur, quae in singulis quaternis fere semper definiuntur numero; verbi gratia Parisiensis quatuor nationibus constat Franciae, Picardiae, Normanniae, et Germaniae quae olim Angliae dicebatur  
 . . .<sup>4</sup>

Du Boulay, the seventeenth-century historian of the University of Paris, defined the term nation for Paris as "the corporation or association of masters, teaching . . . all the arts, inscribed in the same roll, and living under the same laws, ordinaries and chiefs."

The reason for designating these associations of students or masters as "nations" cannot be determined with certainty.<sup>6</sup> The application of the term may have had some relation to the Roman and Greek custom of referring to peoples outside the city as "nations," as a synonym for foreigner.

Evidently, during the Middle Ages, the meaning of the word nation hovered between what we now call "region" or "province" with only a vague foreshadowing of "nationality." Nations in the present-day sense could hardly be said to exist in those

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<sup>4</sup> Charles Du Preme Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, n.p.

<sup>5</sup> Cesar E. Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, Vol. I, p. 250, cited by Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. I, p. 315.

days, when, for Western Europe at least, Christianity was the common fatherland.<sup>7</sup>

A more natural meaning was that a nation constituted an ethnic and religious community, with some rights of self-government, but on a non-territorial basis. Thus the Jews, without land or language of their own, formed a "nation." Shylock, in The Merchant of Venice I. iii. 49-53, says:

He hates our sacred nation, and he rails,  
Even there where merchants most do congregate,  
On me, my bargains and my well-won thrift,  
Which he calls interest. Cursed be my tribe,  
If I forgive him!<sup>8</sup>

It was not long after this impassioned speech, with its linkage of "nation" and "tribe," that seventeenth-century jurists and publicists began employing the word nation to describe the composition of peoples within a sovereign political state, regardless of any racial or linguistic unity, and this definition still enjoys general sanction.<sup>9</sup>

Nationality. It was in part to compensate for the abuse of the word nation that the word nationality was coined in the

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<sup>7</sup> Albert Guerard, "Herder's Spiritual Heritage: Nationalism, Romanticism, Democracy," The World Trend Toward Nationalism, Vol. 174 (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1934), p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Hardin Craig, editor, Shakespeare, p. 332.

<sup>9</sup> Carlton J. H. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, p. 4.

early portion of the nineteenth century, and incorporated into most European languages. Thereafter, nation denoted a sovereign political state, and nationality was used in reference to a group of people speaking the same language and observing the same customs.<sup>10</sup> To the philologist, this definition has certain obvious defects, coming about from a confusion of the word ethnos with natio, which, as has been indicated, have entirely different linguistic backgrounds and meanings. Two writers in this field have felt this difficulty.

Kohn says:

Nationalities are the product of the historical development of society. They are not identical with clans, tribes or folk groups--bodies of men united by actual or supposed common descent or by a common habitat. Ethnographic groups like these existed throughout history, from earliest times on, yet they do not form nationalities: they are nothing but "ethnographic material" out of which under certain circumstances, a nationality might arise. Even if a nationality arises, it may disappear again, absorbed into a larger or new nationality.<sup>11</sup>

Pillsbury makes much the same comment:

Nationality is an affair of the mind or spirit, not . . . of physical relationships. The only way to decide whether or not an individual belongs to one nation or another is to ask him.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> W. B. Pillsbury, The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism, p. 5.

The conclusion, then, seems inescapable--the basis of nationality cannot be found, either historically or psychologically, in inherent mental or spiritual differences among peoples, or for that matter, in racial heredity or physical environment. It is a group-consciousness, and is therefore a psychological and sociological fact, but any psychological or sociological explanation is inadequate in its interpretation.

In a discussion of this group-consciousness, it is seen that nationality is not an absolute, although efforts have been made to raise it to such a quality. These efforts have primarily centered around the concept that blood or race is the basis of nationality, and that it exists eternally and carries with it an unchangeable substance. Secondly, it is seen as the Volksgeist--the ever-welling spring of nationality and all its attributes. These theories cannot be accepted in the light of historical perspective and scientific investigation.<sup>13</sup>

Nationalities come into existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. A nationality usually has several of these attributes; very few have all of them. The most usual of them are a common language, a common historical tradition, a belief of its members that they constitute a distinct cultural society, and a common territory, or the state.

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<sup>13</sup> Hayes, op. cit., p. 8.



Among the cultural attributes of nationality, language is and has been pre-eminent; in fact, the formation of most modern nationalities has been historically dependent upon the development of particular languages.

Language as a determinant of nationality has been criticized by many writers, of whom Kohn may be regarded as typical. He cites in support of his contention that "there are many nationalities who have no language of their own--like the Swiss, who speak four different languages, or the Latin American nationalities, all of whom speak Spanish or Portuguese."<sup>14</sup> These citations might be multiplied, but ultimately they are equally irrelevant, for the difficulty of this school of thought arises either from a confusion of nationalities with political entities, or from a failure to recognize the fluid and dynamic nature of nationality.<sup>15</sup>

It is easy to understand why language should be the principal component in forming and supporting a nationality. Uniformity of language tends to like-mindedness, to the development of an inclusive set of ideas as well as words. Like-minded persons tend to develop a consciousness of themselves as members of a group with responsibilities co-existing between themselves and other members of that group--in other words, to constitute a tribe or nationality.

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<sup>14</sup> Op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Hayes, op. cit., p. 14.

The second attribute of a nationality--the cherishing of a common historical tradition--was first stressed by Rousseau.<sup>16</sup> Not only do men naturally recall certain outstanding events in their own lives, but also, as a part of their group-consciousness, they have a tendency to preserve and even augment the recollections of past decisive moments in the life of the linguistic group to which they belong. They are often prone to commemorate the group's heroic figures and its prowess in battle. These innate tendencies, which doubtless are associated psychologically with man's group consciousness, combine with his sense of chronological unity and his memory endowment to form the traditions upon which nationality most conspicuously thrives.

Coincident with the accumulation of historic traditions appears the tendency to personify the group and to view the nationality as an historical personage. All such personifications operate emotionally upon individuals, presenting them with a glorified picture of the spirit, the principle, the ideal of their group, and thereby persuade them to a deeper loyalty to their common nationality.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Kohn, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> G. E. Partridge, The Psychology of Nations, p. 85.

The third distinguishing mark of a nationality is the belief that its members compose a distinct cultural society, possessing a living and active corporate will. Every nationality has a cultural pattern all its own, a distinctive combination of institutions, customs, and art. Too much emphasis as well as too little may be placed upon this unity of culture. Within a nation there may be--and frequently is--a wide pattern of divergencies, and on the other hand, improvement in travel and communications have undoubtedly given an impetus toward a uniformity of culture on a world-wide scale. In spite of this, each nationality tends to regard itself as a center of culture which is dissimilar to any other.

The fourth distinguishing mark of a nationality is its common territory--the state. This degree of political independence need not be present when a nationality originates, but in such cases, (as with the Czechs in the late eighteenth century, or the Zionists in our own) it is frequently the memory of a prior state or the aspiration toward statehood which characterizes a nationality.

Among primitive men, tribe differs from tribe not only in language and religion, but also in form of government. With the development of civilization, loyalty to a tribal chief evolved into loyalty to his command, and this in turn to loyalty to the political institutions of the state. Not infrequently

a dynasty has been the intermediate agent between the tribal chieftain and the abstract idea of the political state.

Partridge feels that this idea of the political state has commanded a high degree of loyalty,<sup>18</sup> and certainly in the experience of the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and the Romans, politics powerfully aided the transition from tribe to nationality.

In summary then, we may say that nationality finds its basis in cultural foundations; that a nationality usually consists of a group who share a common language, who cherish common historical traditions, who constitute a distinct cultural unit; and who look back to, possess, or anticipate a common territory. Yet we need to remember that:

Nationalities, as "ethnographic material," as "pragmatic" and accidental factors in history, existed for a very long time; but only through the awakening of national consciousness have they become volitional and "absolute" factors in history. The extensive use of the word "nationality" must not blind us to the fact that the lack of this voluntaristic element makes what are sometimes called nationalities of the period before the rise of modern nationalism fundamentally different from nationalities of the present time. To base nationality upon "objective" factors like race implies a return to primitive tribalism. In modern times it has been the power of an idea, not the call of blood, that has constituted and molded nationalities.<sup>19</sup>

Nationalism. A natural outgrowth of the concept of nationality is nationalism, and today there is preached and practiced a two-fold doctrine:

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 84-85.

<sup>19</sup> Kohn, op. cit., p. 16.

(1). . . each nationality should constitute a united independent sovereign state, and, (2). . . every national state should expect and require of its citizens not only unquestioning obedience and supreme loyalty, not only an exclusive patriotism, but also unshakable faith in its surpassing excellence over all other nationalities and lofty pride in its peculiarities and its destiny. This is nationalism and it is a modern phenomenon.<sup>20</sup>  
*[Italics mine]*

It has been demonstrated that always in the history of mankind there has been some cognizance of the fact that linguistic, historical, and cultural peculiarities of a group make its members kindred among themselves and extraneous to other groups. It has not, however, been until very recently that whole peoples have been inculcated with the belief that every individual owes an allegiance to his nationality; that nationality is the ideal unit of political organization; and that in the final analysis all other human loyalties must be in relationship to a national state. These tenets are the essence of modern nationalism.

Both the idea and the form of nationalism were developed prior to the Age of Nationalism. In the Old Testament we find religion in various countries closely identified with tribal concepts. The story of Naaman, the Syrian, demonstrates clearly how the worship of a given god was related to the country and the actual soil over which he ruled.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Hayes, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>21</sup> II Kings 5:1 ff.

The much debated book of Jonah has its great historical significance because it throws such vivid light upon the struggle of religion to escape the limitations of nationalism. The story is probably a satire to ridicule the nationalistic concept of Jahweh.<sup>22</sup>

These incidents, as revealing as they were, do not, however, present the entire picture, for the ancient Jews did not think of themselves as blest because they spoke Hebrew and lived in Palestine and constituted a national state. They were a chosen people because they believed in Jahweh, a belief which transcended nationality. The foreigner who could say with Ruth, "Thy God shall be my God,"<sup>23</sup> was admitted to full membership in a religious group, not a national group.

Later in time, this universalism became the dominant note of the early Christian teachings. The Roman Empire had converted the orbem terrarum into one city with a common history in time, and the church gave it an organic unity with eternity. This universalism of the Empire, which was rooted in Hellenistic civilization but devoid of the exclusiveness of the Greek state, prepared the earth for the universalism of Christianity. Later, these two concepts--the universalism of the Church and the

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<sup>22</sup> Albert W. Beaven, "The Meaning for Religious of the World Trend toward Nationalism," The World Trend Toward Nationalism, Vol. 174 (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1934), p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Ruth 1:16.

universalism of the Empire--came into conflict, and in the struggle the church emerged victorious.

During the Middle Ages, nationalism, in the sense understood today, did not form any essential part of the communal mind. There was a primitive and natural feeling of a common language or homeland, especially in the latter part of the Middle Ages, and one of tribal cohesion in the earlier part. The decentralization within those territories which were to later form nations did not permit that degree of political and emotional integration which is essential to modern nationalism.

During the period of the Holy Roman Empire, the problem of nationalism passed into the background because of the unifying power of the Church, but with the dissolution of that empire, the medieval synthesis of Church and Empire came to an end, and nationalism again became a socio-political force. The Reformation, which laid the foundations for state churches within the different nations, was caused partly by a resurgence of the nationalistic spirit, and in part it implemented that same tendency. The causes of the Reformation were devious, but the intimate association of the Church with Feudalism was certainly an important factor. Medieval conditions were rapidly passing away, and the new life in Christendom called for a progressive stand in religious matters as in other affairs. A new life resulting from the Crusades, the rise of commerce and industry,

the rise of tradesmen and workers, the evolution of the university, and the discovery of the art of printing had united to develop a changed attitude toward the old problems and prepared Western Europe for a rapid evolution out of the medieval conditions which had for so long dominated all action and thinking.<sup>24</sup>

The rise of vernacular languages in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to emphasize nationality, for not even the best-educated person could be expected to be familiar with all the languages spoken in Europe. Writers in English began to stress what was peculiar to England; French writers performed the same function in France; and Italian writers did the same in Italy. Gradually national characteristics were imaginatively depicted and national aspirations voiced.

Shakespeare, in King Richard II, II. i. 40-50, penned the praises of England thus:

. . . This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands,  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm,  
this England, . . .<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Kohn, op. cit., pp. 119 et seq.

<sup>25</sup> Craig, op. cit., p. 485.



A scant fifty years later in a work entitled The Second Defense of the English People by John Milton, Englishman, in Reply to an Infamous Book Entitled "Cry of the King's Blood," may be read:

A grateful recollection of the divine goodness is the first of human obligations; and extraordinary favors demand more solemn and devout acknowledgements; with such acknowledgements I feel it my duty to begin this work. First, because I was born at a time when the virtue of my fellow-citizens, far exceeding that of their progenitors in greatness of soul and vigor of enterprise, having invoked Heaven to witness the justice of their cause and been clearly governed by its directions, has succeeded in delivering the commonwealth from the most grievous tyranny . . . . And next, because when there suddenly arose against us many, who, as is usual with the vulgar, basely calumniated the most illustrious achievements . . . I, who was neither deemed unequal to so renowned an adversary, nor to so great a subject, was particularly selected by the deliverers of our country, and by the general suffrage of the public, openly to vindicate the rights of the English nation, and consequently of liberty itself . . . . For who is there, who does not identify the honor of his country with his own?<sup>26</sup>

Certainly here is a clear indication of the evolving national consciousness.

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, national characteristics were not merely acknowledged, but they became a source of pride. The majority of historians agree that the beginnings of modern nationalism date from this period. G. P. Gooch says, "Nationalism is a child of the French Revolution."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The Prose Works of John Milton . . . with a preface, preliminary remarks and notes by J. A. St. John, I, 217.

<sup>27</sup> Studies in Modern History, p. 217.

Hayes states that "Nationalism is modern, very modern."<sup>28</sup> and Kohn says that "Nationalism as we understand it is not older than the second half of the eighteenth century. Its first great manifestation was the French Revolution, which gave the new movement a dynamic force."<sup>29</sup>

The events of this period which brought the seed growing secretly to fruition were, first, the French Revolution which promulgated the dogma of national democracy. The theoretical basis of popular sovereignty, which predicated this dogma had already been prepared by Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson and others.

The French Revolution made many definite and signal contributions to the subsequent, almost universal practice of nationalism. It strengthened the lay state at the expense of the church, and while allowing to individuals a considerable latitude of ecclesiastical affiliation, it inculcated the doctrine that all citizens owed their first and paramount loyalty to the national state and it prescribed quasi-religious rites before altars of la patrie and over the remains of the dead "pour la patrie." It inaugurated such nationalist forms as the national flag, the national anthem, and national holidays. It insisted upon linguistic uniformity.<sup>30</sup>

The second event of this period which exerted influence on nationalism was the Industrial Revolution. On first thought,

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<sup>28</sup> Essays in Nationalism, p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> The Idea of Nationalism, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Hayes, op. cit., p. 47.

it might appear that this laid foundations for internationalism rather than nationalism, for it has plainly brought national groups into closer contact with each other. Closer observation indicates, however, that its effects, important as they have been on the world at large, have had much more influence within the national states. Because of the Industrial Revolution, production of goods was greatly increased, but the organization of production remained on a national basis. The chief instruments of communication were usually owned, or at least controlled, by national governments. Domestic consumption of production increased more rapidly than did foreign consumption. The instrumentalities of trade--money, credit, and banking--were organized on a national basis, and even labor organized itself on those lines.

The increase of wealth which resulted from the Industrial Revolution brought about a clear recognition of economic wealth as an instrument of power politics. This new economy further strengthened the state, and thus contributed to nationalistic tendencies by making the state as self-sufficient and as rich in industrial potential as possible.

Mercantilism represented the economic counterpart of political statism. In practice it sought to bring all phases of economic life under royal control. In theory, at least, mercantilists were almost pathetic in their childlike belief in the omnipotence and omniscience of the central government. Was anything

wrong, the king should, and could, remedy it. Did an abuse exist, the king could annihilate it by an edict. Was an undertaking desirable, the king could initiate it and make it a success.<sup>31</sup>

The purpose of mercantilism was to strengthen the state and its power in international politics; but it became no more than a scheme imposed from above, trying to achieve a national unity which it in reality never approached, continuing in many ways the medieval confusion and disruption of economic life, and leaving provinces, cities and villages as centers of economic life.

The third element in the promulgation of nationalism was the literary and philosophical romanticism exemplified by Herder, Schlegel, and Lessing in Germany; Chateaubriand and Rousseau in France; and Sir Walter Scott and Wordsworth in England.

Taine says of this period:

Thus rises the modern man, impelled by two sentiments, one democratic, the other philosophic. From the shallows of his poverty and ignorance he rises with effort, lifting the weight of established society and admitted dogmas, disposed either to reform or to destroy them, and at once generous and rebellious. Then two currents from France and Germany at this moment swept into England. The dykes there were so strong, they could hardly force their way, entering more slowly than elsewhere, but entering nevertheless. They made themselves a new course between the ancient

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<sup>31</sup> Charles Woolsey Cole, Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism, I, 25.

barriers, and widened without bursting them, by a peaceful and slow transformation which continues till this day.<sup>32</sup>

Romanticism had a well-defined tendency toward nationalism. Its interest in the common man stimulated the study and revival of folk-ways, folk-legends, and folk-music. It was primarily a literary movement, and consequently exalted folk-language, folk-literature, and folk-culture. As Taine points out, it possessed certain philosophical attributes which gave to every folk a soul and inherent mental qualities and distinguishing manners and customs.

These three movements--the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and Romanticism--made possible, and perhaps inevitable, the process of nationalism as we know it today, and with which, as a part of our cultural heritage, this study is concerned. In consequence of this historical background, nationalism will be defined in this study as the group-consciousness of a people, which recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as a source of creative cultural energy. It is the loyalty of men one to another and to the nation, inasmuch as their lives are rooted in and enriched by its welfare.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>History of English Literature, trans. H. Van Laun, II, 227-228.

<sup>33</sup>Adapted from Kohn, op. cit., p. 16.

People, nation, nationality, and nationalism-- the progressive development of mankind in its search for identification with a group.

## CHAPTER III

### NATIONALISM VIEWED IN PRIMARY POLITICAL DOCUMENTS AND WRITINGS

The isolated word nationalism is only a phonetic or written symbol with no referent by which its meaning can be determined, and to become intelligible it must be placed in a specific context. The significance of nationalism becomes apparent only when it is examined in the light of those attitudes which have nurtured it, and it is with such attitudes that this chapter is concerned.

The famous paragraph in Crèvecoeur's Letters of an American Farmer contains the rhetorical question: "What, then, is the American, this new man?"<sup>1</sup> It will be the function of this unit to demonstrate, by reference to writings of primary political significance, those nationalistic concepts which enabled Crèvecoeur in his day, and will enable us in ours, to answer that question.

Those writings which form the basis of the American governmental system, together, with certain others of

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<sup>1</sup> Jay B. Hubbell, editor, American Life In Literature, I, 180.

political origin or significance, form the background of this study. They are relatively few in number and are treated, for the most part, in the majority of the textbooks analyzed.<sup>2</sup> Their importance cannot be over-emphasized, for in them is discerned the genesis of the national mind and the concept of nationalism. These writings have been treated in the light of the historical milieu which produced them, for they are but representative selections indicative of man's quest for freedom.

In dealing with the pragmatic origins of our system of political organization, Raymond Guttell says:

The American governmental system, in its organization and in its policies, has been based to a relatively small degree upon abstract and philosophical political speculation. Like the Romans in ancient times, and like the English, from whom our political ideas were originally derived, the Americans have been influenced far more by practical considerations and have shaped their policies to meet actual conditions, rather than to correspond with a priori deductions of political doctrine. Impractical ideals have seldom received wide acceptance in America, nor have Americans been particularly concerned with logical consistency in their political principles. In many respects Americans have not attempted to work out a comprehensive philosophy of politics, nor to formulate definitely their national policy in domestic or in foreign affairs. Conditions have been met as the need arose; and political theory has usually been able to adjust itself to changing conditions without serious intellectual

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<sup>2</sup>See Appendix B.



discomfort, and to state its principles to justify the accomplished fact."

This "lack of a comprehensive philosophy of politics" did not prevent the formation of contractual agreements among the early colonists of this country, and in these early documents and writings we can discern the beginnings of the republican form of government which ultimately eventuated in the Constitution.

# I

## THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

The colony of Plymouth was established in 1620 by a small band of religious radicals known as Separatists, who represented an extreme wing of the prevailing group dissatisfied with religious and civil conditions in England. Their theocratic concepts are well-known,<sup>3</sup> and it is not to be considered unusual that these early settlers should regard their new home as a civitas dei. Before landing, they assembled in the cabin of the Mayflower and signed a compact acknowledging themselves

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<sup>3</sup> History of American Political Thought, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ray Allen Billington, et. al., The Making of American Democracy, p. 13.

. . . the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James . . . doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience . . . .<sup>5</sup>

This seems at first glance to lack all the fundamentals of a political organism, but it was sufficient for its purpose. It was not an assertion of independence, but arose from necessity, since there was no other way to preserve order. It did not provide a plan of government, since the Separatists were more interested in founding a spiritual than a political system. Situations which called for joint action on the part of the colonists were determined in a town-meeting, but as the colony grew this became impractical, and a representative system of government was established.<sup>6</sup> The act of the Pilgrims in thus establishing a provisional government was the first instance of complete self-determination in our history.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>"The Mayflower Compact," Cited by E. A. Cross, et al., Heritage of America, p. 672.

<sup>6</sup>Homer Carey Hockett, Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1492-1852, p. 652.

<sup>7</sup>David Saville Muzzey, History of the American People, p. 48.

and the first of a long series which have occurred in our history whenever pioneers have found themselves in areas where governmental function was wanting. Hockett says, "Experiences of this kind undoubtedly did develop the American creed that 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.'"<sup>8</sup>

Lest too much emphasis be placed on the right of self-determination on the part of these early colonists, it is well to note that:

It is another common mistake to think that the New England leaders came to America to found a colony where each man should have complete religious freedom. To them individual religious freedom would have meant chaos. Furthermore, in a Bible Commonwealth like Massachusetts there could be no problem without religious bearings. No intellectual problem could be discussed without reference to the decisions of the magistrates and ministers, and all decisions regarding church doctrine and discipline were enforced by civil authority. Under such a system there could be no intellectual or political freedom, no more than there could be a religious freedom. There simply were no non-religious questions. . . . The state was governed according to Biblical injunction as interpreted by the rules, and any failure to conform to the standard set by those in authority met with immediate punishment. In a theocracy those who interpret God's word are always highest in authority, and in Massachusetts the place of interpreter was taken by the ministers.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Hockett, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>9</sup>Russell Blankenship, American Literature, pp. 78-79.

