

History 3xx
War & Race in America, 1607-1890

Course description:

This upper-division content course explores the violent conquest of North America, from contact through the defeat of the Plains Indians at the end of the nineteenth century. The act of making war, whether on native peoples or between Europeans, was essential throughout American history in developing notions of racial prejudice. This course will look at the intersection of war and race, especially the discourse of “savagery” and “civility,” and how violence shaped ideas about native peoples and enslaved African Americans. In the 19th century, we will explore how war shaped notions about who was “an American” and who was not. It will focus on major wars (Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Mexican War, Civil War) and minor, limited conflicts (King Philip’s War, conflict against the Plains Indians).

Main course themes:

1. America is an imperial power.
North America counts as an empire.
2. How do wars shape American attitudes about race?
Who is deserving? Who gets to be a citizen? Who deserves protecting by the state?
3. How does race shape how Americans think about war?
Why we fight? Why wars start? Who gets to fight? Veterans affairs/issues?
4. How do wars with Native peoples shape how Europeans think about key issues
About themselves? About Native peoples? About the continuum of savagery ← → civility
5. How do wars affect African Americans?
What influences will violent conflicts have for enslaved peoples? Opportunities? Are these “insurrections,” “rebellions,” or “massacres”? Or are they justice, freedom, emancipation? Who decides?
6. How do African Americans and Natives fight in European wars?
Do they get credit? Are they embraced? How do they use that service to put forward claims of citizenship? Rights? What rights?
7. How do African Americans and Natives fight against the United States?
How does this contribute to arguments of exclusion or the denying of rights? What does this have to do with the rise of American nationalism/patriotism?
8. Nothing has to happen the way it turned out.
The power of CONTINGENCY. The choices people make and the words they choose to describe events matter.

History learning outcomes:

1. Learn to read primary & secondary sources with a critical eye and express these ideas in effective papers; to analyze a variety of different types of written texts (or in some

- cases material evidence or oral accounts) and identify how each of them is shaped by author, audience, and the context in which they were constructed.
2. Develop the ability to communicate effectively in writing in a manner that is coherent, well developed, and expressive of complex thought.
 3. Improve the ability to think critically and to argue effectively.
 4. Learn about the interactions between different groups within a single society and how these relationships have affected the development of respective regions, ethnicities, or identities.
 5. Improve the ability to recognize and develop connections between historical issues and life outside the classroom.
 6. Enhance the ability to examine current issues from a historical perspective.

Course evaluation:

Rowlandson paper	15%
Higginson paper	15%
Research paper	25%
Final exam	20%
Attendance/participation	25%

Grade distribution:

A	94-100
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	84-86
B-	80-83
C+	77-79
C	74-76
C-	70-73
D	60-69
F	0-59

Required books:

1. Fred Anderson and Andrew Cayton, The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500-2000 (Penguin, 2005). ISBN: 9780143036517
2. Karl Jacoby, Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History (Penguin, 2009). ISBN: 9780143116219
3. Robert Parkinson, Thirteen Clocks: How Race United the Colonies and Made the Declaration of Independence (UNC Press, 2021). ISBN: 9781469662572
4. Mary Rowlandson, Neal Salisbury, ed., Sovereignty and Goodness of God (Bedford/St. Martins, 1997) ISBN: 9780312111519
5. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, R.D. Madison, ed., Army Life in a Black Regiment

(Penguin, 1997) ISBN: 9780140436211

Final Exam:

You will take a final exam during the week of the examination period. This will be an open-book, open-note final essay exam.

The final will be worth **20%** of the total course grade.

Papers:

Paper 1: Rowlandson analysis paper (15%)

You will write a 2-4 page paper (double-spaced) on one of the following sets of questions:

- 1. Although it was not Rowlandson's intention to present them, can you uncover any Indian viewpoints on the English and on Metacom's War from her narrative? How might one of Rowlandson's captors have answered her narrative? How did their views of war and violence differ from the Puritans? Did they? So what?*
- 2. For what audience was Rowlandson writing? How do you think her narrative affected their religious beliefs? Their attitudes toward Native Americans? Their attitudes toward their own society? What does this tell us about English colonization in the late 17th century? About the possibilities of preventing future wars between Europeans and native peoples?*
- 3. This course is about how war sharpened or heightened early American attitudes about race, but this could also be done to show how war shapes conceptions of gender (meaning masculinity and femininity). Where in Rowlandson's narrative do we see how war and violence influenced conceptions of gender – of Indian or English masculinity or femininity? To take it further, what does Rowlandson's effort to write and publish her narrative tell us about gender? About women's experiences in 17th century New England?*

Each of the three question sets has multiple queries. You do not have to address them all, but they are to help you develop your approach to a particular problem. Your paper should have an introduction, body, and conclusion. Your introduction should contain a clear thesis statement. What is your point? What is your central argument? That point should then be supported by evidence from the text in the body of the paper. The conclusion should summarize the evidence and restate your thesis.

