

American Military History: The Middle Years, 1815-1916



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ANDREW Jackson's decisive victory at New Orleans on 8 January ushered in the year 1815. This battle that began a year also ended an era during which several of the great powers of Europe had threatened the interests, sometimes even the security, of the fledgling United States. For the next hundred years European countries directly posed no serious threat to America's vital interests, and the United States, in turn, did not actively involve itself in the European state system. Friction with foreign nations that did arise was usually settled with a maximum of diplomacy and a minimum of force.

This absence of major foreign threats, together with the natural protection afforded by vast oceans, profoundly influenced the course of American history in these middle years. This "era of free security," as one scholar has termed it,¹ enabled the nation to concentrate on domestic political and economic development, free from concern over danger from abroad. The armed forces generally played a relatively minor role during this period. Except during emergencies they were small, consumed few resources, embraced only a minuscule fraction of the population, and basically remained outside popular consciousness.

Yet, however small, armed forces did exist during these years, so they do have a military history. Understanding the national context in which they functioned is essential to comprehending that history. But following their experiences and development is equally important. The Army's prime responsibility throughout this period was the long, slow, grinding task of advancing and securing the frontier against the Indians, thereby establishing the degree of safety in which westward expansion could

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1. C. Vann Woodward, "The Age of Reinterpretation." *American Historical Review* 66 (1960):1-19.

flourish. And on the rare occasions when this expansion or other factors brought the country into conflict with foreign states, Mexico and Spain, the regulars provided the nucleus around which large numbers of volunteers rallied to secure national objectives. These foreign wars themselves mark significant points of study in U.S. military history. Even more of a milestone in the national life was the greatest conflict of this era, the Civil War, which definitively resolved the long controversy over the nature of the federal union—the high point of American military history in the middle years.

The Navy during the same period was the first line of defense against potential overseas foes and a combatant service when wars did erupt. It was also the principal instrument for limited U.S. participation in military ventures in Asia and Africa. And as the country became more involved abroad around the turn of the century, the Navy's responsibilities correspondingly mounted.

In addition to fighting, the armed forces performed other important functions. Both the Army and Navy made major contributions to medicine and science. The Army also did much civil engineering work and, more importantly, was the principal educator of civil engineers in the country. The service academies, indeed, served as general colleges for many young men who could not afford advanced private education. Some of these graduates enriched their civilian communities after limited tours of duty. Those who remained in service correspondingly enriched the armed forces, whose high command came increasingly to be entrusted to them.

As the Army and Navy underwent these experiences, they progressively grew in strength, organization, technique, and professionalism. The American armed forces that re-entered Europe's wars in 1917 were far different from those that had last been embroiled in world conflict in 1812-15. That growth and the experiences along the way make up American military history in the middle years.

The preceding chapter lists general histories, compilations, documents, and interpretations of American military operations, organizations, institutions, personnel, and policies. Portions of such works, of course, pertain to events of the middle years. Other works listed here may start before or extend beyond the middle years. William Goetzmann's study covers *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (1959); Clarence Clendenen's *Blood on the Border* (1969) deals with disturbances along the Mexican border after 1848; and J. P. Dunn's *Massacres*

of the Mountains (1886), Rupert Richardson's *Comanche Barrier* (1933), John Tebbel and Keith Jennison's *The American Indian Wars* (1960), and Tebbel's *Compact History* (1966) each relate to conflicts with the red men. In the field of technology and weaponry, William Birkhimer's *Historical Sketch of the Organization, Administration, Materiel and Tactics of the Artillery* (1884) is still useful; Claud Fuller's *The Breech-Loader in the Service, 1816-1917* (1965) recounts the long and controversial rise of that weapon to pre-eminence; and Arthur Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter trace the *History of the Explosives Industry in America* (1927). Other informative volumes on ordnance include Frank Comparato's *Age of Great Guns* (1965) and Arcadi Gluckman's *United States Muskets, Rifles, and Carbines* (1948).

1815-1846

The end of the War of 1812 found the United States with an army of 38,000 regulars and nearly 200,000 militia. The return of peace brought a reduction to some 10,000 regulars. This small force was expected to face recalcitrant Spaniards in the south and southwest, guard against hostile Indians in the west and northwest, and confront potentially troublesome British in the north as well as protect the Atlantic coast. Such requirements appeared impossible for this little army, yet time-honored political and economic doctrines made large standing armies anathema to nineteenth-century America. The small body of regulars would have to make do as best it could between wars and then rely on a large influx of poorly trained volunteers or militia to help it fight major conflicts.

No such big war with another country erupted for thirty years. Friction with Britain over the militarization of the Great Lakes, the Canadian revolt of 1837, the Aroostook frontier, and the Oregon country were settled by diplomacy before occasional border incidents could flare into open war. Spanish Florida, a haven for renegade Indians and slaves, proved more troublesome, but Andrew Jackson's unauthorized invasion of the region in 1818 led to a collapse of Spanish rule. Resulting negotiations not only secured that territory but defined the southwestern frontier as well.

Not foreign states but Indian tribes represented the major problem for the United States military from 1815 to 1846. The Seminoles in Florida turned out to be more formidable than the erstwhile Spanish rulers and remained a thorn in the side of the country throughout the period. Under a succession of com-

manders including the able Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor, and William J. Worth, both regulars and volunteers found it difficult to cope with those elusive swamp dwellers, even after their great chief, Osceola, was captured and died in prison. Worth, however, did eventually devastate the country enough to bring many of the Seminoles to terms. Chief Black Hawk's Sacs and Foxes of the Midwest proved less dangerous. When they left Iowa in 1832 to reoccupy their former lands in Illinois and Wisconsin, the Army decisively defeated them to end the last major Indian war east of the Mississippi, outside Florida.

The Indian frontier moved out of the woodlands and prairies onto the Great Plains during this period. Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa all became states before the Mexican War, and to secure their western borders the Army established a string of posts from Fort Snelling, Minnesota, to Fort Jesup, Louisiana. These posts were essentially defensive. Except for guarding the wagon trails to Oregon and Santa Fe, troops did not yet venture westward in hopes of conquering the plains. This "Great American Desert" was to be left to the Indians. Indeed, many tribes living east of the Mississippi—principally the semicivilized Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, plus some Seminoles—were forcibly removed to the supposedly worthless plains to make their former lands available for white settlers. The Army superintended this removal and then garrisoned posts throughout the new Indian Territory west of Arkansas, both to keep the Indians under surveillance and to protect them from the more savage "blanket Indians" of the west.

