

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter 4: Preserving the New Republic's Independence, 1783-1815

Excellent surveys of the three rather distinct political and military eras covered in this chapter are Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States During the Confederation* (Knopf, 1950); John C. Miller, *The Federalist Era* (Harper & Brothers, 1960); Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788-1800* (Oxford University Press, 1993); and Marshall Smelser, *The Democratic Republic, 1801-1815* (Waveland Press, 1994 [1968]). Donald R. Hickey, "Federalist Defense Policy in the Age of Jefferson, 1801-1812," *Military Affairs* 45 (April 1981) remains the best concise treatment of Federalist policy. George Washington remains central to much of this period; see the works cited in the selected bibliography for Chapter Three. John C. Miller's *Alexander Hamilton* (Harper & Brothers, 1959) is an excellent biography and Ron Chernow has provided a more updated look in *Alexander Hamilton* (Penguin Press, 2004). *The Presidency of John Adams* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957) by Stephen G. Kurtz and *The Adams Federalists* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1953) by Manning J. Dauer devote some attention to military matters. Dumas Malone's *Jefferson and His Time* (6 vols., Little, Brown, 1948-1981) and Irving Brant's *James Madison* (6 vols., Bobbs-Merrill, 1941-1961) provide detailed coverage.

Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment* (Free Press, 1975) is a brilliant analysis, though Karl-Friedrich Walling challenges Kohn's (and others) depiction of Alexander Hamilton as an unabashed militarist in *Republican Empire: Alexander Hamilton on War and Free Government* (University Press of Kansas, 1999).

An insightful survey of the entire period is Don Higginbotham's "The Debate over National

Military Institutions: An Issue Slowly Resolved, 1775-1815," in *The American Revolution* (Northeastern University Press, 1979), edited by William M. Fowler, Jr., and Wallace Coyle. See also Dave R. Palmer, *1794: America, Its Army, and the Birth of the Nation* (Presidio Press, 1994) for the army's shaping influence during this period. The impact of a decentralized federal system and regionalism upon American warmaking in this period and beyond, see Scott A. Silverstone, *Divided Union: The Politics of War in the Early Republic* (Cornell University Press, 2004).

For the numerous dangers confronting the new nation after the shooting stopped but the negotiating continued, see *American Crisis: George Washington and the Dangerous Two Years After Yorktown, 1781-1783* (Walker & Co., 2011) by William M. Fowler, Jr. and Thomas Fleming, *The Perils of Peace: America's Struggle for Survival after Yorktown* (Smithsonian, 2007). Three articles in *The William and Mary Quarterly* discuss the controversial Newburgh Conspiracy: "The Inside History of the Newburgh Conspiracy: America and the Coup d'Etat," 3d series, 27 (April, 1970), by Richard H. Kohn; "Horatio Gates at Newburgh, 1783: A Misunderstood Role," 3d series, 29 (January 1972), by Paul David Nelson, with a "Rebuttal" by Richard H. Kohn; and "The Newburgh Conspiracy Reconsidered," 3d series, 31 (April 1974), by C. Edward Skeen, with a "Rebuttal" by Richard H. Kohn. Minor Myers, Jr., describes the Society of the Cincinnati in *Liberty Without Anarchy: A History of the Society of the Cincinnati* (University Press of Virginia, 1983). William H. Guthman details the birth of the army between 1784 and 1791 in *March to Massacre* (McGraw-Hill, 1975). David P. Szatmary, *Shays' Rebellion* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1980) and Leonard L. Richards, *Shays' Rebellion: The American Revolution's Final Battle* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002) describe that perilous moment in the young republic's life. John K. Mahon discusses *The American Militia: Decade of Decision, 1789-1800* (University of Florida Press, 1960) and Harry

M. Ward explores the history of *The Department of War, 1781-1795* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962). Local and community studies can also provide excellent insights into military institutions, warfare, and American society, an excellent example of which is Harry S. Laver, *Citizens More Than Soldiers: The Kentucky Militia and Society in the Early Republic* (University of Nebraska Press, 2007). Saul Cornell analyzes the intent of the Second Amendment with regard to state militias in “*A Well-Regulated Militia*”: *The Founding Fathers and the Origins of Gun Control in America* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