Getteli, in speaking of the same phenomenon says:

In several ways, then, Puritanism was decidedly undemocratic. It required membership in a particular church for the right to take part in government; it gave political preeminence to the clergy and the elders. It found in the Old Testament justification for theocracy as the best form of government in church and state. Puritan leaders openly denounced democracy as the meanest form of government, and upheld aristocracy as natural and preferable. John Winthrop insisted that the magistrates were God's vicegerents, with authority beyond popular limitation or control. The people he considered as factious, overruled by expediency and self-interest, incapable of governing wisely. At the same time there were decidedly democratic elements in the religious views of the colonists. The majority of them were dissenters from the established church of England. They came to America to secure religious freedom, and religious liberty and political liberty have ever gone hand in hand. There is but a step from religious dissent to political opposition. The democratic system of congregational church government also gave rise to a democratic political spirit. Each congregation was a miniature republic, choosing its own pastor and church officers, controlling its own affairs, independent of other congregations. The same system was applied in the government of the community, and the spirit of local self-government was thereby fostered. Town meetings and boards of selectmen were the secular outgrowth of church congregations and deacons. The social contract theory of which the Mayflower compact is an example had a special meaning to the colonists. This theory emphasized the importance of the individual as the unit in both ecclesiastical and political society, since it was voluntary consent and not divine right that formed the basis of both church and state. Hence a germ of individualism and democracy existed which could not fail to develop under favorable conditions.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Op. cit., pp. 56-57.

The concept of natural law, based upon universal reason, also appealed to these early colonists. In their attempt to secure freedom of conscience they had become habituated to look beyond the authoritative laws of the state to the natural law and to their natural rights.

In discussing the attitude of early colonial leaders, Raymond Guttell comments:

William Penn believed that there were certain fundamental laws, eternal and unchangeable. Superficial laws, made to meet temporary needs, might be abrogated for the good of the state, but the fundamental laws of nature were not subject to human alteration. John Wise stated that "wise and provident nature, by the dictates of right reason, excited by the moving suggestions of humanity, and awed by the just demands of natural liberty, equity, equality and principles of self-preservation, originally drew up the scheme." The House of Representatives in Massachusetts quoted "the great Mr. Locke" to the effect that there was "a law antecedent and paramount to all positive laws of men."<sup>11</sup>

These two doctrines--that of the natural law and of social contract--were especially relevant to conditions in the New World. The colonists found themselves in a state of nature, and by mutual consent they established a government. The contract hypothesis fitted exactly the circumstances under which political institutions in

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-68.

America came into being,<sup>12</sup> and which led ultimately to the Constitution.

## II

### LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER

The Letters from an American Farmer, by Jean de Crevecoeur, provides the next example of nationalism in the material surveyed. These letters appeared in 1782, and underneath their protracted small talk is the firm substance of economic fact. Crevecoeur, was a confirmed physiocrat, as evidenced by the warm humanitarianism and agrarian bias throughout his writings. As he studied the ways of colonial society, he could but wonder how the new American differed from his European ancestors. He was convinced that a new people was emerging in a new country, not in consequence chiefly of a new mixture of blood, but because of the potent influence of the mental and physical environment peculiar to the new nation. He says:

What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendent of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman,

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melting into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry, which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle.<sup>13</sup>

Here is found the concept of the New World as an asylum for the oppressed of every country and race. The New World gave them an opportunity to own land, to enjoy the fruits of their own labor, and to assume their rightful place in the conduct of their government. It gave the colonist a sense of rare opportunism and abounding hope. This was part of the idea of America, the "land flowing with milk and honey."

Inasmuch as he was transplanted from the meager opportunities of the old world to the rich land and expansive spaces of America, the European underwent a subtle transformation. From economic individualism in the presence of unexploited natural resources, Crèvecoeur deduced the emergence of a new American attitude, which

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<sup>13</sup>Hubbell, op. cit., I, 180.

differentiated the Colonial from the European peasant:

Here he sees the industry of his native country, displayed in a new manner, and traces in their works the embryos of all the arts, sciences and ingenuity which flourish in Europe. Here he beholds fair cities, substantial villages, extensive fields, an immense country filled with decent houses, good roads, orchards, meadows, and bridges, where an hundred years ago all was wild, woody, and uncultivated!

What a train of pleasing ideas this fair spectacle must suggest! It is a prospect which must inspire a good citizen with the most heartfelt pleasure. The difficulty consists in the manner of viewing so extensive a scene. He is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who possess everything, and of a herd of people who have nothing. . . . The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe.<sup>14</sup>

In these letters we see what might be called an adolescent nationalism--an attitude of mind which was born of the revolution and a consciousness of the unique destiny of America. This was enhanced, as can be seen in the passages quoted, by a belief that the Americans were a people apart. They had been drawn from many lands, and were smiled on by a bountiful providence which provided infinite opportunities for a growth unparalleled in history. As this became the heritage of succeeding decades, it came to occupy an important aspect of American nationalism.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 178-179.



## III

## ON ARMING THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA

On March 23, 1775, was delivered the speech which today keeps alive the name of Patrick Henry, and which lifts him, in the belief of many, almost to the rank of a Hector or a Roland. In this speech, made before the second revolutionary convention of Virginia, he declared the futility of all further efforts for peace with England, and the instant necessity of preparing for war. In reality, it constituted his own individual declaration of war. As is the problem with so much of the political utterances of this period, it is necessary to investigate briefly the background which precipitated it in order that we understand its full nationalistic implications.

Henry's principal ideas concerning the Revolution rested upon his denial of the supremacy of the British parliament. In justification for this point of view, he followed Sir Edward Coke who maintained that the common law controlled the acts of Parliament. The natural corollary of this is that when a law was against common right and reason, it might be adjudged null and void.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Edward Channing, A History of the United States, III, 24 et seq.

In 1765 Henry became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and in the spring of that year he presented his celebrated "Virginia Resolves," by which the king was informed, in effect, that if he signed any more laws which the people of Virginia did not approve, they would pay no attention to them.<sup>16</sup> It was at the climax of the argument that Henry addressed the King in familiar words:

"Caesar had his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third ["Treason," shouted the speaker. "Treason," "Treason," rose from all sides of the room. The orator paused in stately defiance till these rude exclamations were ended, and then, rearing himself with a look of still prouder and fiercer determination, he so closed the sentence as to baffle his accusers; without in the least flinching from his own position,] -- and George the Third may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."<sup>17</sup>

When the second revolutionary convention of Virginia convened at Richmond, its members were well aware that one of the principal measures they would be called upon to decide would be that of local and unified military preparation. Henry moved the adoption of the following resolution:

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<sup>16</sup>Moses Coit Tyler, Patrick Henry, pp. 69 et seq.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

Resolved, That a well-regulated militia, composed of gentlemen and yeomen, is the natural strength and only security of a free government; that such a militia in this colony would forever render it unnecessary for the mother country to keep among us for the purpose of our defence any standing army of mercenary forces, always subversive of the quiet and dangerous to the liberties of the people, and would obviate the pretext of taxing us for their support.

Resolved, That the establishment of such a militia is at this time peculiarly necessary, by the state of our laws for the protection and defence of the country, some of which have already expired, and others will shortly do so; and that the known remissness of government in calling us together in a legislative capacity renders it too insecure, in this time of danger and distress, to rely that opportunity will be given of renewing them in general assembly, or making any provision to secure our inestimable rights and liberties from those further violations with which they are threatened.

Resolved, therefore, That this colony be immediately put into a posture of defence; and that . . . be a committee to prepare a plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose.<sup>18</sup>

It seems difficult to account for the opposition which these resolutions engendered. It must be remembered that this assembly was not the legally constituted House of Burgesses, but a revolutionary convention, and it seems unlikely that the delegates were not in substantial sympathy with the prevailing revolutionary spirit.

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 134-135.

It is, of course, possible that those imbued with revolutionary principles might have taken issue with these resolutions had they been marked by any startling novelty in doctrine, or by anything extreme or violent in wording. They contained nothing essential which had not been approved by similar conventions in other colonies. "It is safe to say that no man who had within him enough of the revolutionary spirit to have prompted his attendance at a revolutionary convention could have objected to any essential item in Patrick Henry's resolutions."<sup>19</sup>

The best explanation of the opposition which was encountered rests in the special interpretation put upon them in the speech which Henry made in moving their adoption. Before that time, no public body in America had openly spoken of a war with Great Britain as more than highly probable, but still not inevitable. Henry not only spoke of it as inevitable, but endeavored to induce the Convention of Virginia to speak of it in the same manner. Similar conventions in other colonies had merely recognized the proximity of war. Patrick Henry would have Virginia virtually declare war.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

Henry began the speech skilfully, giving recognition to the ability and the patriotism of "those gentlemen who have just addressed the house," but recognizing the importance of the opposition, he stated his position:

Should I keep back my opinions at such a time for fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven which I revere above all earthly things. . . .<sup>20</sup>

There is no adulation for the things of royalty here, nor is there any concept of loyalty to England. The inflammatory tenor of the speech militated against any rational development of ideas and concepts, and while there is little of nationalism as such in the speech, its entire tone is one that predicates no other motive. If the yokes of loyalty to Britain are to be thrown off, what then? Henry makes no specific answer to the question, but it seems obvious with his repeated use of "we" and "our" that he possessed a concept of political unity within this country. This in itself was the beginning of allegiance and common bonds based on loyalty rather than blood.

The country was on the way to revolution in order to prevent "the price of chains and slavery." and Henry was the high priest of its cause.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

## IV

## THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

. . . the principle  
 That all men are created free and equal. . .  
 That's a hard mystery of Jefferson's.  
 What did he mean? Of course the easy way  
 Is to decide it simply isn't true.  
 It may not be. I heard a fellow say so.  
 But never mind, the Welshman got it planted  
 Where it will trouble us a thousand years.  
 Each age will have to reconsider it.<sup>21</sup>

The Declaration of Independence, as drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, was the final proof that the teachings of John Locke were not limited to a particular time or place. It contains both the general political philosophy of the American Revolution, and the specific causes of resistance to the mother country. It should not be regarded as the instrument by which the Continental Congress first gave notice of our independence, for the resolution declaring our separation from England had been passed on July 2, 1776. The Virginia delegation had taken the lead in this movement for independence, and its chairman, Richard Henry Lee, had submitted a resolution as early as June 7, 1776, that:

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<sup>21</sup>Robert Frost, "The Black Cottage," North of Boston, pp. 52-53.

. . .these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be, totally dissolved.<sup>22</sup>

By July 1, 1776, Pennsylvania was the only Colony with a majority of delegates opposing independence, but with the struggle going against them, and with a strong trend favoring independence in Pennsylvania, Robert Morris and John Dickinson, the old guard of the Pennsylvania delegation, absented themselves from Congress on July 2, 1776. This permitted an almost unanimous vote of the colonies--although not of the delegates themselves--in favor of independence. Because the vote of a colony was determined by the vote of the majority of its delegates, evidence of diversity of opinion in Congress was not revealed to the people. The delegation from New York was not instructed, and did not vote on July second. On July fourth, when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, New York still declined to vote, and it was not until July fifteenth that it formally joined the rebellious colonies.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>David Saville Muzzey, History of the American People, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

Thomas Jefferson was almost wholly responsible for the composition of the Declaration. At the first meeting of the committee appointed for its execution, the other members--John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston--insisted that he do the work.<sup>24</sup>

The draft which Jefferson submitted to Congress was greatly modified before it was voted on, and in all cases for the better. Carl Becker says, "On the whole it must be said that Congress left the Declaration better than it found it. The few verbal changes that were made improved the phraseology, I am inclined to think, in almost every case."<sup>25</sup>

Today, no one claims that there was anything original in the ideational content.<sup>26</sup> Rufus Choate said of it that it was made up of "glittering and resounding generalities of natural right."<sup>27</sup> Richard Henry Lee, who had submitted the original resolution of independence, scoffed at it as a work "copied from Locke's 'Treatise on Government!'"<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Percy H. Boynton, Literature and American Life, p. 149.

<sup>25</sup>The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas, p. 194.

<sup>26</sup>Moses Coit Tyler, "The Declaration of Independence in the Light of Modern Criticism," North American Review, 476:1-16, July, 1896.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 6.



The historian John Stockton Littell described it as "that enduring monument at once of patriotism, and of genius and skill in the art of appropriation."<sup>29</sup>

Too much has been said in generalization concerning the concepts incorporated in the Declaration, and too little has been said in specific detail. Becker characterizes it thus:

. . . It makes a strong bid for the reader's interest. But it was beyond the power of Jefferson to impregnate the Declaration with qualities that would give to the reader's asset the moving force of profound conviction. With all its precision, its concise rapidity, its clarity, its subtle implications and engaging felicities, one misses a certain unsophisticated directness, a certain sense of impregnable solidity and massive strength, a certain effect of passion restrained and deep convictions held in reserve, which would have given to it that accent of perfect sincerity and that emotional content which belong to the grand manner--that passion under control which lifts prose to the level of true poetry.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast with this attitude, Moses Coit Tyler says:

Had the Declaration of Independence been, what many a revolutionary state paper is, a clumsy, verbose, and vapid production, not even the robust literary taste and the all-forgiving patriotism of the American people could have endured the weariness, the nausea, of hearing its repetition in ten thousand different places, at least once every year, for so long a period. Nothing which has not supreme literary merit has ever triumphantly endured such an ordeal, or ever been subjected to it. No man can adequately explain the persistent fascination which this state-paper has had, and which it still has, for the American people, or for its undiminished power over them, without taking into account its extraordinary

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<sup>29</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>30</sup>Op. cit., pp. 221-222.

literary merits--its possession of the witchery of true substance wedded to perfect form!--its massiveness and incisiveness of thought, its art in the marshaling of the topics with which it deals, its symmetry, its energy, the definiteness and limpidity of its statements, its exquisite diction--at once terse, musical and electrical; and, as an essential part of this literary outfit, many of those spiritual notes which can attract and enthrall our hearts,--veneration for God, veneration for man, veneration for principle, respect for public opinion, moral earnestness, moral courage, optimism, a stately and noble pathos, finally, self-sacrificing devotion to a cause so great as to be herein identified with the happiness, not of one people only, or of one race only, but of human nature itself.<sup>31</sup>

The Declaration is made up of four parts: a preamble, two sections in the body of the document, and a conclusion. It opens with a sentence acknowledging that "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" demands an explanation of the momentous step which was to take place. This can be held to imply that the Declaration was written chiefly for foreign consumption, and that Jefferson's primary purpose was to lay the cause of the United States before the tribunal of world opinion.

The first section of the body sets forth a political ideology which indicates the prerogative of a people to establish, and to overthrow, its government. It reads:

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<sup>31</sup>The Literary History of the American Revolution, I, 520-521.

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .<sup>32</sup>

The distinction of the Declaration of Independence today rests chiefly on the above section. The remainder is a legalistic document, written with a rare union of loftiness and grandeur. The second section proceeds from a statement that governments "Long established should not be changed for light and transient causes," to a catalog of "repeated injuries and usurpations" of the "present King of Great Britain." It was the iniquity of the king which was held to be the principal, if not the only cause of America's withdrawal from the empire. Parliamentary domination--which the colonist had denounced for a decade--was almost entirely forgotten. It is not unlikely that in this manner Jefferson consciously paved the way for a representative democracy. The movement which Tom Paine had begun in Common Sense, Jefferson intended to complete in the Declaration of Independence. Equality and Liberty--government by consent of the governed--was the ideal held up to men.

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<sup>32</sup>Citations from the Declaration of Independence are taken from W. Leon Godshall, editor, Principles and Functions of Government in the United States, pp. 1037 et seq.

That the Declaration was--and is--charged with emotional utterance is indicated by the statement of Tyler:

It did indeed at last, become very hard for us to listen each year to the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, and still to remain the owners and users and catchers of slaves; still harder to accept the doctrine that the righteousness and prosperity of slavery was to be taken as the dominant policy of the nation. The logic of Calhoun was as flawless as usual, when he concluded that the chief obstruction in the way of his system, was the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. Had it not been for the inviolable sacredness given by it to those sweeping aphorisms about the natural rights of man, it may be doubted whether, under the vast practical inducements involved, Calhoun might not have succeeded in winning over an immense majority of the American people to the support of his compact and plausible scheme for making slavery the basis of the republic. It was the preamble of the Declaration of Independence which elected Lincoln, which sent forth the Emancipation Proclamation, which gave victory to Grant, which ratified the Thirteenth Amendment.<sup>33</sup>

The reception given the Declaration of Independence was first of all emotional, and unrelated to its specific ideas or language. It put an end to the inconsistency of the colonial position; the ultimatum of the king had been accepted. It changed the struggle on the part of America from one of armed resistance to the unjustified acts of a recognized sovereign, to open war against a foreign king and state.

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<sup>33</sup>

Tyler, op. cit., p. 517.

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Whether the Declaration is true or false is of slight concern today; that it produced the intended result in its day is enough. In the days ahead that were to try men's souls, only the loftiest ideals and the most stirring maxims could sustain Americans in their struggle for freedom.

V.

WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE

Thomas Paine was born on January 29, 1737, in Norfolk County, Thetford England, the son of a Quaker father and Anglican mother.<sup>34</sup> He attended the local grammar school for a short time, and at thirteen began to work with his father as a staymaker. Three years later he became an excise-man, but was dismissed for recording places which he had not visited. In 1768 he again became an excise-man, but was again dismissed for general incompetence and what would today be called unionizing activities.<sup>35</sup> During these years he took steps to supplement the scanty education he had received. From his small earnings he purchased books and scientific apparatus,

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<sup>34</sup>P. J. C. Hearnshaw, The Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Revolutionary Era, p. 102.

<sup>35</sup>Charles Angoff, A Literary History of the American People, I, 271.

and became interested in Newtonian science.<sup>36</sup> In the England of his boyhood he saw the effect of a system which threw thousands of agricultural workers into the cities, and their subsequent transformation into lawless factory workers, fighting among themselves to eke out a pitiful existence. These experiences left their mark on Paine, and after having experienced what he considered British tyranny, he decided to come to the New World, bearing with him a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin.<sup>37</sup> Upon his arrival in Philadelphia, he embarked on a career in journalism, becoming the first editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine, and winning for himself the friendship of such men as Dr. Benjamin Rush and John Adams.<sup>38</sup>

Paine early threw himself into the colonial dispute, and thirteen months after his arrival published Common Sense, a tract which was destined to spread his name and fame throughout America.

Common Sense made a direct appeal to material interests. In it, Paine asserted openly that governmental policies are based on economic premises--that the problem of independence was but a question to be decided in the light of advantages

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<sup>36</sup>Harry Hayden Clark, "Toward a Reinterpretation of Thomas Paine," American Literature, 5:133-145, May, 1933.

<sup>37</sup>Angoff, Op. cit., p. 271.

<sup>38</sup>Tyler, Op. cit., p. 455.

which would accrue to the colonies. The problem resolved itself, then, into whether it would be expedient for the colonists to retain their ties with England, or to establish a new state. Such a question was not to be determined by statesmen, but by the people concerned--the farmer, the tradesman, the trapper, the soldier--the plain American.

In enumerating the economic consequences of the American-English liason, Paine said:

Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for, buy them where we will.

As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European connections, which she never can do while, by her dependence on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British policies.<sup>39</sup>

Paine was well aware, however, that in spite of the grievances of the colonial against the crown, there remained an unconscious subservience to tradition. Consequently, Paine struck at the heart of that tradition--the monarchical principle itself. Parrington says:

After the appearance of Common Sense, middle and lower class Americans shed their colonial loyalties like last year's garment, and thenceforth they regarded the pretensions of kings as little better than flummery. King George's disgraced exciseman

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<sup>39</sup> Philip S. Foner, Editor, The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine, I, 21.

had his revenge; he had thrust his royal master out of the colonial affection and destroyed the monarchical principle in America.<sup>40</sup>

In December, 1776, appeared the first number of The Crisis, a series of sixteen pamphlets, issued between the years 1776 and 1783. At every crucial point in the War of Independence, a new article came from Paine's pen, couched in terms the soldier in the continental army and the people on the home front could understand. These pamphlets were widely circulated, but Paine, with an unparalleled devotion to the cause of the Revolution, refused to accept a penny for his work.

The Crisis I and The Crisis XV were included in the anthologies examined. The Crisis I was written while Paine was attached to Washington's forces during the heart-rendering days of the retreat from New York. Because of desertions and the insubordination of General Charles Lee, who refused to come to his aid, Washington found himself with a mere skeleton of an army. On Christmas Eve, 1776, Washington and his impoverished forces rowed across the Delaware to launch a surprise attack on the Hessians.<sup>41</sup> Before the soldiers

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<sup>40</sup>Main Currents in American Thought, I, 330.

<sup>41</sup>Muzzey, op. cit., p. 133.



weighed anchor, they listened to a reading of the new pamphlet. The opening words alone inspired them, and undoubtedly aided in the restoration of morale which was to eventuate in the decisive victory against overwhelming enemy forces.

The opening paragraph of The Crisis I is, even today, a stirring call to arms:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives everything its value.<sup>42</sup>

The insurrectionists, according to Paine, have little to be concerned about, for, "God Almighty will not give a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent."<sup>43</sup> He is equally certain that the British cause is not the cause of righteousness, and should they have the temerity to pray for victory, their prayers would go unanswered.

In his discussion of the abortive retreat from Fort Lee, he emphasizes the high morale of the colonial soldier in the face of overwhelming odds, and speaks highly of

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<sup>42</sup>The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine, I, 50.

<sup>43</sup>Loc. cit.

General Washington--an early example of deification of a leader. Because of this morale, he calls to freemen everywhere to throw off their lethargy and to rally to the support of the colonial cause. The Crisis I ends thus:

. . . By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils--a ravaged country--a depopulated city--habitations without safety, and slavery without hope--our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over it; and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented.<sup>44</sup>

On April 19, 1783, Washington formally announced the cessation of hostilities. On the same day, Paine published The Crisis XV, writing as the first sentence one that looked back to tragic days: "The times that tried men souls," are over--and the greatest and completest revolution the world ever knew, gloriously and happily accomplished."<sup>45</sup> A note of warning is next injected, that Americans, in their new-found freedom should look to the "mighty magnitude of the object." To Paine, the American Revolution was a missionary cause, and those whom it benefited should become apostles of the cause:

To see it in our power to make a world happy--to teach mankind the art of being so--to exhibit, on the theatre of the universe a character hitherto unknown--and to have, as it were a new creation intrusted to

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

our hands, are honors that command reflection, and can be neither too highly estimated, nor too gratefully received.<sup>46</sup>

The political heritage of the past, with its untenable element of compromise, was to Paine nothing but an oppressive accumulation of futile expedience espousing the cause of despotism. In contrast with this, the colonist now possessed a country, "setting out in life, like the rising of a fair morning."<sup>47</sup>

Parrington speaks of Paine as ". . . the first modern internationalist, at home wherever rights were to be won or wrongs corrected,"<sup>48</sup> and we see evidence of this internationalism as Paine enjoins:

In this situation may she [America] never forget that a fair national reputation is of as much importance as independence. That it possesses a charm that wins upon the world, and makes even enemies civil. That it gives a dignity which is often superior to power, and commands reverence where pomp and splendor fail.<sup>49</sup>

In the following section, Paine advocates strongly a Union of the States, and in this furthers the cause which had been begun by The Federalist. It must be remembered that this idea of the "Union of the States" was a far from popular one to the staunch believers in state sovereignty, and that

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>48</sup>Op. cit., I, 327.

