

HIST 399: Nationalism and its Discontents in Modern America

Messiah College

Spring 2014
Mondays, Wednesdays, & Fridays
1:50-2:50 p.m.
Boyer 277

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COURSE INTRODUCTION:

Fifty years ago, a course on the place of the nation, national attachment, and national identity in American history would have been seen as unnecessary. It was simply assumed then that history focused on nations. In fact, the very origin of History as a discipline in the nineteenth century was tied up with the rise and development of the nation-state.

Through the first half of the twentieth century, many American historians explored topics such as political and economic change, the emergence of a national consensus, and American exceptionalism--all with the nation in the spotlight. During this time, nations strode across the stage of history like colossi. They were powerful historical actors--even at times the only actors.

But starting around the 1960s, new emphases began to emerge. They included the "new social history" with its focus on race, class, and gender; postcolonialism; multiculturalism; "difference;" "otherness;" the emergence of "whiteness;" the study of *mentalités*; microhistory; transnational history; world history; and the study of regional networks crossing national boundaries, such as the Atlantic world and American borderlands.

These scholarly trends have enriched the study of American history in many ways. They've opened up new vistas that historians weren't even aware of forty or fifty years ago. Now decades old, they've fundamentally changed the nature of academic history as a whole.

An additional effect of these scholarly trends has been to diminish the role of the nation in the study and writing of history. They've problematized, marginalized, and generally diminished the place of the nation in history.

Many historians (and others) today cheer this development. It's appropriate, they say, that the nation be knocked down at least a few pegs to highlight previously marginalized groups. From an instrumentalist perspective, as well, the down-playing or elimination of the nation from history has an appeal for some. It's been argued that this trend helps us reject chauvinism, create global citizens, and avoid the idolatry of nationalism.

All of these are valid goals. But for historians, the central question is this--Does minimizing nation, national attachment, and national identity help us in our goal of better understanding the American past--especially that period of it since the Civil War? That is one of the central questions we'll explore in this course. As historians, what should we do with a Debs or a King (to note but a couple figures) when we find that even in the midst of their reformist and revolutionary work, they had great use for concepts of nation and national attachment? Should we view them through our social and political lenses or their own?

In this course, we'll trace both nationalist and anti-nationalist strains through various chapters in American history--including the Civil War era, the labor movement, the civil rights movement, and the New Left and New Right. Along the way, we'll examine figures in such as Debs and King through the lens of national attachment and identity. Finally, we'll explore and reflect on some of the extensive recent scholarly literature on the phenomenon of nationalism itself.

COURSE OBJECTIVES--FOR ALL HISTORY COURSES AT MESSIAH COLLEGE:

1. Historical Knowledge: Students have a better historical understanding of political, social, cultural, economic, and religious practices and structures.
2. Historical Methods: Students demonstrate an understanding of historical causation, an ability to conduct basic historical analysis of primary and secondary sources, and an ability to communicate that analysis in effective written and oral communication.
3. Historical Interpretation: Students use texts and other cultural resources to make sense of the past, understand ways in which the past influences the present, and consider how the present influences our study of the past.
4. Historical Convictions: Students become more thoughtful, curious, and empathetic due to their evaluation of the historical complexity of human identities, cultures, and societies from the perspective of Christian faith.

REQUIRED READINGS:

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev ed. New York: Verso, 2006. ISBN-13: 978-1844670864.

Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism*. New York: Basic Books, 2009. ISBN-13: 978-0465002092.

Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist*, 2d ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007. ISBN-13: 978-0252074523.

Eric Sundquist, *King's Dream: The Legacy of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" Speech*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. ISBN-13: 978-0300158595.

Gil Troy, *The Reagan Revolution: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. ISBN-13: 978-0195317107.

Online readings listed below.

REQUIREMENTS:

Read all assigned readings.

Participate regularly in class.

Write five essays of 2-3 double-spaced pages each responding to the readings for a particular week.