The best studies of the Army on the frontier during this period are Francis Prucha's three excellent works: *American Indian Policy* (1962), *Sword of the Republic* (1969), and *Broadax and Bayonet* (1953). Fairfax Downey's *Indian Wars . . . 1776-1865* (1963) is also useful for the fifty years following the War of 1812. Henry Beers's *Western Military Frontier* (1935) is older but still of value.

The ablest treatment of a particular operation is John Mahon's *Second Seminole War* (1967). No good modern works are available for the Black Hawk War, so older volumes must be used: Reuben Gold Thwaites's brief but scholarly *Story of the Black Hawk War* (1892), Perry Armstrong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (1887), and Frank Stevens's *The Black Hawk War* (1903). Donald Jackson's edition of *Black Hawk's Autobiography* (1964) is also in print. Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal* (1932) provides a good account of the transfer of the Five Nations to the Indian Territory, and Thurman Wilkins's *Cherokee*

Tragedy (1970) and Wilson Lumpkin's *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (1907) concentrate on the Cherokee aspect of that operation. A useful study of various Canadian border affairs, necessarily more diplomatic history than military, is Kenneth Bourne's *Britain and the Balance of Power in North America* (1967).

Biographical material is extensive on Andrew Jackson. Two works which focus on his military career are James Parton's *General Jackson* (1892) and Marquis James's more recent *Border Captain* (1933). His correspondence was published by John Spencer Bassett in 1927, and a comparable project for Monroe's Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, has been under way since 1959 under the editorship of Robert Meriwether and Edwin Hemphill. The standard biography, *Calhoun*, is by Charles Wiltse (1944-51). Another useful biography of a prominent military figure of this period is Roger Nichols's *General Henry Atkinson* (1965).

Wars With Mexico, 1836-1848

Indians were not the only ones to move beyond the western states in the 1830s. Increasingly large numbers of Americans emigrated to Texas, then part of Mexico. These residents of a province distant from Mexico City felt more in common with their former homeland than with their nominal government. In 1836 they revolted in a fight initially for rights within Mexico that soon became a full-fledged war for independence. Numerous American volunteers, particularly from the South, flocked to Texas to aid their kinsmen. Initial defeats at the Alamo and Goliad were eclipsed by the decisive victory at San Jacinto that virtually secured Texan independence.

Irregular hostilities continued along the Texas-Mexico frontier for the next decade, but major fighting resumed only after the Lone Star Republic joined the Union in 1845. In acquiring Texas the United States accepted the Texans' claim to the Rio Grande boundary, rather than the more northerly Nueces, and ordered a sizable portion of the Regular Army to occupy the disputed region—a decision which worsened U.S.-Mexican relations already complicated by Mexican failure to pay debts. The unwillingness of either side to compromise made negotiations futile, and in April 1846, fighting broke out as Mexican forces crossed the Rio Grande and attacked a U.S. patrol. The Americans rapidly counterattacked and within a month completely secured both sides of the lower Rio Grande.

Congress, meantime, declared war, and President James Knox Polk once more followed American practice by calling on the states for large numbers of volunteers. Despite opposition to the war in certain areas, particularly New England, the volunteer units and ten new regular regiments were enthusiastically raised and sent to the war zone.

The first reinforcements to reach the Rio Grande bolstered Zachary Taylor's army sufficiently to enable it to press into northern Mexico and capture Monterrey in September. The American drive did not continue much farther south, however, because of logistical considerations and because Polk feared the political consequences to his Democratic Party of allowing the Whig Taylor to continue building his reputation. The president's decision altered the course of the war but not of politics. Even after the departure of most of his regulars and many of his volunteers for Tampico and Vera Cruz left his little army vulnerable, Taylor repulsed a Mexican counterattack at Buena Vista, 22-23 February, and on the basis of this victory he went on to win the Presidency in 1848. The triumph ended major fighting in that theater, although farther north operations continued as some American units from New Mexico took El Paso and invaded Chihuahua. The main force that had overrun New Mexico and moved on to California in 1846, meantime, spent the second year of the war cooperating with the Navy in conquering the Pacific coast.

The principal operations in 1847 occurred farther south. Most of Taylor's veterans plus considerable bodies of newly raised regulars and volunteers made up a new army under America's foremost soldier of the first half of the century, Winfield Scott, the Commanding General of the Army. In the most brilliant American campaign to that time, he took Vera Cruz, plunged westward into the heart of enemy country, and scored a series of triumphs that led to the capture of Mexico City in September. These victories, along with the resulting collapse of the Mexican government, virtually ended fighting. Early the following year a definitive treaty was signed, and in mid-1848 the U.S. Army evacuated Mexico.

The Mexican War ranks as an important milestone in the development of the United States and its armed forces. The nation not only secured all its stated prewar objectives but also conquered a vast domain in the far west. The key to this victory was the armed forces, which enjoyed almost unbroken success against an opponent that had gone into the war with considerable reputation—a big improvement over America's decidedly

uneven performance in the War of 1812. Many factors contributed to this improved performance: the generalship of Scott, Taylor, and Stephen Watts Kearny and the fighting quality of the troops, both regular and volunteer. Another major element was the increasing professionalism of much of the junior officer corps, graduates of West Point. The conduct of war was, to be sure, not without flaws. Political considerations continued to influence the appointment of field and general officers. And the short term of service of many volunteer units meant that most of them were mustered out about the time they finally became proficient. Yet, on balance, it is clear that the Army that fought the Mexican War had considerably improved over its counterpart of thirty years before.

The Texans' fight for freedom generated quite a heritage and some writing. Andrew Houston's *Texas Independence* (1938) and Richard Santos's *Santa Anna's Campaign Against Texas* (1968) cover the entire independence movement; Frank Tolbert's *The Day of San Jacinto* (1959) concentrates on the decisive battle of the conflict. *The Writings of Sam Houston* (1938-42), edited by Amelia Williams and Eugene Barker, contains source material on Texas's foremost commander. Official sources on various Mexican leaders are brought together in Carlos Castaneda's *The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution* (1928). The border fighting that followed San Jacinto is discussed in Joseph Nance's sound volumes, . . . *The Texas-Mexican Frontier* (1963-64).

The Mexican War proper produced considerable literature. Numerous general accounts, often written by participants, were published, some shortly after the fighting ended: Nathan Brooks's *Complete History of the Mexican War* (1849), Philip St. George Cooke's *Conquest of New Mexico and California* (1878), and Roswell Ripley's *War With Mexico* (1849). Another veteran, Cadmus M. Wilcox, brought out his major *History of the Mexican War* in 1892. Only in the early twentieth century, though, did the first scholarly history appear, Justin Smith's two-volume *War With Mexico* (1919), a work distinguished for its research, its coverage of operations, and its refutation of old partisan criticism that the war was unjustified and disgraceful. In many ways, it remains the best study. Three decades later two useful short histories were written: Alfred Hoyt Bill's *Rehearsal for Conflict* (1947) and Robert Selph Henry's *The Story of the Mexican War* (1950); and a spate of small volumes have come out in recent years: Otis Singletary's *The Mexican War* (1960), Charles Dufour's *The Mexican War, A Compact History, 1846-1848* (1968), Donald Chidsey's *The War with Mexico*

(1968), and Seymour Connor and Odie Faulk's *North America Divided* (1971). Most important of the new studies is K. Jack Bauer's volume in the Macmillan series, *The Mexican War (1846-1848)* (1974).