Leland D. Baldwin *Whiskey Rebels*, rev. ed. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962); Steven R. Boyd, ed., *The Whiskey Rebellion: Past and Present Perspectives* (Greenwood, 1985); and Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 1986) remain the best accounts of this challenge to federal authority. Another important though neglected domestic eruption in the 1790s is covered in Paul Douglas Newman, *Fries's Rebellion: The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Bradford Perkins wrote three books dealing with Anglo-American relations from Jay's Treaty through the early 1820s: *The First Rapprochement* (University of California Press, 1955); *Prologue to War* (University of California Press, 1961); and *Castlereagh and Adams* (University of California Press, 1964). The making of foreign policy after the Revolution is detailed in Norman Graebner, Richard Dean Burns, and Joseph M. Siracusa, *Foreign Affairs and the Founding Fathers: From Confederation to Constitution* (Praeger, 2011).

For the Indian Wars in the Old Northwest, see R. Douglas Hurt, *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720-1830* (Indiana University Press, 1998); Wiley Sword, *President Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790-1795* (University

of Oklahoma Press, 1985) and Leroy V. Eid, "American Indian Military Leadership: St. Clair's 1791 Defeat," *The Journal of Military History* (January 1993). Treatments of Anthony Wayne and the Legion of the United States include *Anthony Wayne: A Name in Arms* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), edited by Richard C. Knopf and especially the more recent and definitive *Bayonets in the Wilderness: Anthony Wayne's Legion in the Old Northwest* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2004) by Alan D. Gaff. *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer: William Henry Harrison and the Origins of American Indian Policy* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2007) by Robert M. Owens examines "Old Tippecanoe's" influence on Indian affairs in the Old Northwest. For Indian perspectives, see Colin Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (Viking, 2007); John Sugden, *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees* (University of Nebraska Press, 2003); and R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Longman, 2006).

On the Navy's reestablishment and early history, see Marshall Smelser, *The Congress Founds the Navy* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), and Craig L. Symonds, *Navalists and Antinavalists* (University of Delaware Press, 1980). Other useful surveys of the early period are George C. Daughan, *If By Sea: The Forging of the American Navy from the Revolution to the War of 1812* (Basic Books, 2008), and Ian W. Toll, *Six Frigates: The Epic History of the Founding of the U.S. Navy* (W.W. Norton, 2006). *The Early Republic and the Sea: Essays on the Naval and Maritime History of the Early United States* (Brassey's, 2001), edited by William S. Dudley and Michael J. Crawford, offers insights into this broad topic. For the coastal fortifications program, see Emanuel Raymond Lewis, *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States* (Smithsonian Institution, 1970). Knowledge of early American naval affairs has been much enhanced by numerous fine monographs. Providing splendid (though quite different) overviews are William M. Fowler, Jr., *Jack Tars and Commodores: The American Navy, 1783-*

1815 (Houghton Mifflin, 1984) and Christopher McKee, *A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession: The Creation of the U.S. Naval Officer Corps, 1794-1815* (Naval Institute Press, 1991). The latter demonstrates that both Federalists and Republicans made vital contributions to the Navy, and that sailors were not conscript-prisoners trapped in a brutal service but were instead willing volunteers. Spencer Tucker, *Arming the Fleet: U.S. Navy Ordnance in the Muzzle-Loading Era* (Naval Institute Press, 1989) is a detailed study that extends through the Civil War. For this era's naval leaders, see James C. Bradford, ed., *Command Under Sail: Makers of the American Naval Tradition, 1775-1850* (Naval Institute Press, 1985); Linda M. Maloney, *The Captain from Connecticut: The Life and Naval Times of Isaac Hull* (Northeastern University Press, 1986); and David F. Long, *Sailor-Diplomat: A Biography of Commodore James Biddle, 1783-1848* (Northeastern University Press, 1983).

Michael A. Palmer, *Stoddert's War: Naval Operations During the Quasi-War with France, 1798-1801* (University of South Carolina Press, 1987) is a classic account of the limited war with the United States' former ally but the more dated Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War* (Scribner, 1966) and Gardner W. Allen, *Our Naval War with France* (Houghton Mifflin, 1909), remain useful.