Write a critical book essay of 4-6 double-spaced pages on either Salvatore's *Eugene V. Debs* or Sundquist's *King's Dream*.

Write a research paper of 10-12 double-spaced pages.

Write a take-home final exam of 6-8 double-spaced pages.

STANDARD OF EVALUATION:

The final grade for the course will be derived as follows:

participation	15%
reading response essays (5)	25%
critical book essay	10%
research paper	30%
take-home final exam	20%

PARTICIPATION:

The course will be run as a seminar, making regular discussion and participation essential.

READING RESPONSE ESSAYS:

Over the course of the semester, you'll write five reading response essays of 2-3 pages each from your choice of the following ten possible topics:

- Week 1 - On the place of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism in the study of U.S. history. Due Fri., Feb. 7.
- Week 2 - On the place of nationalism in the study of U.S. history. Due Fri., Feb. 14.
- Week 3 - On nationalism, patriotism, and Christianity. Due Fri., Feb. 21.
- Week 4 - On Benedict Anderson's understanding of nationalism. Due Wed., Feb. 26.
- Week 5 - On nationalism and anti-nationalism during the Civil War era. Due Fri., Mar. 7.
- Week 6 - On nationalism and anti-nationalism in the industrial era. Due Fri., Mar. 14.
- Week 8 - On nationalism and anti-nationalism in the civil rights movement. Due Fri., Apr. 4.
- Week 9 - On nationalism and anti-nationalism in the New Left. Due Fri., Apr. 11.
- Week 10 - On nationalism and anti-nationalism in the New Right. Due Wed., Apr. 16.
- Week 12 - On nationalism and anti-nationalism in the contemporary era. Due Fri., May 2.

CRITICAL BOOK ESSAY:

Select either Salvatore's *Eugene V. Debs* or Sundquist's *King's Dream* and write an essay of 4-6 double-spaced pages, exploring on the role that the nation, national attachment, and national identity played in the life and work of the book's subject.

RESEARCH PAPER:

You will write a research paper for this course of 10-12 double-spaced pages on any theme related to American nationalism, national identity, or national belonging. You may choose one of the following two options:

- a) A primary-source driven paper on any theme, aspect, episode, debate, illustration of nationalism between 1860s and the present
- OR
- b) An assessment of some of the scholarly literature on nationalism—politically, philosophically, theologically—and its effects on how nationalism should be viewed historically.

To ensure a successful final paper, the research and writing process will be divided into the following stages with accompanying deadlines.

topic	due Wed., Feb. 26
title and bibliography	due Wed., Mar. 12
outline and thesis	due Wed., Mar. 26
final draft of paper	due Wed., Apr. 23

TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAM:

Respond to the following with an essay of 6-8 double-spaced pages. Make every effort to draw on a wide range of course materials--assigned readings, lectures, class discussions, and student presentations. The essay is due no later than 9:00 a.m. on Friday, May 9, 2014.

Despite the negative attributes and associations of nationalism, some of the people we have read over the course of the semester have suggested that nationalism is a more malleable and useful phenomenon than it might appear. In effect, they've argued--explicitly or implicitly--that nationalism and national identity has been a productive thing in the American experience. Write an essay either supporting or opposing this position, using both historical material over the span of modern American history, as well as material from political philosophy, theology, and the study of nationalism itself.

NOTE ON ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

Academic dishonesty of any kind (including plagiarism, cheating, and fabrication) violates the community standards of Messiah College, as well as those of the larger community of scholars into which you enter through this course. As such, any cases will be punished appropriately. However, please do not hesitate to talk to the instructor if you have questions about how to use or cite outside sources or about any other matter of academic practice. Messiah College's academic integrity policy in its entirety can be found here in the student handbook here http://www.messiah.edu/offices/student_affairs/student_handbook/resources/current_handbook/Academic%20Life.pdf

NOTE ON AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT:

Any student whose disability falls within ADA guidelines should inform the instructor at the beginning of the semester of any special accommodations or equipment needs necessary to complete the requirements for this course. Students must register documentation with the Office of Disability Services. Contact at DisabilityServices@messiah.edu or 717-796-5382.