<sup>49</sup>The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine, I, 231.

Paine's comment was regarded in many circles with a good deal of antagonism. Again we see his concern with the attitude of the world toward America:

But that which must more forcibly strike a thoughtful penetrating mind, and which includes and renders easy all inferior concerns, is the UNION OF THE STATES. On this our great national character depends. It is this which must give us importance abroad and security at home. . . The division of the empire into states is for our own convenience, but abroad this distinction ceases. The affairs of each state are local. . . we have no other national sovereignty than as United States. Sovereignty must have power to protect all the parts that compose and constitute it; and as UNITED STATES we are equal to the importance of the title, but otherwise we are not. . .

It is with confederated states as with individuals in society; something must be yielded up to make the whole secure. In this view of things we gain by what we give, and draw an annual interest greater than the capital.--I find myself hurt when I hear the union, that great palladium of our liberty and safety, the least irreverently spoken of. It is the most sacred thing in the constitution of America, and that which every man should be most proud and tender of. Our citizenship in the United States is our national character. Our citizenship in any particular state is only our local distinction. By the latter we are known at home, by the former to the world. Our great title is AMERICANS--our inferior one varies with the place.<sup>50</sup>

In these passages it is not difficult to discern a rising national consciousness which transcends sectional rivalries. It is not only a consciousness, but a pride in the Union which was in the process of creation, and in the recognition that national citizenship was to play in the lives of future generations.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

## VI

## THE FEDERALIST

Edward Gaylord Bourne begins his introduction to The Federalist with these words:

The formation and adoption of written constitutions may well be considered the greatest contribution of the American people to the art of government under the conditions of civil liberty. By an interesting coincidence, the series of essays known as the Federalist, written to advocate the adoption of the greatest of these constitutions is not less assuredly the most important contribution of our country to the literature of political science.<sup>61</sup>

In its origin, The Federalist was a campaign document, and in its time only one of many--most of them now deservedly forgotten. It is remembered today because it proceeded from the prolonged studies, matured thought, and ripened experience of three men, who, whether viewed as statesmen, political thinkers, or practical politicians, were among the very first of their era.

The Federalist had its inception in a series of two letters which Alexander Hamilton addressed, under the pen name of "Caesar," to the New York Daily Advertiser. These were written in answer to Governor George Clinton of New York, who opposed ratification of the Constitution in a series of letters to the New York Journal. Hamilton, who realized the necessity

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<sup>61</sup> Alexander Hamilton, et al., The Federalist, n.p.

of presenting an argument broad in scope, enlisted the co-operation of John Hay and James Madison in presenting "To the People of the State of New York," a well planned series of articles in support of the Constitution. It was designed as a frankly partisan argument to appeal to an influential group in New York, many of whom followed Clinton in opposition to the Constitution.

The Federalist develops four main themes: the urgency for taking effective action in view of the failure of the Articles of Confederation; the urgent need of a sovereign unitary state; the necessity of providing that justice should prevail over the will of the majority; and the adaptability of the republican form of government to an extensive territory with divergent interests.<sup>52</sup>

We see from this that Hamilton and the Federalists aligned themselves on the side of centralization and an expanded federal power. The Jeffersonians, or anti-Federalists, were strict constructionists who insisted that all rights not specifically granted to the central government resided in the states. Generally speaking, the division followed economic interests. The Federalists were the wealthy, and the anti-Federalists were the debtors.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Farrington, Main Currents in American Thought, I, 285.

<sup>53</sup> Louis M. Hacker, editor, The Shaping of American Tradition, I, 239.

One textbook examined included The Federalist LXX, which deals with the executive branch of the government. In it we see reflected the spirit toward centralization:

There is an idea, which is not without its advocates, that a vigorous Executive is inconsistent with the genius of republican government. The enlightened well-wishers to this species of government must at least hope that the supposition is destitute of foundation; since they can never admit its truth, without at the same time admitting the condemnation of their own principles. Energy in the Executive is a leading character in the definition of good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy. Every man the least conversant in Roman story, knows how often that republic was obliged to take refuge in the absolute power of a single man, under the formidable title of Dictator, as well against the intrigues of ambitious individuals who aspired to tyranny, and the seditions of whole classes of the community whose conduct threatened the existence of all government, as against the invasions of external enemies who menaced the conquest and destruction of Rome.<sup>54</sup>

The office of the president, as it has developed, has almost abnegated the confidence which our early statesmen placed in it. The causes for this abnegation are many, but among them is a tendency to show concern for political fortune rather than national good. This selection reflects Hamilton's fear of such a tendency, and these injunctions were the result of this distrust.

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<sup>54</sup> Hamilton, op. cit., II, 49.

## VII

## SPEECH IN DEFENSE OF THE CONSTITUTION

Hamilton's "Speech in Defense of the Constitution," was delivered on June 21, 1788, before the New York State Legislature. By the persuasiveness of his address, the sixty-five legislators, forty-six of whom were anti-Federalists, were persuaded to ratify the constitution. The speech answers the objection that the proposed constitution did not prevent the rich and well-educated from obtaining control of the government. In this speech, which appears in Adventures in American Literature, Hamilton deals first with the word aristocracy, and says:

. . . Why then are we told so often of an aristocracy? For my part, I hardly know the meaning of this word, as it is applied. If all we hear be true, this government is really a very bad one. But who are the aristocracy among us? Where do we find men elevated to a perpetual rank above their fellow citizens, and possessing powers entirely independent of them? The arguments of the gentlemen only go to prove that there are men who are rich, men who are poor, some who are wise, and others who are not; then, indeed, every distinguished man is an aristocrat. This reminds me of a description of the aristocrats I have seen in a late publication styled the Federal Farmer. The author reckons in the aristocracy all governors of states, members of Congress, chief magistrates, and all officers of the militia. This description, I presume to say, is ridiculous. The image is a phantom. Does the new government render a rich man more eligible than a poor one? No. It requires no such qualification. It is bottomed on the broad and equal principles of your state constitution.<sup>55</sup>



The address concludes with Hamilton's concept of a republic: "After all, sir, we must submit to this idea, that the true principle of a republic is, that the people should choose whom they please to govern them."<sup>56</sup> Hamilton emphasizes the necessity for popular election, which he says "should be perfectly pure and the most unbounded liberty allowed."<sup>57</sup> The necessity for separation of the branches of government is stressed, as is the concept of checks and balances. In this address, as in no other place in his writings, Hamilton emphasizes the coordinate role of the national and the state governments:

This balance between the national and state governments ought to be dwelt on with peculiar attention, as it is of the utmost importance. It forms a double security to the people. If one encroaches on their rights, they will find a powerful protection in the other. Indeed, they will both be prevented from overpassing their constitutional limits, by a certain rivalry, which will ever subsist between them.<sup>58</sup>

In the present day, aristocracy seems to be an antiquated term, belonging more properly to the eighteenth century than the twentieth, but the question of aristocracy appears in these times in other aspects. It is the problem of the control of the many by the few, and the issues which presented themselves in Hamilton's day can easily be translated into a present-day idiom.

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 471.

<sup>57</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>58</sup>Loc. cit.

## VIII

## THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The English common law, from which basis American liberties stem, is the outgrowth of centuries. It is that "law of the land," to which the Magna Charta referred, and this concept was early brought to America. Formal declarations of rights, based on the common law, were incorporated in the earliest colonial legislation.<sup>59</sup> It was anticipated that the new constitution, when drafted, would follow this tradition and make a full enumeration of such ancient rights:

Sufficient provision was made in the body of the Constitution for taxation by the legislature only, for judgment in cases of impeachment, for the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, for trial by jury in criminal cases, for the definition, trial and punishment of treason with limitation of historical abuses in such connection, for the prohibiting of bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts or imposing religious tests. All these were so many declarations of rights for the protection of the citizens, not exceeded in value by any which could possibly find a place in any bill of rights.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, the bill of rights in our national constitution was consciously demanded by the people of America against the judgment of their Constitutional Convention. Each of these ten amendments is charged with nationalistic significance, and consequently will be discussed individually.

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<sup>59</sup>C. Ellis Stevens, Sources of the Constitution of the United States, p. 208.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 211-212.

## AMENDMENT I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

When the Constitution of the United States was formulated, the principle of religious freedom had for some time been gathering strength. It was partially because of this, but more probably from the fact that no one religious body possessed great enough numbers to make an ecclesiastical establishment of it a political possibility, that this amendment was enacted.

The next provision of this amendment is concerned with freedom of public utterance and the press.

"Freedom of speech" and "press" may be defined as the right of fair discussion of public men and measures. Such a right is absolutely indispensable to a republican form of government such as ours. But freedom of utterance is not license of utterance, and it is only the former which is protected by the Amendment. The line between the two is finally for the Supreme Court to draw.<sup>61</sup>

These rights are regarded as fundamental in a democracy, but they must be considered in the light of other clauses, for the Constitution is to be read as a whole and effectuated in all its parts, as nearly as may be done.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Edward S. Corwin, The Constitution and What It Means Today, pp. 95-96.

<sup>62</sup>Thomas Jay Norton, The Constitution of the United States, p. 200.

The last clause of the first amendment deals with the right of petition and assembly, and these also must be defined with reference to the "primary necessity of good order."<sup>63</sup> The historical evolution of this stipulation in America may be traced from the Declaration of Independence, which states, "In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; Our repeated petitions have been answered by repeated injury." The Congress of 1774, in its Declaration of Colonial Rights, stated in the thirteenth resolution "that it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies to petition the king, or either house of parliament."<sup>64</sup>

#### AMENDMENT II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

The right to bear arms involves the latent power of resistance to tyrannical government. From prehistoric days, the right to bear arms has been the badge of a Teutonic freeman, and closely associated with his political privileges.<sup>65</sup> The term "a free State" is patently here used in the generic sense, and refers to the United States as a whole, rather than to the

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<sup>63</sup>Corwin, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>64</sup>Charles W. Eliot, editor, American Historical Documents, p. 158.

<sup>65</sup>Stevens, op. cit., p. 223.

several states.<sup>66</sup> In this country the privilege of bearing arms is a right of citizenship rather than of person, and it may be denied aliens, at least on justifiable ground.<sup>67</sup>

### AMENDMENT III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

This and the following amendment sprang from certain grievances which brought about the American Revolution. This amendment implements the great right of common law, that a man's house is his castle, privileged against civil and military intrusion.

### AMENDMENT IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

This amendment touches upon the question of protection against search by civil authorities without formal warrant. The warrant--the document which authorizes so serious an action as depriving a citizen of personal liberty--must

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<sup>66</sup> See Article I, Section VIII.

<sup>67</sup> Corwin, op. cit., p. 97.

necessarily, in a nation devoted to the rights of individuals, be surrounded with safeguards to prevent the citizens against unjust police measures. W. Leon Godshall says:

Intrusion of government into private and personal affairs has become flagrant under the guise of Congressional investigations, which are justified by the need of the legislature for accurate and comprehensive information for its guidance in the formulation of laws. . . . There can be no doubt of the great public service which may be rendered by properly conducted investigations, but there have been notorious instances in which the inquiries were devoted to persecution or discrediting selected individuals or institutions. . . . From this, we may conclude that an aggressive public opinion must forever be alert in behalf of the protection of individual rights from government infringement rather than rely too confidently on the courts which are expected to be champions of the people.<sup>68</sup>

#### AMENDMENT V

No person shall be held to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Edward Corwin says, "Amendments IV, V, VI, and VIII constitute a 'bill of rights' for accused persons. For the most part they are compiled from the Bills of Rights of the

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<sup>68</sup> Principles and Functions of Government in the United States, p. 159.

early State Constitutions, and in more than one respect they represent a distinct advance upon English law of that time. . .<sup>69</sup>

Notable among the guarantees which our constitution gives us, Amendment V provides that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury." Of this, Corwin remarks: "From the point of view of constitutional limitations on power, and so from the point of view of the control exercised by the Supreme Court, through judicial review, upon the powers of government, whether State or National, in the United States, this clause and its companion piece, the 'due process of law' clause of Amendment XIV, are the most important clauses of the Constitution."<sup>70</sup>

In American courts, "due process of law" has been held to require both a fair and just procedure in the transaction of the government with its citizens, and also the absence of arbitrary substance within the legislation.<sup>71</sup>

#### AMENDMENT VI

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the

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<sup>69</sup> Op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>71</sup> Godshall, op. cit., p. 162.

crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

The historical background of this right may be traced to a basic principle of English common law, implemented in America by the Colonial Declaration of Rights, in which it was said "That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in the Colonies."<sup>72</sup> Some ten years later, the Declaration of Independence arraigned the English government for "depriving us in many cases of the benefit of a trial by jury." Another complaint in the Declaration of Independence was that of "transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offenses," and hence in this amendment the provision for trial in the "State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

#### AMENDMENT VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

The Constitutional Convention carefully protected the right to jury trial for those accused of crime, but it defeated a proposal for jury trial in civil suits. Hence, this amendment

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<sup>72</sup>Elliot, op. cit., p. 158.



extending trial by jury--something which all Americans cherish--to civil suits.

#### AMENDMENT VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

This amendment is "simply a transcript of a clause in the Bill of Rights framed at the Revolution of 1688."<sup>73</sup> It is interesting that Godshall comments that the "mere novelty in punishment is not banned by Amendment VIII; to do so would prevent innovation of new and more humane forms. Some people consider all punishment cruel, and no doubt there is disagreement on what constitutes cruelty. Nevertheless, electrocution was held to be permissible in New York, although 'unusual.'"<sup>74</sup>

#### AMENDMENT IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

This amendment indicates that the authority of the federal government consists of delegated and enumerated powers, and that these are all that the United States possesses and may exercise. It also implies the doctrine of the natural

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<sup>73</sup> Stevens, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>74</sup> Op. cit., p. 160.

rights of man--rights of so basic a character that no government may trespass upon them, whether they are enumerated or not.

#### AMENDMENT X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

This amendment was written in restraint of national power against the peoples and the states, and is an outgrowth of the doctrine of checks and balances. Charles and Mary Beard say: "Finally, to soften the wrath of provincial politicians, it was announced in the Tenth Amendment that all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution or withheld by it from the states were reserved to the states respectively or to the people."<sup>75</sup>

The great structure of American civil liberties thus were enunciated in the early days of the Republic. It has been noted that the majority of these rights were either specified or implied in the body of the Constitution, and that these ten amendments were unnecessary, but to a people so lately freed from tyranny, their specific enunciation was

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<sup>75</sup>The Rise of American Civilization, I, 341.

important. Today these amendments are probably better known than any other portion of the Constitution, and their implications in the life of the present-day American cannot be numbered. The meanings men have read into these rights have combined to form a concrete expression of our nationalistic esprit de corps. Succeeding generations have interpreted these rights as the fundamental reward for their political allegiance to the United States of America.

## IX

### THE FAREWELL ADDRESS

In no aspect of our political ideology is the influence of Washington more apparent than in the evolution of our foreign policy. Washington's life was one of action rather than theoretical speculation. He contributed no scheme of government to the constitutional convention, and in the establishment of the government under the Constitution, the inauguration of necessary procedures was left largely to members of his cabinet.<sup>76</sup>

In the area of foreign policy, where opinion was divided, the conservative nature and careful judgment of Washington

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Muzzey, op. cit., p. 178 et seq.

peculiarly fitted him to take the initiative. Thomas Jefferson, his Secretary of State, while a brilliant theorist in the field of government, was not equipped to mark out a rational foreign policy. Muzzev states that

Jefferson had an intense faith in the sound common sense of the people and an equally strong distrust of a powerful executive government. Sometimes his enthusiasm led him to extreme statements, as, for example, that a revolution every twenty years was good for a nation.<sup>77</sup>

Where Jefferson erred in one aspect, Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury erred in another. Of him, Muzzev says:

He differed absolutely from Jefferson on every question of the interpretation of the Constitution and the policy of the government. The two men, each convinced of the justice and necessity of his own policy, were at constant odds over the cabinet table. Each begged the President to choose between them and let the other resign. But Washington prevailed on them both to remain in the cabinet during his first administration.<sup>78</sup>

Because of increased factionalism in the political parties of his day, and because of misinterpretation of his policy of neutrality by the people, Washington declined a third term, and shortly before the presidential election of November, 1796, issued a Farewell Address to his fellow citizens,

. . . with a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>78</sup> Loc. cit.

of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people.<sup>79</sup>

The memories of the factionalism demonstrated in the fight for constitutional ratification were uppermost in Washington's mind, as he enjoins:

. . . The name of America, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.<sup>80</sup>

The second of the dangers which Washington feels might serve to the detriment of the Union are those

. . . overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.<sup>81</sup>

From this, Washington returns to the problem of sectional jealousies:

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<sup>79</sup>Thomas M. Briggs, et al., editors, American Literature, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.<sup>82</sup>

Partisanship, according to Washington, whether it be geographic or political, produces effects which are not conducive to a sound republican government:

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, fomenta occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.<sup>83</sup>

In the economic realm, he warns:

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible;

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.<sup>84</sup>

In the realm of foreign affairs, he enjoins:

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. . .

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The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

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It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 19-21.

It is well to note that the Farewell Address was precipitated by a particular chain of circumstances, and that Washington addressed himself to the people of his own time. His advice should be heeded today, but it should also be remembered that Washington was not a political philosopher, but a man of action, and would undoubtedly modify his views when confronted with a new situation. Gettell says:

Washington did not object to temporary alliances for special emergencies. Nor did Washington intend that the United States should refrain permanently from the exercise of its influence in the community of nations. He stated specifically that the predominant motive in his neutrality policy was to give the United States time to mature its new institutions and to grow to that degree of strength which would give it the command of its own fortunes. Like Hamilton, Washington advised the Americans to extend their commercial relations with foreign countries, but to have as little political connection with them as possible. The increasing connection between business and politics made this advice difficult to follow.<sup>86</sup>

In his Farewell Address, we see evidence of an increasing nationalism in Washington's efforts to keep America free from entangling foreign alliances. More than this, we see a statesman who feels his opportunity for active service has passed because of a change in national attitudes. In the face of these changes, Washington retired, giving to the people of the United States an opportunity to assert their wishes, unhampered by any personal allegiance they might feel toward him.

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<sup>86</sup>History of American Political Thought, p. 179.



## X

## THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

The year 1863 was the decisive year of the War between the States. The Emancipation Proclamation had been issued on January first. On July fourth, General Grant received the surrender of Vicksburg, thus re-opening the Mississippi and isolating the Southwest from the main states of the Confederacy; and in a battle which raged from July first to the third, General Meade overcame the forces of General Lee at Gettysburg in one of the greatest battles of the Civil War, and destroyed the last opportunity of the Confederates to invade the North in force.<sup>87</sup>

Lee's withdrawal from Gettysburg, and Meade's pursuit of him, left thousands of dead to be buried by the Pennsylvania authorities. Governor Curtiss proposed to the Governors of the other sixteen states whose troops were engaged, that a section of the battlefield be obtained and set aside as a national cemetery. The proposal was effectively carried out, and November nineteenth was set for the formal dedication. Edward Everett was selected as the principal speaker for the occasion; the President, Lincoln, as Chief

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<sup>87</sup>Muzzey, op. cit., p. 374.

Executive of the nation, was invited to "formally set aside these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks."<sup>88</sup>

Everett was at this time in the height of his power; he had served in Congress for ten years, been Minister to England, Secretary of State under Fillmore, and nominee of the Constitutional Union party in 1860 for Vice-President.<sup>89</sup> The oration which Everett delivered was worthy both of his prestige and the situation. He discussed at some length the battle, the genesis of the war, and the object and consequences of the victory.

Following Everett's address, an Ode written for the occasion by Benjamin B. French was sung. Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Lowell and George Baker had been requested to submit Odes, but none had responded.<sup>90</sup> Then President Lincoln arose to make the dedication. What was to be a mere formal utterance proved to be the high spot of the occasion.

Editorial comment on the speech varied. The Chicago Times held that:

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<sup>88</sup>Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, II, 455.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 453 et seq.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 458.

Mr. Lincoln did most foully traduce the motives of the men who were slain at Gettysburg. Readers will not have failed to observe the exceeding bad taste which characterized the remarks of the President and Secretary of State at the dedication of the soldiers' cemetery at Gettysburg. The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly flat, and dish-watery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States. And neither he nor Seward could refrain, even on that solemn occasion, from spouting their odious abolition doctrines. The readers of THE TIMES ought to know, too, that the valorous President did not dare to make this little journey to Gettysburg without being escorted by a bodyguard of soldiers. For the first time in the history of the country, the President of the United States, in traveling through a part of his dominions, on a peaceful, even a religious mission, had to be escorted by a bodyguard of soldiers. . . it was fear for his own personal safety which led the President to go escorted as any other military despot might go.<sup>91</sup>

In contrast with this tirade, the Springfield Republican commented:

Surpassingly fine as Mr. Everett's oration was in the Gettysburg consecration, the rhetorical honors were won by President Lincoln. His little speech is a perfect gem; deep in feeling, compact in thought and expression, and tasteful and elegant in every word and comma. Then it has the merit of unexpectedness in its verbal perfection and beauty. We had grown so accustomed to homely and imperfect phrase in his productions that we had come to think it was the law of his utterance. But this shows he can talk handsomely as well as act sensibly. Turn back and read it over, it will repay study as a model speech. Strong feelings and a large brain were its parents--a little painstaking its accoucheur.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>As cited in Sandburg, op. cit., p. 472.

<sup>92</sup>As cited in Sandburg, op. cit., p. 474.

The nationalistic content of this address is obvious: The historical ideas of the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence are included in the first line:

Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.<sup>93</sup>

The testing of the strength of the nation is the theme of the second sentence:

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation--or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated--can long endure.<sup>94</sup>

The concluding paragraph constitutes an appeal

. . . for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.<sup>95</sup>

Few speeches have been so charged with emotional and patriotic fervor. Sandburg says:

He had stood that day, the world's foremost spokesman of popular government, saying that democracy was

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 469.

