

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter 8: From Postwar Demobilization Toward Great Power Status, 1865-1898

For the Reconstruction era, a reader should start with Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction* (Harper Perennial, 1990), which is an abridged version of his earlier classic history of Reconstruction. Recent works have also added to our understanding of Reconstruction fears, violence, and terrorism, and the problems faced in controlling them; see especially Mark Wahlgren Summers, *A Dangerous Stir: Fear, Paranoia, and the Making of Reconstruction* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009) and Stephen Budiansky, *The Bloody Shirt: Terror after the Civil War* (Viking, 2008). The following are vital for understanding the Army's role in Reconstruction: James E. Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Louisiana State University Press, 1967); William L. Richter's *The Army in Texas during Reconstruction, 1865-1870* (Texas A & M University Press, 1987); Joseph G. Dawson III, *Army Generals and Reconstruction: Louisiana, 1862-1877* (Louisiana State University Press, 1982); William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869-1879* (Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Otis A. Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* (University of Texas Press, 1957); and Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (Harper & Row, 1971).

Brooks D. Simpson's *Let Us Have Peace: Ulysses S. Grant and the Politics of War and Reconstruction, 1861-1868* (University of North Carolina Press, 1991) demonstrates that Grant was an astute soldier-politician from the moment he donned a uniform in 1861. The difficulties Grant confronted after he became president are examined in George C. Rable's *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (University of Georgia Press,

1984). For important studies of the Army combatting white Southern resistance and violence in various states of the former Confederacy, see Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (University of South Carolina Press, 1996) and James M. Smallwood, Barry A. Crouch, and Larry Peacock, *Murder and Mayhem: The War of Reconstruction in Texas* (Texas A&M University Press, 2003). Ben H. Severance examines the role of one state militia in enforcing postwar policy in *Tennessee's Radical Army: The State Guard and Its Role in Reconstruction, 1867-1869* (University of Tennessee Press, 2005). In a classic work, Jerry M. Cooper discusses the Army's role in labor disputes in *The Army and Civil Disorder* (Greenwood, 1980) and Charles A. Byer looks broadly at *Civil-Military Relations on the Frontier and Beyond, 1865-1917* (Praeger, 2006).

The Indian wars and the post-Civil War Army continue to attract considerable attention. Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn produced the best survey of the conflict in *American Heritage History of the Indian Wars* (Houghton-Mifflin, 2002) while Charles M. Robinson III, *The Plains Wars, 1757-1900* (Routledge, 2003) expands the time period and scope of the conflict to show that United States was but one of many powers that sought dominance on the Plains after the late 18th century. The best study of the post-Civil War Army and the Indian wars remains Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (Macmillan, 1973), especially when accompanied by his *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890* (University of New Mexico Press, 1984). Other essential surveys include two by Robert Wooster: *The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903* (Yale University Press, 1988) and *The American Military Frontiers: The United States Army in the West, 1783-1900* (University of New Mexico Press, 2009). Philip Weeks, *Farewell, My Nation: The American Indian and the United States, 1820-1890* (Harlan Davidson, 1990) is also quite good

on the subject. Edward M. Coffman's *The Old Army* paints a fascinating portrait of the postbellum Army and *Class and Race in the Frontier Army: Military Life in the West* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009) by Kevin Adams examines the influence of class, race, and ethnicity on the life of soldiers. *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians* (University of Arizona Press, 1990) by Sherry L. Smith examines in-depth this fascinating topic. For an excellent analysis of the Army's experience with irregular warfare on the Plains, see especially chapter three in Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations, 1860-1941* (Center of Military History, 2001).