HIST 399 schedule of assigned readings

Week 1 (February 3-7):

Against Nationhood and Nationalism in History: Cosmopolitanism and Transnationalism

Definitions of “nationalism,” “patriotism,” and “cosmopolitan” @ OED online dictionary

<http://www.oed.com/> [accessible through Murray Library website]

Definition of “Murica” @ Urban Dictionary

<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=murica>

Jonathan Freedman, “The Ethics of Identity: A Rooted Cosmopolitanism,” *New York Times Book Review* (June 12, 2005)

<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/12/books/review/12FREEDMA.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>

Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Cosmopolitanism and Difference,” *Huffington Post* (May 14, 2013)

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kwame-anthony-appiah/cosmopolitanism-and-diffe_b_3274310.html

Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (University of California Press, 2002), introduction: “Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives”

<http://www.ucpress.edu/content/pages/9525/9525.intro.pdf>

Thomas Bender, “No Borders: Beyond the Nation-State,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* (April 7, 2006) <http://hnn.us/articles/23913.html>

Scott Jaschik, “History Beyond the Nation-State,” *Inside Higher Ed* (January 5, 2009)

<http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2009/01/05/transnational>

Mae M. Ngai, “Promises and Perils of Transnational History,” *Perspectives on History* (December 2012) <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/december-2012/the-future-of-the-discipline/promises-and-perils-of-transnational-history>

Week 2 (February 10-14):

For Nationhood and Nationalism in History

John Higham, “The Future of American History,” *The Journal of American History* 80 (March 1994): 1289-1309. [via JSTOR]

Robert H. Wiebe, *Who We Are: A History of Popular Nationalism* (Princeton University Press, 2001), ch.1: “Thinking about Nationalism” <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s7125.pdf>

Week 3 (February 17-21):

Other Disciplinary Perspectives on Nationalism and Patriotism

Harvey C. Mansfield, “The Teaching of Citizenship,” *PS 17* (Spring 1984): 211-215. [via JSTOR]

Walter Berns, *Making Patriots* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), ch. 7: “The Patriot’s Flag”

<http://press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/044378.html>

Martha C. Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” *Boston Review* (Oct/Nov 1994)

<http://bostonreview.net/BR19.5/nussbaum.php>

Howard Zinn, “The Scourge of Nationalism,” *The Progressive* (June 2005)

<http://www.commondreams.org/views05/0516-29.htm>

Biblical texts related to nation & citizenship: Matthew 28:16-20; Acts 2:1-21; Ephesians 2:11-22; Philippians 3:17-21; Revelation 5:6-10.

Stanley Hauerwas, “When the Politics of Jesus Makes a Difference,” *Christian Century* (October 13, 1993): 982. [via Academic Search Complete]

Richard Mouw, “Patriotism as Idolatry” (2002)

http://www.beliefnet.com/story/101/story_10114_1.html

Brian Walsh, "Nationalism Remixed" (July 1, 2013)

<http://empireremixed.com/2013/07/01/nationalism-remixed/>

Wilfred M. McClay, "The Mixed Nature of American Patriotism," *Society* (Nov/Dec 2003): 37-45. [via Academic Search Complete]

Peter C. Meilaender, "Christians as Patriots," *First Things* (February 2003)

http://www.firstthings.com/print.php?type=article&year=2007&month=01&title_link=christians-as-patriots-3

David P. Gushee, "What's Right About Patriotism," *Christianity Today* (July 2006)

<http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2006/july/4.48.html>

Mike Schutt, "Toward a Biblical Patriotism," (July 8, 2013)

<http://redeeminglaw.blogspot.com/2013/07/toward-biblical-patriotism.html>

Week 4 - partial (February 24-26):

Theorizing Nationalism

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2006)

Week 5 (March 3-7):