Besides these general accounts, there is a considerable body of primary and secondary literature on the principal commanders on both sides. Useful works include Winfield Scott's *Memoirs* (1864) and Charles Elliott's *Scott* (1937), Zachary Taylor's *Letters* (1908) and Holman Hamilton's *Taylor* (1941), Dwight Clarke's *Kearny* (1961), Edward Wallace's *Worth* (1953), and Antonio Santa Anna's *Autobiography* (1967). Some reminiscences were also published by junior officers and enlisted men but much less extensively than for the Civil War. Such sources as are available have been compiled into three useful anthologies by modern scholars: *To Mexico with Taylor and Scott* by Grady and Sue McWhiney (1969), *Chronicles of the Gringos* by George Winston Smith and Charles Judah (1968), and *To Conquer a Peace* by John Weems (1974). Unit histories are even scarcer, but a fine modern work, *Zach Taylor's Little Army* (1963), has been written by Edward Nichols.

Operations outside the two main theaters are treated in James Cutts's *Conquest of California and New Mexico* (1847) and Ralph Twitchell's *Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851* (1909), and George Gibson's *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan* (1935) provides a firsthand account of Alexander Doniphan's expedition into Chihuahua. Bauer's *Surfboats and Horse Marines* (1969) gives good coverage of naval operations.

1848-1860

The Mexican War not only sealed American claims to Texas but also secured a huge region extending west to the Pacific. At the same time the Buchanan-Pakenham Treaty of 1846 confirmed U.S. title to the southern part of the Oregon country. This expansion of the nation across the continent brought new missions for the Army. The need to guard already settled regions in Texas, New Mexico, California, and Oregon put the Army into conflict with the Comanches, Navajoes, Rogue River Indians, Yakimas, and other tribes. At the same time, the necessity of linking these westerly settlements with the main part of the nation meant that the Great Plains could no longer be left to hostile tribes, especially the Sioux. Throughout the 1850s the Army increasingly made its presence felt against these Indians.

But despite a number of local victories, it did not succeed in pacifying the tribes. In addition to fighting Indians, the Army also had to guard the border with Mexico, not so much against an organized invasion as against raiding bandits and caudillos who flourished in this period of Mexican instability. The Army also found itself engaged in an abortive campaign against the Mormons in Utah in 1858.

Yet neither confronting a refractory sect, chasing bandits, nor fighting Indians constituted the Army's most trying task in the 1850s. The vast territories acquired during 1846-48 became embroiled in the mounting political controversy that was rending the nation. Nor were men content merely to debate whether the west should be "free soil" or slave territory. Partisans from both sides rushed in to occupy the region with a vehemence that soon resulted in increasing violence. To the Army fell the vain and thankless task of trying to maintain order in "bleeding Kansas." In earlier domestic disturbances, the Army had given effect to Andrew Jackson's overawing of the Nullifiers of South Carolina in 1832 and had stood by, ready to act if needed, during Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island in 1840. But Kansas was different. This time the opponents were too determined and guidance from Washington was too irresolute to enable the Army to settle the crisis. Kansas was an ominous portent of things to come.

The Army of the 1850s was again the small peacetime establishment that characterized America's interwar years. The volunteers and many regulars were demobilized following the Mexican War, and the Army was reduced almost to its prewar level. Its growing responsibilities, however, led to a relatively significant increase in the middle of the decade. An able Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis (1853-57), moreover, saw to it that key assignments went increasingly to officers of proven ability and promise—many of whom were to hold major commands in the Civil War.

Like the Army, the Navy had many able junior officers who would prove themselves in the 1860s. The small squadrons still consisted of wooden vessels, but their mobility greatly improved through increased adoption of screw propellers for steamships. Moreover, America's first iron warship, completed in 1844, now sailed Lake Erie. The primary duty of these vessels was patrolling the west African coast for slave traders and showing the flag around the world—important and demanding tasks but ones rarely entailing hostile action.

The best account of Indian fighting during 1848-65 is Robert Utley's *Frontiersmen in Blue* (1967). Philip St. George Cooke's

Scenes and Adventures in the Army (1857), Randolph Marcy's *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (1866), Hazard Stevens's *Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens* (1900), and Stanley Crocchiola's *Summer* (1968) concern some of the principal Indian fighters of the period. Perspective from the ranks is provided by Percival Lowe's *Five Years a Dragoon* (1906). No adequate scholarly biography of Jefferson Davis has yet been written, despite many attempts; Hudson Strode's three volumes (1955-64) are the best available. Clendenen's *Blood on the Border* here picks up its continuing subject of Mexican border disturbances, and Norman Furniss covers *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (1960). Useful modern studies of civil conflict in Kansas are Jay Monaghan's *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* (1955) and James Rawley's "Bleeding Kansas" (1969). The earlier Nullification crisis in South Carolina is the subject of William Freehling's *Prelude to Civil War* (1966). All this internal strife, plus other disturbances of the period, are recounted in Frederick Wilson's general study, *Federal Aid in Domestic Disturbances, 1787-1903* (1903). On naval matters, Samuel Morison's *Matthew C. Perry* (1967) covers the prominent naval officer of the Mexican War who opened Japan to the western world in 1854.

The Civil War, 1861-1865

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 precipitated the long-brewing crisis between the sections. seven Southern states seceded before his inauguration; four more plus the Indian Territory joined them early in 1861, and elements in Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Arizona also found representation in the resulting Confederate States of America. Irresolution marked the initial Northern response to secession, but the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861 galvanized the Federals into action. Factionalism temporarily subsided, or was overwhelmed, in the North as men flocked to the colors to preserve the Union and defeat the Southerners who had so long seemed to dominate the country. Some individuals also went to war to free the slaves, but this was not a major war aim in 1861, and for most of the men who were actually to fight the war it never became one. The Confederates, meantime, took the field to give substance to their claim to the independence they considered necessary to preserve their way of life.

To wage this war, President Lincoln nearly doubled the

Regular Army, yet he continued to rely on the old system of mobilizing short-term, mostly inexperienced volunteers to make up the overwhelming majority of Northern units. Volunteering initially produced more than enough manpower, but as the war continued bounties and then the draft became necessary to bring men into service. These varying approaches raised some 2,778,000 soldiers for the Union Army. Over a million of these men were in service at the end of the war.

