

NEH Application Cover Sheet (AV-248384)

Dialogues on the Experience of War

PROJECT DIRECTOR

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Field of expertise: Military History

INSTITUTION

Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019-9705

APPLICATION INFORMATION

Title: *The Experience of War*

Grant period: From 2016-08-01 to 2018-07-31

Project field(s): Military History

Description of project: This program will introduce veterans to the humanities and through the humanities to a dialogue based on their own experiences. As the Director of this program at the University of Oklahoma, I will prepare a course designed to do for other veterans what the humanities did for me. The course, "The Experience of War," will use original written sources and other media to introduce veterans to the humanities. We will ask veterans to use the humanities and their own experience to think about, and express their thoughts on, war as experienced by others through history and by themselves. They will find, first, that they have experienced what generations of soldiers have experienced before, and, second, they will find the words to describe their own experiences, and will thereby be able to articulate that experience, and become mentors for other veterans and for students who are not veterans, and for the community at large.

BUDGET

Outright Request	78,337.00	Cost Sharing	0.00
Matching Request	0.00	Total Budget	78,337.00
Total NEH	78,337.00		

GRANT ADMINISTRATOR

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“Standing Together: The Humanities and the Experience of War”

PART ONE: NARRATIVE

Narrative

In Vietnam I was sitting on a bunker one evening, while our artillery shot interdicting fire. At the same time as the shells exploded in the distance, I looked up at the moon where our astronauts were preparing for a landing. I could not help but feel that some great question was being put to me and I struggled to find an answer. We were going to land on the moon, something never done before, and yet here I was, doing something not all that different from what other American soldiers throughout our whole history had done or, for that matter, different from what Caesar’s soldiers had done. My answer, drawn from my knowledge of history, was both comforting—others had gone through what I was going through—and disturbing—nothing much seemed to have changed, even if we were going to walk on the moon.

I propose a class to address this, and other, questions. A formal class would combine 50% reading, video, and lecture and 50% discussion. It would be (initially) a class of forty-five student/veterans divided into three discussion sections. The discussion would begin with the discussion leader’s reaction to the material. In preparing discussion leaders we would just hold the class, or presentation, ourselves, evaluate the sources, and discuss the questions. Insofar as possible I would want discussion leaders to be full time faculty or advanced students who are veterans themselves. The preparatory sessions would be held in August 2016 followed by a class in the Fall Semester 2016 and again in 2017.

Intellectual rationale and overview of program

(1) “Describe the significance of the reading and discussion programs.”

The program will cover the Civil War and the war in Vietnam. I chose the Civil War for several reasons. First, some of the issues which led to the war are still alive today: the balance of power between the federal government and the states, the Confederate flag as a symbol, which to some people represents slavery and racism and to others the heritage of the Old South and of resistance to federal power. Second, the records of the war are readily accessible, since veterans of both sides wrote in English and wrote copiously, both generals and privates. We have Ken Burns' documentary of the Civil War, which some critics have called the "best documentary ever made," the first extensive use of photography in war, and, in addition, many popular histories (e.g., by Shelby Foote), and also a series of popular novels (Jeff and Michael Shaara), and one epic poem (*John Brown's Body*).

I chose the war in Vietnam for the following reasons. First, I served in Vietnam and can discuss the war in terms of personal experience enlightened by my own study of the humanities. Second, the Vietnam war has entered the discussion of politics today and has been compared to the war in Iraq. Third, many of our political leaders come from the Vietnam era and some served in Vietnam. Vietnam is still a part of the discussion of American policy. Vietnam was the first "television" war and the media played an important part in shaping public opinion in the United States. The documentary I have chosen relies heavily upon the footage shot for television. In addition, there are many memoirs, including my own, written about Vietnam. I chose my own memoir, first, because it includes the typical experiences of an infantry officer and a rifle battalion, but also because it contains a discussion of the role of public support and the citizen-soldier and the draft, and, in addition, because it is a memoir, and I can explain the method of writing a memoir and the personal advantages I gained by putting my experiences down on paper, and I can, thereby, encourage veterans to write about their own experiences.

One of the most important aspects of this program is to get across to veterans that they were active participants in American history: Herman Wouk in *The Caine Mutiny* writes of his protagonist that he “was on his way to fight in battles as great as any in the histories. But these would appear to him mere welters of nasty, complicated, tiresome activity. Only in after years, reading books describing the scenes in which he had been engaged, would he begin to think of his battles as Battles.” Wouk here exactly defines the experience of most veterans.

In one class I taught—the Ancient Art of War—a student asked a question about PTSD and the effect of sending soldiers back to Iraq and Afghanistan over and over again. I described my own PTSD and said that PTSD is only prevalent in the civilian world; in combat it works very well for the soldier. One of the veterans in the class—there were five among the forty students—agreed, as did the others, and then I asked him, “In a society such as Athens or Sparta, where all the men had been in combat, would they suffer from PTSD?” This question led to their own personal experiences and also comments from a student whose mother treated veterans with PTSD.

The first presentation, and introduction to the course, will be based upon my book, *War: Antiquity and its Legacy*, and will include a brief history of war from the earliest records to our own times, and will begin a discussion on the following subjects: how we think about war; how we describe war and how that description has changed, if it has—veterans from all periods of history recognize themselves in the *Iliad*; how we define “war” (is it a *condition* {Hugo Grotius, fl. 1625} or a *contest* {Cicero}?)—the distinction is important in international law; how we regard the laws of war and the “law of nations:” *ius ad bellum* (just cause for going to war) and *ius in bello* (just behavior in war). The primary ethical question about war is this—is war so

horrible in itself that there can be no “laws of war?” As Guillaume Cretin has the Marshall of Chabannes say,

But do you think that soldiers in battle

In the hour when they stand in the very midst of combat

When men strive with great blows to completely cleave them asunder

Think of anything except to defend themselves?