American Nationalism at its Birth and in the Era of the Civil War

Lyrics to "The Star-Spangled Banner," national anthem of the United States

<http://americanhistory.si.edu/starspangledbanner/the-lyrics.aspx>

Lyrics to "La Marseillaise," national anthem of France

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/MARSEILL.asp>

Lyrics to "O Canada," national anthem of Canada <http://www.jubileequeencruises.ca/o-canada-lyrics.htm>

Samuel F. Smith, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" (1831)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/My_Country,_Tis_of_Thee#Lyrics (lyrics)

Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism* (Basic Books, 2009), introduction, chs. 1-2

Abraham Lincoln, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions" (1838)

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=157>

Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address" (1861)

<http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres31.html>

Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley (1862)

<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/greeley.htm>

Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address" (1863)

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gettysburgaddress.htm>

Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address" (1865)

<http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres32.html>

Julia Ward Howe, "Battle Hymn of the Republic" (1861)

<http://www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/b/h/bhymnotr.htm>

Frederick Douglass, "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" (1852)

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-to-the-slave-is-the-fourth-of-july/>

Frederick Douglas, "What the Black Man Wants" (1865)

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=495>

Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism* (Basic Books, 2009), ch. 3

Mark Neely, "Lincoln, Slavery, and the Nation," *Journal of American History* (September 2009): 456-458. [via JSTOR]

Dorothy Ross, "Lincoln and the Ethics of Emancipation," *Journal of American History* (September 2009): 379-399. [via JSTOR]

Week 6 (March 10-14):

Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism in the Industrial Era

Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (1885), selections

http://occawlonline.pearsoned.com/bookbind/pubbooks/divine5e/medialib/timeline/docs/sources/theme_primarysources_Military_2_2.html

Alfred J. Beveridge, "The March of the Flag" (1898)

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1898beveridge.html>

Jane Addams, "Democracy or Militarism" (1899)

<http://shs.westport.k12.ct.us/jwb/AP/Progressives/Addams.htm>

Mark Twain, "To the Person Sitting in the Darkness" (1901)

<http://www.antiimperialist.com/templates/Flat/img/pdf2/PersonSittinginDarkness.pdf>

Mark Twain, "The War Prayer" (1905)

<http://www.midwinter.com/lurk/making/warprayer.html>

Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism* (Basic Books, 2009), ch 4

Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (University of Illinois Press, 2d ed, 2007)

[Spring Recess]

Week 7 (March 24-28):

Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism in the Early 20th Century;

Progress Reports on Research Papers

Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism* (Basic Books, 2009), ch 5

Week 8 (March 31-April 4):

Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism in the Civil Rights Movement and 1960s

Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail" (1963)

<http://historicaltextarchive.com/print.php?action=section&artid=40#>

Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream" (1963)

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihavedream.htm> (text)

http://www.metacafe.com/watch/1469668/martin_luther_king_i_have_a_dream/ (audio)

Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots" (1963)

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=1145>

Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet" (1964)

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=1147>

James Baldwin, *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961), excerpt

<http://www.randomhouse.com/highschool/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9781400033942&view=excerpt>

Stokely Carmichael, "What We Want" (1966)

<http://www.britannica.com/blackhistory/article-9399846>

Eric Sundquist, *King's Dream: The Legacy of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" Speech* (Yale University Press, 2009)

- James B. LaGrand, "Martin Luther King's 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' Across the Generations" (unpublished essay, 2013) [handout]
- Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism* (Basic Books, 2009), ch 6
- Michael Harrington, *The Other America* (1962), excerpt
http://web.mala.bc.ca/davies/H323Vietnam/Harrington_OtherAmerica.1962.htm
- Lyndon B. Johnson, "Proposal for A Nationwide War On The Sources of Poverty" (1964)
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1964johnson-warpoverty.html>
- Lyndon B. Johnson, "The Great Society" (1964)
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbjthegreatsociety.htm>

Week 9 (April 7-11):

Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism in the New Left and 1970s