The Confederacy, too, at first relied on volunteering to raise troops, but by early 1862 a draft was instituted. Over 600,000 men (peak strength) served in the Confederate Army. Unlike the Federal force, whose numbers progressively grew, the Southern army reached its maximum level in 1863. Thereafter, casualties, war weariness, and a dwindling manpower pool steadily eroded its strength. One continuing advantage, however, was that once the war was under way, the South, far more than the North, channeled new recruits and draftees into existing units rather than into new outfits, thus letting the new men benefit from serving alongside veterans.

Another great advantage the South enjoyed was the high quality of its top military leadership. Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, and Bedford Forrest stand preeminent among a galaxy of able Confederate generals. The North, too, increasingly entrusted responsibility to superior commanders as the war progressed—Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, Philip H. Sheridan—but many of the earlier generals were singularly unqualified. Both sides suffered from some professional officers of doubtful competence, but the Union, much more than the Confederacy, paid the price for following the old practice of giving major commands to ambitious but inexperienced politicians.

The ability of generals and the availability and experience of manpower affected the course of the war. Geography, in turn, set the context in which these other variables functioned. The Appalachians divided the Confederacy into eastern and western theaters, and the "Father of Waters" set apart the trans-Mississippi region. The Atlantic and Gulf coasts represented lesser fronts.

The proximity of the rival capitals governed fighting in the east. The Federal army repeatedly drove for Richmond but always looked also to the security of Washington. For three years the secessionists, usually led by Lee, brilliantly parried these thrusts but failed to secure long-range advantages from their successes. Southern invasions of the North, moreover, were

invariably defeated. Grant broke this stalemate in 1864 with a combination of relentless strategic pressure and powerful tactical blows that deprived the Confederates of strategic mobility and then pummeled them into submission. Absorbing terrible losses of his own, the Union General in Chief dominated the strategic situation in the east from the Wilderness through Petersburg. At Appomattox he reaped the fruits of this mode of warfare.

Federal troops achieved earlier success in the west. Many navigable rivers there facilitated penetration of the Southern heartland by early 1862. A great Confederate offensive all along the line from Virginia to Missouri that autumn only temporarily halted the Northern drive and was eventually defeated on all fronts. The following year saw major Federal victories at Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and 1864 was highlighted strategically by Sherman's drive from Chattanooga to Savannah and tactically by George H. Thomas's victory at Nashville. The fourth year of the war also saw Northern armies no longer acting disjointedly. Grant made sure that western armies took the offensive simultaneously with his own advance in the east. The resulting pressure on all major fronts denied the Confederates the opportunity to carry out their old practice of weakening quiescent areas to concentrate against a single, advancing Union army. Eventually the pressure proved too great, and the Confederacy collapsed. It is no coincidence that the two major western armies east of the Mississippi surrendered less than a month after Lee did.

Only in the trans-Mississippi country did the Confederates enjoy limited success. Their first-class forces, admittedly, lost Missouri, northern Arkansas, and small portions of Louisiana and Texas and were repeatedly repulsed in attempting to retake those areas. Even so, they did frustrate Union efforts to overrun the entire region, and eventually the Northerners settled for a strategic stalemate and drew forces off to more crucial regions east of the river. Victories in those more important theaters, in turn, rendered illusory the fancied security of the Trans-Mississippi Department. Finally, faced with the prospect of taking on the entire Federal army, Confederate forces there simply disintegrated in May and June 1865 in one of the greatest collapses in American military history.

Like the trans-Mississippi area, the coastal regions were not fronts for major Northern advances. The Union army's primary effort was devoted to closing off ports—the only sure way of making the blockade effective. From these coastal enclaves the

Federals occasionally raided the interior but rarely launched major offensives. Once Grant became General in Chief, moreover, he withdrew many units from these seaboard operations to join the main effort in Virginia. The end of the war, nevertheless, found most Confederate ports in Union hands.

In addition to these successes on the fighting fronts, the Union came off better in the foreign and domestic arenas. Northern diplomatic efforts to reduce European aid to the South succeeded far better than Confederate attempts to secure foreign recognition and intervention. On the home front, too, the strong and thriving Union economy proved better suited to fighting a protracted war than did its Confederate counterpart. Heroic Southern efforts to overcome shortages could not surmount the handicap of a weak economic base, overwhelmingly agricultural, minimally industrial. The resulting shortages weakened both civilian and military morale, and the government only worsened the problem by allowing dissent to spread. The North, in contrast, showed little reluctance in suppressing those who undermined the war effort.

These relative strengths and weaknesses, at home and at the fighting front, led to total Federal victory by the spring of 1865. The Confederacy was dead and with it the doctrine of secession. Slavery, too, died with the end of the conflict. From the war emerged a true union—not merely a union preserved but a union strengthened militarily, politically, economically, and diplomatically, a force increasingly to be reckoned with in world affairs.

The magnitude of the Civil War and the significance of its results make it the most important event in American military history in the middle years. As such, it deserves much study and has generated a rich literature. The war, in fact, is one of the most written-about events in history. The government itself entered the military history field for the first time by publishing several massive documentary compilations: *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (1880-1901), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (1894-1922), *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* (1870-88), and *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States* (1865-67). Although far from exhaustive, these splendid sources form the starting place for all scholarly research on the subject.

Synthesized general histories of the war appeared hard on the close of the conflict and have continued ever since. *History of the Civil War in America* by the Count of Paris (1875-88), *The Story of the Civil War* by John Codman Ropes (1894-1913), and *History*

of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 by James Ford Rhodes (1928) stand out among these early works. Best of the modern studies is Allan Nevins's eight-volume *Ordeal of the Union* (1947-71). Frank Vandiver's *Their Tattered Flags* (1970) offers a superb account of all facets of Confederate history, especially military history. E. Merton Coulter's *The Confederate States of America* (1950), in contrast, virtually ignores military aspects but is good for other dimensions of the Confederate experience. James G. Randall and David Donald have prepared a standard textbook, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (1961). Useful general reference works, though not synthesized histories, are Mark Boatner's *Civil War Dictionary* (1959) and E. B. Long's *Civil War Day by Day* (1971). A good overview of changing historiographic interpretations in such writings—from the postwar nationalist school, through the reconciliationists at the turn of the century and the "needless war" revisionists of the 1930s, to the more sympathetic scholars since World War II—is provided by Thomas Pressly's *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (1954).