You do not need a works cited page or any outside research. Avoid the internet; you do not need it. Rowlandson's is one of the classic texts from colonial America. There is a lot on the web about it. Don't do it. Stick to the book. Your paper may require reading sections of Salisbury's edition of the Rowlandson book that are not included in the syllabus below as part of our discussions. Any and all parts of the Bedford edition of Sovereignty & Goodness of God are available to you to answer your question (introduction, related documents, etc.)

When you quote from the Sovereignty & Goodness of God simply put the page number in parenthesis at the end of the sentence like this: **(36)**. Any and all direct quotes must be cited.

→ Your 2-4 page 12-pt. font, 1” margins, double-spaced paper is due by 5:00 PM on XXX

→ We will set up a place for you to submit your paper to turnitin.com on the MYCOURSES site. You must submit your paper to this site in order for it to be graded.

Paper 2: Higginson analysis paper (15%)

You will write a 2-4 page paper (double-spaced) on one of the following sets of questions:

1. *Do you think Higginson is a racist? How does he refer to blacks throughout the text? How does he think slavery has shaped the lives of the men (and women) in his regiment? How have stereotypes about racial difference in the North shaped Higginson's views? Has his war experience changed those views? (Read the “Baby in the Regiment” chapter closely. Does that tell us anything about race?)*

2. *Do you believe Higginson? Is this account trustworthy? Who is he? What has he done before the war? For what audience is he writing this account? He goes to great lengths to show how black troops are equal to or better than white soldiers. Do you think he protests too much? Why or why not? Analyze the places/episodes in the text to support your argument about bias. You'll need to consult the introduction for this question. An excellent answer will also pay attention to some of the supplemental writings included in the volume.*

3. *Higginson concludes with the statement that his First South Carolina Regiment “had touched the pivot of the war.” What did Higginson mean by this? Why is Higginson's assignment such a risky and important experiment? Who's watching? Pay close attention to his conclusion and the appendix entry about the “struggle for pay.”*

Each of the three question sets has multiple queries. You do not have to address them all, but they are to help you develop your approach to a particular problem. Your paper should have an introduction, body, and conclusion. Your introduction should contain a clear thesis statement. What is your point? What is your central argument? That point should then be supported by evidence from the text in the body of the paper. The conclusion should summarize the evidence and restate your thesis.

You do not need a works cited page or any outside research. Avoid the internet; you do not need it. Your paper may require reading sections of the Higginson book that are not included in the syllabus below as part of our discussions. Any and all parts of the Penguin Classics edition of Army Life are available to you to answer your question (introduction, appendices, etc.)

When you quote from the Army Life simply put the page number in parenthesis at the end of the sentence like this: (36). Any and all direct quotes must be cited.

→ Your 2-4 page 12-pt. font, 1” margins, double-spaced paper is due by 5:00 PM on XXX

→ We will set up a place for you to submit your paper to turnitin.com on the MYCOURSES site. You must submit your paper to this site in order for it to be graded.

Paper 3: Research paper (25%)

You will write a 7-10 page paper based on your own newspaper research stemming from a course theme.

On the MYCOURSES site, I have posted a spreadsheet with more than 100 titles of newspapers that are accessible either free online.

You will choose a person, event, or group from one of the conflict we are studying and research how that person, event, or group is portrayed *in at least two* American newspapers.

You will:

1. Give a brief summary of the person, event, or group you have chosen.
2. Explain how that person/event/group is portrayed in American newspapers.
 - a. Pay attention to how that portrayal changes over time, if it does.
 - What are first impressions?
 - Does the initial reportage change?
 - Are there second thoughts?
 - b. What is getting left out? Look for silences or facts getting left out. Why do you think that is?
 - c. Is there commentary or just strictly factual/news reports?
 - d. Memory? Look for mentions of your event/person long after the fact. How have things changed? Why?
 - e. Pay attention to factors that may explain reportage.
 - Section or region?
 - Political bent of paper?
 - Religion or reformist agenda of paper?

Examples:

Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana	Comanche Indians
Nathan Bedford Forrest	Sitting Bull
Ft. Pillow	Geronimo
George Custer	Apache Indians
Benjamin Butler	Mexican soldiers
Robert Gould Shaw	Tecumseh
54 th Massachusetts Volunteers	River Raisin Massacre
Fort Wagner	New York City Draft Riots
Battle of Little Big Horn	Battle of Fallen Timbers
Creek Wars	“Negro Fort” (1814)
Battle of Horseshoe Bend	Battle of the Thames
Fort Mims	1 st US Colored Troops
Sand Creek	John Brown’s raid on Harper’s Ferry
Cochese	Robert Smalls
New Orleans Massacre (1866)	Memphis Massacre (1866)
Alamo	Battle of Buena Vista
Battle of Chapultepec	Battle of Monterrey
Seminole Wars	Osceola
“contraband”	

* you can use other examples drawn from class or readings, but you should check with me.