Books on various U.S. Army posts abound. Douglas C. McChristian has covered two important frontier strongholds in *Fort Laramie: Military Bastion of the High Plains* (Arthur H. Clark, 2009) and *Fort Bowie, Arizona: Combat Post of the Southwest, 1858-1894* (Oklahoma University Press, 2005). Two books examine another fort with a storied past: Frank N. Schubert, *Outpost of the Sioux Wars: A History of Fort Robinson* (Bison Books, 1993) and Thomas R. Buecker, *Fort Robinson and the American West, 1874-1899* (Nebraska State Historical Society, 1999), which is an excellent account of Army life on the frontier. Jerome A. Greene chronicles *Fort Randall on the Missouri, 1856-1892* (South Dakota State Historical Press, 2005) while Jack Stokes Ballard looks at the officer instrumental in the construction of many of these outposts in *Commander and Builder of Western Forts: The Life and Times of Major General Henry C. Merriam* (Texas A&M University Press, 2012). In *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D.A. Russell, 1849-1912* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), Alison K. Hoagland argues that these forts were unnecessary because Indians rarely attacked them and the dearth of necessary building supplies made them impractical.

Supplying the Army is the topic of *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885* (University of New Mexico Press, 1989) by Darlis A. Miller. The economic and social impact on nearby communities receives attention in William A. Dobak, *Fort Riley and Its Neighbors: Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853-1995* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Thomas Ty Smith, *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy, 1845-1900* (Texas A&M University Press, 1999); and Robert Wooster, *Frontier Crossroads: Fort Davis and the West* (Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

The fascination with Custer and the Little Bighorn continues unabated. For a time-tested general overview, see John S. Gray, *Centennial Campaign: The Sioux War of 1876* (Old Army Press, 1976). For good popular accounts, see James Donovan, *A Terrible Glory: Custer and the Little Bighorn, The Last Great Battle of the American West* (Little, Brown, 2008) and Nathaniel Philbrick, *The Last Stand: Custer, Sitting Bull, and the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (Viking, 2010). For a Native American view of the battle, see Joseph M. Marshall III, *The Day the World Ended at the Little Bighorn: A Lakota History* (Viking, 2006). Also useful is Stephen E. Ambrose, *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of Two Warriors* (Anchor, 1996, [1975]). Neil C. Mangum examines the battle before the Little Bighorn that helped seal Custer's fate in *Battle of the Rosebud: Prelude to the Little Bighorn* (Upton & Sons, 1988) while Jerome A. Greene, *Slim Buttes, 1876: An Episode of the Great Sioux War* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2012 [1982]) assesses George Crook's "Horsemeat March" and the Army's first major victory over the Sioux after Custer's defeat. Historians have a much better understanding of Custer, and especially of what happened during his "Last Stand"; see Evan S. Connell, *Son of the Morning Star: Custer and the Little Bighorn* (North Point Press, 1984); Robert M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier* (University of Oklahoma

Press, 1988); Louise Barnett, *Touched By Fire: The Life, Death, and Mythic Afterlife of George Armstrong Custer* (Henry Holt, 1996); John S. Gray, *Custer's Last Campaign: Mitch Boyer and the Little Bighorn Reconstructed* (University of Nebraska Press, 1991), which utilizes a sophisticated time-motion study to provide the most logical explanation yet of how the battle unfolded; and Paul Andrew Hutton, ed., *The Custer Reader* (University of Nebraska Press, 1992). Custer's main subordinates at the Little Bighorn have also received their due in Charles K. Mills, *Harvest of Barren Regrets: The Army Career of Frederick William Benteen, 1834-1898* (Bison Books, 2011[1985]) and *In Custer's Shadow: Major Marcus Reno* (University of Oklahoma Press 2000 [1999]) by Ronald H. Nichols. Larry Sklenar challenges the criticisms of Custer's command decisions that day in *To Hell with Honor: Custer and the Little Bighorn* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).