Closely related to general histories are campaign and battle narratives. The chief collective works of that genre are *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1887-88), edited by R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, Scribner's *Campaigns of the Civil War* (1881-83), and the *Military Historical Society of Massachusetts Papers* (1885-1918). The *Southern Historical Society Papers* (1876-1959), *Confederate Veteran* (1893-1932), and publications of various commanderies of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion contain both battle accounts and personal narratives. Among individual battle studies, John Bigelow's *Chancellorsville* (1910) is a classic. Good recent works are Edwin Coddington's *Gettysburg* (1968), Glenn Tucker's *Chickamauga* (1961), and Ludwell Johnson's *Red River Campaign* (1958).

Besides that class of work, numerous volumes are available on personalities. Many prominent commanders on both sides wrote their reminiscences: Grant's *Personal Memoirs* (1885-86), Sherman's *Memoirs* (1875), Sheridan's *Personal Memoirs* (1902), Benjamin F. Butler's *Book* (1892), George B. McClellan's *Own Story* (1887), David D. Porter's *Incidents and Anecdotes* (1885), John M. Schofield's *Forty-Six Years in the Army* (1897), Oliver Otis Howard's *Autobiography* (1907), to name but a few Unionists.

From the Southern side we have Jefferson Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881), Joseph E. Johnston's *Narrative of Military Operations* (1874), Alfred Roman's

Military Operations of General Beauregard (ghost-written by General Beauregard himself—1884), Porter Alexander's *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (1907), Jubal A. Early's *Autobiographical Sketch* (1912), John B. Hood's *Advance and Retreat* (1880), James Longstreet's *From Manassas to Appomattox* (1896), Raphael Semmes's *Memoirs of Service Afloat* (1869), and Richard Taylor's *Destruction and Reconstruction* (1879).

Even more plentiful are biographies of major leaders. Douglas Southall Freeman's *Lee* (1934-35) and *Lee's Lieutenants* (1942-44) are but the best of such studies. Other noteworthy biographies are T. Harry Williams's *Beauregard* (1955), Grady McWhiney's *Bragg* (1969-), William C. Davis's *Breckinridge* (1974), Charles Lewis's *Farragut* (1941-43), John Wyeth's and also Robert Henry's *Forrest* (1899 and 1944, respectively), Lloyd Lewis's *Grant* (1950) and Bruce Catton's *Grant* (1960-69), Francis A. Walker's *Hancock* (1894), Nathaniel Hughes's *Hardee* (1965), Hall Bridge's *Harvey Hill* (1961), G. F. R. Henderson's and also Frank Vandiver's *Jackson* (1898 and 1957, respectively), Charles Roland's *Albert Sidney Johnston* (1964), Carl Sandburg's and also John G. Nicolay and John Hay's *Lincoln* (1925-39 and 1890, respectively), Warren Hassler's *McClellan* (1957), Albert Castel's *Price* (1968), William Lamers's *Rosecrans* (1961), Lloyd Lewis's *Sherman* (1932), Joseph Park's *Kirby Smith* (1954), Francis McKinney's and also Wilbur Thomas's *Thomas* (1961 and 1964, respectively), and Robert Hartje's *Van Dorn* (1967). Ezra Warner's *Generals in Gray* (1959) and *Generals in Blue* (1964) are indispensable collective biographies of all Confederate and Union general officers. Provocative interpretative studies of the Northern high command are found in *Lincoln and His Generals* by T. Harry Williams (1952) and *Lincoln Finds a General* by Kenneth P. Williams (1949-59).

Besides these works on leaders, numerous personal narratives of junior officers and enlisted men are available. Two fine modern studies are Bell Wiley's *Johnny Reb* (1943) and *Billy Yank* (1952). Closely related to all such books on persons are collections of letters and diaries. Foremost of numerous such volumes are ongoing editions of *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, edited by Haskell Monroe and James McIntosh (1971-); *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, edited by John Simon (1967-); plus the earlier *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Roy Basler (1953-55).

Battle studies and personal narratives blend in another genre, the unit history. From company level to army level, veterans

wrote histories of their outfits—particularly for Federal commands; Secessionists, surprisingly, published far fewer such works. Modern writers, in addition, have occasionally undertaken such studies, of which Catton's *Army of the Potomac* trilogy (1951-53), Thomas Connelly's *Army of Tennessee* (1967-71), and Leslie Anders's *Eighteenth Missouri* (1968) are among the best. Charles Dornbusch's three-volume bibliography (1961-72) is a good, though not complete, guide to these numerous works.

Several other classes of publication may be touched upon briefly. Fred A. Shannon's *Organization and Administration of the Union Army* (1928) and Frederick Dyer's *Compendium* (1908) are useful works on the Northern army. Nothing comparable exists for Southern forces; *Confederate Military History* (edited by Clement Evans in 1899) is worthwhile in its way but hardly fills the void. Francis Miller's *Photographic History* (1911) remains preeminent among several pictorial histories of the war. Virgil Jones's recent *Civil War at Sea* (1960-62) plus the U.S. Navy's official *Civil War Naval Chronology* (1961-66) are helpful introductions to naval operations. The technological development and procurement of weapons are treated in *Lincoln and the Tools of War* by Robert Bruce (1956) and *Arming the Union* by Carl Davis (1973), while Warren Ripley thoroughly catalogs *Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War* (1970). Dudley Cornish's *Sable Arm* (1956), James McPherson's *The Negro's Civil War* (1965), and Benjamin Quarles's *The Negro in the Civil War* (1953) all cover black soldiers in blue. Annie Abel's study is still the best on *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (1915). Frank Owsley's *King Cotton Diplomacy* (1959) is a standard history. His *States Rights in the Confederacy* (1925), along with Charles Ramsdell's *Behind the Lines* (1944), Albert Moore's *Conscription and Conflict* (1924), and Mary Massey's *Refugee Life* (1964) shed light on the Confederate domestic front, while James McCague's *Second Rebellion* (1968) covers the New York city draft riots that were the most flagrant manifestation of Northern dissent. Finally, David Donald compiled five challenging essays, *Why the North Won the Civil War* (1960).

The foregoing summary is but a brief introduction to the literature on the Civil War. Several bibliographies offer ready guides to further reading: Dornbusch's work, *Civil War Books* by Allan Nevins et al. (1967-69), and *Civil War History's* continuing annual listing of articles.

