

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Chapter 1: A Dangerous New World, 1607-1689*

### *Chapter 2: The Colonial Wars, 1689-1763*

The literature on colonial military institutions and warfare continues to draw scholarly interest and those working in the field have benefitted from a solid foundation of earlier work, especially on the origins and development of colonial militias. Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia, 1558-1638* (University of Toronto Press, 1967), describes the English militia just prior to and during initial British colonization in North America. For the formation of a British professional army, see the first volume of John W Fortescue's classic *History of the British Army* (13 vols., Macmillan, 1899-1930). For opposition within England to a standing army, see Lois G. Schworer's "*No Standing Armies!*" *The Anti-army Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) and Caroline Robbin's *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Harvard University Press, 1961). Lawrence Delbert Cress, *Citizens in Arms* (University of North Carolina Press, 1982), is an excellent discussion of the ideological debate over the merits of militia and regulars; his book contains important material for the next three chapters as well. Andre Corvisier's *Armies and Societies in Europe, 1494-1789* (Indiana University Press, 1979) and H. W. Koch, *The Rise of Modern Warfare, 1618-1815* (Prentice-Hall, 1983), provide extended coverage of developments during the Age of Limited Warfare. Daniel R. Beaver's "Cultural Change, Technological Development and the Conduct of War in the Seventeenth Century," in *New Dimensions in Military History: An Anthology* (Presidio Press, 1975), edited by Russell F. Weigley, is insightful.

On the colonial militias, start with William L. Shea's *The Virginia Militia in the Seventeenth Century* (Louisiana State University Press, 1983) and two indispensable articles:

Louis Morton, "The Origins of American Military Policy," *Military Affairs* 22 (Summer 1958), and John Shy, "A New Look at Colonial Militia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 20 (April 1963). Part 13 of Daniel Boorstin's *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (Random House, 1958) and chapter 1 of Douglas Edward Leach's *Arms for Empire* (Macmillan, 1973) both offer astute insights into the militia. Fred W. Anderson explains the colonists' view of soldiering in "Why did Colonial New Englanders Make Bad Soldiers? Contractual Principles and Military Conduct during the Seven Years' War," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 38 (July 1981). A number of articles deal with the militia in various colonies. Among the most useful are Jack S. Radabaugh, "The Militia of Colonial Massachusetts," *Military Affairs* 18 (Spring 1954); T. H. Breen, "English Origins and New World Development: The Case of the Covenanted Militia in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," *Past & Present* 57 (November 1972); Ronald L. Boucher, "The Colonial Militia as a Social Institution: Salem, Massachusetts, 1764-1775," *Military Affairs* 37 (December 1973); Douglas Edward Leach, "The Military System of Plymouth Colony," *The New England Quarterly* 24 (September 1951); Morrison Sharp, "Leadership and Democracy in the Early New England System of Defense," *The American Historical Review* 50 (January 1945); Louis Dow Scisco, "Evolution of Colonial Militia in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35 (June 1940); E. Milton Wheeler, "Development and Organization of the North Carolina Militia," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 41 (Summer 1964); Darrett B. Rutman, "The Virginia Company and Its Military Regime," in *The Old Dominion* (University Press of Virginia, 1964), edited by Darrett B. Rutman; William L. Shea, "The First American Militia," *Military Affairs* 46 (February 1982). One aspect of the militia often overlooked is the formation of volunteer companies. The best essay on the subject is Frederick P. Todd, "Our National Guard:

An Introduction to Its History," *Military Affairs* 5 (Summer and Fall 1941); also see chapter 7 of Marcus Cunliffe's *Soldiers & Civilians* (Little, Brown, 1968).

Darrett Bruce Rutman's *A Militant New World, 1607-1640* (Arno, 1979) and John E. Ferling's *A Wilderness of Miseries* (Greenwood, 1980) both emphasize the dangerous situation confronting the first colonists, and their military preparations. *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge University Press, 1980) by Bernard W. Sheehan explores the dual image whites had of Indians and the impact of the 1622 attack on the colonists' attitude toward the natives. Three surveys of the Indian wars between 1622 and 1676 are David Horowitz, *The First Frontier* (Simon & Schuster, 1978); chapter 2 of Leach's *Arms for Empire* and the first two chapters of *The American Heritage History of the Indian Wars* (American Heritage, 1977), written by Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn. John K. Mahon's "Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare, 1676-1794," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45 (September 1958), maintains that the only tactic used by Indians was surprise and that they had no concept of strategy. Patrick M. Malone's "Changing Military Technology Among the Indians of Southern New England, 1600-1677," *American Quarterly* 25 (March 1973), discusses the Indians' adaptation to firearms technology. Richard R. Johnson's "The Search for a Usable Indian: An Aspect of the Defense of Colonial New England," *The Journal of American History* 44 (December 1977), investigates the use of Indian allies by the English. For coverage of the First and Second Tidewater Wars, see William S. Powell, "Aftermath of the Massacre: The First Indian War, 1622-1632," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 46 (January 1958), and William L. Shea, "Virginia at War, 1644-1646," *Military Affairs* 41 (October 1977). Alden T. Vaughan covers the Pequot War within its broad historical perspective in *New England Frontier*, rev. ed. (Norton, 1979). However, Vaughan's rather