<sup>94</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>95</sup>Loc. cit.

yet worth fighting for. He had spoken as one in mist who might head on deeper yet into mist. He incarnated the assurances and pretenses of popular government, implied that it could and might perish from the earth. What he meant by "a new birth of freedom" for the nation could have a thousand interpretations. The taller riddles of democracy stood up out of the address. It had the dream touch of vast and furious events epitomized for any foreteller to read what was to come. He did not assume that the drafted soldiers, substitutes, and bounty-paid privates had died willingly under Lee's shot and shell, in deliberate consecration of themselves to the Union cause. His cadences sang the ancient song that where there is freedom men have fought and sacrificed for it, and that freedom is worth men's dying for. For the first time since he became President he had on a dramatic occasion declaimed, however it might be read, Jefferson's proposition which had been a slogan of the Revolutionary War--"All men are created equal"--leaving no other inference than that he regarded the Negro slave as a man. His outwardly smooth sentences were inside of them gnarled and tough with the enigmas of the American experiment.<sup>96</sup>

The theme of the Gettysburg Address marks the entry of a new concept in the growing nationalism of the period--the ancient idea of sacrifice, or the cult of dead heroes who had given their life for the country. Not long thereafter, Lincoln himself joined the ranks of the "honored dead," and became even a greater symbol of those who had been sacrificed for the deliverance and regeneration of this nation.

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 476.

## XI

### MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

Among the miscellaneous works with nationalistic implications written by political leaders and theorists, a majority are of twentieth-century origin. The detailed analysis of these would be but repetitious, for all of them hark back to that earlier period when the American character had its inception. Their weakness lies in that. The principles upon which this country was founded are as valid today as they were at that time, and should be reinterpreted in a present-day idiom which reflects the patina of enriched meaning from constant re-interpretation under ever-changing, ever-challenging circumstances.

Theodore Roosevelt, in a letter to the Boy Scouts of America, demonstrates his concern for the casual acceptance of American citizenship:

No one can be a good American unless he is a good citizen. . . [Do] not merely sing, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," but act in a way that will give them a country to be proud of. No man is a good citizen unless he so acts as to show that he actually uses the Ten Commandments and translates the Golden Rule into his life conduct. . .<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>Russell Blankenship, et al., editors, American Literature, p. 710.

It might be asked whether this is nationalism, or innocuous advice which might be given any group. Probably it is both, but in the linking of the duties of the citizen with the obligations of a religious consciousness, it transcends mere advice and pedantry, in an effort to demonstrate that this is pre-eminently a nation blessed of Heaven, with a world mission which we fail to realize.

Charles W. Eliot, in "What Is an American," discusses the historical backgrounds of the American ethnic group, and then makes these pertinent comments concerning the role of government in life today:

A genuine American regards his Government as his servant and not his master. . . . He recognizes that men are not equal as regards native capacity or acquired power, but desires that all men shall be equal before the law and that every individual human being--child or adult--shall have his just opportunity to do his best for the common good. . . .<sup>98</sup>

Ralph Barton Perry in "What Price Freedom," and Raymond B. Fosdick in "The New Civilization," concern themselves with the role of America in the world today. There are few nationalistic concepts, per se, in their writings; both emphasize rather the role of international and intercultural cooperation. This in itself is an interesting commentary

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 719.

on the growing awareness of the peculiar position of the United States as the foremost advocate of democracy in the realm of international relations.

The best example of sober thinking concerning the American of today is to be found in Woodrow Wilson's address, which was delivered in Philadelphia on May 10, 1915, to a group of newly-naturalized citizens. It is one of the best examples of the wise nationalism which should be practiced today--a nationalism tempered by the realization that we are living in a much smaller world than did our ancestors.

In this address, the role of the new immigrant in the American national life is stressed, together with a just and rational evaluation of the contribution which he can make to American culture:

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. . . by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.<sup>99</sup>

In the second paragraph of this address, Wilson speaks of the oath of allegiance to the United States:

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God--Certainly not of allegiance

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 712.



to those who temporarily represent this great government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to an ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. . . .<sup>100</sup>

Wilson, conscious of the national partisanship which sometimes limits the vision of men, enjoins:

My earnest advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. . . . Americans must have a consciousness of every other nation in the world. . . . The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world, and strife is not. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.<sup>101</sup>  
[Italics mine]

There can be few more stirring addresses than this one, with its consciousness of the world-mission of the forces of democratic righteousness. It is an effective refutation of the dictum that internationalism is opposed to nationalism. It is not that we are to impose democracy on other nations, but that we are so to live as a nation that the benefits of democracy are immediately apparent.

Nationalistic writings of a political nature are few following World War I. Herbert Hoover, in "The Miracle of America," makes a pertinent comment concerning the

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<sup>100</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p. 713.

criticism of "the American form of civilization";

Whatever our faults may be, our critics do not grasp the sense of a word which is daily upon our lips--America. From its intangible meanings spring the multitude of actions, ideals, and purposes of our people. . . . America means far more than a continent bounded by two oceans. . . . It is more than our literature, our music, our poetry. Other nations have these things also.

What we have in addition, the intangible we cannot describe, lies in the personal experience and the living of each of us rather than in phrases, however inspiring.<sup>102</sup>

During the Roosevelt administration, political utterances became surcharged with internationalism. On July 3, 1936, in his annual message to Congress, Roosevelt reaffirmed the "Good Neighbor Policy." This speech was delivered in the face of a world arming for war, and its last paragraph is reminiscent of the troubled days at the conclusion of Washington's term of office:

As a consistent part of a clear policy, the United States is following a twofold neutrality toward any and all nations which engage in wars not of immediate concern to the Americans. First, we decline to encourage the prosecution of war by permitting belligerents to obtain arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States; second, we seek to discourage the use by belligerent nations of any and all American products calculated to facilitate the prose-

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<sup>102</sup>Harriet Marcellia Lucas, et al., editors, Prose and Poetry of America, p. 365.

cution of a war in quantities over and above our normal exports to them in time of peace.<sup>103</sup>

On the sixth of January, 1941, when it was apparent that the United States could not with good faith refuse to come to the assistance of the democratic nations of the world in resistance to aggression, President Roosevelt enunciated "The Four Freedoms":

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression--everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way--everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want--which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace-time life for its inhabitants--everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear--which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor--anywhere in the world.

This is no vision of a distant millenium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world order attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

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<sup>103</sup>E. A. Cross, et al., editors, Heritage of American Literature, p. 601.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception--the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.<sup>104</sup>

The state of the world requires that we reaffirm our faith in the possibilities of the democratic way of life. A long-continuing conflict between two cultural patterns seems to lie ahead. Our objectives in America should be to secure the maximum degree of personal liberty and to increase the possibilities for a full life to all citizens, for only then will our example be followed by the free nations of the world. Our task is not completed nor was it completed with the great documents of our past. We have been the medium for extending to all peoples democratic ideals and aspirations, and only insofar as we implement those ideals and aspirations will a "government by the people and for the people" continue to be a present reality. Herein lies the current nature of our nationalism, for the spirit embodied in our efforts to radiate our cultural patterns to the world focuses our national attention upon ourselves as others see us, giving us opportunity to reaffirm those qualities which constitute our national heritage.

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 601.

## CHAPTER IV

### NATIONALISM VIEWED IN UTILITARIAN AND BELLETRISTIC WRITINGS

The basic purpose of this section of this study is to explore the concept of nationalism found in the utilitarian and belletristic writings of this nation, insofar as these are included in the anthologies examined. To execute this purpose demands, in some instances, a more elaborate analysis than would be needed merely to examine the work itself. The historical setting, the attitude of society, and the attitude of the author must also become subjects for investigation.

The related concepts of national pride and a developing patriotism will become evident as this chapter progresses. For the most part, these are pervasive qualities which will be noted only in passing, inasmuch as they will be more fully discussed in the following chapter, after their evolution has been traced.

## I

### COLONIAL BEGINNINGS<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that in its inception American literature was the production of transplanted Englishmen

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix C for high-school anthologies in which representative writings of this period occur.

who conceived their function as that of purveyors of European principles to America. Before an indigenous literature could develop in the colonies, an adequate printing establishment was essential. A press was established in Massachusetts in 1639, and from this came the Bay Psalm Book, the earliest laws of Massachusetts, and many religious and learned works.<sup>2</sup>

America's literary stirrings were early felt in Virginia, where, under the leadership of Captain John Smith, the first of the enduring colonies in the New World was established. In the face of poverty, famine, pestilence and massacre, these early colonists demonstrated that what wealth this country had to offer to the English came not from conquest and exploitation, but from the cultivation of the land. This concept, felt in the early days of this nation's history, was to contribute greatly to the later nationalistic movement.

Smith looked upon American settlement distinctly as colonisation, and as the prototype of all energetic realtors, found time to write an account of the colony to its financial supporters in the home country. It subsequently appeared with the Elizabethan caption A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note as hath happened in Virginia since the

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<sup>2</sup>Robert E. Spiller, et al., Literary History of the United States, I, 20.

first planting of that colony, which is now resident in the south part thereof, till the last return from thence.<sup>3</sup>

This work was demonstrated that Smith was rather more adept in the arts of war than in the art of historical narrative. Nevertheless, despite the conventional euphuisms of his time, his writing was vigorous, although not trustworthy.<sup>4</sup> The Journal is interesting from the standpoint of his boundless enthusiasm for things of the New World. The descriptions of the search by the colonists for a place of settlement, their early skirmishes with the Indians, their journeys into the interior, their first futile contention against illness, all contribute to a growing awareness that the New World, while politically associated with England, was nevertheless a realm apart.

In New England, unlike Virginia, the growing civilization tended to become urban rather than rural. Few New Englanders needed to go far from their homes for social, economic, or religious needs. The New England colonies were, in a sense, more stable than many of the other colonies,<sup>5</sup> and it was in them that seventeenth-century intellectual life in America

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<sup>3</sup>Walter Fuller Taylor, A History of American Letters, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Spiller, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>5</sup>Percy H. Boynton, Literature and American Life, p. 35.

came to fruition. The lack of concern for intellectual activity on the part of the southern colonies is demonstrated by Governor Berkeley of Virginia, who is quoted by Ralph Boas and Katherine Burton as saying:

But I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both.<sup>6</sup>

In discussing the New England colonies, it is necessary that the relationship which existed between the Pilgrims and the Puritans be clarified in order that their contributions to our national literature be properly evaluated. The Pilgrims settled in Plymouth in 1620, whereas the Puritans, slightly later, settled the area of Massachusetts Bay.<sup>7</sup> The Pilgrims were, for the most part, artisans and farmers, whereas the Puritans were yeomen and scholars. The Pilgrims were separatists--members of a group which broke away entirely from the communion of the Church of England. The Puritans preferred to reform and purify the church of the "remnants of idolatry" which it had cherished, and as followers of Calvin, they looked to the Bible rather than to tradition in matters of conscience.<sup>8</sup> The Pilgrims were absorbed by the Puritans with the passage of

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<sup>6</sup>Social Backgrounds of American Literature, p.13.

<sup>7</sup>David Saville Muzzey, History of the American People, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 46.



time, and today have been idealized by tradition and legend. Their virtue, simplicity, and democracy have come to symbolize a national ideal.

The simple, homely life of the Pilgrims is best revealed in Governor William Bradford's History of the Plymouth Plantation (1630-1650). The scope of this work is comprehensive, in that it treats of the rise of the Separatists in England, traces their vicissitudes in Holland, their subsequent voyage and colonization in America, and the growth of their colony in the ensuing twenty-five years. From this account the traditional brimstone and bigotry of Puritanism are conspicuously absent. The Puritans of the History are hardy, honest, sensible individuals, possessing a methodical efficiency. They are a people endowed with a high degree of resolute courage, and yet tender, devout in worship, and acutely conscious of the guiding hand of God in their daily lives.

The settlers of the Bay Colony were of a different nature from the historically obscure Pilgrims. Moses Coit Tyler says of them that they were the most eminent group of "wealthy and cultivated persons that have ever emigrated in any one voyage from England to America."<sup>9</sup> Without doubt, the principle motives which induced their leaders to leave England were based on religious grounds, but a great many emigrants looked to America

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<sup>9</sup>A History of American Literature, 1607-1675, I, 129.

as a land of economic opportunity. This brought

. . . members of the lesser aristocracy, small farmers, merchants, farm laborers who had nothing in the home country, servants who hired themselves out for a term of years to pay for their passage, and workmen such as smiths, carpenters, bakers, dyers, shoemakers and tailors. With them went their capable, active wives and daughters, who would work with them, make and mend their clothes, prepare their food, keep their houses and bear their children. As in all times, the emigrants were those who were intelligent, able and vigorous--and with something to gain by going to a new country.<sup>10</sup>

The first governor of this immigrant group was John Winthrop (1588-1649), who is known to us chiefly through his Journal, which records civic, domestic, and religious affairs in the northern colony during the years 1630 to 1649. If we may take Winthrop's Journal as a criterion, the Puritan regarded the spiritual life as of primary importance, and he apprehended his life in terms of constant self-analysis, wrestling in prayer, and constant struggle with the "old man." He accepted Calvin's premise of the absolute sovereignty of God, and God's will lay heavily on humanity.

The doctrines of predestination and election as presented by their religious leaders did away with any rational concept of freedom, and the Puritan idea of liberty was predicated on this doctrine. No Puritan could conceive that liberty meant the right to do evil as well as good. Such "liberty" he would have categorized as "natural"--resembling the liberty of animals

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<sup>10</sup>Boas and Burton, op. cit., p. 14.

in a state of nature. Winthrop was vitally concerned with the theory of government and the theory of liberty, and in a speech before the General Court of the colony, drew a distinction between natural and civil liberty. He emphasized that the belief in the right of an individual to do what he chooses without restriction is inconsistent with authority.<sup>11</sup>

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the life of the Puritan was entirely somber. As depicted by Winthrop they were a prosaic, business-like people concerned with carving their new homes in the wilderness.

The Puritan did not feel that his whole duty consisted in the achievement of personal ideals, but that these ideals should prevail in civil affairs as well. Because they felt so keenly this necessity for civil and religious unity, they restricted the suffrage by religious qualifications and admitted to the government of the colony only those men whose aims coincided with their own. Boas and Burton say of this tendency:

The greatest mistake of Puritanism was to suppose that unity is possible in a commonwealth. America was to prove that in union of differing groups lies strength, not in an enforced unity which suppresses all differing ideas and personalities and makes of free speech, and even of free thought, a crime. The Puritans did not know the middle way which led between anarchy on the one hand, and, on the other, complete submission to the rule of men who assumed that they alone possessed the secret of truth.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Boynton, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>12</sup>Op. cit., pp. 24-25.

From Winthrop's Journal it is plain that he, together with other Puritan leaders, sought to enforce religious ideals by governmental approbation. He worked diligently to establish a fixed, continuous relationship between religious belief and civil conduct. The fact that our national mind has developed in the opposite direction does not invalidate the contribution which Winthrop made to American thought, for he aided in the establishment of Puritanism in the New World, and Puritanism has been of profound significance in the growth of our nation.

The composition of verse occupied a relatively minor place in the literary achievements of this period. The first volume in English printed in the Western hemisphere was the Bay Psalm Book (1640). This represented a conscientious endeavor to adapt the Psalms to the meter of the few tunes familiar to the people,<sup>13</sup> and as such is indicative of the concern for participation on the part of members of the congregation in liturgical worship. The poetry of Anne Bradstreet (1612-1672) was first published in London in 1650 as the product of "The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America." Her work is only of cursory concern in this study, but it is interesting to note that she was an early champion of her sex:

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<sup>13</sup>Ernest Erwin Leisy, American Literature, An Interpretative Survey, p. 13.

Let Greeks be Greeks, and women what they are  
 Men have precedency and still excell,  
 It is but vain unjustly to wage warre;  
 Men can do best, and women know it well  
 Preheminence in all and each is yours,  
 Yet grant some small acknowledgment of ours.<sup>14</sup>

The eighteenth century marks the crucial period in which our national ideals began to take form, and the writings of this period portray to us a national culture in the process of development. Taylor says of this era:

The more one reflects on the cultural changes illustrated in eighteenth-century literature, the more amazing those changes appear. In these hundred years a ragged line of colonies along the seaboard, supporting a total population of only 250,000, developed with startling speed into a united and independent nation of five million people . . . In 1700 there were no facilities for a professional literature; not a single newspaper, magazine, or theater existed in the entire length and breadth of the colonies. By 1800 journalism had become a growing, though inchoate, profession; the theater was an accepted institution; the first American novels had been published, and foundation had been laid for the professional careers of Irving, Cooper, and Poe. Altogether, the story of the unfolding America of the eighteenth century, as mirrored in American literature, is one of more than epic adventure.<sup>15</sup>

The Puritan mind was not alone in the making of the new nation, and a distinguished example of the leisure class of this period was William Byrd, the author of A History of the Dividing Line, and A Progress to the Mines. A History of the Dividing Line is based on a journal kept by the author in 1728

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<sup>14</sup>John Harvard Ellis, editor, The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse, p. 102.

<sup>15</sup>Op. cit., pp. 23-24.

while assisting in a survey of the North Carolina-Virginia border. Passages from the History portray the back-country people, and reveal the origin of important social forces that were even then making for democracy. To William Byrd, Gentleman, of Virginia, the North Carolinians appeared lazy, devoid of religion, unprincipled, and dirty.

The men, for their parts, just like the Indians, impose all the work upon the poor women. They make their wives rise out of bed early in the morning, at the same time that they lie and snore, till the sun has run one third of his course, and dispersed all the unwholesome damps. Then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and, under the protection of a cloud of smoke, venture out into the open air; though, if it happens to be never so little cold, they quickly return shivering into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild, they stand leaning with both their arms upon a corn-field fence, and gravely consider whether they had best go and take a small heat at the hough; but generally find reasons to put it off till another time.<sup>16</sup>

Throughout the History, Byrd comments on the fact that these people prefer their shiftless freedom to the pleasures of society. The significance of this frontier antipathy to government cannot be over-emphasized in our development as a nation. Byrd, as a prototype of others of his time, could not foresee that this attitude was the precursor of the democratic revolution, and eventually, under Jefferson and Jackson, would form the ideology of a major political party.

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<sup>16</sup> Rewey Belle Inglis, et al., Adventures in American Literature, pp. 437-438.

Another interesting work is Sarah Kemble Knight's Journal of a Journey from Boston to New York in 1704. In this she reveals a genuine intercolonial consciousness in her interest in trading and social customs at the various stops of her journey.

The representative figure of this period was Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) who typifies the achievements of the eighteenth-century middle class in America. Boynton says of him:

... he was the first genuinely international figure to emerge in America, the first to achieve solid permanence in literary fame, and the first to offer a widely influential challenge to the religious life by the secular life. And he was the first eminent American writer who was an apostate from Puritanism.

Franklin is known to most Americans through his Autobiography, which contains the pertinent facts in his life up to the time of his major public services. In it one can learn of his concern for such diverse interests as public libraries; an academy which grew into the University of Pennsylvania; and improvement in street paving, sweeping, and lighting.<sup>10</sup>

Franklin has come to symbolize that combination of virtues which Americans have always respected. He was

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<sup>10</sup>ibid., p. 91.

<sup>11</sup>Russell Blankenship, American Literature as an Expression of the Rational Mind, p. 123.

a man of sound business acumen, with definite ideas of the value of money. This attitude of mind enabled Franklin to create Poor Richard's Almanac, one of the most widely read books of the eighteenth century. In his political views as in his economic theory, Franklin espoused the cause of agrarianism as opposed to mercantilism. Blankenship says of him:

The three important traits of Franklin are his rationalism, his utilitarian preferences, and his democracy. The first came from the age in which he lived, the second from the middle class that gave birth to the man, and the third from an acquaintance with the desires and problems of American small farmers--the frontier class. Every proposal submitted to Franklin must stand these three tests: Is it reasonable? Is it useful? Is it in accord with the principle of equality? Above everything Franklin insisted that nothing be allowed to prevent or impede the steady material progress and welfare of the deserving man.<sup>19</sup>

In examining the life of Franklin, it appears that he was one with the revolutionary spirit of his age. He is today not only a man, but a symbol of the forces which brought about this nation.

It was the role of Phillip Freneau (1752-1832) to shed the conventions of the Augustans, and to become a forerunner of the Romantics in his treatment of nature. He was singularly

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<sup>19</sup> Op. cit. p.133.



equipped for the tasks of poetry, having been educated at Princeton, where he is said to have excelled in Latin and Greek.<sup>20</sup> His conception of nature, like his political activity, had its roots in scientific deism--the conception of a cosmic law--which predicated man's happiness only insofar as man was adjusted to the laws of nature.

Following the Revolutionary War, Freneau became editor of the National Gazette, and became the "first powerfully effective crusading newspaperman in America."<sup>21</sup> In this journal he began a vigorous campaign "against titles, class distinction, and all the semi-regal trappings that Adams and the Federalists so ardently desired."<sup>22</sup> The fate which was meted out to Freneau is described graphically by Blankenship:

Freneau was an ardent friend of the French revolutionists. This was too much for respectable Federalists to endure, so they read the poet, in company with Jefferson and Paine, out of the society of decent people by dubbing him an "atheistic editor." To the Federalists Freneau was a democrat, a democrat was a follower of Paine and Jefferson who in turn believed in an "infidel" French philosophy. Therefore a democrat was an atheist. The logic was a trifle weak, but the conclusion eminently satisfied such guardians of righteousness as Timothy Dwight. Thus Freneau, like Paine, was saddled with an odium that he did not deserve.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>21</sup>Spiller, op. cit., I, 172.

<sup>22</sup>Blankenship, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>23</sup>Loc. cit.

The life of Phillip Freneau was bitter and troublesome; yet in the mysteries of nature and in the craft of the poet he found a comfort which transcended the pettiness of men. As the events of the later years of his life have become clearer, his figure assumes more noble proportions, and we discover in him "an eager child of an age of democratic aspiration, the friend and advocate of social justice."<sup>24</sup>

None of the belletristic qualities of Freneau are to be found in the ballade and satires of the Revolution, but these minor poems made their effect on American life. Of these, "Yankee Doodle" is the most conspicuous example. Its composition was originally attributed to Edward Bangs, a Harvard sophomore, but it undoubtedly came into being through modification and variation, as is the case with most ballads. The feelings engendered by songs of this nature were no more important than the sentiment which was produced by singing them, but they did much in converting revolutionary spirit into revolutionary action.

Related to this type of literature is Francis Hopkinson's "The Battle of the Kegs," occasioned by an attempt of the Americans to mine the English ships in Philadelphia harbor. The plans were not successful, but the English became so

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<sup>24</sup>Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, I, p. 380.

alarmed that they endeavored to destroy every piece of drift-wood they could see. Obviously there are humorous overtones, and the discomfiture which the English suffered in the incident and in Hopkinson's re-telling of it did a great deal for the American cause by helping to destroy the awe in which the British were held.