1865-1898

The end of the Civil War left the United States with a large, experienced, well-led Army. For the first time, leaders in Washington considered keeping a good part of this force on duty to achieve additional national aims: garrisoning the South, confronting the French in Mexico, and conquering the western Indians. This new approach, in turn, introduced what would become a recurring response after subsequent American wars—overwhelming pressure from the civilian populace and from the volunteers themselves to release the soldiers now that the war was over. Getting volunteer units to go west to fight Indians proved virtually impossible, and only a relatively few regiments remained to occupy the old Confederacy. The War Department had no recourse but to disband the volunteers in 1865-66. Although these units were mustered out, many individual soldiers wanted to remain in service and were used to double the size of the Regular Army from thirty to sixty regiments—the largest percentage expansion of a peacetime U.S. Army until the 1940s. Congressional parsimony later led to the disbanding of some new units and the skeletonizing of others, but, even so, the Regular Army was larger than ever before. Still more important, its officer corps of battle-tested Civil War veterans was almost fully professional.

For a time many regular units found themselves garrisoning the South, particularly during Congressional Reconstruction. But as more states were “redeemed,” the Army was withdrawn, and by 1877 occupation duty had ceased. Troops—more often militia than regulars—were also used occasionally to guard against striking laborers in the years following the Civil War. Other units had to be kept on the Mexican border, once more to protect the frontier from the consequences of the turmoil that followed the collapse of the empire of Maximilian, whose overthrow was itself a result of a powerful American show of force against his French supporters in 1865.

But all these duties were incidental to the Army's principal mission after the Civil War, pacifying the west. Insufficient manpower and equipment and continuing vacillation in Washington between taking a stern or conciliatory approach toward the Indians handicapped but did not halt efforts to pacify the frontier. Once determined campaigns against them began, the prominent warlike tribes—Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa,

Comanche, Apache—under such able chiefs as Red Cloud, Gall, Crazy Horse, Satanta, Cochise, and Geronimo could not hold their own against Indian fighters like George Crook, Nelson A. Miles, and Ranald S. Mackenzie. Fetterman's massacre, the murder of General E. R. S. Canby, and Little Big Horn were but aberrations from the main course of events, which saw the Army, more by strenuous campaigning than by pitched battles, defeat and confine to reservations every hostile tribe. Much of the west was pacified and was receiving statehood by the 1880s. The crushing of the last major Indian uprising in 1890-91 symbolized the end of the struggle for control of the continent which had raged for nearly four hundred years.

As land warfare in the United States drew to a close, foreign involvement grew. The acquisition of some Pacific islands (principally Hawaii in 1898), the quest for others, and the mounting insistence on European respect for the Monroe Doctrine in the western hemisphere increased American presence abroad and occasionally led to disputes with other countries. The conflicts were largely diplomatic, not military, but the Navy, as the available forward force, sometimes lent credibility to statesmen's declarations. Increasing conversion to modern armored vessels greatly improved the Navy's strength during this period. Important technological changes came to the Army, too, late in these years through adoption of magazine rifles, Gatling guns, and smokeless powder. Tactical doctrine also improved. Both services, moreover, became more professional through development of branch and applied practice schools, through the growth of military literature, and, indeed, through rising consciousness among regular officers of their own special professional status.

The literature on Reconstruction is extensive, much of it of recent origin. Two works concentrate on military aspects of that period, James Sefton's *The United States Army and Reconstruction* (1967) and Otis Singletary's *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* (1957). Frederick Wilson, too, touches on the Army's role in Reconstruction and in labor disturbances in the 1870s and 1890s, and Robert Bruce sets the context for the bloody strikes during the Hayes administration in *1877: Year of Violence* (1959). Brian Jenkins's study of *Fenians and Anglo-American Relations During Reconstruction* (1969) centers around the abortive Irish invasion of Canada from the United States. The story of the rise and fall of Maximilian lies outside the scope of this chapter, but the related American show of force is covered in Sheridan's own memoirs, Carl Rister's *Border Command* (1944), and Clendenen's 1969 work.

Numerous books have been written on the Indian wars, besides many historical and ethnological studies of the various tribes. Robert Utley's *Frontier Regulars . . . 1866-1891* (1974) provides the best overall account of the Army's conquest of the hostile tribes. Two other modern studies are S. L. A. Marshall's *Crimsoned Prairie* (1972) and Odie Faulk's *Crimson Desert* (1974), the former somewhat marred by errors. Other useful general accounts are Robert Athearn's *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West* (1956), Fairfax Downey's *Indian-Fighting Army* (1941), Stephen Longstreet's *War Cries on Horseback* (1970), Martin Schmitt and Dee Brown's *Fighting Indians of the West* (1948), and Paul Wellman's *Indian Wars of the West* (1954). Modern treatments of specific operations include Merrill Beal's *Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War* (1963), Harvey Chalmers's *The Last Stand of the Nez Perce* (1962), Faulk's *The Geronimo Campaign* (1969), Ralph Ogle's *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886* (1970), Keith Murray's *The Modocs and Their War* (1959), William Leckie's *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (1963), Wilbur Nye's *Plains Indian Raiders* (1968), Utley's *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (1963), and J. W. Vaughn's *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River* (1961). The extensive literature on Little Big Horn and George A. Custer is virtually a separate genre; William Graham's *The Story of Little Big Horn* (1962) and *The Custer Myth* (1953) may be noted. The Indian point of view, overemphasized to the detriment of balanced perspective, is presented in Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970).

Prominent Indian fighting commanders like Andrew S. Burt, Eugene A. Carr, Crook, Howard, Mackenzie, Miles, Sheridan, and John Pope are represented through autobiographies, recollections by their subordinates, and studies by modern scholars: Merrill Mattes's *Burt* (1960), James King's *Carr* (1963), Crook's *Autobiography* (1960), John G. Bourke's and also Charles King's *Crook* (1891 and 1890, respectively), Howard's *Autobiography and Life and Experiences among our Hostile Indians* (both 1907), Ernest Wallace's edition of Mackenzie's correspondence (1967) and Robert G. Carter's *Mackenzie* (1935), Miles's *Recollections* (1896) and *Memoirs* (1911), Sheridan's *Personal Memoirs*, Carl Rister's *Border Command* (1944), and Richard Ellis's *Pope* (1970). The men in the ranks who fought Indians are covered excellently in Don Rickey's *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay* (1963). John Carroll's *Black Military Experience in the American West* (1971), Arlen Fowler's *Black Infantry in the West* (1971), and Leckie's *Buffalo Soldiers* (1967) each deal with the Negro soldier on the frontier. Jack Foner's *The*

United States Soldier between Two Wars (1970) is a general treatment of enlisted men throughout the Army during 1865-98 from the perspective of improving conditions of service.

