READINGS IN COLONIAL NORTH AMERICA

What used to be thought of as “colonial American history” or, more recently, “colonial British North American history,” has now been expanded to include the “Atlantic World” and then some. The seminar will explore this capacious perspective.

Readings

Each week everyone will read the core assignment. All core readings may be bought at Room of One’s Own, 307 W. Johnson Street (608-257-7888; room@chorus.net; www.roomofonesown.com). Beginning in the second week, each person will select their own secondary reading. Generally, you will be free to choose the work that most interests you, but some “volunteers” may be sacrificed to ensure coverage across the topics. Because the number of students in the combined seminars will almost certainly be larger than the number of readings, overlap is inevitable; if you and another student choose the same item, please work out a sharing agreement. If you cannot find the item you chose in seminar, look for another one.

All core readings have been placed on three-hour reserve at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library for the semester. Secondary readings are not reserved. Most monographs and journals can be found in the Library’s collection [WHS]; if there is no indication, assume WHS. Non-circulating copies of a few journals live in the Reading Room, though this area may be under construction this fall. Other journals can be found at Memorial Library. An increasing number of journals and, for that matter, books, are available online. You can find electronically accessible journals and books in MadCat. Hard copies of items not in WHS can be found elsewhere on campus [indicated as C = College Library, Helen C. White Hall; CLC = in my possession; E = Ethnic Studies Collection, Helen C. White Hall; G = Geography Library, Science Hall; I = Internet via MadCat; L = Law School Library, Law School; M = Memorial Library; RR = Reading Room, Wisconsin Historical Society Library; UGR = 1191 Collection, Helen C. White Hall].

Written Assignments

You will write three papers, 7-8 pages, typed, double-spaced. You may choose which two of the first four papers to confront, but everyone must write the final essay. You need advert only to course readings but may include any relevant materials. If you wish to write on a different topic, please discuss your proposal with me.

Due Friday, September 18 - Discuss the construction of the seventeenth-century Anglo-Atlantic world.

Due Friday, October 9 - Characterize the relationships between native peoples and European colonists.

Due Friday, October 30 - Discuss how Anglo-American slavery may have functioned as a mechanism of and for social order.

Due Friday, November 20 - Detail the consolidation of political and economic structures in the eighteenth-century British North American empire.

Due Monday, December 14 - Evaluate the relationship between slavery and freedom in the imperial Atlantic world.
Paper Format


Rewrite Policy

You may rewrite either or both of the first two assigned papers (time constraints prohibit rewriting the final one), but only after talking with me about such details as the new due date and the kinds of changes to be made. You must inform me of your decision to rewrite a paper by the Friday following the class session at which I first return the original version. You will ordinarily receive one week to rewrite, but I will be flexible about negotiating extensions for good cause. The old draft (plus any separate sheet of comments) must accompany the new version. Rewriting cannot lower your grade (nor can changing your mind about handing in a revised paper), but it does not by itself guarantee a higher one; you must substantially rework the essay, following my comments and initiating your own improvements too.

Grading

Simplicity itself. The papers and class discussion each count 25%.

Incompletes

The Gendzel Protocol governs the assigning of Incompletes: in fairness to those students who turn their work in on time, I will not grant an Incomplete for reasons other than Acts of God or other extraordinary disasters (covered in the “Proclamation,” p. 17 infra). You may have an Incomplete without penalty only in such cases; in all other instances, an Incomplete carries a grade penalty of ½-step.

Email

Everyone in the class must have a Wiscmail account, available from DoIT. To contact me alone, send messages to: clcohen@wisc.edu. To contact everyone in the class (including me) simultaneously, send messages to: history910-1-f09@lists.wisc.edu (section 1) or history910-2-f09@lists.wisc.edu (section 2).

A Note on Scheduling

Please note that Section 1 will meet for the first time on Tuesday, September 1, so as to avoid my having to meet one section on Wednesday of one week and the other on the following Tuesday. The final meetings will take place on December 8 and 9.