At the end of the Revolution, America possessed little or no native fiction. Throughout the preceding period the Puritan tradition had militated against any concern with this genre, and during the days of the Revolution the best intellects were directed to the problems of statesmanship. In commenting on this period, Laisy says:

The first signs of literary self-consciousness in the new republic appeared in the form of a recognition of the obstacles that stood in the way of dealing with native themes. The Revolution was too familiar to be a satisfactory subject. The story of Plymouth Rock might have served, yet it was a reminder of colonialism. Writers complained also that there were no class distinctions and that consequently they could depict no contrast in manners. Worst of all, local publishers preferred pirating English novels to fostering native authorship.<sup>25</sup>

Charles Brockden Brown was the first American writer to make a profession of literature. He was inevitably influenced by foreign models, for American models were practically nonexistent. Even as a writer of Gothic novels, Brown endeavored to utilize native materials, as is demonstrated in Kieland (1798),

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<sup>25</sup>Op. cit., p. 49.

based on an actual case of murder committed in Tomhemrock some years before.<sup>26</sup>

The last years of Brown's all-too-short life were devoted to the cause of native literature through the medium of The Literary Magazine and American Register.<sup>27</sup> He did much to develop a reading public, and to foster a desire for native productions. Taylor says of his contribution:

. . . Brown did much toward freeing American fiction from the blight of the outworn Richardsonian school. He did much toward connecting the American novel with the still living ideas of the eighteenth century and with the fresh materials of European romanticism. . . . By virtue of his union of philosophical weight, popular interest, and American subject matter, Brown became practically the originator of the genuine American novel. It must be admitted that, when considered purely from the viewpoint of the art of fiction, Brown's work is crude. Writing too hastily, he failed to individualize his characters and perfect his plots. But in his translation of the American wilderness and the Indian into fiction, he anticipated the larger achievement of Cooper's Leather-Stocking Tales, and in his adherence to the Gothic school he anticipated the finished work of Hawthorne and Poe.<sup>28</sup>

## II

### THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM<sup>29</sup>

The life of Washington Irving (1783-1859) all but spans the period from the Revolutionary War to the War between the

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<sup>26</sup>Spiller, op. cit., I, 182.

<sup>27</sup>Boynton, op. cit., p. 199.

<sup>28</sup>Op. cit., pp. 69-70.

<sup>29</sup>See Appendix D for representative writings of this period.

States. It was a period which began with almost no literature and ended with a heritage of notable accomplishments. Irving's first excursion in the field of letters was The Salamagundi Papers,<sup>30</sup> which are in the nature of the Addisonian periodical essays. In the History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker (1809), Irving propounds theories of statecraft in addition to a humorous and sprightly narrative. Following a stay in England of some four or five years, Irving began to compile a group of sketches which would interpret the most agreeable features of that country and the United States, and The Sketch Book is the result of that task. It is here that "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and "Rip Van Winkle" are found. By re-orienting England and America to each other in an age marked by mutual distrust, Irving did a great service to Anglo-American relations.

Irving was not insensible to the lures of American business, and when John Jacob Astor offered him a position as publicity director of the Astor Fur Company, he accepted with alacrity.<sup>31</sup> Astor was thoroughly cognizant of the value this internationally famous writer

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<sup>30</sup>Elankenship, op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>31</sup>Loc. cit.

could be to him in the economic exploitation of the frontier. Parrington says:

He [Irving] was easily brought to see the romance of the great struggle between rival companies for mastery of the fur trade, but he did not comprehend how the glamour he threw about the venture must inevitably strengthen his patron's investment in imperialism.<sup>32</sup>

Irving wrote graphically of the historic events which occurred during his long life, but in those pages we look fruitlessly for the movements which precipitated those events. Spiller comments, "On the meaning of democracy, of sectionalism of the frontier, he offers only pretty paragraphs communicating his personal distaste."<sup>33</sup> Yet, for these sins of omission Irving must be forgiven. He has given to American literature Ichabod and his one-eyed mount. He has called into being Rip Van Winkle and Woultter Van Twiller, and in their lives bubbles the zest of youth.

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) was to represent a generation which, motivated by an aggressive patriotism and an awareness of America's literary inadequacy, was eager to welcome a national literature of authentic vigor. Blankenship says in speaking of Cooper, that:

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<sup>32</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup>Op. cit., p. 246.

He was at once the most popular novelist and the most unpopular citizen of the United States. He was too democratic for Europe and too aristocratic for America. He hated the noise and vulgarity of Jacksonian democracy no less than he despised the money-making energy of the Whigs. His most celebrated novels are concerned with frontier life, but the author was always a lover of the old landed aristocracy.<sup>34</sup>

Cooper would deserve a place in world literature if for no other reason than the creation of the backwoods philosopher Natty Bumppo, "the first internationally famous character in American fiction."<sup>35</sup> The Leather-Stocking Tales, consisting of The Deerslayer, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pathfinder, The Pioneers, and The Prairie, trace the career of this great figure from his first appearance as a youthful warrior to his death as an old man. Taylor says of the Leather-Stocking Tales

. . . in them the American people possess their nearest approach to a national epic. The theme of that epic--the conquest of the wilderness by a great and hardy race--is no less noble than the warfare between the Christian and Moor in the Song of Roland, or the founding of Rome in the Aeneid.<sup>36</sup>

Cooper's writings have been severely criticized from the basis of style and structure, but in their picture of American life of the period they have no equal. Spiller says:

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<sup>34</sup>Op. cit., p. 252.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>36</sup>Op. cit., p. 110.

One fact is clear, a by-product of the truism that Cooper's writings are a paradise for the intellectual historian: He cared little for literature as literature. For him, writing was primarily an implement for his convictions about America. . . . We should be aware of those which recur; his belief in the moral quality of liberty; his nationalism; his conviction that an aristocracy of worth was not inconsistent with the democratic ideal; his notion that native human character received its most valid self-expression in America; and his concept of the relation of all these ideas to the natural world of forest and sea. With infinite variation in detail these themes appear in all his books.<sup>37</sup>

With the coming of William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) to the American literary scene, we find the appearance of a new concept of nature. In Bryant's poems nature was no longer utilized for mere setting, but became a moving symbol of Divine Being. His poetry is the journal of his personal reaction to nature's beauty and message, and his favorite theme is the power of nature to heal the sorrowful soul. In "To a Waterfowl" he says:

There is a Power whose care  
Teaches thy way along the pathless coast--  
The desert and illimitable air--  
Lone wandering but not lost.<sup>38</sup>

Bryant's most famous poem, "Thanatopsis," was produced before he was twenty, and in almost every syllable it gives evidence of its author's puritan ancestry:

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<sup>37</sup>Op. cit., I, 254-255.

<sup>38</sup>Inglis, et al., op. cit. p. 500.



"... the sternness of God, the imminence of death, the threat of eternal damnation, the sense of life as a prelude to eternity."<sup>39</sup>

There is little of nationalism in Bryant's poetry; his contributions in that realm must be judged in the light of his writings for the New York Evening Post, where for a half-century as editor and part-owner he aided in the shaping of American thought.<sup>40</sup> Boynton says of this period in Bryant's career:

The Post and its new editor changed to support the doctrines of insurgent democracy; and Bryant's own leading recruits--William Leggett, Parke Godwin, and even John Bigelow--were more aggressively liberal than he. He believed in party government, and supported Jackson, but not in party subservience; and he championed the civil service reform that Jacksonian tactics made imperative. He created a legal precedent in his successful defense of the right of labor to group bargaining; he took an early stand against slavery; he insisted on the right of free speech, and of course, supported the free-soil element and opposed the Fugitive Slave Law. He turned with most ardent liberals against the Daniel Webster whom he regarded as an ambitious opportunist, and four years before the seventh-of-March speech he bolted the Democratic party in disgust. He was among the first of influential Easterners to rally to Abraham Lincoln and among the minority who were independent and bold enough to applaud the heroism of John Brown.<sup>41</sup>

The contributions which Bryant made to the rise of nationalistic thought lie chiefly in the realm of his Romantic interpretation of nature, which involves a

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<sup>39</sup>Boynton, op. cit. p. 275.

<sup>40</sup>Spiller, op. cit., I, 300.

<sup>41</sup>Boynton, op. cit., pp. 282-283.

belief in the progress of man.

In the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1892) there is probably only one doctrine which he did not at sometime abjure. This is the belief in the divine self-sufficiency of the individual.<sup>42</sup> It is interesting to conjecture as to whether this idea was the result of pure philosophical speculation, or an outgrowth of the doctrine of the innate dignity of man expressed during the period of our national formation.

A philosophy founded on the divine value of man predicated to Emerson the belief that a government should possess no more authority than that necessary for the preservation of international and national order. This belief he held in common with Jefferson, but Emerson, as a philosopher, went on to the logical conclusion. If man is innately good and can rely implicitly on his intuition, is not governmental compulsion wrong? His attitude in this situation was convincingly indicated in his refusal to obey the Fugitive Slave Law. Parrington says of his attitude: "In his speculations on the nature and function of the ideal republic . . . he elaborated what we may call the transcendental theory of politics, a theory closely akin to

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<sup>42</sup>Blankenship, op. cit., p. 291.

philosophical anarchism."<sup>43</sup>

The philosophy which Emerson espoused--that man is a part of nature and that nature in turn is a part of the deity--is clearly expressed in "Each and All." As all things are united in their relationship to God, all things are necessary for the successful integration of the individual. This projection of one's identity into the identity of all mankind is certainly a concept which makes for nationalism, and if carried to its logical conclusion, to internationalism. In "The Concord Hymn," we see evidence of Emerson's interest in the past of our country, and a degree of worship for the cult of dead heroes in the lines:

Spirit, that made those heroes dare  
to die and leave their children free . . .<sup>44</sup>

In Emerson's essays, we find many nationalistic concepts, but in the anthologies examined, only one essay, "Self-Reliance," appeared. Ludwig Lewisohn says of it:

The essay is, for its length and non-technical nature, the most revolutionary document in modern literature. Here . . . is the American character, the unbinding and not binding creed of the libertarian. . .<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Op. cit., II, 393.

<sup>44</sup>Inglis, et al., op. cit., p. 560.

<sup>45</sup>Expression in America, p. 124.

Emerson's nationalism is, for the most part, of a pervasive nature, and it is as such that it must be discerned. Throughout his writings there is a cognizance of the role of Providence in America's past and future. To Emerson, the Americans were indeed the chosen people, possessed of qualities peculiar to them as a group. He insisted that the role of America was as the leader in the struggle for the welfare and growth of men and women individually and collectively.

To save one's soul has ever been considered a concern basic to the human experience, and Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) threw himself into the process with all the vigor he could muster. Blankenship says that "Emerson was the clearest preacher of transcendentalism, but Thoreau lived that gospel."<sup>46</sup> Thoreau was graduated from Harvard in 1837, and the years he spent there gave some indication of his later concern with the realities of life. He lost patience with both the narrow limits of the traditional collegiate program and the eagerness of his classmates for academic standing rather than for education. He incurred faculty displeasure and was in danger of expulsion, but through intervention by Emerson, was allowed to take his degree.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Op. cit., p. 303.

<sup>47</sup>Boynton, op. cit. pp. 335-336.

7 The period from 1845-1847 gave him the experience and most of the material for Walden, although it was not published until some seven years later. The events which led up to his stay at Walden have been summarized by Blankenship:

Thoreau soon saw that there were three ways in which he might solve the question of money-making. He could hire himself out to some one who would exploit his labor, as for instance, the Boston pencil makers wished to do. He could hire other men and exploit their work to his gain. Finally, he could reduce his wants almost to the vanishing point and get along without any kind of exploitation. This last was the only satisfactory plan, and he determined to follow it. Manual labor was the most pleasant form of work, therefore he discovered how little work was necessary when wants were brought to the irreducible minimum, and did no more than the required amount.<sup>48</sup>

The significance of Thoreau's experiment lies in that in him we see the first protest against the growing philosophy of materialism and pragmatism. He was concerned with the shallowness of much contemporary thought, which emphasized the value of possessions, which he considered the first obstacle to the good life.

The second obstacle to the good life, according to Thoreau, consisted of formal institutions, particularly those of government. Thoreau was of the opinion that it was far better to rise above these institutions, pursuing a solitary path where the masses were unable

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<sup>48</sup>Op. cit., p. 305.

to follow. Taylor says, "Not deeply concerned with the social projects fostered by transcendentalism, Thoreau became the arch-individualist of his time--indeed, of all American literature."<sup>49</sup>

Thoreau's individualism was most apparent during the Mexican war. He felt that the war was being fought in order that slavery might be extended, and consequently resolved to do nothing to support the government. He refused to pay his taxes, and accordingly was seized and placed in the Concord jail. The next day his relatives paid the tax, and Thoreau was released. This event led him to re-evaluate his philosophy of politics, and the result was the tract "Civil Disobedience."<sup>50</sup>

Like many of his fellow Americans, then and now, Thoreau was aware of governmental functions mainly in times of crisis, and, as do his fellow Americans, he blamed it for its iniquities. In "Civil Disobedience," Thoreau assumes that the democratic state reflects the moral standards of the mass, and he argues the superior claim of a higher moral law. "When a conflict is precipitated between civil and moral law, the man who is

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<sup>49</sup>Op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>50</sup>Loc. cit.

concerned with personal integrity must obey the latter. In obeying this higher law, there need be no warfare with the State, but rather man may abandon a social compact which he did not voluntarily enter. A half-century later, a Hindu student of law read this in London, and was so impressed that subsequently, as Mahatma Gandhi, he adopted the title and the ideas in the development of a foreign policy which has come to be one of the strongest movements in the field of nationalism today.<sup>51</sup>

In speaking of Thoreau's concern with the educational process, Spiller says:

. . . more significant is his statement that an experiment performed before the eyes of students, and with their active participation, is worth weeks of conventional teaching. As conducted by the Thoreau brothers, Concord Academy employed pioneering methods which the passage of a century has made common. Finally, he believed there should be no such thing as graduation, and held it a fault that in his day there was no adequate system for adult education.<sup>52</sup>

Thoreau's concepts of society seem anachronistic today in an Age struggling to control the atom. If his social doctrines are adaptable to any society, they could be adaptable only to a society of independent

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<sup>51</sup>Boynton, op. cit., p. 344.

<sup>52</sup>Spiller, op. cit., I, 444.

farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers. His great contribution to nationalist thought in the United States lies in his concept of the dignity of the individual, and the responsibility of that individual to a higher power than the state.

The contribution of Herman Melville (1819-1891) to the realm of nationalism is a minor one. The setting of many of his novels is in the South Seas, producing a lack of the externals which make for American nationalism. In Moby Dick, Melville deals with the American scene, but in so allegorical a manner that any nationalistic trend is difficult to perceive. It is the opinion of this writer that Melville's conscious use of symbols was based in part on the growing use of symbols in our national life. In Israel Potter, an excellent historical novel with John Paul Jones and Benjamin Franklin among its characters, we detect Melville's concern with the national past of this country.

In speaking of Melville's concern with democratic values, F. O. Matthiessen says:

His fervent belief in democracy was the origin of his sense of tragic loss at the distortion or destruction of the unique value of a human being. How high he set that value and how he instinctively linked it with Christianity are suggested by his annotation to a sentence in Madame de Stael's Germany: 'A man, regarded in a religious light, is as much as the entire human race.' Upon this Melville wrote: 'This was an early and innate conviction of mine, suggested by my revulsion from the counting-room philosophy of Paley.'<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>American Renaissance, p. 442.



In Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) we see, as in Thoreau, an intense individualism and an inclination to dissent from, if not to repudiate entirely, the enthusiasms of the social reformers. A clue to this attitude on the part of Hawthorne may be found from the limited sense of kinship he felt with the country in his comment that "We have so much country that we really have no country at all."<sup>54</sup>

One of the implications of the Romantic movement-- which in itself tended to bring about nationalism<sup>55</sup>-- was the attempt to abolish sin and evil. Hawthorne was incapable of accepting this philosophy, and in spite of the urge of the era in which he lived to acquiesce in this idealism, his sound perception acted as a constant curb to his romanticism.

None of his writings indicate this concern with sin, in addition to his interest in the past, as The Scarlet Letter. Strictly speaking, the book is not historical, but in its portrayal of Puritan society we see a clear indication of the nationalistic influences later to be developed in The Maypole of Merry Mount. In The Great Stone Face, this element of the past is also present, not only in the descriptive

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<sup>54</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne to Henry W. Longfellow, October 24, 1854, cited in Lawrence S. Hall, Hawthorne, Critic of Society, p. 71.

<sup>55</sup>see page 30.

passages involved, but in the prototype of the stone face itself. The Blithedale Romance, which utilizes Brook Farm as its setting, is a rather unsympathetic treatment of one of the phases of our national life. The House of Seven Gables, written a year after The Scarlet Letter, continues the theme of retributive action so popular with Hawthorne.

An interesting concept in Hawthorne's works, and certainly related to nationalism, is his attitude toward women. He had scant sympathy for the strong-minded Anne Hutchinson and for the equally disturbing figure on the contemporary scene--Margaret Fuller. If we turn to his fiction, we find evidence of his admiration for the muliebrous woman. Her constancy is celebrated in "The Shaker Bridal," "The Maypole of Merry Mount," "Edward Fane's Rosebud,"--the list becomes tedious. In the character of Hester we detect a change in Hawthorne's usual conception of feminine virtue, and in Hester we may discern a faint precursor of the feminist type.

Hawthorne's contribution to nationalism is not marked, for, as Blankenship says:

Hawthorne was preeminently an artist, interested more in presentation than in argumentation, more concerned with tone-color than with intellectual interests. It is as an artist and not as a thinker that he must be considered, and as such he stands almost unique in his generation.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Op. cit., p. 377.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) has been of particular service to our national literature in his translation and idealization of certain passages in the history of the United States. He was an idealist--a typical trait of American nationalism<sup>57</sup>--but his idealism was of a romantic nature rather than intellectual. In Longfellow we need be troubled only infrequently with new concepts. Through his works we look through a haze of emotion and romance into a nostalgic past. As long as this mood persists, we need not face the realities of the day and the problems of the morrow. In such poems as "A Psalm of Life" we can see noble--and vague--aspirations which have assisted many in sustaining their faith.

It is as the poet of the unsophisticated that Longfellow must take his place in our national literature.<sup>58</sup> It is to the ingenuous that the nationalistic content of Longfellow's works must appeal.<sup>59</sup> In "The Village Blacksmith" we find commendation for simple goodness. In "The Children's Hour," "The Day is Done," and others of the same nature, the motif is one of homely affection or mysterious longing.

In his ballads Longfellow made a more serious contri-

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<sup>57</sup>Bliss Perry, The American Mind, pp. 86-87.

<sup>58</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>59</sup>Boas and Burton, op. cit., p. 103.

bution to nationalism in such poems as "The Wreck of the Hesperus," "The Skeleton in Armor," and "Paul Revere's Ride." These poems, as all ballads should, have an attractive simplicity. They also possess a quality of "terse, straightforward, rapid narrative which had not hitherto appeared in American poetry."<sup>60</sup>

The student who has come in contact with Evangeline, Hiawatha, and The Courtship of Miles Standish at the proper place in his disciplinary development is probably a better citizen because of them, although he might discover later that these poems are not the masterpieces of literature he had thought them to be. Longfellow has contributed little to the mainstream of nationalistic writings, but in these poems he has given much to the development of the emotions peculiar to a democratic people.

The birth and breeding of John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) pre-eminently fitted him for his career as a spokesman of the people. The language of the people was his, as were their popular superstitions and local legends. It is in the poems based on this aspect of American life that his permanent reputation in American letters rests.<sup>61</sup>

Whittier's most vigorous and formative years were inex-

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<sup>60</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 192.

<sup>61</sup>Spiller, op. cit., I, 575.

tricably bound up with his activities as an anti-slavery agitator. His conception of slavery was based largely on an abstract ideal, but it was none the less a genuine concern. He possessed the democratic concept that man is a spiritual being as well as a material being, and that the human soul is of far greater value than to be tyrannized by an absolute master.<sup>62</sup>

Whittier's abolition poetry comprises the greater portion of his entire poetic output,<sup>63</sup> but few of these poems rise above the level of propaganda. "Massachusetts to Virginia" is an impassioned and vigorous effusion, but little more. When Webster betrayed the hopes of the Abolitionists in his notorious "Compromise" speech, Whittier demonstrated his scorn in the trenchant lines of "Ichabod," only later to be troubled by their severity.<sup>64</sup> "Laus Deo" was written upon the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, and is a resounding paean of victory for the cause which Whittier served so faithfully.

More than most poets of his day, Whittier remained identified with the region which produced him, and throughout the days of his abolitionist activity, he wrote poetry dealing with the New England countryside. He did not attempt any strained symbolism as did Hawthorne, but contented himself

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<sup>62</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>63</sup>Blankenship, op. cit., p. 328.

<sup>64</sup>Parrington, op. cit., II, p. 367.

with a revival of the atmosphere of the period, and a faithful and vivid portrayal of character.

"The Barefoot Boy," "Memories," and "Snow-Bound" are probably the most popular of Whittier's New England poems. In these poems he treats of simple human experiences: the happiness of childhood, youthful love, household chores, and the fellowship of the hearth. Spiller says of "Snow-Bound":

. . . the finest of his Yankee idyls, a faultless integration of precisely remembered detail and tender devotion. In a general way this poem is the New England analogue of Burns' The Cotter's Saturday Night, with which it compares favorably both for its wealth of homely description and for its genuineness of sentiment. But against the background of a nation fast adapting itself to urban ways the poem appears something more than a cold pastoral. It is a quiet tribute to a form of civilized living that was passing. Here embodied in glowing terms was the Jeffersonian dream of the virtuous small landholder and his household, beholden to no one and winning an honest, laborious livelihood from the soil. Long before the Presidency of Grant this ideal pattern of a good life that might have been realized on an unpreempted continent had been shattered; but it still continued to haunt the minds of country-born dwellers in the expanding cities whose simple upbringing had not prepared them for the complex problems of an industrial era. In Whittier's idyllic picture of an existence totally untroubled by the fevers of getting and spending, many Americans recognized with wistful regret an Eden from which they were forever debarred.<sup>65</sup>

In the works of James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) we find a pervasive nationalism, which takes form as faith in

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<sup>65</sup>Op. cit., I, 579-580.

human nature, in human kindness, and in the good life. These are the concepts expressed in such poems as "The Shepherd of King Admetus," "Rhoecus," and "To the Dandelion." The most frequently quoted of Lowell's shorter poems is "The Present Crisis," a piece of rousing rhetoric inspired by the anti-slavery struggle, and with specific reference to the annexation of Texas as a slave state.

The poems which Lowell wrote after 1860 lose much of his earlier spontaneity, and reflect plainly the feeling of their author that he is expected "to do something dignified and profound."<sup>66</sup> The finest of these is the Harvard "Commemoration Ode," in which Lowell becomes one of the first American men of letters to recognize and proclaim the greatness of Abraham Lincoln. "Under the Old Elm" was written for the centennial of Washington's assumption of command of the Revolutionary forces. In both of these odes, Lowell speaks eloquently of the American ideals--freedom, heroism, and the importance of idealism and duty rather than materialism and self-indulgence.

The Bigelow Papers, in their first form, constitute two series dealing respectively with the Mexican and Civil Wars. Of these writings, Taylor says:

Like many New Englanders, Lowell opposed the Mexican War because it involved the extension of slavery and the strengthening of Southern influence in the Union.