A fire that swept across the battlefield in 1983 gave archaeologists an opportunity to dig for artifacts and a comparison of the resulting physical evidence and the historical record led to startling revelations about the quality of Indian weaponry and the tactical breakdown of Custer's command. These insights are revealed in Douglas D. Scott, Richard A. Fox, Jr., Melissa A. Conner, and Dick Harmon, *Archaeological Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2000 [1989]); Richard A. Fox, *Archaeology, History, and Custer's Last Battle: The Little Big Horn Reexamined* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); and Douglas D. Scott, P. Willey, and Melissa A. Conner, *They Died With Custer: Soldiers' Bones from the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). Paul L. Hedren grapples with the impact of the Little Bighorn on Plains Indians, the Army, and the environment in *After Custer: Loss and Transformation in Sioux Country* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

Beyond the Little Bighorn, studies of other Indian War campaigns and battles abound. For conflicts on the northern Plains and in the Northwest, good examples include: Richard Kluger, *The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash Between White and Native America* (Vintage, 2012); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (University of Utah Press, 1985); Gregory Michno, *The Deadliest Indian War in the West: The Snake Conflict, 1864-1868* (Caxton Press, 2007); John H. Monnett, *Where a Hundred Soldiers Were Killed: The Struggle for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth* (University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Jerome A. Greene, *Morning Star Dawn: The Powder River Expedition and the Northern Cheyennes, 1876* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); Stan Hoig, *Perilous Pursuit: The U.S. Cavalry and the Northern Cheyennes* (University Press of Colorado, 2002); David E. Wagner, *Patrick Conner's War: The 1865 Powder River Indian Expedition* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2010). A good overview of the U.S. Army's operations against the Sioux is Jerome A. Greene, *Battles and Skirmishes of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877: The Military View* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1996). The plight of the Nez Perce remains very compelling and among the best books on the topic are David Lavender, *Let Me Be Free: The Nez Perce Tragedy* (HarperCollins, 1992); Jerome A. Greene, *Nez Perce Summer, 1877: The U.S. Army and the Nee-Me-Poo Crisis* (Montana Historical Society Press, 2000); and Elliott West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

For books on warfare on the southern Plains and in the Southwest, see: William Y. Chalfant, *Hancock's War: Conflict on the Southern Plains* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); James L. Haley, *The Buffalo War: The History of the Red River Indian Uprising of 1874* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1985 [1976]); William Y. Chalfant, *Cheyennes at Dark Water*

Creek: The Last Fight of the Red River War (University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Charles Collins, *Apache Nightmare: The Battle of Cibecue Creek* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); and James R. Arnold, *Jeff Davis's Own: Cavalry, Comanches, and the Battle for the Texas Frontier* (Wiley, 2000). Jerome A. Greene examines another of Custer's major Indian battles—and near disaster—in *Washita: The U.S. Army and the Southern Cheyennes, 1867-1869* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2004). The political and military context of the final “battle” of the Indian Wars unfolds in Heather Cox Richardson's excellent *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre* (Basic Books, 2010). *Encyclopedia of the Indian Wars: Western Battles and Skirmishes, 1850-1890* (Mountain Press, 2003) by Gregory A. Michno is a comprehensive resource on the military side of the conflict. For a compelling view of the Sioux War within an international colonial context, see James O. Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke: The Subjugation of the Zulu and the Sioux* (University of Nebraska Press, 1994),

Biographies of other Army officers reveal that Custer was not the only Indian fighter in the West. Paul Andrew Hutton, ed., *Soldiers West: Biographies from the Military Frontier* (University of Nebraska Press, 1987) contains brief studies of fourteen officers ranging from the famous to the little known. Two of the former were Sheridan and Miles, who have benefited from detailed studies; see Paul Andrew Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army* (University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Jerome A. Greene, *Yellowstone Command: Colonel Nelson A. Miles and the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877* (University of Nebraska Press, 1991); and Robert Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army* (University of Nebraska Press, 1993). Another towering figure is depicted in *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (Free Press, 1993) by John F. Marszalek and *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1995 [1956]) Robert G. Athearn. Three lesser-known officers

receive recognition in Michael D. Pierce, *The Most Promising Young Officer: A Life of Ranald Slidell Mackenzie* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Don Russell, *Campaigning with King: Charles King, Chronicler of the Old Army* (University of Nebraska Press, 1991); and *George Crook: From the Redwoods to Appomattox* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2011) by Paul Magid. For the life and times of Army enlisted personnel during this era, the best treatment remains Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1963). A more focused study can be found in Robert Wooster, *Soldiers, Sutlers, and Settlers: Garrison Life on the Texas Frontier* (Texas A&M University Press, 2000).