On the Civil War we will watch selected portions of Ken Burns’ documentary. This will provide a basic introduction to the war and will also provide a way to discuss all the sources for the study of history - a photographic record, soldiers' letters and memoirs (and a discussion of memory), the difference between the generals’ memoirs and the private soldiers’ memoirs, interviews with historians, and examinations of the battlefields today. From selections from Rufus Dawes *The Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers* will come an understanding and discussion of the experiences of a Civil War soldier. Dawes had a three-year enlistment and at the end of the three years - after Antietam, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness - he left the service and wrote that he felt that he had somehow failed as a man. His is a common feeling, when you leave, that you have deserted your comrades and failed them. We will discuss this feeling, specifically, but also other feelings we have in common with generations of soldiers. Jeff and Michael Shaara's novels attempt (successfully, I think) to recreate the experience of the soldiers involved. We will discuss the extent to which these authors have succeeded, and failed, and how the students’ experience is unique and different, and how it is similar. With selections from *Lincoln's Code*, we will examine how the peculiar circumstances of the Civil War led Lincoln to appoint Franz Lieber in 1863 to establish a code of conduct for Union troops. Lieber attempted to codify custom, practice, theory, and law in concrete form for commanders and soldiers in the field. The code of

conduct was to define justice and it covered a multiplicity of subjects including martial law, the rights of personal and public property, retaliation, protection of persons, religion, art, punishment of crimes against the hostile population, prisoners of war, booty, partisans, spies and flags of truce. "Soldiers," the code states, "are moral beings responsible to one another and to God."

Are there rules in war? Is there a moral code recognized by all sides? What should be the reaction of one side to the violations of the other? For example, in a discussion of the concepts *ius ad bellum* (just cause for going to war) and *ius in bello* (just behavior in war) the preparatory leader will direct a discussion of the background to these concepts. Cicero (in *de officiis* 2.5.18 and 1.11.34-5) writes, "We attack and take revenge on those who seek to injure us, and we inflict as much punishment as allowed by fairness and humanity... But no war is a just war, unless the causes are stated and the complaint is lodged first."

We will then ask how these concepts affect the individual soldier. Example One: in Vietnam several children ran into the field of fire between American troops and the NVA. Should the combatants have ceased fire? Were the combatants required to cease fire? Example Two: American troops came under small arms fire from enemy inside a village. Permission was given for a fire mission (artillery). Was the fire mission legal under the laws of war? What were the limits of the mission, if, for instance, the enemy ceased fire?

Every veteran suffers loss and has heard chaplains and generals speak at memorial services for the dead. Many of these services are filled with clichés. We will read the Gettysburg Address, we will discuss how this speech changes our perceptions of the war ... if it does. And, also, ask the questions: how does it fit into Lincoln's code of conduct. What is the effect of memorial services? Memorial Day? Veterans Day? After reading selections from Stephen Vincent Benet, *John Brown's Body*, the epic poem of the Civil War, we will ask whether the Civil War was an

“epic?” Is the epic a form of memorial? We will listen to the Battle Hymn of the Republic and ask what the message is, and we will compare it with Dixie. Sherman's March (from Ken Burns) raises the questions, when, and how, is it justified to make war on civilians? How does the “March” comport with the statement, “Soldiers are moral beings responsible to one another and to God?” When did civilians become a legitimate target in war? Ambrose Bierce (a veteran of Shiloh - *Ambrose Bierce's Civil War*), after writing that pigs had eaten the faces off some corpses, added “Of course I went and looked.” War inures us to many horrible sights—in my own case, the bodies of two children who had been burned to death—but the humanities teach us that, despite our experiences, we are still human and still can be humane individuals.

The War in Vietnam

For the most part basic questions for discussion will remain the same - the experience of the common soldier ... but with some variations.

From the selections from “The Ten Thousand Day War” we will ask ... What is the role of the media? How much access should the media be given? What is the effect when today every soldier is a cameraman? Matthew Brady and other Civil War photographers took many photos of the battlefield after the battle, rearranging the dead for a better composition. The dead in many cases appear in fine enough detail that they could have been identified by relatives. In the early days of World War I, British newsreels showed assaults in which British soldiers were clearly being killed. Over time the censors attempted to control the images for purposes of morale as well as to deny the enemy any useful intelligence. In World War II, the decision to show American dead was made at the highest level by President Roosevelt with the proviso that the photos not show the faces or any identifying marks. The purpose was to let the public know there was a real cost to the war.

We will also consider the effect of the draft on the war in Vietnam, the effect on policy of having a volunteer army in Iraq and Afghanistan, the difference between a war run by World War II veterans and a war run by Vietnam veterans, and, also, the validity of the comparison of Vietnam with Iraq.

We will watch scenes from *Apocalypse Now* and *Hamburger Hill* and pose the questions - how do the messages of these films differ? What is the validity of war movies? Soldiers have told me that, sometimes in combat, they felt as though they were in a movie. And we will discuss war in popular culture including video games and re-enactments.

From *Some Even Volunteered* we will examine one person's experience as a universal experience, the challenges of writing a memoir, the value, and how to do it.

CONCLUSION: "The Art of War"

This video applies the lessons of Sun Tzu to war in the west and compares Western and Eastern attitudes to war, that is, that Western strategists look to fight battles and inflict casualties while Eastern strategists seeks to occupy territory and win without battles. This video forms a good basis for discussion of a current theory of military science, i.e., is there, in fact, a "western way" of war?