West Point's bicentennial in 2002 spurred new works on its storied past, including Theodore J. Crackel, *West Point: A Bicentennial History* (University Press of Kansas, 2002) and Robert M.S. McDonald, *Thomas Jefferson's Military Academy: Founding West Point* (University of Virginia Press, 2004). Early essays such as Crackel's "The Founding of West Point: Jefferson and the Politics of Security," *Armed Forces and Society* 7 (Summer 1981), and "Jefferson, Politics, and the Army: An Examination of the Military Peace Establishment Act of 1802," *Journal of the Early Republic* 2 (Spring 1982), emphasize Jefferson's effort to

"Republicanize" the army while his *Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment, 1801-1809* (New York University Press, 1987) and Spencer C. Tucker's *The Jeffersonian Gunboat Navy* (University of South Carolina Press, 1993) supersede all previous work on those aspects of the Jeffersonian military establishment.

American military ventures in the Mediterranean and especially in North Africa are covered in Frank Lambert, *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World* (Hill & Wang, 2007); Frederick C. Leiner, *The End of Barbary Terror: America's 1815 War Against the Pirates of North Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2007); and Joseph Wheelan, *Jefferson's War: America's First War on Terror* (PublicAffairs, 2004). James A. Field, Jr., puts the Tripolitan War in broad historical context in *America and the Mediterranean World* (Princeton University Press, 1969), while Glenn Tucker, *Dawn Like Thunder* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), provides detailed coverage of the nation's squabbles with the North Africans. *Edward Preble: A Naval Biography, 1761-1807* (Naval Institute Press, 1972) by Christopher McKee portrays the life of that aggressive commander. A. B. C. Whipple, *To the Shores of Tripoli: The Birth of the U.S. Navy and Marines* (William Morrow, 1991) is a popular account of Jefferson's undeclared war in North Africa.

The 200th anniversary of the War of 1812 has directed some attention toward this less well-known but truly important conflict. However, some older works remain essential reading, especially Reginald Horsman's *The Causes of the War of 1812* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), which surveys the reasons why the United States and England went to war. The best single volume study of the war remains the thoroughly researched and superbly written *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict, Bicentennial Edition* (University of Illinois Press, 2012) by Donald R. Hickey, which is a revised and updated edition of his 1989 classic. Hickey also

challenges the war's lore in *Don't Give Up the Ship!: Myths of the War of 1812* (University of Illinois Press, 2006). Also good is J.C.A. Stagg, *The War of 1812: Conflict for a Continent* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). For a view of the War of 1812 in the international context, see Jeremy Black, *The War of 1812 in the Age of Napoleon* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009). Earlier overviews of the war have also held up well, including Harry L. Coles, *The War of 1812* (University of Chicago Press, 1965); J. Mackay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812* (University of Toronto Press, 1966); Reginald Horsman, *The War of 1812* (Knopf, 1969); John K. Mahon, *The War of 1812* (University of Florida Press, 1972); J. C.A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War* (Princeton University Press, 1983); and George F. G. Stanley's *The War of 1812: Land Operations* (Macmillan of Canada, 1983). The unpreparedness of state militias mobilized for the war is well-covered in C. Edward Skeen, *Citizen-Soldiers in the War of 1812* (University Press of Kentucky, 1999). Thomas D. Clark and John D. W. Guice put the war in its broad historical context in *Frontiers in Conflict: The Old Southwest, 1795-1830* (University of New Mexico Press, 1989). Robert Allen Rutland provides an excellent account of *The Presidency of James Madison* (University Press of Kansas, 1990).

The Indian conflicts that erupted on the frontier has received attention in works by Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815* (University Presses of Florida, 1981); Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814* (University of Alabama Press, 2006); and Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (Oxford University Press, 2011). Both the Creek War (1813-1814) and the First Seminole War (1818) are covered in David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire* (Stackpole Books, 1996). Joel W. Martin

examines the Creek War from the Indians' perspective in *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogeese Struggle for a New World* (Beacon Press, 1991) and Alan Taylor sees the conflict as *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, & Indian Allies* (Knopf, 2010). James G. Cusick examines American imperial ambitions in the South before the war in *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (University Press of Florida, 2003).