I. EMPIRES AND AMERINDIANS

SEPT. 1/2 - THE BIG PICTURE

Core reading: J. H. Elliott, Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830
II. SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FOUNDATIONS OF ANGLO-AMERICA

SEPT. 8/9 - HIVINGS OUT

Core reading: Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*

Secondary reading:

Overview

Nicholas Canny, “English Migration into and across the Atlantic during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *idem, Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800*, 39-75 [M]

African Diasporas

Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora*, 153-81

English Islands

Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690*, 9-34
Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, 3-45
Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted*: The English Colonization of Barbados 1627-1660, 58-87 [M]
Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony*, 24-49

Founding New England

David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century*, 55-81
James F. Cooper, *Tenacious of Their Liberties: The Congregationalists in Colonial Massachusetts*, 23-45

Migrations

David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*, 12-73

Planting Virginia

David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, 240-80
James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake*, 78-120
SEPT. 15/16 - THE FIRST ATLANTIC SETTLEMENT

Core reading: Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661*

Secondary reading:

Overview


Imperial Governance and Commerce


Wesley Frank Craven, *The Colonies in Transition 1660-1713*, 32-68

Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660*, 147-80


Liberties, Rights, and Freedoms

David Armitage, “Empire and Liberty: A Republican Dilemma,” in *idem, Greater Britain, 1516-1776: Essays in Atlantic History*, chap. VII (pp. 29-50, irregular pagination) [M]


Religion in England and the Colonies


J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832: Political discourse and social dynamics in the Anglo-American world*, 20-45


Andrew Murphy, *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America*, 75-122 [WHS, M]

III. AMERINDIAN ENCOUNTERS

SEPT. 22/23 - RED CHATTEL

Core reading: Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*

Secondary reading:

Indian Slavery

William Brandon, *Quivira: Europeans in the Region of the Santa Fe Trail, 1540-1820*, 96-102, 146-56
Sondra Jones, “‘Redeeming’ the Indian: the Enslavement of Indian Children in New Mexico and Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 67 (1999), 220-241
Brett Rushforth, “Slavery, the Fox Wars, and the Limits of Alliance,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 63 (2006), 53-80

Diplomacy, Warfare, Politics and Settlement in the Southeast

James Axtell, *The Indians’ New South*, 25-44
Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*, 48-80
Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Revolutionary Era*, 17-31
James H. Merrell, *The Indians’ New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*, 49-91
Eugene M. Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History* 103-28
SEPT. 29/30 - GENDERED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS

Core reading: Juliana Barr, Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands

Secondary reading:

Overviews

Alan Taylor, American Colonies, 396-419

Empires in the West

Ned Blackhawk, Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West, 88-118
Kathleen DuVal, Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent, 103-27
Pekka Hämäläinen, The Comanche Empire, 141-80
Daniel Royot, Divided Loyalties in a Doomed Empire: The French in the West from New France to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 65-77 [CLC]
Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815, 50-93

Gender, Honor and Authority

James Brooks, Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands, 1-40
Ramón Gutiérrez, When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away, 207-26
Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study, 77-101 [M, UGR]
Nancy Shoemaker, A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America, 105-24
Richard C. Trexler, Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas, 64-81

The Spanish and the Amerindians

Gary Clayton Anderson, The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention, 67-91
John Francis Bannon, The Spanish Borderlands Frontier 1513-1821, 92-107 [M]
Donald Chipman, Spanish Texas, 1519-1821,147-70
Steven W. Hackel, Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850, 65-122
Kristine Z. Jones, “Comparative Raiding Economies: North and South,” in Donna J. Gray and Thomas E. Sheridan, eds., Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers in the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire, 97-114 [M]
John L. Kessell, Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California, 223-51
Edward Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, 281-333 [M]
David J. Weber, Bárbaros: The Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment, 52-90
David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America, 122-46
OCT. 6/7 - FEAR FACTOR

Core reading: Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*

Secondary reading:

**Amerindians and Imperial Warfare**

Colin Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*, 152-77  
Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850*, 168-202 [M]  
Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*, 151-88  
Armstrong Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815*, 83-110

**Backcountry Interactions**

Patrick Griffin, *Leviathan: Empire, Nation and Revolutionary Frontier*, 46-71  
Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley*, 3-45  

**Ethnicity, Religion and Conflict**

Fred Anderson and Andrew Cayton, *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500-2000*, 54-103  
Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764*, 157-73  
Jane Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*, 129-66  

**The Seven Years War**

Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, 535-53  
David Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac’s Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America*, 244-75  
Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the Seven Years War in America*, 438-53  

**Violence**

Nicole Eustace, *The Sentimental Paradox: Humanity and Violence on the Pennsylvania Frontier,*  
*William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 65 (2008), 29-64  
Andrew Lipman, “‘A meanes to knitt them togeather’: The Exchange of Body Parts in the Pequot War,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 65 (2008), 3-28  
III. SLAVERY AND SOCIETY