The bulk of your research will come from the newspaper sources you find. You should do some outside research on the background of your person/event, set it/them in context, and try to understand how people interpreted these things in real time, at the moment, and how interpretations changed over time.

Tips:

- The success of this project will be about the time and effort you put into it. If you do the minimum (i.e. just typing in a few keywords into a database and writing up the results), it will clearly show.
- When you are reading the newspapers, you should imagine yourself as a person who is alive on, say January 16, 1862, which means –
 - o This is NEWS! Happening just today!
 - o You don't know how things are going to turn out or happen next.
 - o But you do come to this article knowing something about what happened before. Understanding the context into which this person or event enters the culture is important. What parallels does the writer draw? What links might the reader make?
- When you find a newspaper article about your person or event, read around it. What else would that day's newspaper reader learn? Would they make any connections to your person? What else is going on?
- Think about why the writer would choose the particular words and images he/she did.

You will use the Chicago style of citation for this paper. For a quick guide go to:

http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html

On newspaper citations:

In the 19th century, there weren't yet sections of newspapers and often no article titles. If there is a headline title include it. If there isn't one, don't. You must include the following information in your citation:

1. newspaper title
2. place of publication (if not obvious in the title)
3. date
4. page number

So, your citations should look like this:

Richmond Examiner, 7 April 1848, 3.

New York Post, 8 June 1863, 2.

James O'Sullivan, "Americans Murdered at Alamo," *Democratic Review* [New York City], 7 July 1835, 1.

J.L. Newspaperman, "Geronimo Rampages Continue," *New Orleans Bee*, 28 August 1870, 1.

→ We will set up a place for you to submit your paper to [turnitin.com](https://www.turnitin.com) on the MYCOURSES site. You must submit your paper to this site in order for it to be graded.

Schedule

Week 1

1. Course introduction

Reading to be completed this week:

Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, introduction

Exercise/discussion questions:

- What relationship do American wars for liberty (Rev. War, Civil War) have to American wars for empire (Seven Years' War, Mexican-American war)?
- Anderson and Cayton begin their book talking about the monuments on the National Mall. What stories about America's experience with war do those monuments tell visitors? How does race complicate those stories?

Week 2

1. American history is filled with war.

2. Nastiness in Virginia, New England, and New Amsterdam

Reading to be completed this week:

1. J. Frederick Fausz, "'An Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides': England's First Indian War, 1609-1614," *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography* 98 (January 1990): 3-56.

MYCOURSES

2. Andrew Lipman, "'A Meanes to Knitt them Together': The Exchange of Body Parts in the Pequot War," *William & Mary Quarterly* 65 (January 2008): 3-28. **MYCOURSES**

3. Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, chapter 1

Exercise/discussion questions:

- How did early encounters between Powhatan Indians and English explorers/settlers break down?
- Was violence inevitable?
- What role did the environment play?
- How did body parts play a diplomatic role in native-European relations in New England?

Week 3

1. Metacom & Massachusetts

2. focus on Rowlandson, paper assignment

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Mary Rowlandson, Sovereignty & Goodness of God (Neal Salisbury, ed.), introduction (focus on pp. 1-35) and narrative pp. 63-112.

2. Jill Lepore, "Habitations of Cruelty," from The Name of War, 71-96. **MYCOURSES**

3. Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, chapter 2

Exercise/discussion questions:

- What role did print play in King Philip's/Metacom's War?
- What does Lepore mean by the "literal advantage"?
- Why did the Iroquois Indians refuse to help Metacom? So what?
- How close did Massachusetts come to being liquidated?

Week 4

1. World War I
2. Ft. William Henry

→ Rowlandson analysis paper due by 5:00 PM on XXX

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Elizabeth Fenn, "Biological Warfare in 18th Century North America: Beyond Jeffery Amherst," *Journal of American History* 86 (March 2000): 1552-1580. **MYCOURSES**
2. Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, chapter 3

Exercise/discussion questions:

- Why did the Ohio Valley touch off a global war? Why there? Why then?
- What role did George Washington play in this global war?
- What happened at Fort William Henry?
- What is a "massacre"?

Week 5

1. "Feast on a Bostonian & Drink His Blood": Revolutionary War & Indians
2. Miss Jane McCrea

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Robert Parkinson, *Thirteen Clocks*, intro, ch. 1-3
3. Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, chapter 4

Discussion questions for Parkinson: How did newspapers help make a revolution?
What were the chances of American unity?
How did colonists react to the news of Lexington & Concord? So what?