(2) "Describe the proposed readings and other humanities sources for the discussion groups and indicate how multiple viewpoints and approaches will enrich the discussions."

Examples of excerpts from the various readings with sample questions for discussion:

Archilochus, a poet and soldier who lived over twenty-six hundred years ago told the same joke instructors told at Ft. Benning. How similar is the experience of soldiers, even over thousands of years?

Two GI's in Vietnam had the following discussion:

“How long do you think the war would have lasted, if Senators’ sons had had to go?”

“How long do you think the war would have lasted, if Senators had had to go?”

In the case of sovereign nations, one question in the nineteenth century was, under what circumstances and conditions should a nation interfere in the affairs of another nation? John Stuart Mill accepted self-defense as an incontestable right, but, when self-defense is not the issue, it is a moral wrong for one nation to overthrow another government, unless it is prepared to set up a new (and better) government in its place, a government comprising people who were fighting for their freedom against a repressive government. In short, intervention has certain moral requirements and it should also have prudent requirements, that it truly is in our interest, that it can succeed and that the war to achieve the results we want is not worse than the present situation. Mill applied this reasoning to the question of British support for the South in the Civil War and concluded that slavery was so great a moral wrong that it tainted all those who would support the South.

At the beginning of World War I the English poet Rupert Brooke wrote,

“Now God be thanked Who has matched us with His hour,

“And caught our youth, and wakened us from sleeping.”

We will compare this sentiment with Rufus Dawes’ description of how changed his soldiers were after their first combat ... that they were no less resolved, but the reality of war had sunk in. We will then discuss how the experience of war changes attitudes to war.

One common experience, particularly in modern war, is how new technologies change the nature of war. A knight, after the introduction of gunpowder weapons, lamented, “What is the use, anymore, of the skill of arms of the knight, when such weapons may be used in war?”

In similar fashion, after the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*, Herman Melville

wrote,

“The ringing of those plates on plates

“Still ringeth round the world;

“War yet shall be, but warriors

“Are now but operatives.”

Here we will discuss technology, “modern war,” concepts of the individual soldier and heroism, and we will ask veterans how, or if, video games (for instance) have influenced their view of their own experiences. Are warriors now but “operatives?”

(Incidentally, it has been my experience in smaller classes at the University of Oklahoma that students need no encouragement to speak up and present their own opinions.)

(3) “The scope, organization, and setting ...”

We will offer a one-credit, fifteen-hour class open specifically to veterans (with a prerequisite of the instructor’s permission) and with an enrolment cap of fifteen students per section and three sections. Whether we increase the number of sections in the future will depend upon enrolment. The university will provide appropriate classrooms.

Design, content, and implementation

a) Preparatory programs for NEH Discussion Leaders

In brief, the participants in the preparatory program will take a pre-class class. They will watch the videos (the same sections that would be shown in class) and do the same readings. (The course, “The Experience of War,” will appear in the course catalogue for the Fall Semester, 2016.) The participants in the preparatory program will receive:

Ken Burns *Civil War*; *Vietnam: The Ten Thousand Day War*; *The Art of War*; *Apocalypse Now*;
Hamburger Hill

Copies of *War: Antiquity and Its Legacy, Some Even Volunteered*, Rufus Dawes' *The Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*, *John Brown's Body*, *Ambrose Bierce's Civil War*, *Lincoln's Code*

The person who will lead the preparatory program is me, Alfred S. Bradford, a member of the history faculty and a veteran (See “project faculty and staff”). I will lead the discussion and suggest questions for each section and we will then have an open-ended discussion of other possibilities.

After each section of the preparatory session the participants will evaluate the experience—what were our objectives in the particular session, have we accomplished our objectives, are the sources effective, what other questions should we ask, what other methods should we use?

Initially I have recruited from experienced faculty and advanced students who are veterans.

b) Discussion groups for military veterans and others

The “discussion group” will become a regular University of Oklahoma class and the number of sections will depend upon the enrolment. The enrolment in each section will be limited to fifteen. The class will initially be offered in the Fall of 2016 and the Fall of 2017 as part of the NEH program, but then will become a regular class in the University catalogue, offered each Fall Semester.

The videos are designed to give a quick and easy background to the wars discussed as well as furnishing subjects for discussion—the role of the media, the ethics of battlefield photography, modern media. For instance, we will discuss the statement President Johnson made, after Walter Cronkite spoke out against the war, “I've lost middle America.”

A usual catchphrase at West Point after Vietnam was “The will of the people.” The military leaders formulated a doctrine on the United States and war—

“Have a clear and obtainable objective

“Don't fight a war in which you won't go all the way

“Keep the war short ... or you will lose the will of the people.”

Topics for discussion: how the experiences of previous wars influence the conduct of current wars, who should decide whether to go to war, what does “will of the people” mean, how did the elimination of the draft influence America in war?

The readings will be first-hand accounts and will lead to specific discussions about the individual experience and the universal experience of war. For example, a sergeant suggested to Ambrose Bierce that they bayonet—and put out of their misery—some horribly wounded and dying soldiers and Ambrose Bierce said that they couldn't do anything like that and, anyway, “too many people were watching.” We will discuss how the realities of war alter our sense of morality and personal responsibility and how those changes affect us after we return to civilian life.

The class will be advertised among the student/veteran organizations at the University of Oklahoma (with the advisement that the class is designed for veterans but that other students can take it with special permission). I am scheduled to speak to the student/veteran organization here on campus.

The class will be held in a regular classroom on the campus of the University of Oklahoma. Participants will be given a detailed syllabus and a selection of readings. Leaders will be furnished with the syllabus, all hand-outs, and copies of the videos and the books used. All books will be regularly available at university bookstores ... or on-line, of course.