- Tom Hayden and Dick Flacks, "The Port Huron Statement at 40," *The Nation* (August 5, 2002)
<http://www.thenation.com/article/port-huron-statement-40>
- SDS, "Port Huron Statement" (1962)
http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html
- Carl Oglesby, "Let Us Shape the Future" (1965)
http://www.antiauthoritarian.net/sds_wuo/sds_documents/oglesby_future.html
- Free Speech Movement, "Do Not Fold, Bend, Mutilate or Spindle"
http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/FSM_fold_bend.html
- Richard Nixon, "Acceptance Speech for Republican Presidential Nomination" (1968)
<http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/HIUS316/mbase/docs/nixon.html>
- Richard Nixon, "Silent Majority Speech" (1969)
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/richardnixongreatsilentmajority.html>
- Richard Nixon, "Labor Day Radio Address" (1972)
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=3138>
- Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism* (Basic Books, 2009), ch 6

Week 10 - partial (April 14-16):

Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism in the New Right

- Gil Troy, *The Reagan Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Gil Troy, "Reagan and the 80s Deserve More Courses," *The Chronicle Review of Higher Education* (November 8, 2009) http://chronicle.com/article/Reaganthe-80s-Deserve/49036/?sid=cr&utm_source=cr&utm_medium=en
- Young Americans for Freedom, "Sharon Statement" (1960)
<http://www2.fiu.edu/~yaf/sharon.html>
- Ronald Reagan, Address before the Conservative Political Action Committee (1974)
<http://www.american-partisan.com/cols/reagan1974.htm>
- Ronald Reagan, Inaugural Address (1981)
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ronaldreagandfirstinaugural.html>
- Ronald Reagan, Remarks to the National Association of Evangelicals (1983)
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ronaldreaganevilempire.htm>

Week 11 - partial (April 23-25):
Presentations on Research Papers

Week 12 (April 28-May 2):

Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism in the Contemporary Era

Samuel P. Huntington, "Will You Become Your Own Nation?" *Time* (May 22, 2000)

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,997022-1,00.html>

Samuel P. Huntington, "Dead Souls: The Denationalization of the American Elite," *The National Interest* (Spring 2004): 5-18.

<http://nationalinterest.org/article/dead-souls-the-denationalization-of-the-american-elite-620>

Alan Wolfe, "Native Son" [review of Samuel P. Huntington's *Who Are We*], *Foreign Affairs* 83 (May/June 2004): 120-125. [via Academic Search Complete]

John O'Sullivan, "Who Are We?" [review of Samuel P. Huntington's *Who Are We*], *The American Conservative* (July 19, 2004)

<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/article/2004/jul/19/00007/>

Robert D. Kaplan, "Who Are We? The Debate Over National Characteristics," *Forbes* (9/18/2013) <http://www.forbes.com/sites/stratfor/2013/09/18/who-are-we-the-debate-over-national-characteristics/>

Brian Urquhart, review of Anatol Lieven's *America Right or Wrong* in *New York Review of Books* (February 24, 2005)

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2005/feb/24/extreme-makeover/?pagination=false>

Woden Teachout, *Capture the Flag: A Political History of American Patriotism* (Basic Books, 2009), ch 7

May 5:

Wrap-Up

Samuel F. Smith, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" (1831)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/My_Country,_Tis_of_Thee#Lyrics (lyrics)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mAONYTMf2pk> (sung by Marian Anderson)

Katharine Lee Bates, "America the Beautiful" (1895)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/America_the_Beautiful#Lyrics_1904_version (lyrics)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGNRg4_fEiA (sung by Norah Jones)

Irving Berlin, "God Bless America" (1918)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/God_Bless_America#Traditional_lyrics (lyrics)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vmc-pEyUHTs> (sung by Irving Berlin)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nwl4xV6wuRI> (sung in last scene in *The Deer Hunter*)

Woody Guthrie, "This Land Is Your Land" (1940)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/This_Land_Is_Your_Land#Original_1944_lyrics (lyrics)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XaI5IRuS2aE> (sung by Woody Guthrie)

May 9, 9:00 a.m.:

Take-Home Final Exam Due