Black soldiers on the frontier are covered well in Arlen L. Fowler, *The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1996 [1971]); William H. Leckie and Shirley A. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Black Cavalry in the West* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2007, revised ed.); Charles L. Kenner, *Buffalo Soldiers and Officers of the Ninth Cavalry, 1867-1898: Black and White Together* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); and William A. Dobak and Thomas D. Phillips, *The Black Regulars, 1866-1898* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2001). Brian G. Shellum views the experiences of a *Black Officer in a Buffalo Soldier Regiment: The Military Career of Charles Young* (University of Nebraska Press, 2010). The ordeal of African American troops on the Texas frontier is recounted in James N. Leiker, *Racial Borders: Black Soldiers Along the Rio Grande* (Texas A&M University Press, 2002) and *The Buffalo Soldier Tragedy of 1877* (Texas A&M University Press, 2003) by Paul H. Carlson. Monroe Lee Billington charts the history of *New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866-1900* (University of Colorado Press, 1991). *The Fall of a Black Army Officer: Racism and the Myth of Henry O. Flipper* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) by

Charles M. Robinson III challenges the claim that racial antipathy within the Army unjustly ended the career of West Point's first black graduate. Elizabeth D. Leonard's excellent *Men of Color To Arms! Black Soldiers, Indians Wars, and the Quest for Equality* (W.W. Norton, 2010) examines how black troops used military service, especially on the frontier, to press for equal treatment after the Civil War.

Biographies of both major and minor Indian leaders have proliferated. The best account of the most famous Sioux war chief remains Robert M. Utley's *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (Henry Holt, 1993). *Red Cloud: Warrior-Statesman of the Sioux* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1997) and *Gall: Lakota War Chief* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), both by Robert W. Larson, are excellent treatments of these two important figures. Other biographies include: William T. Hagan, *Quanah Parker, Commanche Chief* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Kathleen P. Chamberlain, *Victorio: Apache Warrior and Chief* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); Kingsley M. Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); Robert M. Utley, *Geronimo* (Yale University Press, 2012); and David Robert, *Once They Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo, and the Apache Wars* (Simon and Schuster, 1993). *Gatewood and Geronimo* (University of New Mexico Press, 2000) by Louis Kraft is a dual biography of these two important figures.

Some Native Americans chose to fight with the whites and became important assets to the Army, as chronicled in Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army 1860-1890* (University of Nebraska Press, 1982) and *War Party in Blue: Pawnee Scouts in the U.S. Army* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2010) by Mark van de Logt. Anthony R. McGinnis reveals how the divisions and conflict between Plains

tribes aided the U.S. government in their conquest in *Counting Coup and Cutting Horses: Intertribal Warfare on the Northern Plains, 1738-1889* (Bison Books, 2010).

An overall survey of the Navy in this era is Peter Karsten, *The Naval Aristocracy: The Golden Age of Annapolis and the Emergence of Modern American Navalism* (Free Press, 1972). Kenneth J. Hagan portrays the Navy's mission before 1890 in *American Gunboat Diplomacy and the Old Navy, 1877-1889* (Greenwood, 1973), while Lance C. Buhl, "Mariners and Machines: Resistance to Technological Change in the American Navy, 1865-1869," *Journal of American History* 59 (December 1974), is essential reading. Paolo E. Coletta provides *A Brief Survey of U.S. Naval Affairs, 1865-1917* (University Press of America, 1987). The essays in James C. Bradford, ed., discuss many of the *Admirals of the New Steel Navy: Makers of the American Naval Tradition, 1880-1930* (Naval Institute Press, 1990). One admiral omitted in Bradford's book receives full-scale attention in Edward C. Drake's *The Empire of the Seas: A Biography of Rear Admiral Robert Wilson Shufeldt, USN* (University of Hawaii Press, 1984).