Project faculty and staff

I, Alfred S. Bradford, John Saxon Chair of Ancient History at the University of Oklahoma, will be the Project Director. I received my Ph. D. in Classical Languages and

Literature from the University of Chicago. I served as an infantry officer with the 1/27th Infantry, 25th Infantry Division in Vietnam. My published works include *With Arrow, Sword, and Spear* (a history of ancient warfare including the Near East, India, and China), *Some Even Volunteered* (a memoir of my service in Vietnam), and *War: Antiquity and Its Legacy* (a work encompassing many of the issues in this program, as, for instance, the debate over the definition of “war”) among other books. I participated in the West Point Seminar on Teaching Military History in June/July 1990 (including staff rides to the battlefields of Antietam and Gettysburg). I will prepare and lead the preparatory program, which will include one other faculty member, one advanced graduate student, and three student/veterans. The faculty member is Charles E. Rankin. Charles earned a Ph.D. in history from the University of New Mexico. He is an Editor-in-Chief of the University of Oklahoma Press. He also teaches a course on the Vietnam war. (In this course he introduces a Vietnam veteran who discusses how to write a memoir and encourages the veterans in the course to write one themselves.) He has had a wide experience in journalism. He has worked with newspapers and radio and he taught journalism at the University of New Mexico.

The graduate student is Bryan W. Nies. Bryan earned an M.A. in History from the University of Oklahoma in 2014. He is a second year Ph. D. student in the History Department, a veteran of the army—he was a Health Care Specialist/Combat Medic before medical retirement in 2006—and the Editorial Assistant for *The Journal of the Civil War Era*. Both individuals bring strong components to the program. The three students/veterans, who will participate in the preparatory phase and assist in the class, will be chosen with the help of the president (now Justin Cook) of the Student Veterans organization and their faculty adviser (Shad Satterthwaite) at the time of the preparatory program. Both Justin and Shad, by the way, strongly support this program. I will also

have the support of the staff of the Department of History, University of Oklahoma. I will teach one section of the course.

Institutional context

The University of Oklahoma is a major American public university with the mission to educate the people of Oklahoma. It is designated as a Carnegie 1 research university. The University attracts top students from across the nation and more than 100 countries around the world. It has more National Merit Scholars enrolled than any other public university and is in the top ten of public universities in the nation in the graduation of Rhodes Scholars. It offers students the opportunity to study abroad in over 100 cities and 50 countries. The University has now more than 560 endowed faculty professorships and chaired positions. This enables OU to keep and attract faculty researchers of national and international stature. The University is a leader in public higher education in the United States and is ranked by *The Princeton Review* among the top 10 public universities in the nation in terms of academic excellence and cost for students. OU's private endowment has increased to more than \$1.8 billion. The University vigorously encourages a good relationship, a familial relationship, between faculty and student.

The University of Oklahoma provides an excellent setting for this program. Ten to fifteen percent of my students now are veterans. (In one class I described my adverse reaction to being told, "Thank you for your service." Every veteran said the same thing, "I didn't do anything that anyone should thank me for" and "People who say that are saying it so they will feel better themselves." One veteran said that he simply replies, "Thank you for your support." Needless to say, the veterans were fully involved in this discussion and other students learned a lot from them.) A program aimed directly at veterans would easily fill a class.

In addition, the Oklahoma National Guard provides tuition for service men and women to

attend college, and encourages them to do so. There is an active veteran's center and an Air Force base (Tinker) nearby. The university also has an outreach program to military bases around the world. The university is one of about a dozen institutions, which offers the Warrior-Scholar program, which is a kind of boot camp for veterans to prepare them for the challenges they will face in the transition from military service to the university. The program has more applicants than places for them. It is our expectation that this program would provide one entry point into our credit-carrying class, which will be listed in the University catalogue and will become a regular class in the curriculum, offered every Fall.

Evaluation (two)

“The first will be completed by participants at the end of the preparatory program for NEH discussion leaders”

The formal evaluation will be a questionnaire, but more importantly will include an open discussion of the lessons learned from the preparation and how best to proceed with veterans. It will include a second evaluation after the first class has been concluded.

“The second will survey the participants in the discussion groups.”

The participants in the discussion groups will fill out a regular student evaluation administered by the University. This is a University requirement. In addition, the final discussion group will also include a questionnaire on the experience of the students with particular emphasis on what they considered the strong points of the course and what they would like to see changed, improved, or emphasized in the future. There will also be an on-going evaluation of the course by both the three instructors and the three veteran/student assistants and they will meet once, after the class is over, to discuss it. The same three instructors will conduct the course in Fall 2016 and Fall 2017.

When the class is completed, we will have an experienced cadre of faculty and student discussion leaders and also a potential cadre of the forty-five veteran/students who complete the course. When I returned from Vietnam to my studies in Classical Languages at the University of Chicago, I was kind of a mess. I had terrible nightmares, severe headaches, and flashbacks; I drank too much and I had a general feeling of loss and hopelessness, but in my studies I found, first, that I was by no means alone in my experiences, second, that the discipline of study gave me purpose again, and, third, that I acquired the words to write about my own experiences.

As I, myself, used the humanities to understand my own service, so I hope that our course will help students to put their own service into context, to learn to articulate their experience, in speech and in writing, and to become mentors for other veterans at our University and ambassadors to the students who are not veterans, to reach them through the humanities we all share. I see this enterprise not as a single class—or two classes—but as a way for our veterans to learn to express their own experiences in terms that the other students—and the University community at large—will understand and appreciate. This will be the real public good accomplished by this program.