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<sup>66</sup>Blankenship, op. cit., p. 343.

On these grounds he decried the war, denounced volunteering, and ridiculed the jingoistic editors who supported the government. Lowell's satire of journalistic cant is still pertinent, and his caricature of the ideal of military glory, in the person of the pricelessly comical Birdofreedom Sawin, is in the best traditions of American humor. As was appropriate, he gave the Civil War a more serious treatment. In paper after paper, Lowell impressed upon the Northern people that they should prosecute the war, unitedly, cautiously, firmly; that their cause was just, and under God, must win; that they must not merely emancipate the blacks from slavery itself, but must emancipate the whites from the idea of slavery; and, above all, that they should build firmly, so that the Union would last and slavery be permanently crushed.<sup>67</sup>

In 1834, while serving as Minister to England, Lowell gave a further interpretation of Americanism in a lecture entitled "Democracy." In this speech he maintained that democracy had been justified by the American experiment; it had produced good citizens, and recognized merit rather than social status. Lowell was not blind, however, to the dangers threatening American democracy. A rural population was being transformed to an urban population; American cities had become centers of corruption; and Lowell feared that democracy would be supplanted by socialism.<sup>63</sup>

The contribution of Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894) to the American literary scene must rest largely on The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, which in its portrayal of the American boardinghouse should be regarded as a part

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<sup>67</sup>Taylor, op. cit., pp. 179-200.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 205-206.



of our national heritage. "Old Ironsides" is a vigorous poem and little more, but its theme is such that it cannot fail to elicit an emotional response.

In 1885, two books presenting a provocative contrast appeared on the American literary scene. One of these was Longfellow's Miawatha, dealing with the "natural" man who was the original inhabitant of this continent. The other was Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass, dealing with the "natural" man of the coming age, who, according to the author, would become a prototype of American democracy.

Van Wyck Brooks says of the genesis of Leaves of Grass:

Like George Fox, he [Whitman] felt a call, as clear to him as the "inner light," to abandon the conventional themes of earlier poets, with all the stock poetical touches, the plots of love and war and the high exceptional personages of old-world song. He was to embody in his verse nothing whatever for beauty's sake, neither legend nor myth nor romance nor euphuism nor rhyme, but only the broadest average of humanity in the ripening nineteenth century with all its countless examples in the America of his day.<sup>69</sup>

Whitman's poetry is basically colored by the philosophy of transcendentalism, but in his interpretation of the teachings of this philosophy he so impressed them with his own personality as to give them a new and more vigorous tone. In the first thirteen lines of "Song of Myself," the first poem in Leaves of Grass, Whitman announced both his purpose in writing in this medium and his qualifications to fulfill that purpose.

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<sup>69</sup>The Times of Melville and Whitman, pp. 173-179.

This poem appears to be an example of egotism, but on closer examination it is discovered that it is not merely the individual, Walt Whitman, of whom he speaks but rather himself as an archetype of the human race.

In spite of his acknowledgement of the influence of transcendentalism in his poetry, Whitman did not regard it as the principal factor. Above all else, he desired to be the singer and prophet of American democracy. He ascribed the sources of evil to oppression and superstition rather than to human nature, and out of America anticipated the emergence of a noble race divorced from these degrading factors.<sup>70</sup> This great and noble race needed a new literature divorced completely from its European bonds. This attitude is shown in the "The Muse in the New World", in which Whitman says:

Come Muse, migrate from Greece and Ionia . . .  
For know a better, fresher, busier sphere, a wide,  
untried domain awaits, demands you.<sup>71</sup>

Coincident with the arrival of the muse, " . . . install'd among the kitchen-ware!" Whitman would sing of the "divine average" of American citizenship: of mechanics, carpenters, masons, boatmen, shoemakers, wood cutters, and homemakers.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>71</sup>Louis Untermeyer, editor, Modern American Poetry, p.41.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

More than sing of America's workers, Whitman was to fill his poems full with the America he cherished; and consequently they possess a panoramic quality. This attempt not infrequently produces a rather dull series, but in his desire to portray his nation we find a nationalism richer than any other in our history of belles-lettres.

Whitman exulted in a free, hylotheistic America, but this was not enough. The ultimate of a democracy should be the complete development of the individual. This development could only come about in a social group, possessed of spiritual values. The interpreters of these values were to be those poets who could awaken the dormant American spirit to realize its new vistas. Such is the message of "By Blue Ontario's Shore":

Of all races and eras these States with veins full of  
poetical stuff most need poets,  
and are to have the greatest, and use them the  
greatest,  
Their Presidents shall not be their common referee so  
much as their poets shall.<sup>73</sup>

In spite of his strong nationalism, Whitman was also concerned with all men and all races, and "The Passage to India" is a poem expressing such universal concern. This writer would suggest that Whitman's frequent use of foreign words, phrases, and references, imply a latent internationalism which should be noted.

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

Two sections of Leaves of Grass were based on Whitman's war experiences,<sup>74</sup> and these are the poems most frequently found in high-school anthologies. The must <sup>k</sup>remains, "smiling and pleas'd with palpable intent to stay."<sup>75</sup>

### III

#### NATIONAL MATURITY

It was not until the nineteenth century was well on its way that the American Indian was recognized as a cultural asset. The works of Cooper and of Longfellow had idealized the Indian, but it remained for a group of ethnologists working in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth to give us an adequate picture of Indian life.<sup>76</sup> The writings, tales, and songs of the various American tribes contribute little to nationalism, except insofar as they make for an historical appreciation of the national past.<sup>77</sup>

During this same period, attention was directed to the study of American folklore, which Spiller defines as

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<sup>74</sup>Blankenship, op. cit., p. 363.

<sup>75</sup>Walt Whitman, "The Muse in the New World," cited by Louis Untermeyer, editor, Modern American Poetry, p. 41.

<sup>76</sup>Spiller, op. cit., II, 694.

<sup>77</sup>Spiller, op. cit., II, 694.

. . . that congeries of knowledge (beliefs, customs, magic, sayings, songs, tales, traditions, etc.) which has been created by the spontaneous play of naive imaginations upon common human experience, transmitted by word of mouth or action, and preserved without dependence upon written or printed record.<sup>78</sup>

In his discussion of the origin of folklore, he goes on to say that

. . . folklore has its origin in an imaginative attempt to relate events, express feelings, and explain phenomena according to a graphic and rememberable [sic] pattern. This attempt, normally begun by an individual, is transmitted to other individuals by word of mouth or by action. Through repetition and unconscious variation, it loses its original individual traits, if it has any, and becomes a common possession of a group.<sup>79</sup>

This interest in the autochthonous has followed two paths in recent American literature. One group of investigators is concerned with the discovery of native ballads and folklore, and the recent findings in this area are indicative of an awakening national literary consciousness. The collection of tales dealing with Paul Bunyan indicates an effort to preserve the literary history of the frontier. Other investigators working in this general area have directed their attention to the folklore of a region, rather than to the nation as a whole.<sup>80</sup>

It is difficult in the study of American literature to distinguish the point at which regionalism stops and nationalism begins. Of this dilemma, Donald Davidson says:

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 703.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 703-704.

<sup>80</sup>Lucy Lockwood Hazard, The Frontier in American Literature, pp. 79-80.

The national literature is the compound of the regional impulses, not antithetical to them, but embracing them and living in them as the roots, branch and flower of its being. But I must here note that the relation between the national and the regional has an importance peculiar to American literature alone among the literatures of Western peoples. We are obliged to face problems that arise out of our fairly late arrival at the critical concept of a national American literature as the logical accompaniment of our achievement of political nationality; and out of the slowly dawning recognition that our political unity has to be very imperfectly accommodated to a real cultural diversity.<sup>81</sup>

It would seem to this writer that the confusion which exists between regionalism and nationalism lies in the terms employed. Regionalism may be--and frequently is--nationalism, but nationalism is always regionalism. The final distinction must be left to future generations as to whether a work of literature which deals primarily with a region contributes to a national literature. If it does, it becomes a part of that national literature, and hence, nationalistic. If it does not, it usually becomes the subject only of antiquarian interest. It is interesting to note that the type of literature best suited to the portrayal of a region is the short story,<sup>82</sup> and rarely does the short story attain the level of great literature, unless it deals with universal values.

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<sup>81</sup>"Regionalism and Nationalism in American Literature", American Review, 5:53-54, April-October, 1935.

<sup>82</sup>Taylor, op. cit., 255.

In the writings of Bret Harte (1836-1902), George W. Cable (1844-1925), and Sarah Orne Jewett (1849-1909), one may discover the theme of regionalism in the treatment of California, New Orleans, and New England, respectively. From these writings stems the literature of "local color" in America, and from this milieu was to come a writer who was to transcend regionalism and become one of the great American writers.

Percy Boynton says of Mark Twain that "His writing was an immediate reflection of his external life, starting from the West, progressing to a consciousness of contrasting American and European cultures, and thence to speculative inquiry as to the end and air of human existence."<sup>83</sup>

Twain's first important book, Innocents Abroad, was a "singularly complete expression of the frontier culture."<sup>84</sup> This work did much to break our romantic ties with Europe, and in this served the cause of an emerging nationalism.

Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, and Life on the Mississippi are representative of certain aspects of the frontier life, but by no means do they provide us with a complete picture of that frontier. Huckleberry Finn is clearly the best of the writings in this trilogy, despite the fact that soon after its publication it was ejected from the village library of Emerson's Concord.

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<sup>83</sup>

Op. cit., p. 634.

<sup>84</sup> Brooks, op. cit., p. 291.

These books are effective portrayals of regional life in America, and yet they transcend regional literature, inasmuch as they possess certain universal values. Huck and Tom are boys who can be met in any town in America, for only incidentally did they live near the Mississippi. In their democratic attitudes they typify the youth of this nation who, for the most part, are more keenly aware of democracy than are their elders.

In A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, Twain skillfully places in juxtaposition two cultures.<sup>85</sup> To Twain, the worship of chivalry was disparaging to democracy, inasmuch as it cast a sentimental aura over what was really a barbarous period.<sup>86</sup> Deeper even than this is Twain's vitriolic assault on the realm of superstition, sycophancy, and malevolence. Man's inhumanity to his fellow-man has seldom received such a penetrating indictment as in the pages of this book. Only the setting is Medieval; the motives underlying such abuses were alive in Twain's day, as they are in ours.

Of Twain's lesser works, "Roughing It," "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," and "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" appear with some regularity in the high-school anthologies examined. "Roughing It," the first of his regional works, is a vivid story of the plains and the silver-mining

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<sup>85</sup>Spiller, op. cit., II, 930.

<sup>86</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 270.



area of Nevada. "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" is devoid of nationalistic implications. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" is an indictment of a smug and self-righteous village.

In evaluating the contribution which Twain has made to the realm of American letters, Floyd Stovall says:

He [Twain] was a man of many contradictions, and he was governed more by his emotions than by his rational mind. In short, he was a representative American of his time, whether of East or West, and illustrated the faults as well as the virtues of his fellow countrymen. Like them he was a lover of plots and adventures, of wild exaggeration and practical jokes, of natural wonders and mechanical ingenuities; like them too he was ignorant, cynical, and crude, but withal naively sincere and magnanimous. He was a typical adolescent; that was the source of his charm and his weakness.<sup>87</sup>

Regionalism was not without its advocates in the realm of poetry during this period. Many of the poetic effusions of the time were subliterate, but in the writings of Joaquin Miller, Sidney Lanier, Emily Dickinson and William Vaughn Moody, is found a vital tradition.

The development and subsequent growth of the New Poetry during the twentieth century came about largely through the efforts of Harriet Monroe, the driving force behind Poetry: A Magazine of Verse. This fact is not

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<sup>87</sup> American Idealism, p. 115.

mentioned in high-school texts, but much of the verse included in them would not have been known today had it not first been brought to the attention of the public through this magazine.

In the fourth issue of Poetry (January, 1913), its readers found themselves swept along with the rhythms of one Vachel Lindsay (1879-1931), a man who has since become a significant factor in American literary life.<sup>88</sup> In his walking tours over America, Lindsay became convinced of the basic similarity of the people of America--they were haunted by the same visions and were the followers of his own heroes: Alexander Campbell, who founded the Disciples of Christ; Johnny Appleseed; Andrew Jackson; John P. Altgeld; William Booth; and that great prophet of democracy, William Jennings Bryan. From these contacts Lindsay emerged as a man of the people--identified with them even as Mark Twain has been.<sup>89</sup>

Lindsay's reputation was established in 1913 by "General William Booth Enters Heaven," which deals, both structurally and thematically with a familiar aspect of American life--the Salvation Army. A year later came The Congo, a volume whose title piece

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<sup>88</sup>Spiller, op. cit., II, 1175.

<sup>89</sup>Taylor, op. cit., p. 397.

remains one of the best known of poems dealing with the negro. The spirit of the negro, however, is better caught in Lindsay's negro sermons which are naively humorous without being irreverent.

Inasmuch as Lindsay lived in Springfield it was but natural that he should utilize the Lincoln legend. Many of his humanitarian poems invoke the spirit of The Great Emancipator, and many refer to him by name. "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight" is a protest against war in the name of the workers of America. The Lincoln theme is continued in "When Lincoln Came to Springfield," and in "Nancy Hanks, Mother of Abraham Lincoln," "The Eagle That Is Forgotten" is a noble tribute to John Altgeld, the Governor of Illinois who pardoned the Haymarket anarchists.<sup>90</sup> "The Santa Fe Trail" is a fantasy on a purely American subject--transcontinental motoring.

Robert Frost (1875- ) has traveled much during his life, but wherever he goes, the spirit of New England goes with him. As such he must be considered a regionalist, but he succeeds in transmuting his regionalism to a scope much broader. His poems outwardly carry the atmosphere of New England, but they

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<sup>90</sup> Blankenship, op. cit., p. 593.

possess overtones that make them applicable to the nation as a whole.

One of the recurrent themes in Frost's work, and indicative of American nationalism, is a note of desolation at the thought of separation from other men. In "The Tuft of Flowers" he says:

"Men work together," I told him from the heart,  
"Whether they work together or apart."<sup>91</sup>

In "Mending Wall" he says, rather apprehensively:

Before I build a wall I'd like to know  
What I was walling in or walling out,  
And to whom I was like to give offense.<sup>92</sup>

Frost clearly expresses the dilemma of America in "Birches." To have value, the ideal must be related to the real. Man is a dual organism, possessed of a body and a soul; he must know how to rise above the earthiness of his body, but he must also realize that a return to reality is necessary. Accordingly, Frost makes the birch tree a symbolic link between reality and the ideal. He could climb

Toward heaven, till the tree could bear no more  
But dipped its top and set me down again  
That would be good both going and coming back.<sup>93</sup>

Reality is always invested with new light after an approach to heaven. This is the essence of Frost's message--to cling to the real but to strive toward the ideal. It is also the message of democracy.

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<sup>91</sup>Untermeyer, op. cit., p. 184.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 193.

Like Vachel Lindsay, Carl Sandburg (1878- ) is a poet of the people, but more specifically, he is the poet of industrialism. Because of his varied experiences during his formative years--ranging from a barbershop porter to an organizer for the Socialist party in Milwaukee--Sandburg came to know thoroughly the land of which he wrote.

Spiller says of Sandburg's initial volume of verse that it:

. . . hit genteel readers the way the butcher's maul hits the steer. Chicagoans were proud of their city's new political notoriety, but they did not like the opening lines of Sandburg's title poem, "Chicago. . ."<sup>94</sup>

Sandburg's diction presents an interesting commentary on our national life. In "Cahoots" there are words such as "Harness Bulls," "dicks," "fifty-fifty," "dips," and "gazump," which send modern readers scurrying for dictionaries of slang. In "To a Contemporary Bunkshooter" are found such lines as:

You come along. . . tearing your shirt  
 . . . yelling about Jesus.  
 Where do you get that stuff?  
 What do you know about Jesus?  
 Jesus had a way of talking soft and outside  
 of a few bankers and higher-ups among  
 the con men of Jerusalem everybody

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<sup>94</sup>Op. cit., I, 1182.

liked to have this Jesus around because  
he never made any fake passes and every-  
thing he said went and he helped the sick  
and gave the people hope.

You come along squirting words at us,  
shaking your fist and call us all dam [sic] fools  
so fierce the froth slobbers over your lips  
. . . always blabbing we're all going to  
hell straight off and you know all about  
it.<sup>95</sup>

To portray Sandburg in this light is not to tell the  
entire story, however, for in many of his poems are pas-  
sages of delicate beauty.

The People, Yes, published in 1936, is a strange and  
powerful testament to the democratic process. Spiller  
says of this work, "Whatever may be the name you put to it,  
a foreigner will find more of America in The People, Yes  
than in any other book we can give him. But he will have  
to spell it out slowly."

Sandburg's greatest contribution to nationalistic  
literature, the biography of Lincoln, should not go un-  
mentioned. It is a minutely documented history written  
by a poet who brings to his task sympathy and understand-  
ing.

Edgar Lee Masters is best known for his Spoon River  
Anthology, which on its publication in 1915 became the

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<sup>95</sup>William Rose Benet and Norman Holmes Pearson, edi-  
tors, The Oxford Anthology of American Literature, II,  
1172.

most talked of book of poems in America.<sup>96</sup> It consists of a series of colloquies, more than two hundred in number, spoken from the graves of a village cemetery. No poetical devices are permitted to obscure its harsh statements. The language is curt and colloquial but at times achieves lyric cadences by virtue of its simplicity. Louis Untermeyer says of this work, "Spoon River Anthology was a great part of America in microcosm; it prepared the way for Sinclair Lewis' Main Street and the critical fiction of small-town life."<sup>97</sup>

Spoon River Anthology is of nationalistic import because of the fact that Masters was interested in seeking the undercurrents of an aspect of American life, the small town, which had previously been insufficiently explored.

Walter Iuller Taylor in commenting on this work, says:

Masters's picture of village people is only in part realistic. More often than not, his characterizations are subjectively controlled by a philosophy hostile to the regnant materialism and morality of the Middle West. This philosophy, infused with deep feeling, accounts largely for

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<sup>96</sup>Eoynton, op. cit., p. 816.

<sup>97</sup>Modern American Poetry, p. 14.

the bitterness with which Masters pierces the respectable surface of village life, revealing, underneath it, an ugly welter of greed, petty jealousy, hypocrisy, and maladjustment . . . It accounts also for Masters's celebration of the qualities of individual superiority to mass standards, of humanitarian feeling, of courage, and, above all, of conquering vitality. Something more than stoicism rings through the advice of Davis Matlock, one of the Spoon River people, to live out one's life like a god; and that something is the most tonic element in Masters's poetry.<sup>83</sup>

In the poetry of Edna St. Vincent Millay, we find little of nationalistic spirit. In Conversation at Midnight there is a commentary on the state of human affairs, but the characters who make these comments, for the most part, speak as advocates of untried theories. The pessimistic nature of Miss Millay is best illustrated in her sonnet sequence "Epitaph for the Race of Man," in which she leaves a doomed human race one consolation: if man is to be destroyed, he must destroy himself. Whether Miss Millay's ideas are true or false, there is little in them conducive to nationalism.

A marked contrast to Millay is Stephen Vincent Benet, in whose ballads are recorded incidents from

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<sup>83</sup>Op. cit., p. 401.



American history and folklore. John Brown's Body, his most distinguished work, contains a balance of authentic realism and romantic lyricism which was once common to all poetry.<sup>99</sup> Prior to writing John Brown's Body, Benet had experimented with a variety of literary forms, and discovered that his best works were based on sources taken from uncultured groups, mountaineers, and frontiersmen. Of his shorter poems, "The Ballad of William Sycamore," which relates the story of an old pioneer, is probably the most notable.

John Brown's Body, published in 1928, is a long narrative poem dealing with the Civil War. The narrative moves rather leisurely through an invocation, a prelude, and eight books. It includes a variety of verse forms and literary devices which aid somewhat in overcoming its technical faults.<sup>100</sup> Spiller says of this work:

Benet's talents have not been considered as of anything like the first order by many other poets; and John Brown's Body has kept its largest following among readers under twenty. But such an audience is not to be scorned in a democracy, and Benet's share in reviving the bright colors of our heroic legends puts him squarely in the succession from Longfellow and Lindsay.<sup>101</sup>

A proper evaluation of Benet's work is difficult with

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<sup>99</sup>Blankenship, op. cit., p. 632.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 633.

<sup>101</sup>Op. cit., p. 1350.

out the light of historical perspective, but his contribution to nationalism is apparent in search for the soul of a people in an accurate but reverent examination of the past.

Archibald MacLeish has been profoundly influenced by Eliot and Pound,<sup>102</sup> and it is questionable if his works will contribute to any great resurgence of nationalism.

Of the twentieth-century novelists, Willa Cather is the only one mentioned with any regularity in the anthologies examined. Her contribution to national thought can best be demonstrated in her novels which deal with the transplanted European, and because of these works, her place in American letters remains secure.

In examining the literature just discussed, one cannot but be conscious of two predominant forces in the shaping of American life and literature: religion and nature. This was exemplified first by the New England settlers who heard the voice of God in the wilderness of the New World, and it was exemplified in the nineteenth century when the spiritual quest of a group of thinkers eventuated in transcendentalism.

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<sup>102</sup>Spiller, op. cit., p. 135

Because of its beginnings in religion, American literature has continued to be a medium for philosophical speculation. This is true not only of the Transcendentalist, but in so diverse a writer as Poe, who, in Eureka attempted to explain the universe from the standpoint of science, philosophy, and religion.

During a generation which seems to have espoused the forces of science and rationalism rather than nature and religion, men have become confused intellectually and spiritually. They have forgotten that man needs more than material sustenance in his approach to the full life. Of this they can be sure, however, that the wilderness which seems at time to envelop us can be faced today as it was in the past, and in that wilderness we can find strength.

## CHAPTER V

### A COMMENTARY ON SOME ASPECTS OF NATIONALISM IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE AS THEY AFFECT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THIS RESEARCH.

The problems involved in the definition of terms utilized in this study have been discussed in some detail in Chapter II, and it is not the intent of this section to re-iterate what was said therein. An effort was made in Chapter III to show the development of the concept of nationalism through the political writings of this country. Chapter IV was a continuation of this same process from the utilitarian writings of the period of colonization to the belletristic writings of an emergent culture.

This historical evolution forms the basis for the definition of nationalism upon which this study is predicated, for the term has not been constant in meaning. ~~The nationalism of Hamilton differed from that of Jackson; their concepts were unlike that held by Lincoln; and the concept of nationalism held in America today differs from any of these earlier views.~~<sup>1</sup> It is only as we understand nationalism as a process and not as an end in itself that we can avoid the

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<sup>1</sup> Raymond G. Cettell, History of American Political Thought, passim.

dangers of an egotistical nationalism which tends to recidivous actions.