An excellent overview of American foreign policy can be found in George C. Herring's magisterial *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford University Press, 2008). U.S. imperial impulses are chronicled in Richard Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton University Press, 2010). Good books that focus specifically on America's late-nineteenth-century imperialist urge are Walter LeFeber, *The New Empire* (American Historical Association, 1963); John A. S. Grenville and George B. Young, *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy* (Yale University Press, 1966); David Healy, *U.S. Expansionism* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1970); and Milton Plesur, *America's Outward Thrust* (Northern Illinois University Press, 1971).

A good account of the Navy's modernization is John D. Alden, *The American Steel Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 1972). Benjamin F. Cooling writes perceptively about *Benjamin Franklin Tracy* (Shoe String, 1973) and about the emergence of the military-industrial complex in *Gray Steel and Blue Water Navy* (Archon Books, 1979). Daniel H. Wicks details "The First Cruise of the Squadron of Evolution," *Military Affairs* 44 (April 1980). For the coastal fortifications, see Edward Ransom, "The Endicott Board of 1885-86 and the Coast Defenses," *Military Affairs* 31 (Summer 1967), and Rowena A. Reed, "The Endicott Board—Vision and Reality," *Periodical: Journal of the Council on Abandoned Military Posts* 21 (Summer 1979).

Two essays essential for understanding the reformist officers are Peter Karsten, "Armed Progressives: The Military Reorganizes for the American Century," in Jerry Israel, ed., *Building the Organizational Society* (Free Press, 1972), and John M. Gates, "The Alleged Isolation of the U.S. Army Officers in the Late 19th Century," *Parameters* 10 (September 1980). Timothy K. Nenninger covers *The Leavenworth Schools and the Old Army* (Greenwood, 1978), and Stephen E. Ambrose discusses *Upton and the Army* (Louisiana State University Press, 1964). Carol Reardon's *Soldiers and Scholars: The U.S. Army and the Uses of Military History, 1865-1920* (University Press of Kansas, 1990) links formal military education to professional development while T.R. Brereton, *Educating the U.S. Army: Arthur L. Wagner and Reform, 1875-1905* looks at a key figure behind Army education efforts. Perry D. Jameison examines the Army's struggle to come to grips with the tactical implications of new weaponry in *Crossing the Deadly Ground: United States Army Tactics, 1865-1899* (University of Alabama Press, 1994). Jerry Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard: The Evolution of the American Militia, 1865-1920* (University of Nebraska Press, 1997) chronicles the development and growing political power of the state armies during this period.

An old but still useful biography of Luce is Albert T. Gleaves, *Life and Letters of Rear Admiral Stephen B. Luce* (Putnam, 1925), while Robert Seager III's *Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Man and His Letters* (Naval Institute Press, 1977) is definitive. Seager's "Ten Years Before Mahan: The Unofficial Case for the New Navy, 1880-1890," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40 (December 1953), emphasizes how unoriginal Mahan's ideas were. Lawrence C. Allin recounts the founding of *The United States Naval Institute* (MA/AH Publishing, 1978), Ronald Spector shows the importance of the Naval War College in *Professors of War* (Naval War College Press, 1977), and Jeffrey M. Dorwart covers the birth of *The Office of Naval Intelligence* (Naval Institute Press, 1979). Mark B. Powe describes the Army's analogous body in *The Emergence of the War Department Intelligence Agency* (MA/AH Publishing, 1974).