2. PREPARATORY PROGRAM SCHEDULE AND SYLLABUS (FOR NEH DISCUSSION LEADERS) –NOT TO EXCEED TWO SINGLE-SPACED PAGES

Each participant—three faculty including the preparatory leader and three veterans/students—will have copies of all the videos and all the books.

Session 1 (one-two hours).

Prior to the session participants will have read A. S. Bradford, *War: Antiquity and its Legacy*, Oxford 2015.

Author will give an overview of the book and then lead a discussion of the various points.

In similar fashion, the participants will discuss the following ... the problem of defining war, how to describe war professionally (the historians) and individually (the veterans), various attempts at formulating rules of war. The participants will formulate specific questions—for instance ...

How do we think about war? How do we describe war? Why do the differences in the definitions of "war" matter to us?

Are there laws of war (the "law of nations")? What training do soldiers receive in their conduct in war and the Geneva convention? What are soldiers' usual attitude to such training?

The first session will conclude, first, with a discussion of questions veterans might ask and, second, with a discussion of the ultimate purpose of this program and how we institute it.

Session 2 (one-two hours). Civil War 1861-1862

Prior to the session participants will have watched Ken Burns {Selections from Episode 2 ["A Very Bloody Affair" (1862)] **Shiloh**; The Arts of Death and 3. ["Forever Free" (1862)] **Antietam**; The Higher Object} and read Rufus Dawes *The Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*.

The preparatory leader will introduce selections from *Ambrose Bierce's Civil War*. Participants will discuss Dawes' experience and how it relates to the common experience of war and to today's veteran and also to unit identification and morale—the Sixth Wisconsin was part of the famous Iron Brigade. Why do we fight? (A student once asked me, "Why was the North so mad?") Discuss public views of the war and individual motivation. What is the balance between patriotism and a sense of adventure or self-interest? Define courage and cowardice.

Session 3 (one-two hours). Civil War 1863

Prior to the session participants will have read *Lincoln's Code* and watched Ken Burns {Selections from Episode 5 ["The Universe of Battle" (1863)]: Gettysburg: The First Day; Gettysburg: The Second Day; Gettysburg: The Third Day}

Read the Gettysburg Address and discuss the memorial speech and memorials in general. How do soldiers react to, and adjust to, the deaths of comrades and horrors of war.

Selections from *Lincoln's Code*. Can there be rules in war? How do the rules affect the conduct of the individual soldier?

Selections from Rufus Dawes *The Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*. What is a hero?

Session 4 (one-two hours). Civil War 1864-1865

Prior to the session participants will have read some selections from the Civil War novels of Jeff Shaara and will have watched Ken Burns {Selections from Episode 6 ["Valley of the Shadow of Death" (1864)] Grant; Lee; In the Wilderness; Move By the Left Flank and Episode 8 ["War Is

All Hell"] Sherman's March; The Breath Of Emancipation; Died Of A Theory; Washington, March 4, 1865; I Want to See Richmond; Appomattox}

Continuing discussion of Rufus Dawes. Rufus Dawes volunteered to serve for a three-year enlistment. In that time he went from a lieutenant to the commander of the Sixth Wisconsin, which was part of the Iron Brigade. He fought at Antietam, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness. His account is personal and revealing—after his three-year enlistment was up, he removed himself from service ... and felt that he was somehow less of a man for having done that. Discuss. What does it mean to be a volunteer ... with a three-year enlistment? Discuss personal sacrifice and suffering.

Sherman's "March through Georgia" brought devastation to the South. Discuss the effect and the morality of making war on civilians.

Discuss the Confederate flag and the long-term effects of the Civil War.

Selections from the novels of Jeff Shaara. Discuss memory—individual and national

Music: *Battle Hymn of the Republic* and *Dixie*: what are the effects of these songs? What are the effects of war songs in general?

Session 5 (one-two hours). Vietnam: The Growing Involvement

Prior to the session participants will have read *Some Even Volunteered* and watched “The Ten Thousand Day War” {Selections from Episodes 7-12: 7) Westy's War; ... 10) The Trail; 11) Firepower; 12) The Village War}

Music and War—Listen to Glen Campbell *Galveston*; Country Joe and the Fish *I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag*; Pete Seeger *Waist Deep in the Big Muddy*; Joan Baez *Where Have All the Flowers Gone?*

What role does music play in the experience of war? What is its effect?

Session 6 (one-two hours). Vietnam: The Technological Edge

Prior to the session participants will have watched “The Ten Thousand Day War” {Selections from Episodes 13) Air War and 14) Siege} and *Apocalypse Now*.

Discussion of war and popular culture. Who determines the public view of the war? Discuss the media—television, print, movies, songs ... What should the role of the media be? How much access should the media be given?

Session 7 (one-two hours). Vietnam: Tet and the Loss of Public Support

Prior to the session participants will have watched “The Ten Thousand Day War” {Selections from Episodes 15 Tet! And 16) Frontline America} and *Hamburger Hill*.

Discuss the memoir in general. What are the difficulties in writing a personal account? What is the value? ... historical, literary, and personal? How *true* can a memoir—or any depiction—of war be? What is the effect on policy of having a volunteer army in Iraq and Afghanistan? How valid is the comparison between Vietnam and Iraq?

Session 8 (one hour). Conclusion: War in the West

Prior to the session participants will have watched "The Art of War"

(This video applies the lessons of Sun Tzu to war in the west and compares Western attitudes to war to Chess and Eastern attitudes of war to Go, that is, that the West looks to fight battles and inflict casualties while the East seeks to occupy territory.)

Is there a western way of war? Final remarks and suggestions.