benign view of the Puritans at war should be compared with the much harsher one presented in Francis Jennings's *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (University of North Carolina Press [1975]). The definitive secondary account of King Philip's War is Douglas Edward Leach's *Flintlock and Tomahawk* (Macmillan, 1958). For Bacon's Rebellion two studies provide excellent treatment: Wilcomb E. Washburn's *The Governor and the Rebel* (W. W. Norton, 1972, reprint, 1957) and James D. Rice, *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Early America* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

The best single volume covering the colonial wars is Douglas Edward Leach's magnificently written *Arms for Empire* (Macmillan, 1973). Leach's *The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763* (Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1966) emphasizes the interdependence among the fur trade, land speculation, Indians, and the wars. *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762* (University of Chicago Press, 1964) by Howard H. Peckham is brief but adequate. William Pencak's *War, Politics, & Revolution in Provincial Massachusetts* (Northeastern University Press, 1981) demonstrates the important impact war had on colonial society. For those who prefer detailed coverage, Francis Parkman's *France and England in North America* (9 vols., Little, Brown, 1865-1892) is dramatically written, though sparse on analysis. Lawrence H. Gipson's monumental *The British Empire Before the American Revolution* (15 vols., Knopf, 1936-1970) also contains an excellent account of the colonial wars. For the tangled diplomacy involving France and England, their European allies, and America, see Max Savelle, *The Origins of American Diplomacy* (Macmillan, 1967); John B. Wolf, *The Emergence of the Great Powers, 1685-1715* (Harper & Row, 1951); and Walter L. Dorn, *Competition for Empire, 1740-1763* (Harper & Row, 1940).

*Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian* (University of Utah Press, 1969), edited by Howard H. Peckham and Charles Gibson, contains essays summarizing English, French, Spanish, and Dutch attitudes. Wilbur R. Jacob's *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts* (University of Nebraska Press, *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast* (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), edited by Bruce G. Trigger, contains superb information on the Iroquois and other Indians of the Northeast. Peter Silver examines the impact of the pervasive fear of Indian attacks in *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (W.W. Norton, 2007). Also worthwhile are Allen W Trelease's *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Cornell University Press, 1960) and George T. Hunt's *The Wars of the Iroquois* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1940). David H. Corkran has studied two important southern tribes in *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1967) and *The Cherokee Frontier* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

Five books provide good coverage of the three-sided competition in the south: W Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763* (University of New Mexico Press, 1979); J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (University of Georgia Press, 1971); Verner W Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (University of Michigan Press, 1929); David H. Corkran, *The Carolina Frontier* (University of South Carolina Press, 1970); and Patricia Dillon Woods, *French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762* (UMI Research Press, 1980).

To understand the colonial wars, knowledge of Canada is essential. Three books by W J. Eccles are superb: *Frontenac* (McClelland and Stewart, 1959); *Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701* (McClelland and Stewart, 1964); and *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (Holt, Rinehart

and Winston, 1969). Gustave Lanctot's *A History of Canada* (3 vols., Harvard University Press, 1963-1965) is also good, though laudatory.

Walker's fiasco can be followed in Gerald S. Graham, ed., *The Walker Expedition to Quebec, 1711* (printed for the Navy Records Society, 1953). The Cartagena episode is explored in "The War of Jenkins' Ear" by Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., in Darrett B. Rutman, ed., *The Old Dominion* (University Press of Virginia, 1964); "Americanism and Jenkins' Ear," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 37 (June 1950), by Albert Harkness, Jr.; and *The Diplomatic History of Georgia: A Study of the Epoch of Jenkins' Ear* (University of North Carolina Press, 1936) by John Tate Lanning. The capture of Louisbourg in 1745 is the subject of G. A. Rawlyk's *Yankees at Louisbourg* (University of Maine Press, 1967). *William Shirley* (University of North Carolina Press, 1961) by John A. Schutz is an able biography of this important man.