The flowering of military professionalism is traced in many works. One example of military writing which was quite influential during this period is Emory Upton's *The Armies of Asia and Europe* (1878). The various military schools established at Fort Leavenworth in these years are treated in the appropriate chapter of Elvid Hunt and Walter Lorence's history of that post (1937). Albert Gleaves's *Stephen B. Luce* (1925) concerns the founder of the Naval War College, established in 1884. Luce is one of many officers of "the naval aristocracy," covered in Peter Karsten's book of that title (1972). Richard West's *Admirals of American Empire* (1948) deals with four prominent naval officers of the period, while B.F. Cooling's *Tracy* (1973) focuses on Benjamin Harrison's Secretary of the Navy, who helped develop the major naval shipbuilding program. Such changes in naval technology and doctrine are more broadly treated in Walter Herrick's *American Naval Revolution* (1966). Increasing involvement of the United States in the Pacific and the Caribbean—in outlook, rationale, and practice—is the subject of Kenneth Hagan's *American Gunboat Diplomacy and the Old Navy, 1877-1889* (1973), Ernest May's *Imperial Democracy* (1961), and John Grenville and George Young's *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy . . . 1873-1917* (1966).

Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection, 1898-1907

The seven years following the battle of Wounded Knee were relatively quiet for the Army. But 1898 brought a new challenge, fighting a European power overseas. The recently modernized Navy played the major role in this war with Spain in winning the decisive battles of Manila Bay and Santiago. The Army, too, readied itself for a major conflict, once more accepting large numbers of volunteers, but only a small proportion of troops, mostly regulars, actually embarked for the war zone. The major expedition hardly distinguished itself in Cuba, although it did receive the surrender of Santiago. Spain's increasing realization of the futility of continued fighting once her fleets were destroyed meanwhile assured the success of other Army

expeditions to Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Military leadership in this conflict, mostly by aging Civil War veterans, was not spectacular, and scandals in the War Department plus the frightful mortality caused by tropical diseases clouded the luster of victory. The benefits of the Spanish-American War were less military than social and diplomatic. The willingness of Southerners, many of them ex-Confederates, to don the blue and fight their country's battles underscored the healing of the divisive wounds of civil war. At the same time the acquisition of an overseas empire, along with a growing consciousness of national power, interjected the United States more actively into the world arena.

This new imperial role gave the Army more responsibilities after the Spanish-American War than during it. The temporary occupation of Cuba until 1902 and the permanent acquisition of Puerto Rico created the need for military government of civilian areas. And the decision to annex the Philippines brought America into conflict with Filipinos aspiring for independence. Smoldering animosity between the two sides erupted into open warfare in 1899 and continued intermittently for nearly a decade. The insurrectionists proved no match for the regulars and state and U.S. volunteers in major battles and soon resorted to guerrilla tactics. This irregular warfare, far different from what the Army had known against the Indians, raised new problems of bringing the enemy to terms. Dissension in the United States over the conduct of operations—indeed over the desirability of acquiring an empire—further complicated the Army's task. Even so, it managed to pacify the Philippines early in the twentieth century, often by stern measures. Once peace returned, the Army, the civil government, and the natives came increasingly to cooperate in what would become growing amity between the two peoples.

No comprehensive history of the Spanish-American War, drawing together all available sources, has been written. Allan Keller's recent work (1969) in the Compact History series, however, is adequate as a survey, and French E. Chadwick's three volumes, *The Relations of the United States and Spain* (1909-11), still command respect as the best of the immediate postwar studies. Walter Millis's *Martial Spirit* (1931), though often cited, is flawed with the antimilitary prejudices so fashionable in the 1930s. Two other noteworthy works, general in time span but more specific in theme, are Frank Freidel's pictorial *Splendid Little War* (1958) and H.W. Morgan's *America's Road to Empire* (1967). In addition, numerous

documentary sources—Miles's *Annual Report, 1898* (1898), The Adjutant General's Office's *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain . . . Including the Insurrection in the Philippines and the China Relief Expedition* (1898-1902), and congressional documents on the investigation of the War Department (1900) and on the court of inquiry into Admiral Winfield Schley's service in the Caribbean in 1898 (1902)—are rich with primary material from which the reader may begin synthesizing his own understanding of the war.

Besides these general and official sources, many personal narratives and unit histories by participants are in print. Several works have also come from modern scholars: Virgil Jones's *Roosevelt's Rough Riders* (1971) and Willard Gatewood's "Smoked Yankees" (1971), for example. Graham Cosmas's *Army for Empire* (1971) offers a fine account of American land forces as a whole. Major naval leaders are well represented by memoirs and biographies: John Long's *New American Navy* (1903), George Dewey's *Autobiography* (1913), Adelbert Dewey's *Life and Letters of Admiral Dewey* (1899), Ronald Spector's *Dewey* (1974), and Winfield Schley's *Forty-five Years Under the Flag* (1904). Surprisingly, few comparable works have come from the Army high command. Russell Alger, Nelson Miles, Joe Wheeler, and James Harrison Wilson, however, have published their recollections: *The Spanish-American War* (1901), *Serving the Republic* (1911), *Santiago Campaign* (1898), and *Under the Old Flag* (1912), respectively.

A good account of the occupation of Puerto Rico is yet to be written. Most campaign studies focus on Cuba; of these, Herbert Sargent's three-volume *Campaign of Santiago de Cuba* (1907) and Jack Dierks's more recent *Leap to Arms* (1970) are among the best. F. D. Millet's *Expedition to the Philippines* (1899) concentrates on the capture of Manila, but most accounts of fighting in the archipelago cover the insurrection as well as the Spanish-American War. Almost all such studies were written shortly after the conflict: James Blount's *American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912* (1913), Charles B. Elliott's *The Philippines to the End of the Military Regime* (1916), Karl Faust's *Campaigning in the Philippines* (1899), James LeRoy's *The Americans in the Philippines* (1914), and Alden March's *Conquest of the Philippines* (1899). Teodoro Kalaw's *The Philippine Insurrection* and William Sexton's *Soldiers in the Sun* appeared in 1925 and 1939, respectively. Unit histories and personal memoirs, such as Frederick Funston's autobiographical *Memories of Two Wars* (1911), are necessarily old, and few

biographies have been written recently; Hermann Hagedorn's life of Leonard Wood came out in 1931. More recent studies include Uldarico Baclagon's *Philippine Campaigns* (1952) from the Filipino perspective and the Garel Grunder and William Livezey volume, *The Philippines and the United States* (1951), a useful overview of nearly five decades of American presence in the islands. But the latter book, like Ernest Dupuy and William Bauman's *Little Wars . . . 1798 to 1920* (1968), surveys a broad period and does not concentrate on the insurrection. Two other recent publications—Leon Wolff's anti-imperialist account, *Little Brown Brother* (1960), and the Marxist interpretation of William Pomeroy's *American Neo-Colonialism* (1970)—are clearly inadequate as military history. Much other writing of late has been less military than political and concerns the domestic debate over imperialism; a useful summary of the arguments of the original protagonists is found in Richard Welch's compilation, *Imperialists vs. Anti-Imperialists* (1972). Of modern studies which are military, the best is John Gates's *Schoolbooks and Krags* (1973), which ably focuses on the Army's means for pacifying the islands but does not provide a comprehensive account of operations. A good scholarly military history of warfare in the Philippines during 1898-1907, drawing upon all available sources, remains to be written. Several such studies are under way, however.