3. SCHEDULE AND SYLLABUS FOR THE DISCUSSION PROGRAMS (FOR STUDENT AND PUBLIC PARTICIPANTS) –NOT TO EXCEED TWO SINGLE-SPACED PAGES

Class 1 (two hours). Introduction - A. S. Bradford, *War: Antiquity and its Legacy*, Oxford 2015.

Lecture: the problem of defining war, a brief history of war from the earliest records to the present with a summary of writers on war, descriptions of war, various attempts at formulating rules of war, and the concepts *ius ad bellum* (just cause for going to war) and *ius in bello* (just behavior in war).

Discussion: How do we think about war? How do we describe war? Why do the differences in the definitions of "war" matter to us?

Are there laws of war (the "law of nations")? What training do soldiers receive in their conduct in war and the Geneva convention? What are soldiers' usual attitude to such training?

Class 2 (two hours). Civil War 1861-1862

Watch Ken Burns {Selections from Episode 2 ["A Very Bloody Affair" (1862)] **Shiloh**; The Arts of Death and 3. ["Forever Free" (1862)] **Antietam**; The Higher Object}

Read Selections from *Ambrose Bierce's Civil War* and Rufus Dawes *The Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*. Discuss the experience of the common soldier. Unit identification and morale. Why do we fight? A student once asked me, "Why was the North so mad?" Discuss public views of the war and individual motivation. What is the balance between patriotism and a sense of adventure or self-interest? Define courage and cowardice.

Class 3 (two hours). Civil War 1863

Watch Ken Burns {Selections from Episode 5 ["The Universe of Battle" (1863)]: Gettysburg: The First Day; Gettysburg: The Second Day; Gettysburg: The Third Day}

Read the Gettysburg Address and discuss the memorial speech and memorials in general. How do soldiers react to, and adjust to, the deaths of friends and the horrors of war.

Selections from *Lincoln's Code*. Can there be rules in war? How do the rules affect the conduct of the individual soldier?

Selections from Rufus Dawes *The Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*. What is a hero?

Class 4 (two hours). Civil War 1864-1865

Watch Ken Burns {Selections from Episode 6 ["Valley of the Shadow of Death" (1864)] Grant; Lee; In the Wilderness; Move By the Left Flank and Episode 8 ["War Is All Hell"] Sherman's March; The Breath Of Emancipation; Died Of A Theory; Washington, March 4, 1865; I Want to See Richmond; Appomattox}

Selections from Rufus Dawes *The Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers*.

Rufus Dawes volunteered to serve for a three-year enlistment. In that time he went from a lieutenant to the commander of the Sixth Wisconsin, which was part of the Iron Brigade. He fought at Antietam, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness. His account is personal and revealing—after his three-year enlistment was up, he removed himself from service ... and felt that he was somehow less of a man for having done that. Discuss. What does it mean to be a volunteer ... with a limited enlistment?

Sherman's "March through Georgia" brought devastation to the South. Discuss the effect and the morality of making war on civilians.

Discuss the Confederate flag and the long-term effects of the Civil War.

Selections from the novels of Jeff Shaara. Discuss memory--individual and national

Music: Battle Hymn of the Republic and Dixie: what are the effects of these songs? What are the effects of war songs in general?

Class 5 (two hours). Vietnam: The Growing Involvement

Watch "The Ten Thousand Day War" {Selections from Episodes 7-12: 7) Westy's War; ... 10) The Trail; 11) Firepower; 12) The Village War}

Selections from *Some Even Volunteered*.

Who decides that a nation should go to war? What is the duty of the individual? Which is the better system, volunteer or draftee? What is the duty of the citizen in an undeclared war?

Music and War--

Glen Campbell *Galveston*; Country Joe and the Fish *I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag*; Pete Seeger *Waist Deep in the Big Muddy*; Joan Baez *Where Have All the Flowers Gone?*

What role did music play in your experience? What is its effect?

Class 6 (two hours). Vietnam: The Technological Edge

Watch "The Ten Thousand Day War" {Selections from Episodes 13) Air War and 14) Siege}

Selections from *Some Even Volunteered*.

Watch scenes from *Apocalypse Now* and *Hamburger Hill*.

Discussion of war and popular culture. Who determines the public view of the war? Discuss the media--television, print, movies, songs ...

What should the role of the media be?

How much access should the media be given?

Class 7 (two hours). Vietnam: Tet and the Loss of Public Support

Watch "The Ten Thousand Day War" {Selections from Episodes 15 Tet! And 16) Frontline America}

Selections from *Some Even Volunteered*.

Discuss the memoir in general. What are the difficulties in writing a personal account? What is the value? Historical, literary, and personal? How *true* can a memoir--or any depiction--of war be?

What is the effect on policy of having a volunteer army in Iraq and Afghanistan?

How valid is the comparison between Vietnam and Iraq?

Class 8 (one hour). Conclusion: War in the West

Watch "The Art of War" (This video applies the lessons of Sun Tzu to war in the west and compares Western attitudes to war to Chess and Eastern attitudes of war to Go, that is, that the West looks to fight battles and inflict casualties while the East seeks to occupy territory.)

Is there a western way of war?

Final open-ended discussion--the lessons learned. Unanswered questions.

(Every class will provide a significant block of time for the students to pose their own questions.

Each student will be expected to keep a journal, which can be shared or kept private, as the student prefers.)