Week 6

1. African Americans in the Revolution
2. "Do Not Be Weak and Wicked!": Dunmore's Proclamation

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Robert Parkinson, *Thirteen Clocks*, chs. 4-end

Discussion questions for Parkinson: Why did the colonists decide to vote for independence?
Why July, 1776?
What difference did the German mercenaries make?
How did enslaved and native peoples help make America independent?
What difference did it make that patriot leaders used race to argue for American independence?

Week 7

1. Ohio Indians vs. US Army, 1790-1812

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Peter Silver, "The Postwar that Wasn't" from Our Savage Neighbors, 261-293 **MYCOURSES**

Exercise/discussion questions:

- When did the Revolutionary War end?
- Why didn't the British evacuate their posts in 1783? So what?
- How did the Revolution's continuation shape how people thought about Natives?

Week 8

1. 1812: Revolutionary War 2.0
2. Reading recap this week

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, chapter 5

Exercise/discussion questions:

- When did the Revolutionary War end?
- What did the British invasion of the Chesapeake in 1814 have to do with 1775? 1781?
- How did the Revolution's continuation shape how people thought about African Americans?

Week 9

1. Andrew Jackson and Lyncoya
2. Comanches and the US Mexican War

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Laurel Clark Shire, "Sentimental Racism and Sympathetic Paternalism: Feeling Like a Jacksonian," *Journal of Early Republic* (Spring 2019): 111-122.
2. Brian Delay, "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," *American Historical Review* (February 2007): 35-62.
3. Brian Delay, "The Wider World of the Handsome Man: Southern Plains Indians Invade Mexico, 1830-1848," *Journal of the Early Republic* (Spring 2007): 83-113.
4. Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, chapter 6

Exercise/discussion questions:

- Why did Andrew Jackson push for Indian Removal?
- Who was Lyncoya and what does he tell us about Jackson? About Jacksonian America?
- What did the Comanches have to do with why the US beat Mexico in 1846?
- Why did the Comanches invade Mexico?

Week 10

1. A Situation at Ft. Monroe
2. A Massacre at Ft. Pillow

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Adam Goodheart, "Freedom's Fortress," from 1861: The Civil War Awakening, 293-348. **MYCOURSES**
2. John Cimprich & Robert C. Mainfort, "Fort Pillow Revisited: New Evidence about an Old Controversy," *Civil War History* 28 (1982): 293-306. **MYCOURSES**
4. Lonnie Maness, "The Fort Pillow Massacre: Fact or Fiction," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 45 (Winter 1986): 287-315. **MYCOURSES**
5. Anderson & Cayton, Dominion of War, chapter 7

Exercise/discussion questions:

- What happened at Fort Monroe in 1861? So what?
- What is "contraband"?
- What happened at Fort Pillow in 1864? So what?
- How did people react to Fort Pillow? In the North? In the South?

Week 11

1. Lots of Armed Black Men
2. focus on Higginson & paper assignment

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Carole Emberton, "Only Murder Makes Men: Reconsidering the Black Military Experience," *Journal of Civil War Era* 2 (September 2012): 369-393. **MYCOURSES**
2. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Army Life in a Black Regiment. Focus on 1-98, 127-139, 189-206, 217-222. (For your analysis paper, you may need to read more.)

Exercise/discussion questions:

- What does gender have to do with African Americans serving in uniform?
- What problems did African American men face in the Union Army?
- Did Confederates free and arm slaves during the Civil War? Why do we think they did?

Week 12

1. Chivington and Custer
2. Camp Grant massacre <http://www.brown.edu/Research/Aravaipa/>

→ **Higginson analysis paper due by 5:00 PM on XXX**

Reading to be completed this week:

1. Karl Jacoby, Shadows at Dawn, 1-188

Exercise/discussion questions:

- What is the Battle of the Greasy Grass? What's in a name?
- What happened at Sand Creek? What consequences did it have?
- How did each group – Mexicans, Americans, Apaches, Pima Indians – get to the Aravaipa Canyon?

Week 13

1. Buffalo Bill and all That: Memory of Indian Wars
2. Remembering Camp Grant

Reading to be completed for this week

1. Jacoby, Shadows at Dawn, 189-end

Exercise/discussion questions:

- How did people remember the Camp Grant Massacre?
- Anderson & Cayton begin their book with public history – monuments on the National Mall. Look at the websites from the Apaches' San Carlos Cultural Center and compare it to the Arizona Historical Society. What power dynamics can you see at work here? What are the economic, political, and social imbalances and consequences can we trace from this dynamic of war and race?
- What does Buffalo Bill have to do with that?

Week 14

1. Summing up
2. Thoughts on your final paper & final exam

Finals week

Final research paper due at 5:00 PM on XXX

Final exam due by 12:00 PM/Noon on XXX