*Canada: The War of the Conquest* (Oxford University Press, 1969) by Guy Fregault, translated by Margaret M. Cameron, is a fine interpretative history of the Great War for Empire. George F. G. Stanley's *New France: The Last Phase, 1744-1760* (McClelland and Stewart, 1968) is also good. *Braddock at the Monongahela* (University of Pittsburg Press, 1977) by Paul E. Kopperman is a shrewd analysis of Braddock's defeat. As befitting the crucial battle of the war, Wolfe's victory at Quebec has been thoroughly researched. C. P. Stacey's *Quebec, 1759* (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1959) is the best book on the subject. O. A. Sherrard's *Lord Chatham: Pitt and the Seven Years' War* (Garden City Press, 1955) recounts Pitt's rise to power and conduct of the war. Gerald S. Graham's *Empire of the North Atlantic: The Maritime Struggle for North America*, 2d ed. (University of Toronto Press, 1958) highlights the Royal Navy's role in the colonial wars. Stanley Pargellis has written a perceptive account of *Lord Loudoun in North America* (Yale University Press, 1933). Peter E. Russell's "Redcoats in the Wilderness: British

Officers and Irregular Warfare in Europe and America, 1740 to 1760," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d series, 35 (October 1978), discusses adaptations made by the British army. Alan Rogers's *Empire and Liberty: American Resistance to British Authority, 1755-1763* (University of California Press, 1974) reveals the unhappy relationship between colonists and British regulars.

Recent scholarship has enhanced knowledge about Indian-white relations in peace and war, about colonial military thought and institutions, and about the numerous wars that afflicted North America before 1763. For a survey of the events encompassed in these two chapters, see John Ferling, *Struggle for a Continent: The Wars of Early America* (Harlan Davidson, 1993). John Morgan Dederer's *War in America to 1775: Before Yankee Doodle* (New York University Press, 1990) details the *ideas* that colonial Americans had about war and the military's role in society, explains where these ideas originated and how they evolved, and emphasizes that the colonists developed a unique military identity that helped forge their stand against Britain in 1775. Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (Oxford, 1994) is also essential reading. In another example of intellectual military history, Marie L. Ahearn, *The Rhetoric of War: Training Day, the Militia, and the Military Sermon* (Greenwood, 1989) investigates the link between New England's aggressiveness and the militant religious rhetoric that suffused its military activity. The history of this era from the Native American perspective can be found in Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Harvard University Press, 2003). Harold E. Selesky's *War and Society in Colonial Connecticut* (Yale University Press, 1990) links that colony's ability and willingness to wage war to the proximity and nature of its enemies, to its economic and population growth, and to fears of British interference in Connecticut's domestic affairs. Good localized studies include Richard I.

Melvoin, *New England Outpost: War and Society in Colonial Frontier Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Norton, 1989) and *A Rabble in Arms: Massachusetts Towns and Militiamen during King Philip's War* (New York University Press, 2009) by Kyle F. Zelner. Wayne E. Lee, *Barbarians & Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare 1500-1865* (Oxford, 2011) provides insights into the origins and evolution of warfare in America from the antecedents in England's wars in Ireland to the American Civil War.

In regard to Indian-white affairs, the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn (Smithsonian Institution, 1988) is a superb collection of essays, and James Axtell's *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford University Press, 1985) is a fine overview. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) and Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge University Press, 1991) discuss the complex interaction among nativists, accommodationists, the French, the British, and the Americans. *The Skulking War of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians* (Madison Books, 1991) by Patrick M. Malone and "The Collision of Military Cultures in Seventeenth-Century New England" by Adam J. Hirsch in *The Journal of American History* 74 (March 1988) explain the interchange between European and Indian methods of warfare. Also essential reading is John Grenier, *The First War of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814* (Cambridge, 2005), which examines the early development of a distinct American "way of war" founded on extreme brutality against Native peoples.