1900-1916

The first sixteen years of the new century brought the Army and Navy ever-mounting responsibilities in foreign lands. Besides pacifying the islands, American troops joined the European powers and Japan in raising the siege of the Peking legations in 1900. Closer to home, the Army, Navy, and Marines gave effect to the expanded interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, whereby the United States intervened in Latin American countries to end disorder that might otherwise result in European intervention. Such intervention also protected the United States' own strategic, political, and economic interests in the Caribbean. Mexico in particular proved troublesome as the civil wars that followed the ouster of Porfirio Diaz repeatedly embroiled American interests. United States forces occupied Vera Cruz in 1914 to facilitate the overthrow of Victoriano Huerta, and two years later John J. Pershing, the rising man of the Army, led a major punitive expedition deep into northern Mexico in pursuit of bandits who had raided into New Mexico. At the same time a large army of regulars and National Guardsmen

concentrated in the southwest in case full fledged war should break out. But the difficulty of bringing the bandits to battle, President Woodrow Wilson's reluctance to press operations in the face of official Mexican displeasure, and growing concern over the war then raging in Europe prevented a second Mexican war. But the Mexican border disturbances did give the Army, including the National Guard, valuable experience in mobilizing and assembling large bodies of troops; this proved useful when the United States entered the First World War in 1917.

The availability of the National Guard, newly brought under more uniform federal standards, was but one of many reforms which stand out even more than field operations in American military history of 1900-1916. Emory Upton's far-reaching interpretive study, *The Military Policy of the United States*, written in 1880, was resurrected in 1904 and came increasingly to influence military thinking. Secretary of War Elihu Root modernized the War Department, replaced the Commanding General of the Army with a General Staff modeled on European patterns, improved the structure and content of the Army school system, and founded the Army War College for advanced study and planning in military theory and practice. Conducting large-scale field maneuvers and creating organic peacetime brigades and divisions were other major advances of this period. Even outside the armed forces, civilians concerned over limited readiness to fight a major foreign power voluntarily underwent military training in the so-called Plattsburg Movement. Despite presidential reservations, the Army actively cooperated in this program to improve military capabilities.

Most military operations of this period have been covered by modern authors. William Braisted's two volumes trace the role of *The U.S. Navy in the Pacific, 1897-1922* (1958, 1971). Chester Tan's *Boxer Catastrophe* (1955) and Victor Purcell's *Boxer Uprising* (1963) each give fine accounts of the China Relief Expedition. Monro MacCloskey's *Reilly's Battery* (1969) and William Carter's *Life of Lieutenant General Chaffee* (1917) are also useful on the China episode. Allan Millett's able study of the *Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909* (1968), Robert Quirk's account of *Woodrow Wilson and the Occupation of Vera Cruz* (1967), and Jack Sweetman's narrative, *The Landing at Vera Cruz* (1968), cover specific American interventions in Latin America, while Dana Munro provides a more general account in *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900-1921* (1964). Clendenen's works, *The United States and Pancho Villa* (1961) as well as *Blood on the Border*, remain the best on the

Mexican border disturbances. Frank Tompkins's *Chasing Villa* (1934) and Herbert Mason's more recent *Great Pursuit* (1970) also provide good accounts of the punitive expedition. The world tour of the American battle fleet in 1907 is covered in Samuel Carter's *Great White Fleet* (1971); the fleet's commander, Robley D. Evans, also published two volumes of reminiscences of that operation and his other service (1901 and 1911). The intellectual theory underlying that cruise and other naval shows of force is discussed in works by and about America's great advocate of sea power around the turn of the century, Alfred Thayer Mahan: W. D. Puleston's *Mahan* (1939), William Livezey's *Mahan on Sea Power* (1947), and Mahan's own writings—especially the far-reaching *Influence of Sea Power Upon History* and also the modern three-volume edition of his *Letters and Papers* (1975). The Army's comparable advocate is treated in Stephen Ambrose's *Upton and the Army* (1964). Some of the changes implemented early in the twentieth century are treated in James Hewes's *From Root to McNamara: Army Organization and Administration, 1900-1963* (1975), Jim Dan Hill's *History of the National Guard* (1964), Otto Nelson's *National Security and the General Staff* (1946), and George S. Pappas's *Prudens Futuri: the U.S. Army War College, 1901-1967* (1967). The later Plattsburg Movement is recounted in John Clifford's *The Citizen Soldiers* (1972).

Philip Jessup in 1938 and Richard Leopold in 1954 published biographies of Secretary Root, who implemented many of these reforms, and Mabel Deutrich gives a fine account of the controversial Adjutant General of the period, Fred Ainsworth, in *Struggle for Supremacy* (1962). The autobiographical *Reminiscences of Adolphus W. Greely* (1927) and *Memories of Hugh Scott* (1928) offer insight into the careers of two prominent generals of that era. The role of these and other senior military leaders in influencing and supporting involvement abroad is investigated in Richard Challener's *Admirals, Generals, and American Foreign Policy* (1973). Presidents, too, affect foreign policy. The two most influential of the early twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, have been written on voluminously. Two studies giving valuable perspective on their roles in military affairs are Howard Beale's *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (1956) and Arthur Link's continuing biography, *Wilson* (1947-). Complementing material on leaders is Marvin Fletcher's work on Negro troops at the turn of the century, *The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891-1917* (1974).

The war of 1898 (with the resulting empire), the increasing involvement in the Caribbean, and the confrontations with Mexico underscored the new direction of American interest. The middle years, which had witnessed the expansion and solidification of the nation, were drawing to a close, and portents of active reinvolvement in foreign affairs became ever more numerous. World War I starkly emphasized this new trend, and thereafter the essence of United States military history centers around the nation's active or passive role on the world scene. The year 1916 marked the dividing line between the middle years and the modern period of American military history.

The middle years had seen the armed forces grow from 16,743 men in 1816 to 179,376 a century later. Quality, professionalism, and national rather than state orientation, too, had markedly increased over that period. The growth both derived from and facilitated the corresponding development of the country itself into a political and economic giant spanning the continent, strong at home and increasingly influential abroad. Conquering and pacifying the vast domain in which this expansion occurred—and playing a decisive role in resolving the sectional differences which threatened national development—were the armed forces' great achievements of these years. The military accomplishments of the period were important and far reaching. The literature on the subject is correspondingly rich.

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