The naval war of 1812 has generated great interest but two classic accounts written by famous Americans remain useful: Captain A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812* (2 vols., Little, Brown, 1905), and Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812* (Haskell House, 1968 [1882]). A spate of new books have broadened and deepened our understanding of the sea war, including Stephen Budiansky, *Perilous Fight: America's Intrepid War with Britain on the High Seas, 1812-1815* (Knopf, 2011); George C. Daughan, *1812: The Navy's War* (Basic Books, 2011); and Kevin D. McCranie, *Utmost Gallantry: The U.S. and Royal Navies at Sea in the War of 1812* (Naval Institute Press, 2011). Biographies of important U.S. naval officers have also added to the story. Especially useful are two works by David Curtis Skaggs, *Thomas MacDonough: Master of Command in the Early U.S. Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 2002) and *Oliver Hazard Perry: Honor, Courage, and Patriotism in the Early U.S. Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 2006), as well as *Stephen Decatur: A Life Most Bold and Daring* (Naval Institute Press, 2004) by Spencer Tucker. Claude Berube and John Rodgaard examine the long and distinguished career of an important naval figure in the War of 1812 in *A Call to the Sea: Captain Charles Stuart of the USS Constitution* (Potomac Books, 2005). Wade G. Dudley examines the British blockade in *Splintering the Wooden Wall: The British Blockade of the*

United States, 1812-1815 (Naval Institute Press, 2003) and argues that it was not the “wooden wall” of Mahan’s earlier depiction.

Key northern battles and campaigns have found an able chronicler in Donald E. Graves, one of the leading military historians of this theater of the war. His works include *Red Coats & Grey Jackets: The Battle of the Chippewa, 5 July 1814* (Dundern Press, 1996); *Where Right and Glory Lead! The Battle of Lundy’s Lane, 1814* (Robin Brass, 1997); and *Field of Glory: The Battle of Chrysler’s Farm* (Robin Brass, 1999). Richard V. Barbuto, *Niagara 1814: America Invades Canada* (University Press of Kansas, 2000) offers a fine overview of the Niagara campaign and places the action within the war’s broader context. Other battle and campaign histories include Robert Malcomson, *A Very Brilliant Affair: The Battle of Queenston Heights, 1812* (Naval Institute Press, 2003); Ann Durkin Keating, *Rising Up From Indian Country: The Battle of Fort Dearborn and the Birth of Chicago* (University of Chicago Press, 2012); and *A Wampum Denied: Proctor’s War of 1812* (Carleton University Press, 2011) by Sandy Antal. The war on the Great Lakes is detailed in David Curtis Skaggs and Gerard T. Althoff, *A Signal Victory: The Lake Erie Campaign, 1812-1813* (Naval Institute Press, 1997) and *Fighting Sail on Lake Huron and Georgian Bay: The War of 1812 and Its Aftermath* (Naval Institute Press, 2002) by Barry Gough.

The war's most famous campaigns are the British offensives into Chesapeake Bay and at New Orleans. For the former consult Charles G. Muller, *The Darkest Day: The Washington-Baltimore Campaign During the War of 1812* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Joseph A. Whitehorne, *The Battle for Baltimore, 1814* (Nautical & Aviation Publishing, 1997); Anthony S. Pitch, *The Burning of Washington: The British Invasion of 1814* (Naval Institute Press, 2000); and Walter Lord, *The Dawn’s Early Light* (Norton, 1972). *The Battle of New Orleans: Andrew*

Jackson and America's First Military Victory (Viking, 1999) by preeminent Jackson scholar Robert V. Remini is now a standard work on the topic but Charles B. Brook's *The Siege of New Orleans* (University of Washington Press, 1961) remains useful. For a broader view of the campaign, see Benton Rain Patterson, *The Generals: Andrew Jackson, Sir Edward Pakenham, and the Road to the Battle of New Orleans* (New York University Press, 2005). For the war's most interesting personality, see Robert V. Remini's *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire* (Harper & Row, 1977), which is the first volume of his classic three-volume biography. The general has also received excellent treatment at the hands of recent biographers, especially in *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times* (Doubleday, 2005) by H.W. Brands.

For this era's international context, see Daniel G. Lang, *Foreign Policy in the Early Republic: The Law of Nations and the Balance of Power* (Louisiana State University Press, 1985); Reginald Horsman, *The Diplomacy of the New Republic, 1776-1815* (Harlan Davidson, 1985); and Stagg, J. C. A. *Borderlines in Borderlands: James Madison and the Spanish-American Frontier, 1776-1821*. (Yale University Press, 2009). Reginald C. Stuart's *War and American Thought From the Revolution to the Monroe Doctrine* (Kent State University Press, 1982) argues that a "limited-war mentality" guided American policymakers during this era.