Budget Form

Applicant Institution: *The University of Oklahoma*

Project Director: *Alfred S. Bradford*

Project Grant Period: *8/1/16 - 7/31/18*

[click for Budget Instructions](#)

	Computational Details/Notes	(notes)	Year 1	(notes)	Year 2	(notes)	Year 3	Project Total
			08/01/2016- 07/31/2017		08/01/2017- 07/31/2018			
1. Salaries & Wages								
Alfred S. Bradford, Project Dir.	Academic Year Salary: §(b) (6)	10%	§(b) (6)	10%	§(b) (6)	%		§(b) (6)
		%		%		%		\$0
2. Fringe Benefits								
Alfred S. Bradford, Project Dir.	42.6% of funded portion of salary		§(b) (6)		§(b) (6)			§(b) (6)
								\$0
3. Fees and honoraria for consultants and NEH Discussion Leaders								
Preparatory Program Discussion Leaders	§(b) (6) /day x 5 leaders	8 days	§(b) (6)					§(b) (6)
Discussion Leaders	§(b) (6) /day x 5 leaders	8 days			§(b) (6)			§(b) (6)
4. Travel Costs								
Alfred S. Bradford, Project Dir.	To Washington, DC for project directors meeting: airfare \$500, hotel \$400, per diem \$213, local	3 days traveling for 2-day meeting	\$1,263					\$1,263
								\$0
5. Supplies & Materials								

Materials/books for session and NEH discussion leaders (preparatory program)	6 @ \$263.60		\$1,582				\$1,582																																																																																
6. Services							\$0																																																																																
7. Other Costs							\$0																																																																																
8. Total Direct Costs	Per Year		\$30,223		\$27,378		\$0																																																																																
9. Total Indirect Costs																																																																																							
Indirect cost calculation: 36% Other Sponsored Activities rate negotiated with DHHS on 2/11/15. Base = \$57,601	Per Year		\$10,880		\$9,856		\$0																																																																																
10. Total Project Costs	(Direct and Indirect costs for entire project)						\$78,337																																																																																
11. Project Funding	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%;">a. Requested from NEH</td> <td style="width: 20%;"></td> <td style="width: 20%;"></td> <td style="width: 20%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">Outright:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$78,337</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">Federal Matching Funds:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">TOTAL REQUESTED FROM NEH:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$78,337</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b. Cost Sharing</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">Applicant's Contributions:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">Third-Party Contributions:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">Project Income:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">Other Federal Agencies:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">TOTAL COST SHARING:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$0</td> </tr> </table>							a. Requested from NEH									Outright:						\$78,337		Federal Matching Funds:						\$0		TOTAL REQUESTED FROM NEH:						\$78,337	b. Cost Sharing									Applicant's Contributions:						\$0		Third-Party Contributions:						\$0		Project Income:						\$0		Other Federal Agencies:						\$0		TOTAL COST SHARING:						\$0
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Alfred S. Bradford
John Saxon Chair of Ancient History

Department of History - 455 West Lindsey
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73019

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

University of Wisconsin, 1960-1964, B. A. with Honors
University of Chicago, 1964-1966, M. A., Classical Languages and Literature
1970-1973, Ph. D., Classical Languages and Literature
West Point June/July 1990, Seminar, Teaching Military History

ACADEMIC HONORS AND AWARDS

Phi Beta Kappa, 1964
Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, 1964/5
LaVerne Noyes Fellowship, University of Chicago, 1965/6, 1970/1-73
Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, School of Historical Studies ... 1990/91
University of Oklahoma Student Government Teaching Award, 1999/2000
University of Oklahoma Regents Teaching Award, 1999/2000
Chair of the Faculty Senate, Norman Campus, 2007/8,

EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

United States Army, 1967-1969: Instructor, Infantry School, Ft. Benning, Georgia;
{Various Duties in Vietnam as an Infantry Officer, 1/27th Infantry, 25th Infantry
Division--D-ros as a Captain)}
University of Wisconsin, 1973/4, Lecturer (half-time), Department of History
Univ. of Illinois at Chicago Circle, April-August 1977, Visiting Assistant Professor,
Dept. of History
Institute for Advanced Study, School of Historical Studies, 1977/8-1981/2, 1983/4,
Assistant to Professor Christian Habicht
Rutgers University (while at the Institute), twice Adjunct Instructor, Department of
Classics
University of Missouri-Columbia, 1982/3, 1984/5, Visit. Assist. Prof., Dept. of History
1985/6-1987/8, Assist. Prof., Dept. of History
1988/9- 1993/4, Associate Prof., Dept. of History
University of Oklahoma, 1994/5-2002/3, John Saxon Professor, Department of History
2003/4-present, John Saxon Chair, Department of History

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

*A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B. C., to the
Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A. D. 396, Vestigia* (C. H. Beck) Munich, 1977

Second Edition with an Introduction, Addenda and Corrigenda of Paul Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, Chicago, 1986

Philip II of Macedon, Praeger, New York, 1992

"The Duplicitous Spartan," *The Shadow of Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell and Stephen Hodkinson, pp. 59-85, London and New York, 1994

Some Even Volunteered: The First Wolfhounds in Vietnam, Praeger, Westport, CT, 1994
(Military Book Club main selection)

With Arrow, Sword, and Spear: A History of Warfare in the Ancient World, Praeger, Westport, CT, 2001

"Ancient Asymmetrical Coalitions," *Future Wars: Coalition Operations in Global Strategy*, ed. Dennis E. Showalter, pp. 9-17, Imprint Publications, Chicago, 2002

Flying the Black Flag: A Brief History of Piracy, Praeger, 2007

Leonidas and the Kings of Sparta: Mightiest Warriors, Fairest Kingdom, Praeger, 2011
(Choice Award—Notable Academic Book)

War: Antiquity and Its Legacy, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014
New York: Oxford UP, 2015)

ARTICLES

"The Synarchia of Roman Sparta," *Chiron* 10 (1980), 413-425

"A Spartan Career Restored: IG V 1. 36," *Ancient World* 13 (1986), 123-128

"Biographical Essay: Fordyce W. Mitchel," *Ancient World* 14 (1987), 2-4

"Gynaikokratoumenoi: Did Spartan Women Rule Spartan Men," *Ancient World* 14 (1987), 13-18

"The Date Hadrian was Eponymous Patronomos of Sparta," *Horos* 4 (1986), 71-74

"Plataea and the Soothsayer," *Ancient World* 23 (1992) 27-33

"Inscriptions of the Classical Period," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, (Eric M. Meyers, ed.), Vol. 3, pp. 162-165, Oxford, 1997.