It is probable that nationalism in some form will continue indefinitely. Of this Carlton Hayes says:

Nationality and some degree of national consciousness have been, in man's experience, ubiquitous and universal, and having been so, they will in all probability continue so to be. For nationality and national consciousness are aspects of gregariousness, an instinct or complex of instincts natural to man and continuously efficacious with him. Gregariousness, like any instinct, can be controlled and directed, but it cannot be suppressed; and though gregariousness by nationality might conceivably be transmuted into gregariousness by class or race, such an event is highly improbable.<sup>2</sup>

According to contemporary students of the issue, national consciousness is not only innate, but beneficial, and should be fostered rather than suppressed.<sup>3</sup> The various champions of this point of view state two major points in defense of their position. The first point is predicated upon the belief that the spiritual values inherent in nationality constitute a safeguard against material cosmopolitanism, and the second point is that in nationality is perceived high cultural values.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Essays on Nationalism, page 247.

<sup>3</sup>Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism, pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup>Hayes, op. cit., p. 248.

It is necessary that we realize that this nationalism is of as vital concern to us today as it was when it set in motion the forces which were to eventuate in the formation of this nation. Nationalism is a dynamic force which must be analyzed in the light of its present-day relevancy before valid conclusions for this study can be reached. Accordingly, it will be examined as it affects patriotism, internationalism, education, and finally as it affects the teaching of American literature. With these in the background, conclusions will be drawn.

## I

### NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM

In dealing with terms which have abstract values as their referents, we too frequently fail to realize that as these values change, so must the meaning of the term. In a nation based on democratic principles, blind, unthinking love of country must give way to a rational and interpretive patriotism if that nation is to survive. Patriotism is capable of a variety of meanings, but it may probably be best defined as "love of country, pride in it, and readiness to make sacrifices for what is considered its best interest."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Merle Curti, The Roots of American Loyalty, p. viii.

Patriotism is related to nationalism, and the history of the two are inextricably joined.

The roots of American patriotism must be traced to their European background, for in spite of all their zest for a new land of liberty, our first colonists brought with them a feeling of kinship for the land of their origin. The very fact that they left their homes in search of a new ideal carries with it the germ of American patriotism.

During the early days of this country, patriotism was felt only as provincial pride, coupled with a sense of future greatness. The American Revolution, with its destruction of the monarchical ideal, and the concomitant weakening of devotion to royalty as an institution and a faith, required that new loyalties be established. The history of the Constitution is a commentary on this development from provincial pride to national patriotism.

In a penetrating essay, Arthur M. Schlesinger has demonstrated how the plenitude of land in America made its people primarily a rural people unlike any in the lands of their origin.<sup>6</sup> The early colonists grew more and more cognizant that their land was far-spread and consisted of distant fertile acres to which any man might go if he choose. This

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<sup>6</sup>"What Then is the American, This New Man?," American Historical Review, 48: 225-244, January, 1943.

very spaciousness, together with the mobility of the early settlers, brought about pride in the nation as a whole.

Another important factor in American patriotism was the belief that Divine Providence had guided American experience from the very beginning. Colonial Puritans held fast to this idea, and it soon spread to all parts of the country. Benjamin Trumbull, in a like manner, began his General History of the United States with a sentiment which could easily be duplicated in many other comments of the period: "Very conspicuous have been the exertions of Providence in the discovery of the New world, in the settlement, growth, and protection of the states and churches of North America."<sup>7</sup>

During the present century, the concept of Divine guidance in American history also found its expositors.<sup>8</sup> The corollary is obvious: If the American is true to his God, he can not be false to his country, inasmuch as it has been guided by a Divine Power through the years.

The legendary past has contributed to our national patriotism.<sup>9</sup> Hero worship is not peculiar to this country, but it has taken on a particular color in America. Of the

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<sup>7</sup> P. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Ellis Thompson, The Hand of God in American History, passim.

<sup>9</sup> Dixon Docter, The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero Worship, passim.



national heroes, Washington has led the host. As the years have passed, his figure has become more and more firmly implanted in the minds and hearts of Americans as a symbol of patriotism above and beyond strife. This has been noted not only in literature, but in other forms of artistic endeavor.<sup>10</sup>

In the evolution of national loyalty, faith in the future has been even a more dynamic force than the memory of great deeds and great men. The United States has not been alone in this position, for many leading European nations have cherished the same conviction of their unique predestination--a pattern of thought which has been reinforced by Hegel's theory of history.<sup>11</sup>

In the United States, as in Europe, the idea of a distinctive people has played an important place in the evolution of national loyalty. This sense of likeness has, in fact, been an undeniable force in modern nationalism. At no era in history have Americans agreed on the characteristics of the American people, yet these differences of opinion did not blot out the concept that an unique American people had come into existence.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Curti, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>11</sup>Ernst Cassirer, The Myth of the State, p. 257 et seq.

<sup>12</sup>Curti, op. cit., p. 65.

The presence of so many ethnic groups early gave rise to the belief that the American people were becoming a blend, unlike the inhabitants of any one of the countries which had sent immigrants to our shores. The colonial authorities favored a liberal policy of naturalization, and this became the foundation of the national policy after independence had been accomplished.<sup>13</sup>

It was not until the 1830's that any sizeable group became concerned with the loyalty of newcomers to the nation, and insisted that the naturalization process become more difficult.<sup>14</sup> This tendency can be best understood in the light of certain propensities in the patriotic and national thought of the period. One of the most conspicuous of these was a growing attribution to the factor of "race" in the development of the American nationality, an attitude which had not been seen before in America. It was, in fact, incompatible with the contract theory of government which had its inception in America with the Mayflower Compact and which eventuated in the Constitution.

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<sup>13</sup> Charles A. Beard, and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, 62 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Ray A. Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860, passim.

The exciting cause of this nativist movement was the greatly increased Roman Catholic immigration from Ireland and Germany. As a result of this trend, in the 1850's there arose a lively anti-foreign movement "directed by the American or Know-nothing party."<sup>15</sup>

This nativist concern for Protestantism was strengthened by economic considerations. Charles and Mary Beard say:

Especially were the conservatives pained to find German socialists, fresh from the revolutionary upheavals in 1848, holding meetings to condemn American capitalism, calling upon working people to overthrow the order established by Washington and Jefferson, and demanding a voice in government "proportionate to their numbers."<sup>16</sup>

Inform though the basic propulsion toward patriotism seems to be, it requires continuous sustenance if it is to remain vital. Noah Webster was one of the first to recognize this. "His great dictionary of American English and his ubiquitous and profitable 'spelling books' popularized some of the reform in orthography which he deemed basic to the growth of a distinctively American language and literature."<sup>17</sup> Edward Nelson says:

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<sup>15</sup> Beard and Beard, op. cit., II, 244.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Curti, op. cit., p. 124.

There were, it is true, a few books that reflected definite American feeling--particularly Noah Webster's Second Part, A Grammatical Institute; . . . Webster stated on the title page of the "Second Part," that it was his purpose in compiling the book to be "attentive to the political interest of America." In that interest he included a number of Revolutionary War orations in which bitter feeling was expressed against Great Britain. . . .<sup>18</sup>

The belief in the power of the printed word and in the exposition of patriotic platitudes did not expend the energies of those who concerned themselves with the strengthening of loyalty, and they next turned to the use of symbols. The seal of the United States had been in existence since August 10, 1776, as had the national motto, E Pluribus Unum.<sup>19</sup> By a subsequent Act of Congress, the American or bald eagle became a part of our symbolism. The eagle appealed to the classical temper of the times, and in addition, Congress specified in true patriotic pride that it was to be the American bald eagle! Its subsequent use, which certainly is not devoid of nationalistic implications, in the area of decoration has been noted by Clarence P. Hornung.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Edward Reisaner, Nationalism and Education Since 1789, p. 358.

<sup>19</sup>Curti, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>20</sup>"The American Eagle, Symbol of Freedom," American Artist, 5:10ff., November, 1941.

The national flag has been of the foremost importance in the fostering of national symbolism. Curti says:

As late as 1793, discussions in Congress over altering the Stars and Stripes indicate that the emblem had not yet come to be regarded with any reverence or even as having any particular significance. It was decided, in spite of the plain indication that many new states were bound to be created out of the western domain, to add two stripes to the original thirteen in honor of the admission of Kentucky and Vermont. Thus it was that a banner of fifteen stripes remained the national emblem for almost a quarter of a century. In 1818 it was apparent that the flag could not well submit to an indefinite multiplication of its stripes, and the thirteen original ones were restored at the same time that provision was made for increasing the stars as new states entered the Union. Only in 1834 did the army adopt the Stars and Stripes as its emblem; not until the War with Mexico did American soldiers fight in the field under its colors.<sup>21</sup>

National holidays must not be overlooked in their role as harbingers of patriotism and loyalty.<sup>22</sup> Hayes compares the feast and fast days of the Christian calendar with national festivals and holidays:

Nationalism has its parades, processions, and pilgrimages. It has, moreover, its distinctive holy days, and just as the Christian Church took over some festivals from Paganism, so the national state has borrowed freely from Christianity. In the United States, for example, the Fourth of July is a nationalist Christmas, Flag Day is substituted for Corpus Christi, and Decoration Day

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<sup>21</sup> Op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

for the commemoration of All Souls of the faithful departed, whilst in place of the saints' days of the Christian calendar appear the birthdays of national saints and heroes such as Washington and Lincoln.<sup>23</sup>

The mistake which is made frequently today is confusion of the symbol with the thing itself. So long as men fix their attention only on the superficial it is impossible for them to make any progress in understanding.<sup>24</sup> The issue involved is not a matter of indifference to those who desire the triumph of the forces of democracy. What should be sought for is a point of view which will recognize the value of these symbols in our national life without making of them fetishes of a nationalistic religious rite.

## II

### NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

The world today is laden with problems, the profusion and intricacy of which become greater as time goes on. National borders have grown broader and broader. In the early days of the history of man, the family group constituted the terminus, and later this was lengthened to a political allegiance to some potentate. The nations of the world then

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<sup>23</sup>Reisner, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>24</sup>Evelyn Underhill, Worship, pp. 23-24.

came into existence, distinguished by national boundaries, and stimulating the twin sentiments of patriotism and nationalism.

Today nations are no longer separated by insurmountable geographic barriers. Nations are in such proximity, and their interdependence is so obvious in every field of human activity, that there have ceased to be national problems devoid of international aspects. We have created for ourselves the conditions necessary for world unity, but we are not prepared to cope with the eventuation of that unity.<sup>25</sup>

The consideration which must be faced is whether the concept of nationalism is compatible with the concept of internationalism. Semantically, internationalism has become confused with supranationalism, whereas linguistically there is no such perplexity. Internationalism means according to Webster's New International Dictionary, "Between or among nations; participated in by two or more nations; common to or affecting two or more nations; . . ." whereas the definition given of supra is "denoting above or higher in position; . . ."

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<sup>25</sup> Henri Bonnet, "Security Through the United Nations", Making the United Nations Work, Vol. 246 (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1946), p. 13.

Thus we see that there is no irresolvable conflict between nationalism and internationalism.<sup>26</sup> We are citizens of a great nation, but we are also citizens of a great world. This is our inescapable responsibility as citizens of a nation constructed on a Judeo-Christian tradition. As conceived by that tradition, religion deals in universals. It proclaims one God, creator of all men, and with this as its basic tenet, claims the brotherhood of all, irrespective of race or nation. Unfortunately, when this ideal is interpreted by men, it becomes affected by their attitudes and ideas, by the group to which they belong, and by the dynamics of their loyalties.<sup>27</sup>

It is well-nigh impossible for a man in a democratic nation to be true to his country without being true to the larger loyalty exacted from him by his presence in a world which has become progressively smaller. The events which take place in the world today must concern us if we cherish our national security. There is no alternative. Internationalism is forced upon us. We are no longer isolated--nor indeed can be-- in the family group, or the tribe, or the nation.

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<sup>26</sup>Randle Elliott, "Regional Dynamics in World Affairs," World Government, Vol. 264, pp. 31-32.

<sup>27</sup>Underhill, op. cit., p. 60 et seq.



It may be said that internationalism diminishes one's loyalty to his own nation. This can be effectively refuted by the fact that the welfare of any nation today is predicated upon a prosperous, peaceful, and progressive world.<sup>28</sup> This is not an altruistic viewpoint, but a stern recognition of reality.

The achievement of men in the realms of the sciences and humanities has brought about changes in all our relationships--national and international. Through these achievements have been created new and unprecedented opportunities for the advancement and prosperity of mankind. It is relatively facile to agree upon ultimate objectives, but, unfortunately, it is difficult to define the moral principles which are involved in effecting those objectives. There is little doubt, however, that the values inherent in our great religious tradition, and the principles which were established to confirm and preserve the freedom and dignity of men and women in a democratic society, should be the basis upon which we build.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>William Agar, "International Cooperation or World War III," The United Nations and the Future, Vol. 228 (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1943), passim.

<sup>29</sup>Bayes, op. cit., p. 263

Upon these principles should be constructed the ideal world of tomorrow. It must be built not by impractical visionaries, but by stern realists. The world of tomorrow must be built upon a reciprocative accountability on the part of men and nations. This is the only safe basis upon which it can come into being, and it is predicated upon an intelligent nationalism.

An unintelligent nationalism is an anachronism in the world today. Every trend of our modern life has been to bring nations into closer union.<sup>30</sup> What must be sought for is a point of view which will co-ordinate the workings of the various nations of the world in ways that will be mutually constructive and not competitively destructive. This point of view can be found only in loyalty to a great universal being beyond the limits of nation or race. This loyalty will declassify and ennoble the concept of nationalism. Under the aegis of this highest loyalty, smaller loyalties will be elevated, and will become not competitive but comprehensive.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 264-265.

## III

## NATIONALISM AND AMERICAN EDUCATION

In discussing the role played by nationalism in the educational process, Edward Reiser says:

Three great social movements have conditioned the educational developments of the last century and a half of Western history. They are: (a) the increasing importance of nationalism as a form of political organization; (b) the gradual enlargement of the electorate in control of government, and (c) the transformation of economic and social life which has been brought about by the application of a series of important mechanical inventions to the arts of communication and to the processes of the manufacture and distribution of goods. For convenience we may refer to these major conditioning factors of education as nationalism, democracy and the industrial revolution. They have been closely interrelated in their development and each has had a host of ramifications. In some respects they have supplemented one another, while in other respects they have been antagonistic. At all events, each has had important influence in the creation of the present social situation and each has entered with power into the conditions of public education.<sup>31</sup>

In America these events precipitated a course of action somewhat different from that in Western Europe. After the Declaration of Independence, the colonies regarded themselves not only as independent of England, but as independent of one another. As has been noted earlier in this study, there was little spontaneous feeling of national unity. There had been rather more communication with England on the part of the

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<sup>31</sup>Op. cit., p. 1

individual colonies, than communication among themselves; consequently, they possessed no common cultural heritage and to a great extent were separated by antagonisms due to "historical prejudices and . . . widely differing economic and social conditions."<sup>32</sup>

The spokesman of the revolutionary cause, however, had formed a definite philosophy of education in the light of governmental policy. These policies, best exemplified by the "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" clause, could best be insured by an adequate educational system. The viewpoint of these spokesmen differed in education as it did in politics. The Federalists believed in an educational system which was highly centralized, and in which students would be prepared for citizenship by a careful indoctrination in democratic policy. The anti-Federalists held that individuals and localities should direct their own affairs, and that

. . . the central government, instead of indoctrinating its citizens with a system of ideas, should make it possible for them to cultivate their minds, and should encourage them to think and speak freely on matters of government.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 323.

<sup>33</sup> Frederick Eby and Charles Flinn Arrowood, The Development of Modern Education, p. 542.

While the Constitution of the United States makes no direct reference to the educational system, the first and tenth amendment are of some significance. The first amendment implies a secular emphasis in education, and the tenth amendment tends to protect the autonomy of the various states.

The Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation had entered into obligations which led the national government into concern with public education in the states:

The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided a scheme for the survey and sale of land ceded to Congress by the States. Townships six miles square were laid out in parallel ranges running north and south, and each township was divided into thirty-six sections a mile square . . . One section in each township was reserved for the support of the schools.<sup>34</sup>

In discussing this policy, Eby and Arrowood comment:

In 1787, an immense area was sold to a land company. An ordinance adopted for the government of the region forbade slavery in the territory and declared: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>David Saville Muzzey, History of the American People, p. 160.

<sup>35</sup>Op. cit., p. 548.

National Land Grants, which were begun with the admission of Ohio as a state in 1803, stimulated a new interest in schools. Each state admitted after Ohio received every sixteenth section for the support of common schools, and two townships of land for the endowment of a state university. The seaboard states did not participate in these grants, and as a consequence set about building up a permanent school fund of their own.<sup>36</sup>

Many of those who believe that the Federal government should more actively participate in education in this country have a tendency to read into these early transactions certain connotations that are not tenable. Reiser says:

The Federal government made large grants out of the public domain lying within the states for purposes not only of education but of road construction and other forms of internal improvement. The motive of these grants combined elements of federal benevolence, federal self-interest, and regard for the rights and interests of the territories and states that were forming on the frontiers. Viewed in the large, the early federal land grants for education appear to be the act of an open-handed Mother Bountiful. Seen in smaller detail, we recognize in these earlier transactions between the federal government and the inhabitants of the states something of the real estate promoter who desires to make attractive the conditions of land purchase and residence in a new community.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ellwood P. Cubberly, A Brief History of Education, p. 371.

<sup>37</sup> Op. cit., p. 342.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, institutions for higher learning in America were still small and unprepossessing colleges whose fundamental objectives were to discipline their students by a liberal education, and to offer a training for the ministry. In speaking of the changes which took place shortly after the turn of the century, Fby and Arrowood state that

A great religious awakening aroused the people in all parts of the country and effectually checked the spread of irreligious thinking that accompanied the French Enlightenment. The separation of church and state and the adoption of complete religious liberty were among the most transforming changes which took place. The colleges that had formerly imposed religious tests now opened their doors to all students, without respect to their beliefs. Not that they were less religious; they had merely discarded formalism in exchange for a more genuine piety.<sup>38</sup>

The election of 1800 marked the end of one cycle and the beginning of a new. The issue was largely a contest for control between the traditional and the neoteric. The enthusiasm which was engendered by the campaign constituted a minor revolution, because for the first time many of those entitled to vote utilized their privilege. The result of the election represented a popular mandate. Charles and Mary Beard say of this campaign:

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<sup>38</sup> Op. cit., p. 562.

When the smoke of the fray had lifted, it was found that Adams had won nothing but the electoral votes of New England and not even all those; whereas Jackson had carried the rest of the Union, making an absolutely clean sweep in the South and West. The collapse of the Adams party was complete. Gentlemen and grand dames of the old order, like the immigrant nobles and ladies of France fleeing from the sansculottes of Paris, could discover no consolation in their grief.<sup>39</sup>

As a result of this new political influence possessed by the common man, the necessity for better educational facilities became immediately apparent. Spirited men in all sections of the country united in their effort to extend the public schools to those areas where none existed, and to improve those which were already in existence. This period marks the beginning of educational journalism, which had as its objective to awaken the dormant consciousness of the public to the need for increased educational opportunity and efficiency. The forerunners of the National Education Association also came into existence during this period.<sup>40</sup>

As a result of this agitation, the decision was reached that the provision of schools was a public obligation. Reiser says:

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<sup>39</sup> Op. cit. I, 552.

<sup>40</sup> Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., pp. 715-718.



With respect to the administration of schools, local authorities had been established in practically every state. The conditions of sparse settlement and difficulties of communication and transportation tended to give the local school boards or committees almost exclusive authority over the little domain of the district school. The states, however, were increasing their contributions to the support of the schools and had made the beginnings of state supervision and control, mainly through the creation of the office of state superintendent of public instruction and the establishment of state boards of education. In the office of county superintendent a connecting link was gradually being established between the state superintendent and the district local authorities.<sup>41</sup>

In the dark days of 1862, Congress was not unmindful of the educational progress of the nation, and in that year passed the Morrill Act, which provided for a grant to each state of thirty thousand acres of land for each national representative.<sup>42</sup> This was done with the view of bringing education into closer relation with the mechanical arts and agricultural development of the nation.

The Civil War effected a close economic liaison between the northern West and northern East, and as a consequence, a

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<sup>41</sup>Reisner, op. cit., p. 410.

<sup>42</sup>"An Act . . . for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," cited by Edgar W. Knight and Clifton L. Hall, Readings in American Educational History, p. 541.

new stimulation was added to immigration. The immigrants, for the most part, settled in industrial areas of the North, and presented a new challenge to the educational system. The increase in means of communication also exerted a great effect on the nature of our political life by serving to annihilate geographic limitations. The railroad and the telegraph effected a degree of cultural unity by bringing together the inhabitants of widely-separated areas for the exchange of mutual ideas and problems, which does much for the development of a national consciousness.

The period immediately following the Civil War saw the spread of the free elementary school over the entire nation.<sup>43</sup> The spread of the public high school was not as rapid,<sup>44</sup> and the effort to provide free secondary schools encountered serious opposition, with elements at both extremes of the economic scale united in opposition. In speaking of this difficulty, Lby and Arrowood say:

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 721 ff.

<sup>44</sup>Reisner, op. cit., p. 454.

In 1872, suit was brought at Kalamazoo, Michigan, to test the constitutionality of a tax levied for the purpose of providing money for the salary of a superintendent of city schools and for the support of a high school. Several years later the State Supreme Court of Michigan, in a decision handed down by Chief Justice Cooley, upheld the authority of the board and the right of the people of the school district to follow their judgment in the matters of employing a superintendent and maintaining a high school. This decision, and others to the same effect, established the principle in American law that higher education is properly a part of a state's free school system.<sup>45</sup>

In 1867, another indication of nationalism was manifested in the creation by Congress of a Department of Education. The act which established this department designated its head as the "Commissioner of Education," and instructed him to submit an annual report to Congress.<sup>46</sup>

In commenting on the functions of this office, Reisner says:

. . . the federal Department of Education was to exercise no direct control over the state governments. It had no supervisory functions, it had no authority, it had no money to distribute for the acceptance of which it could exact conditions to be fulfilled. Such influence as the Department could gain could be exerted only through

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<sup>45</sup>Op. cit., pp. 726-727.

<sup>46</sup>Reisner, op. cit., p. 426.

the moral advantage of a federal office and the personal qualities of the Commissioner. It was intended to serve as a clearing house of information about school conditions and educational administration.<sup>47</sup>

During this period the colleges and universities continued in complete independence and with little cognizance of activities in other educational fields. Admission was secured by examination, but a change in the nature of the examination had taken place by the end of the Civil War. In discussing the final correlation of the high school and college, Eby and Arrowood state:

President Freize of the University [of Michigan] advocated [in 1870-1871] giving admission certificates to the best high school students. The faculty now adopted a plan of accepting students from certain high schools that had been inspected by a faculty committee. Thus it came about that the college required only the high school curriculum of four years as prerequisite to admission, and waived the admission examination.<sup>48</sup>

During the twentieth century, the educational forces and policies which had begun their operation during the preceding century continued without abatement. The increased role of the national government in education has been pointed out; and in the early years of this century, and the years immediately preceding, control in other areas became evident.