Studies of Indian-European relations in the Northeast are Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenake-Euramerican Relations*



(University of California Press, 1984); Colin G. Galloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and Survival of an Indian People* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, eds., *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); and Alfred Cave, *The Pequot War* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1996). King Philip's War receives attention in Russell Bourne, *The Red Kings Rebellion: Racial Politics in New England, 1675-1678* (Oxford University Press, 1990); Michael J. Puglisi, *Puritans Besieged: The Legacies of King Philip's War in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (University Press of America, 1991); and Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (Knopf, 1998) is a thought-provoking account of the important impact this brutal conflict had on the self-image of New England colonists in contrast to their English cousins. Stephen Saunders Webb's *1676: The End of American Independence* (Knopf, 1984) contains a lengthy account of Bacon's Rebellion and the emergence of what he calls the "Anglo-Iroquoian Empire." Because of their paramount role in the colonial era, the Iroquois remain of interest to scholars; see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754* (Wayne State University Press, 1983); and Francis Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (Norton, 1984).

*Struggle for a Continent: The Wars of Early America* (Harlan Davidson, 1993) by John Ferling provides a useful overview of early colonial warfare while Guy Chet, *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast and Rustic*

*Warriors: Warfare and the Provincial Soldier on the New England Frontier* (New York University Press, 2011) by Steven C. Eames examine how northeastern colonists adapted their fighting methods to their surroundings and enemies but remained rooted in their own cultural attributes and European practices. For an examination of the ways in which warfare along the northern frontier with Canada before the Revolution shaped how Americans fought, see Eliot A. Cohen, *Conquered into Liberty: Two Centuries of Battles Along the Great Warpath that Made the American Way of War* (Free Press, 2011). Indians wars abounded before 1763, as is shown in John Oliphant, *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756-1763* (Louisiana State University Press, 2001); William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (University of Nebraska Press, 2010). Carl E. Swanson, *Predators and Prizes: American Privateering and Imperial Warfare, 1739-1748* (University of South Carolina Press, 1991), analyzes one of the colonial wars' least-studied aspects.

Of all the colonial wars, the French and Indian War has received the most attention. The best and most up-to-date remains Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (Knopf, 2000) while his more concise *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War* (Viking, 2005) was companion volume to a 2006 documentary on public television of the same name. In *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the Seven Years' War in America* (Norton, 1988), Francis Jennings describes the war's causes and consequences, explains the Indians' crucial role as the separate tribes astutely pursued their own interests, and emphasizes that *all* the combatants engaged in deliberate terror. Stephen Brumwell's *White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and in Colonial America* (DeCapo, 2005) vividly depicts one such bloody event. Fred Anderson's *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War*

(University of North Carolina, 1984) and James Titus's *The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia* (University of South Carolina Press, 1991) demonstrate how diverse the colonial military experience was. Provincial forces raised by Massachusetts, which was deeply involved in the war, broadly reflected the society from which they came, with vagrants and miscreants composing only a small minority of the soldiery. But in Virginia, which was far removed from the war's main theaters after 1755 and where most of the population had little enthusiasm for the war, soldiers were overwhelming from the lower class. Whether soldiers came from the middle or lower class, however, Anderson and Titus agree on the voluntary nature of colonial expeditionary forces: men served willingly, not because they were coerced. Some colonists went the other way, as Thomas M. Truxes examines in *Defying the Empire: Trading with the Enemy in Colonial New York* (Yale University Press, 2008). Concerning the British Army's role in America during the war, see Michael N. McConnell, *Army and Empire: British Soldiers on the American Frontier, 1758-1775* (University of Nebraska Press, 2004) and Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763* (Cambridge, 2001). Alexander V. Campbell takes a broad look at a British regiment raised for service in the American colonies in *The Royal American Regiment: An Atlantic Microcosm, 1755-1772* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2010). A young Virginia militia officer named George Washington served with British forces and had his first taste of war in the Ohio Country in 1754 and later witnessed "Braddock's Defeat" as a volunteer aide to the British commander. These experiences are detailed in David A. Clary, *George Washington's First War: His Early Military Adventures* (Simon & Schuster, 2011).

Various British operations during the war and conflicts that erupted after the British victory after are covered in Douglas R. Cubbison, *The British Defeat of the French in*

*Pennsylvania, 1758: A Military History of the Forbes Campaign Against Fort Duquesne* (McFarland, 2010); Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (Oxford University Press, 1990), which discusses the Battle of Lake George, the building of Fort William Henry, its capture by the French, and the subsequent "massacre" of the English prisoners by France's Indian allies; Hugh Boscawen, *The Capture of Louisbourg, 1758* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); and Glenn F. William, *Dunmore's War: The Last Conflict of America's Colonial Era* (Westholme, 2012); and David Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2005). Douglas Edward Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763* (University of North Carolina Press, 1986), is an excellent analysis of the rift in British-American relations that the colonial wars fostered.