Four Articles—*Banditry and Brigandage (Greek – 1500 words)*, *Heraclidae (500 words)*, *Laconia (500 words)*, *Peloponnesus (500 words)*—for the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford UP, 2009



The University of Oklahoma

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

September 9, 2015

National Endowment for the Humanities
"Dialogues on the Experience of War"

To Whom It May Concern:

I have been asked to write in support of the application of Professor Alfred S. Bradford for a National Endowment for the Humanities grant to create a new university course as part of the NEH initiative: 'Standing Together: The Humanities and the Experience of War'. I do so with great enthusiasm. Professor Bradford has had a long and stellar career as a teacher and scholar at the University of Oklahoma. Over the last two decades, he has served as the John Saxon Professor (and subsequently the John Saxon Chair) of Ancient History, teaching a wide range of courses in his chosen field—the world of ancient Greece and Rome--- and in military history. He has offered very popular courses on Archaic Greece, Classical Greece, Greek and Roman Civilizations, The History of Sparta, and Alexander the Great. But he has also offered classes on the Ancient Art of War, the Roman Army and Ancient Greece at War. He has a passionate commitment to military history. His teaching has twice received university wide awards and reviews from students have been consistently first rate.

Professor Bradford also has an outstanding record as a scholar. He has published widely and you will see that here too, his interest has focused largely on military history. In addition to works on warfare in the ancient world, he has published on the Vietnam War. I can't think of another historian with a wider range of knowledge and experience in this area. Professor Bradford is himself a veteran of the Vietnam War, where he served in the infantry. He has, therefore, a deep personal familiarity with the rigors and challenges of military service and with its repercussions. His course will be especially appropriate to the NEH program. Indeed, the course he is planning is called, very simply, 'The experience of War'. The decision to use both the American Civil war and the Vietnam War should prove revelatory, certainly regarding the experience of American soldiers.

He has consulted with veterans on this campus to determine what would work best for them and has consulted with the University's adviser to the Student/Veteran organization. He will also have as a teaching assistant a current graduate student at the University of Oklahoma, who is a veteran of the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts. I have every confidence that they will approach their duties with all of the sensitivity and thoughtfulness required. Professor Bradford is a man of sterling reputation and integrity. I have known him for over twenty years and have never heard anything but the highest praise for his abilities and his professionalism. He has, in fact, recently

completed a term as the Chair of the OU faculty Senate. I have absolute confidence in his ability to make this course a very special experience for those involved. I strongly urge you to award him this grant.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "James S. Hart Jr.", written over a light gray rectangular background.

James S. Hart Jr.
Hudson Professor and Chair
Department of History
University of Oklahoma



The UNIVERSITY of OKLAHOMA.
Office of the Senior Vice President and Provost

September 9, 2015

National Endowment for the Humanities
"Dialogues on the Experience of War"

To Whom it May Concern:

I am writing to offer my enthusiastic support for Professor Alfred S. Bradford, John Saxon Chair of Ancient History and his proposal. I know Professor Bradford personally, and I recommend him without reservation as the project director and discussion leader for the NEH program, "Dialogues on the Experience of War." He, himself, is a veteran, he has won two teaching awards at the University of Oklahoma, and he has an eminent record of publication. His last book, *War: Antiquity and its Legacy*, is, in effect, an examination of war and the humanities from the time of ancient Greece and Rome to the present.

This proposal is a wonderful fit for the culture and values of the University of Oklahoma. OU is a leader in public higher education in the United States. We are also a Carnegie I research university. We have several programs already in place to help veterans at the university, beginning with the Warrior-Scholar program to aid entering veterans in their transition from active duty to academics. We have a major grant proposal under consideration by an external funding agency that would help us create an envisioned "Veteran Student Success Center." We were proud last week to learn that US News had ranked us #5 nationally as an institution that is friendly for veterans!

OU is also proud of our commitment to the humanities and the importance of humanities education for all of our students. As a signal of that ongoing commitment, we have just launched a Humanities Forum, which, through grants, symposia, lecture series, workshops, and digital media platforms, will facilitate an environment of collaborative advancement for arts and humanities scholarship by OU faculty and students, and share that knowledge with communities of learners within and beyond the University.

The University of Oklahoma fully supports the implementation of the NEH program through the directorship of Professor Bradford and the proposed course, entitled "The Experience of War." If I can provide more information or be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Kyle Harper
Senior Vice President and Provost



The University of Oklahoma

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
Alfred S. Bradford
John Saxon Chair of Ancient History
e-mail: abradford@ou.edu

7 September 2015

To Whom It May Concern:

With this letter, I, Alfred S. Bradford, John Saxon Chair of Ancient History at the University of Oklahoma, Department of History, affirm that I am committed to participating in the NEH Program, "Dialogues on the Experience of War," to direct the preparatory program, and to teach the course, "The Experience of War."

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "A. S. Bradford", written in a cursive style.

Alfred S. Bradford