OCT. 13/14 - CONSPIRACY THEORY

Core reading: Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan*

Secondary reading:

**African American Communities**

Timothy Breen and Stephen Innes, “*Myne Own Ground*: Race & Freedom on Virginia’s Eastern Shore, 1640-1676, 68-109  
Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City*, 1626-1863, 11-47  
Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter’s Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*, 81-108  
Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry*, 441-97

**The New York Conspiracy**

Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City*, 159-86  

**Slave Revolts**

David Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen & Rebels: a Study of Master-slave Relations in Antigua, with Implications for Colonial British America*, 21-42  
Eric Robert Taylor, *If We Must Die: Shipboard Insurrections in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 85-103  
Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*, 308-26
OCT. 20/21 - HIGH ANXIETY

Core reading: Rhys Isaac, *Landon Carter’s Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation*

Secondary reading:

Overview


Patriarchy

Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, 18-42
Cynthia A. Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women’s Place in the Early South, 1700-1835*, 36-68, 212-18
Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society*, 96-137

Masters and Slaves

Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter’s Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*, 134-70

Slavery and the American Revolution

Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class & Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia*, 134-74
Gary B. Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*, 1-68
Jeffrey Robert Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670-1837*, 57-90
IV. ATLANTIC ECONOMIES

OCT. 27/28 - TRADING SPACES

Core reading: Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America*

Secondary reading:

Agriculture

Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers*, 125-63  
Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*, 107-40  

Extractive Industries

W. Jeffrey Bolster, “Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History: Maritime Communities and Marine Ecology in the Northwest Atlantic, 1500-1800,” *American Historical Review*, 113 (2008), 19-47  
Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*, 349-406  
Daniel Vickers, *Farmers & Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850*, 143-203  

Macroeconomic and Regional Approaches

Mark Egnal, *New World Economies: The Growth of the Thirteen Colonies and Early Canada*, 142-65  
John J. McCusker and Russell Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607-1789*, 189-208  
D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America.... vol. 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800*, 160-190  

Port Towns

Jacob Price, “Summation: The American Panorama of Atlantic Port Cities,” in Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds., *Atlantic Port Cities ... 1650-1800*, 262-76  
Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts 1690-1750*, 52-95  

Secondary reading:

Overview

Alan Taylor, *American Colonies*, 301-37

Capitalism, Consumption and Economic Culture


Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America*, 52-75 [M]


Transatlantic Commerce and Communication

Kenneth J. Banks, *Chasing Empire across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713-1763*, 65-100 [M]

David Hancock, “‘A World of Business to Do’: William Freeman and the Foundations of England’s Commercial Empire,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 57 (2000), 3-34

Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York*, 170-214


Imperial Administration


V. THE POLITICS AND CULTURE OF EMPIRE

NOV. 10/11 - ALL POLITICS IS LOCAL

Core reading: Richard Beeman, *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America*

Secondary reading:

Overviews

- Morton Keller, *America’s Three Regimes: A New Political History*, 7-22

Agrarian and Backcountry Rebellions

- Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*, 125-60
- Brendan McConville, *These Daring Disturbers of the Public Peace: The Struggle for Property and Power in Early New Jersey*, 177-201

Deference

- Barbara Clark Smith, “Beyond the Vote: the Limits of Deference in Colonial Politics,” *Early American Studies*, 3 (2005), 341-362
- Alison Olson, “Political Humor, Deference, and the American Revolution,” *Early American Studies*, 3 (2005), 363-382

Political Cultures

- Robert Dinkin, *Voting in Provincial America*, 50-71
- Aaron Spencer Fogelman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America*, 127-48
Core reading: Brendan McConville, *The King’s Three Faces: The Rise & Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776*

Secondary reading:

**Nationalism and Identity**


Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America*, 95-129


**The People Out of Doors**


Paul Gilje, *Rioting in America*, 12-34


**Republican and Monarchical Discourses**


Richard L. Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts*, 11-54

Paul Downes, *Democracy, Revolution, and Monarchism in Early American Literature*, 31-58 [M]

Mark Hulliung, *Citizens and Citoyens: Republicans and Liberals in France and America*, 92-127 [M]


Jenny Hale Pulsipher, “*The Widow Ranter and Royalist Culture in Colonial Virginia,*” *Early American Literature*, 35 (2004), 41-66

Ed White, *The Backcountry and the City: Colonization and Conflict in Early America*, 1-27


Michael P. Zuckert, *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism*, 150-83
Core reading: David Shields, *Civil Tongues & Polite Letters in British America*