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<sup>47</sup> Op. cit., pp. 456-427.

<sup>48</sup> Eby and Arrowood, op. cit., p. 751.

The Interstate Commerce Act was passed in 1887; the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890; and the Department of Commerce and Labor, later to be divided, was created in 1903.<sup>49</sup>

The Smith-Lever Act of 1914, while not directly concerned with schools, had certain educational implications. The act provided for the dissemination of information relating to agriculture and home economics. The administrative policy established by this act differed from preceding grants to the states, in that state participation was "to be conditioned on the appropriation by the several states out of their treasuries or by local authorities or private parties within the states; of sums of money equal to the amount allotted to the states according to the act."<sup>50</sup>

Largely as a result of this act, the Smith-Hughes Act was passed by Congress in 1917. This act provided for vocational education through cooperation with the participating states in paying the salaries of "teachers and supervisors of agriculture, home economics, trade and industrial subjects; for teacher training in these subjects; and for studies in vocational education."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Reisner, op. cit., pp. 472-473.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 402.

<sup>51</sup>Chris A. DeYoung, Introduction to American Public Education, p. 12.

While the Smith-Hughes Act resembled the Smith-Lever Act, it actually was an innovation in the area of federal aid to education. Prior to its passage, the grants which had been made by the federal government had not been of such a specific nature. The general objectives for which the grants were made were set forth, but the relationship between the state and federal government was of a more co-operative nature. In the Smith-Hughes Act, however, the objectives were clearly specified. Reiser says of this act:

The education fostered under this act was to be vocational, not general, for persons over fourteen years of age, to be given in public schools or classes of less than college grade. The act further specified that at least one-third of the money devoted to industrial education was to be expended in "part-time" schools or classes, that one-half of all the time of the pupil should be spent on practical work, and gave the Federal Board for Vocational Education the right to determine whether state boards were living up to the spirit of the statute in respect to the qualifications of teachers employed, the programs of study, the provision of cooperative industrial experience, the equipment of shops, laboratories and school farms, and the organization of home projects in agriculture. The appropriation allotted to the Federal Board was adequate to allow the elaboration of a nation-wide system of inspection of the schools and classes operating under the act, and such an organization was immediately perfected. While the Federal Board was to operate through state boards, the exact definition of the purposes of the act and the limitation of the use of money to a very specific type of education, together with the large powers given to the

Board to accept or reject plans submitted by the state boards and to establish a system of nationwide inspection, gave the federal authority almost complete control over the authorities representing the states.<sup>52</sup>

During World Wars I and II, all the economic and social forces that contribute toward nationalism began to function with increased fervor. It is unnecessary to recall the sweeping powers that were given to the federal government during these conflicts, but these powers brought an increased consciousness of the national government to every individual. As a result of this tendency, we now have the movement toward increased federal aid to schools. This problem is too lengthy in its ramifications to be considered herein, but is of note to this study because of the nationalistic implications involved.

The two wars which this country has experienced during this century have revealed the complex nature of the problem of training for effective citizenship, and have caused educators to analyze the entire educational structure. There can be little doubt that the educational world is in a period of transition. The needs of modern society

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<sup>52</sup>Op. cit., p. 464.

call for a type of educational practice which will not merely impart literacy and prepare for economic competence and national citizenship, but which will also assist national groups to a higher conception of national character and international morality.

#### IV

#### NATIONALISM AND THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

It has been assumed in this study that, given certain selections in the area of American literature, a well-trained teacher might inculcate in his students those traits which make for politically conscious citizens. It has been pointed out, however, that mere contact is not learning,<sup>53</sup> that there must be interpretation and discernment. How then can the teacher most effectively implement such a program?

First, the teacher must be a liberally educated individual, capable of discerning relationships among all areas of study. He must be filled with enthusiasm for the area in which he has been primarily trained, but he must

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<sup>53</sup> See page 3.



realize that this area is not the whole of learning, and that it occupies only a portion of the school day. He must be capable of transferring his enthusiasm to his students in such a way that learning becomes an enjoyable, although not necessarily an unburdensome process. It can become enjoyable only as it becomes relevant to the need of the student.

It is the opinion of this writer that to effectively teach American literature, the heritage which it brings to each of us must be interpreted in the light of its relevancy to present needs and times. The selections in a well-edited anthology are usually relevant; it is we, the teachers, who all too frequently rob them of their relevancy. Frederick White has said:

The purpose of the historical method is to enable the student to understand literature, with the pious hope that if he understands it he will come to like it. The method of attaining this end is to focus the attention of the student on the historical context of the work of literature. Unfortunately, this procedure reinforces the student's instinctive belief that past literature has no conceivable relation to our own age. . . . Hence, paradoxically, the historical approach to literature, far from bringing students closer to the past, merely provides them with an argument for ignoring the past, for disregarding its accumulated experience, its philosophy, its literature.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>"Instruments of Darkness," College English, 4:429, May, 1943.

It is necessary that we dissociate general principles from the particular surroundings of any literary selection.<sup>55</sup> This is not to decry the historical approach, nor is it an espousal of the cause of the new criticism. It is rather an appeal to deal with universals rather than particulars, and as such has the sanction of the great teachers of the past.<sup>56</sup> If we separate "freedom of worship" from the particulars of Rogers Williams' controversy with the New England colonies, the student will be prepared to recognize a universal that can be applied equally appropriately to situations in our national life today. If we can disentangle Jefferson's concept of individual freedom from the contextual background of the Encyclopedists, the student will come to realize that the Declaration of Independence is of even more meaning in an age which is confronting a philosophy of collectivism. If we can separate the Gettysburg Address from the war years of the 1860's, we can assist our students in the realization that there will continue to be "a new birth of freedom" in a democracy, and that it remains an ever-present challenge to produce a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

We are not living in the day, nor under the conditions,

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<sup>55</sup>

R.P. Blackmur, et al., Lectures in Criticism, passim.

<sup>56</sup>

James Bryant Conant, Education in a Divided World, p. 123.

which produced these inspired utterances. We are living in an age that is confronted with two opposing ideologies, one of which has accepted its world-mission, and the other which is only now realizing the necessity of such a mission. Are we adapting our heritage to these changed times? Can our democratic heritage--although not necessarily the form which has shaped that heritage--be extended to all people, or are we, Canute-like, attempting to turn back the forces of political development?

To effectively teach American literature, we must realize that, by and large, such a study should present the inherent dignity of the human soul in its quest for fulfillment. R. A. Jelliffe, in "American Democracy and the Teaching of Literature," says:

The humanizing of man, I take it, is of immediate concern in America. For though we may not be quite so presumptuous as to assert that only in a democratic society will beauty, goodness and truth be found to flourish, yet we may conscientiously affirm our faith in the correlation that exists between the democratic tradition and the importance of man as an individual.<sup>57</sup>

If we believe that the study of literature--be it American or of some other variety--has value for life today;

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<sup>57</sup>

College English, 3:40, October, 1941.

if we have confidence that such a study is conducive to the values of which we stand in need in our relationships with the world about us, we must make of primary importance those democratic values which we cherish.<sup>58</sup> These should not be the subject of unrelenting prelections, for a consciousness of these democratic values can be developed in terms of specific works of literature. In their humanizing faculty lies a persuasive medium for motivating the heart and intellect of man.

Finally, we can effectively teach American literature only if we correctly conceive our role as teachers. We must render intelligible the meaning and significance of democracy as a philosophical idea. In the implementation of this we should proceed from simple concepts to their logical conclusions. We must not confuse symbols with the thing-in-itself, nor lose sight of the fact that symbols change in their meaning from group to group.<sup>59</sup> We must emphasize that democracy is an ever-expanding force, and should it ever be impounded within the confines of a particular era or group, it can only turn upon and destroy itself.

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<sup>58</sup>Reisner, op. cit., p. 559.

<sup>59</sup>P. A. Philbrick, Understanding English, p. 25.

## V

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the historical tendencies just discussed, it appears to this investigator that there is a growing proclivity in the United States today to regard nationalism as an end, rather than as a process. There is an increasing trend toward a national centralization of governmental functions, which can but tend to the development of the type of nationalism which creates a spirit of exclusiveness and narrowness, which places a premium on uniformity, and which increases the docility of the people.<sup>60</sup> It is the opinion of this observer that this process can be halted by a quality which we can call forth from within ourselves--the quality of objectivity.

This quality of objectivity would enable us to see and discern the events which are even now transpiring in the world of which this nation is only a part. Our emotional responses to these events should impart quality and depth to our perceptions, but should not impair their accuracy.

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<sup>60</sup> Hayes, op. cit., pp. 255 et seq.

Objective understanding of other peoples--their needs, fears, and prejudices--tends to prevent a virulent nationalism.

In the light of objective understanding we should demonstrate concern for ourselves and for our actions as a nation. Many of the most important actions of nations never become fully disclosed to the minds of their citizens. This tendency may be checked by the utilization of the practices of democracy given us by those documents which established these practices. Where these practices do not function, behavior may the more easily develop, and in the absence of resistance degenerate rapidly into malevolence.

It has been the contention of this study that American literature contains within it an interpretation of the American scene which will assist in developing a full consciousness of the role of this country in the world today. At the beginning of this study, it was indicated that mere quantitative analysis does not present the entire picture. The intangible factors of the teacher and the student enter into any learning situation, and inasmuch as that relationship is well-nigh incapable of dispassionate investigation, the conclusions to be presented can be regarded only in the light of probability.

1. Our American literature contains much in itself which, when properly presented and understood, makes for an intelligent nationalism.

2. A nationalism which is the result of cultural growth and which recognizes the dynamic nature of the universe in which we live, is a justifiable ballast against the insecurity of a chaotic world.

3. The historical milieu in which that literature was produced promotes a sound historical commentary on the American scene.

4. The anthologies utilized in the teaching of American literature in the secondary schools, are for the most part, well edited.

5. A course in American literature to be vital, must be relevant to present-day needs.

The recommendations which this investigator would make as a result of this study are:

1. Teachers of American literature in the secondary schools should be well-prepared in the subject-matter area, in the areas of American history and government, and in the Art of teaching.

2. Textbooks should be even more carefully edited, and much material removed. This investigator sees little value in many of the questions which appear in various texts.

3. More selections should be given in their entirety, and many selections whose literary qualities are doubtful should be removed.

4. School administrators should seriously consider, from the standpoint of educational and financial economy, the correlation of courses in American literature with those of American history. Both of these areas focus attention on man in his social relationships, and both aim to develop a mature sensitivity.

This investigator would emphasize that it is not narrow provincialism which he advocates, nor does he suggest that the present curriculum be abolished. He merely proposes that the

problem of American civilization be placed in its proper relationship to the rest of the educational process. He would suggest if we are honestly concerned with the problem of educating American citizens for an intelligent participation in American life, we should seek methods for bringing students in contact with a far more exhaustive knowledge of our American heritage, which, it should be remembered, has its roots in antiquity.



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## APPENDIX



## EXPLANATORY NOTE

The following tables constitute an attempt to portray graphically the result of the research involved in the preparation of this study. Appendix A consists of the query which was addressed to the Department of Public Instruction of each of the forty-eight states. Appendix B constitutes a survey of the primary political writings of this country in which nationalistic influences are found. This appendix, as do those following, indicates the high-school anthologies in which these writings appear. Appendices C, D, and E indicate nationalistic concepts in the utilitarian and belle-tristic writings of the periods 1603-1800, 1800-1870, and 1870 to the present day, respectively. Appendix F constitutes a list of the anthologies which were analyzed, together with an arbitrary number which was assigned them in setting up the other tables. Appendix G is a tabulation of the results of the questions asked in the query addressed to the various states, and includes information pertinent to the course of study in American literature in the states which submitted answers, in addition to the various textbooks utilized in those states.

## QUERY SUBMITTED TO STATE DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

## APPENDIX A

- I. Is a course in American Literature included on the secondary level in your course of Study?
- II. Is this course now required for high school graduation?  
If not required, on what basis is exemption made?
- III. What objectives have been established for the course in American Literature?
- IV. What texts, together with the publishers, are suggested for use in such a course?
- V. Are any specific works required if no text is recommended?  
If so, what are these?
- VI. Are any other books utilized for supplementary reading?  
If so, what are they?
- VII. If no course in American Literature as such is included in your curriculum, is an effort made in any other course to acquaint the student with American Writings and Writers?  
If so, how is such an attempt made?

# APPENDIX B

## NATIONALISM IN PRIMARY POLITICAL WRITINGS

Author	Selection	Textbooks									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Mayflower Compact				X		X				
de Crevecoeur, Jean	Letters from an American Farmer	X		X			X	X	X		X
Henry, Patrick	Speech in Virginia Convention		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Jefferson, Thomas	Declaration of Independence		X		X		X	X	X		X
Paine, Thomas	The Crisis		X	X	X			X	X		
Hamilton, Alexander	The Federalist				X						
Hamilton, Alexander	Speech in Defense of the Constitution							X		X	
	The Bill of Rights									X	
Washington, George	Farewell Address	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X
Lincoln, Abraham	Gettysburg Address			X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Lincoln, Abraham	Second Inaugural Address	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Roosevelt, Theodore	Training for Citizenship		X								
Roosevelt, Theodore	What America Means	X									
Eliot, C. W.	What is an American?		X								

APPENDIX B (continued)

NATIONALISM IN PRIMARY POLITICAL WRITINGS

Author	Selection	Textbooks									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Perry, Ralph Barton	What Price Freedom		X								
Adams, James T.	Liberty		X								
Van Dyke, Henry	Heritage of American Ideals	X									
Nicholson, Meredith	Am I a Good Citizen	X									
Fosdick, Raymond B.	The New Civilization	X									
Wilson, Woodrow	Address to Newly Naturalized Citizens		X		X	X	X				
Hoover, Herbert	Miracle of America								X		
Lane, Rose Wilder	Long May Our Land Be Bright	X									
Roosevelt, F. D.	New Pioneers		X								
	Good Neighbor Policy						X	X			
	The Four Freedoms						X	X			

# APPENDIX C

## NATIONALISTIC WRITINGS, 1608-1800

Author	Title	Textbooks									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Smith, John	Account of the Colony of Virginia			X			X		X	X	X
Bradford, William	History of the Plymouth Plantation										
Byrd, William	History of the Dividing Line						X	X			
Knight, Sarah Kemble	Journal of a Journey	X			X			X	X	X	
Franklin, Benjamin	Autobiography	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
	Poor Richard's Almanac			X		X	X				
	Thrift										
Freneau, Philip	The Indian Burying Ground		X	X			X		X	X	X
	The Wild Honey Suckle		X		X	X	X		X	X	X
	To a Catydid			X		X				X	X
Hopkinson, Francis	The Battle of the Kegs							X		X	

# APPENDIX D

## NATIONALISTIC WRITINGS, 1800-1870

Author	Title	Textbooks									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Irving, Washington	Knickerbocker Holiday		X	X				X	X		
	Rip Van Winkle	X				X	X				
Key, Francis Scott	The Star Spangled Banner								X		X
Hopkinson, Joseph	Hail Columbia		X								
Smith, Samuel Francis	America								X		
Cooper, James Fenimore	The Leatherstocking	X	X		X	X	X			X	X
	Tales (Selections)										
Bryant, William Cullen	Thanatopsis	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X
	To a Waterfowl		X	X		X	X	X	X		X
	The Battlefield				X					X	
	O Mother of a Mighty Race	X			X						
	The Antiquity of Freedom									X	
	Abolition Riots							X			
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Concord Hymn		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
	Each and All			X		X		X		X	X
	Self Reliance		X					X	X	X	X
Thoreau, Henry David	Walden (Selections)	X	X			X		X		X	
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	The Maypole of Merry Mount	X									

APPENDIX D (continued)

NATIONALISTIC WRITINGS, 1800-1870

Author	Title	Textbooks									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	The House of Seven Gables					X					
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth	Hiawatha (Selections)			X		X		X		X	
	Psalm of Life					X					X
	Thou, Too, Sail On	X						X			
	Arsenal at Springfield								X		
Melville, Hermann	Moby Dick (Selections)				X	X					X
Whittier, John Greenleaf	Laus Deo!						X			X	
	Snowbound	X				X	X	X			X
	Skipper Irason's Ride	X						X		X	
	The Poor Voter on Election Day		X	X							
	Barefoot Boy			X		X					
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table (Selection)					X	X	X	X	X	X
	The Chambered Nautilus			X				X	X		
	Old Ironsides			X		X	X	X			
Lowell, James Russell	The Bigelow Papers (Selection)					X		X			
	Lincoln								X		

APPENDIX D (continued)  
NATIONALISTIC WRITINGS, 1800-1870

Author	Title	Textbook									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Whitman, Walt	Song of Myself	X		X		X	X	X			
	I Hear America Singing	X						X	X		X
	For You, O Democracy			X		X			X	X	
	O Captain, My Captain			X			X				
	Poets to Come			X		X					
	Out of the Cradle				X					X	
	Not the Pilot									X	
	Beat! Beat! Drums!		X					X	X	X	
	Come Up From the Fields		X						X		
	Pioneers! O Pioneers!					X	X				X
Payne, John Howard	When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed					X	X	X			
	Home Sweet Home								X		X
Harte, Bret	The Outcasts of Poker Flat			X	X	X		X			X
	Plain Language from Truthful James									X	
	Iliad of Sandy Bar	X								X	
Harris, Joel Chandler	Tales of Uncle Remus	X			X		X			X	X



# APPENDIX E

## NATIONALISTIC WRITINGS, 1870 -

Author	Title	Textbooks									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Clemens, Samuel W. (Twain, Mark)	Roughing It (Selection)				X	X		X		X	
	Life on the Mississippi (Selection)				X	X		X	X	X	
	The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County										X
Sandburg, Carl	Chicago	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Cool Tombs				X					X	
	The People, Yes					X	X	X		X	
	Lincoln's Speech at Gettysburg							X			
	Prayers of Steel		X			X	X	X			
Lindsay, Vachel	Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight				X		X	X			
	General William Booth Enters into Heaven		X		X		X	X			
	The Santa-Fe Trail		X		X			X			
	The Eagle That Is Forgotten							X			
Stedman, Edmund Clarence	Liberty Enlightening the World	X	X								
Masters, Edgar Lee	Selections from Spoon River		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
	The Seven Cities of America	X									
Frost, Robert	Birches			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Mending Wall			X	X			X	X	X	
	The Tuft of Flowers			X	X	X					

APPENDIX E (continued)

NATIONALISTIC WRITINGS, 1870 -

Author	Title	Textbooks									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Markham, Edwin	Lincoln Man of the People		X			X					X
Hay, Sara Henderson	A Man Named Legion									X	
Brown, Harry	The Drill									X	
Williams, Oscar	One Morning the World Woke Up									X	
Benet, Stephen Vincent	Invocation	X						X	X	X	
	American Names				X						
	Lincoln's Last Day				X						
	Abraham Lincoln	X							X		
	The Devil and Daniel Webster						X	X			
MacLeish, Archibald	Colloquy for the States	X									
	To Be an American		X					X		X	
	Western Sky							X		X	
Untermeyer, Louis	Caliban in the Coal Mines					X	X			X	X
Wilder, Thornton	Our Town					X		X	X		
Folk Literature	Negro Spirituals	X				X	X	X	X	X	
Folk Literature	Indian Songs	X			X		X	X	X	X	
Folk Literature	Ballads	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	

APPENDIX F  
TEXTBOOKS ANALYZED

Assigned Number	Author	Title	Publisher
1	Barnes, <u>et al.</u>	<u>The American Scene</u>	American Book Company
2	Blankenship, <u>et al.</u>	<u>American Literature</u>	Charles Scribner's Sons
3	Brewton, <u>et al.</u>	<u>Literature of the Americas</u>	Laidlaw Brothers, Inc.
4	Briggs, <u>et al.</u>	<u>American Literature</u>	Houghton-Mifflin Company
5	Collette, <u>et al.</u>	<u>Writers in America</u>	Ginn and Company
6	Cross, <u>et al.</u>	<u>Heritage of American Literature</u>	The Macmillan Company
7	Inglis, <u>et al.</u>	<u>Adventures in American Literature</u>	Harcourt, Brace and Company
8	Lucas and Ward	<u>Prose and Poetry of America</u>	The L. W. Singer Company
9	Miles and Pooley	<u>Literature and Life in America</u>	Scott, Foresman and Company
10	Payne, <u>et al.</u>	<u>Voices of America</u>	Rand McNally and Company

# APPENDIX G

## TABULATION OF INQUIRY

ADDRESSED TO STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

	RESPONSE	STATE OF COURSE OF STUDY	AMERICAN LITERATURE INCLUDED	DEFINITE OBJECTIVE	TEXTBOOKS									
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Alabama														
Arizona	X	X	X	X							X	X		
Arkansas	X	X	X											
California	X		X			X					X			
Colorado	X		X											
Connecticut	X													
Delaware	X													
Florida	X			X							X	X	X	
Georgia	X		X							X	X			
Idaho	X	X	X	X			X		X		X			
Illinois	X		X											
Indiana	X	X	X	X			X				X		X	
Iowa														
Kansas	X	X	X		X	X				X	X		X	
Kentucky	X		X				X		X	X	X	X	X	
Louisiana	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X	X	
Maine	X													
Maryland	X		X	X										
Massachusetts	X	X												
Michigan	X													
Minnesota	X	X	X											
Mississippi	X	X	X	X								X		X

# APPENDIX G (continued)

## TABULATION OF INQUIRY

ADDRESSED TO STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

	RESPONSE	STATE OF COURSE OF STUDY	AMERICAN LITERATURE INCLUDED	DEFINITE OBJECTIVE	TEXTBOOKS									
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Missouri	X		X											
Montana	X		X											
Nebraska	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	
Nevada	X	X	X											
New Hampshire	X		X											
New Jersey	X													
New Mexico	X	X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X		
New York	X		X											
North Carolina	X	X	X	X							X			
North Dakota														
Ohio	X		X											
Oklahoma	X	X	X					X	X		X	X	X	
Oregon	X	X	X	X							X	X	X	
Pennsylvania	X													
Rhode Island	X													
South Carolina	X	X	X		X					X			X	
South Dakota	X		X											
Tennessee	X	X	X				X		X		X	X		
Texas									X		X	X	X	
Utah	X	X	X											
Vermont	X		X											
Virginia	X	X	X	X			X				X	X	X	

# APPENDIX G (continued)

## TABULATION OF INQUIRY

ADDRESSED TO STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

	RESPONSE	STATE OF COURSE OF STUDY	AMERICAN LITERATURE INCLUDED	DEFINITE OBJECTIVE	TEXTBOOKS									
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Washington	X		X	X										
West Virginia	X		X	X										
Wisconsin	X													
Wyoming	X		X											