Secondary reading:

**Gentility and Civility, Sociability and Society**


Kate Haulman, “Fashion and the Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 62 (2005), 625-62


**Gender Culture and Education**

Elizabeth M. Dillon, *The Gender of Freedom: Fictions of Liberalism and the Literary Public Sphere*, 11-48


Mark Garrett Longaker, *Rhetoric and the Republic: Politics, Civic Discourse, and Education in Early America*, 36-78

Clare A. Lyons, *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender & Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830*, 14-58

**Public Spheres**


**Religion Polite and Impolite**


VI. SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

DEC. 1/2 - THE SOT-WEED FACTOR

Core reading: Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*

Secondary reading:

Discursive Overview


The English and the Algonquians

Frederick W. Gleach, *Powhatan’s World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*, 123-47
Helen C. Rountree, “Who Were the Powhatans and Did They Have a Unified ‘Foreign Policy’?” in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*, 1-19

The Origins of Slavery in the Chesapeake

April Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, 137-68
Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor*, 1-46

Social Organization and Political Stability

James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake*, 121-60
Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*, 78-117
Peter Thompson, “The Thief, the Householder, and the Commons: Languages of Class in Seventeenth-century Virginia,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 63 (2006), 253-280
Core reading: Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*

Secondary reading:

**Overviews**


Stanley L. Engerman, *Slavery, Emancipation, and Freedom: Comparative Perspectives*, 37-72

**Citizenship**


David M. Ricci, *Good Citizenship in America*, 51-79


Mark S. Weiner, *Black Trials: Citizenship from the Beginnings of Slavery to the End of Caste*, 70-88

**Rebellions and Resistance, Freedom and Emancipation**


Nathalie Dessens, *Myths of the Plantation Society: Slavery in the American South and the West Indies*, 22-45


**Saint-Domingue and America**


Nathalie Dessens, *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences*, 98-127


Gregory E. O’Malley, “Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 66 (2009), 125-72
A PROCLAMATION
Regarding Late Papers

Whereas it may come to pass that one or more individuals, whether through dilatoriness, dereliction, irresponsibility, or chutzpah, may seek respite and surcease from esciritoirial demands through procrastination, delay, and downright evasion;

And whereas this unhappy happenstance contributes mightily to malfeasance on the part of parties of the second part (i.e., students, the instructed, you) and irascibility on the part of us (i.e., me);

Be it therefore known, understood, apprehended, and comprehended:

That all assignments must reach us on or by the exact hour announced in class, and that failure to comply with this wholesome and most generous regulation shall result in the assignment forfeiting one half letter grade for each day for which it is tardy (i.e., an "A" shall become an "AB"), "one day" being defined as a 24-hour period commencing at the announced hour on which the assignment is due; and that the aforementioned reduction in grade shall continue for each succeeding day of delay until either the assignment shall be remitted or its value shrunk unto nothingness. And let all acknowledge that the responsibility for our receiving papers deposited surreptitio (i.e., in my mailbox or under my door), whether timely or belated, resides with the aforementioned second-part parties (i.e., you again), hence onus for the miscarriage of such items falls upon the writer's head (i.e., until I clutch your scribbles to my breast, I assume you have not turned them in, all protestations to the contrary notwithstanding).

Be it nevertheless affirmed:

That the greater part of justice residing in mercy, it may behoove us, acting entirely through our gracious prerogative, to award an extension in meritorious cases, such sufferance being granted only upon consultation with us, in which case a negotiated due date shall be decreed; it being perfectly well understood that failure to observe this new deadline shall result in the immediate and irreversible failure of the assignment (i.e., an "F"), its value being accounted as a null set and less than that of a vile mote. And be it further noted, that routine disruptions to routine (i.e., lack of sleep occasioned by pink badgers dancing on the ceiling) do not conduce to mercy, but that severe dislocations brought on by Acts of God (exceedingly traumatic events to the body and/or soul, such as having the earth swallow one up on the way to delivering the assignment) perpetrated either on oneself or on one's loving kindred, do.

And we wish to trumpet forth:

That our purpose in declaiming said proclamation, is not essentially to terminate the wanton flouting of didactic intentions, but to encourage our beloved students to consult with us, and apprehend us of their difficulties aforehand (i.e., talk to me, baby), so that the cruel axe of the executioner fall not upon their Grade Point Average and smite it with a vengeance.

To which proclamation, we do affix our seal: