CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix
Prologue xi

Chapter 1: From Small Wars to Atrocity in Empires 1

PART I: A WORLD OF PLUNDER 23
Chapter 2: Conquest by Raid and Massacre 27
Chapter 3: Private Booty, Public War 61

PART II: A WORLD OF ARMED PEACE 99
Chapter 4: Bad Conduct in Far Places 103
Chapter 5: Saving Subjects, Finding Enemies 148

Conclusion: Specters of Imperial Violence 183

Acknowledgments 199
Notes 201
Bibliography 249
Index 269
Chapter 1

From Small Wars to Atrocity in Empires

A shopkeeper named Bremner in the region now known as the Eastern Cape of South Africa informed British troops in April 1847 that Xhosa men had stolen four of his horses. The lieutenant colonel of the local British regiment credited rumors that the raiders had taken the horses to a nearby kraal, a settlement and livestock enclosure controlled by a Xhosa group friendly to the British. Thirty cavalry and thirty infantrymen descended on the kraal in an unruly raid. The soldiers seized 155 cattle, killed a Xhosa man who refused to come out of his hut, and carried away two other Xhosa men as prisoners. The troops also captured four horses. They were not Bremner’s horses.1

The small raid was part of a conflict that the British labeled the War of the Axe, so called because its immediate catalyst was an attack on soldiers escorting a Xhosa man to Grahamstown to be put on trial for stealing an axe. On the surface, there was little to distinguish this short war from the previous six frontier wars, or for that matter from the interlude of peace that immediately preceded it. Small-scale violence in the form of disjointed campaigns of marauding, cattle theft, and crop destruction had been business as usual in the region since at least 1779, when Xhosa outrage erupted over settler cattle stealing. In the decade before the War of the Axe, Xhosa chiefs decried settlers’ systematic campaign to strip them of power and take away their land, while Dutch-descended and British settlers complained of Xhosa “outrages, so
incessant and atrocious in their details as to surpass belief.” The violent peace transitioned into a war of many fronts, and at times no front at all. Unstable alliances strained under mutual accusations of betrayal. When the War of the Axe officially ended, violence lingered, and soon two more frontier wars acquired the name, preparing the way for another series of wars, the Anglo-Zulu wars that began in 1878.2

These discretely labeled wars were part of a single, long-lasting conflict over territory, labor, and authority in the shatter zone of nineteenth-century southern Africa. The serial wars summed to violent dispossession of Africans, who regrouped again and again to resist settler incursions and strike back. This long phase of violence—more than a century of chronic warfare—resembled other arenas of frontier violence in which settler land grabs resolved into colonial state making. Yet we should resist the temptation to view the conflicts as a process trending toward nation-state formation or to suppose that the violence unfolded beyond the reach of law.3

There is more to the multiplicity of imperial small wars than first meets the eye. As they assembled repeating patterns of violence and peacemaking spanning polities and regions, small wars connected European justifications for imperial violence to wider—indeed global—projects aimed at defining limited war and allowing it to flourish. Repeatedly, the course of imperial small wars showed how grinding conflicts in the shadow of empires could suddenly, seamlessly, produce the worst kinds of unfettered violence. The repetition of these patterns inserted the logic of chronic violence into the heart of the global order.

Hannah Arendt described warfare as “from time immemorial the final merciless arbiter in international disputes.”4 Her words reflect a familiar story about humanity’s long, gradual project to condemn and contain interstate violence. Eventually, according to that story, efforts to produce perpetual peace prefaced a twentieth-century diplomatic push to outlaw war by treaty and authorize international institutions to act to prevent it. Analyzed as residual violence seeping around barriers to war, serial small and “endless” wars of the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries appear to result directly from nations’ attempts to evade or change the contours of international regulation. From this perspective, the small wars that
continue to plague the world seem to represent a return to the unfettered, extrajudicial violence of the age of empires.5

This book tells a different story. I show that serial small wars were endemic to the early modern world and I trace their evolution. The first of three interconnected arguments is that patterns of imperial violence composed truly global regimes. Despite variations in the way societies justified and regulated violence in different regions, imperial small wars followed similar rhythms and routines. Small-scale, chronic violence not only ticked along inside orderly mechanisms of an increasingly intercommunicating world. It also served to structure relations across religious, cultural, and political divides.

Second, I track how imperial small wars produced conditions for outbreaks of atrocity. For centuries, massacres and slaving were classed as lawful and just treatment of enemies who refused to submit. Aggressors represented their victims as peacebreakers or rebels, whether or not those designations matched reality. Widely shared practices of plunder were foundational to conquest and to empires’ waxing power. Increasingly, as empires responded to proliferating calls to protect subjects and interests around the world, they authorized agents far from home to make decisions about when to engage in local violence, and in what measure. In the long nineteenth century, armed intervention was defined as a European right. Imperial sponsors and agents repurposed old arguments about preemptive defense and just reprisal to legitimize brutal campaigns of dispossession and extermination.6

Third, I show that Indigenous communities were integral to the regulation of violence. Conversant in arguments about the justice of war, they maneuvered to establish their right to go to war. And because the logic of violence was legible to all, Europeans and Indigenous people in empires deployed similar strategies. They alternated between representing violence as internal, akin to repression or policing, and external, a matter of war. At times parties claimed political autonomy and the capacity to fight as enemies, and at times they affirmed their status as subjects bargaining for protection. They manipulated markers of political belonging, in other words, and cultivated ambiguity about whether conflicts were wars or something else. Like their European
interlocutors, Indigenous communities found reason to position violence at the threshold of war and peace.

These arguments run against some common ways of characterizing imperial violence. One familiar approach is to highlight the violent effects of deep, systemic clashes—of religious communities, civilizations, ideological orders, and economic systems. Another presents European empires as overpowering other peoples from the moment of first encounter and then quickly perfecting dominance. Meanwhile, a great deal of ink has been spilled on major wars and famous battles, and on changes in battlefield tactics, the rise of professional armies, the development of weaponry, and the relation of warfare to grand strategy. Some pitched battles did settle disputes or turn the tide of longer conflicts, and there is no doubt that religious difference and technological capacity influenced the progress and outcomes of war. Yet there is value in turning our attention to other varieties of warfare and to the framework that sustained small, chronic, and repeating violence.7

The reorientation should not keep us from seeing that imperial small wars produced lopsided suffering and consequential shifts in power. We know that some small wars—King Philip’s War in colonial New England is one example—marked turning points in longer campaigns of conquest and colonization. We know, too, that the vast system of enslavement of millions in the Atlantic world was predicated on something very much like a permanent state of war between enslaved men and women and their enslavers. And we know that the imperatives of maintaining order—the “king’s peace,” as it was called in the British Empire—reverberated through colonies and served to justify violent oppression. As imperial small wars multiplied, they gave rise to new institutional gambits and experiments in revolution, reform, and repression.8

Far from arguing against these positions, I am building on them to point to the still broader effects of serial small wars. Many of the effects carry into the present. Together, the continuities belie the usefulness of familiar watchwords of international politics now and in the past century, from “asymmetric war” to “endless war” to “humanitarian intervention.” From campaigns of targeted killing in the “war on terror” to proxy wars or cross-border interventions and invasions, echoes of the
From Small Wars to Atrocity in Empires

The threat of minor wars with cataclysmic possibilities has formed the background to domestic politics in nation-states while also hanging like the sword of Damocles over international affairs. The imperial roots of the phenomenon come into sharp relief as we trace the global history of small wars in the five centuries between 1400 and 1900. Warriors and their sponsors, as well as political thinkers and anti-imperial advocates, grappled with a shared puzzle: how to define and structure violence at the threshold of war and peace.

On Small Wars

It is difficult to write about war of any kind without starting with Carl von Clausewitz, the Prussian general and military analyst best known for his widely translated and read book, On War. Clausewitz focused mainly on major, formally declared conflicts and warfare in Europe. To the extent that he examined small wars, Clausewitz defined them as involving small detachments of irregular troops and regarded them as ancillary to, or integral parts of, larger conflicts. Followers of Clausewitz emphasized tactics rather than strategy or deeper structural characteristics of small wars. They also studied small wars to provide advice to states and armies about how to respond effectively to insurrections and guerrilla campaigns. Under the rubric of “asymmetric warfare,” analysis of small wars in this vein continues to the present.

In making distinctions between the orderliness of conventional wars and the relative looseness and improvisation of small wars, Clausewitz advanced a view of minor conflicts as chaotic, unpredictable, and exceptional. He imagined at least one kind of small war, popular uprisings, as emanating from political forces or entities other than the state. In doing so, he associated small wars with, as he put it, “the breaching of old artificial barriers.” For Clausewitz, fighting small wars in opposition to the state tracked a tendency among non-state actors to embrace primordial violence. A corollary of this perspective was the view that small wars and conduct in them operated beyond the purview of the laws of war—in something like a separate realm in which conventional attitudes and routines did not hold.
That position intersected with another: the idea that the extra-European world occupied its own juridical space. Clausewitz referenced the distinction when he identified Spanish guerrillas resisting Napoleon’s invasion in 1808 as the paradigmatic example of a small war. Extolling the fierceness of Spanish irregulars taking on the better-equipped French army was a subtle way for Clausewitz to critique Prussians’ less dogged opposition to Napoleon’s forces. But the position carried other significance. To call Spanish resistance the “first” guerrilla war was to adopt a studied ignorance of warfare beyond Europe. It meant writing out of history the armed opposition of local fighters to European imperial forces before the nineteenth century.

Writing about small wars in 1906, the British military officer-turned-writer C. E. Callwell seemed to solve this problem by associating the same definition of small wars—conflicts involving regular armies fighting irregular forces—with violence in the British Empire. For Callwell, campaigns of conquest and annexation, suppression of insurrections, acts of retaliation, and interventions in non-European polities to unseat dangerous enemies—these and other colonial conflicts qualified as small wars. Callwell’s account also pitted an empire rooted in morality against an external realm of supposedly lawless actors. It repeated the old story of European force on the side of law and resistance as the origin of chaos.

In the twentieth century, the story of a sharp separation of European and extra-European warfare received endorsement from the German jurist Carl Schmitt. Writing as a member of the Nazi Party during World War II, Schmitt made the distinction a key organizing principle of global spatial order. According to Schmitt, the first global spatial order lasted for four centuries and divided the world into the “pacified order” of Europe and the “quarrelsome disorder” of extra-European space. In Schmitt’s view, the European legal order placed annihilating war outside its bounds, in lawless, extra-European spaces.

Like Clausewitz, Schmitt regarded the Spanish irregulars resisting French rule as the first guerrilla warriors. Yet unlike Clausewitz, Schmitt was writing past the midpoint of the twentieth century and knew he had to find a way to explain increasingly strong and organized anti-imperial struggles. He did so by characterizing them as otherworldly events.
spawned by the marriage of guerrilla tactics and the lawlessness of the extra-European world. Anti-imperial fighters were “unmoored” from the forces containing war in Europe.20 Once again, warfare beyond Europe made sense only as a deviation from practices in Europe. The irony of Schmitt, as an unapologetic servant of the Third Reich, relegating uncontrolled violence to spaces outside Europe is difficult to miss.

Particularly given the limited historical vantage points and the ideological biases of Clausewitz, Callwell, and Schmitt on small wars, we should reject the automatic association of small wars and guerrilla insurgency. The idea that small wars involved nimble, irregular fighting units arrayed against larger, state-sponsored armies flows, after all, from analytical choice (and the fixation on Spanish irregulars fighting the Napoleonic army) rather than broad or deep historical evidence. The category of “irregular” forces loses its meaning in eras when raids and counterraids dominated fighting on all sides. And later, when empires favored short strikes and empowered armed gangs of settlers to do their bidding, the term also makes an awkward fit with accounts of warfare. At different times and places, anyone might favor—or challenge—violence in the form of sharp, brief attacks. And even if combatants were labeled as stateless rogues or (more rarely) found advantage in representing themselves that way, they usually strained to maintain relations with legitimate sponsors and sought legal cover for their actions.21

For multiple reasons, then, it makes sense to define the category of small wars capiously and flexibly. This book utilizes a broad definition of “small” imperial violence. The phenomenon encompasses raiding and other sporadic violence as well as conflicts that were small in scale, remained undeclared, or lasted for relatively brief periods. The “smallness” of many imperial wars is deceptive, of course, since they often repeated across long phases and extended over vast areas. Once we rid ourselves of the biases behind formulaic assumptions about conventional versus guerrilla warfare and shed ideologically charged representations of legal difference between Europe and the rest of the world, the value of a broad definition of small wars becomes obvious. It allows us to uncover prevalent patterns of violence and transcends fixed notions about small wars based on specific tactics or supposed lawlessness.22
The book will show that law, defined broadly, infused all forms of imperial violence.

Waves of imperial violence produced a messy assortment of names for war. I have decided, in part to recognize this confusion of labels, also to deploy a multiplicity of terms. I have kept the term “small wars,” and I will describe some cases where that term helps to make sense out of serial campaigns of violence. I will also refer, at times, to “private” and “peacetime” violence. And I will describe a hidden theory of “limited war” comprising bits and pieces of European legal commentary. The phrase that works best to bundle these terms and phenomena is “violence at the threshold of war and peace.” That is a mouthful, so I use it only where I think it offers clarity. The multiplicity of terms is intentional and designed to recognize a problem shared by legal writers, imperial agents, and Indigenous political actors: how to characterize the legal space for violence between war and peace.

The category of “small wars” in this book thus includes named wars like the War of the Axe and short conflicts with no name. It encompasses sustained campaigns of violence organized around discrete episodes of fighting and brief acts of violence such as attacks described as motivated by plunder, reprisal, or punishment. Although I pay close attention to justifications for violence, I do not impose a typology of forms of violence according to the rationales or tactics of participants and sponsors of violence. Certain forms of violence, such as raiding, were more prevalent in some periods, but they also spanned centuries. Justifications for war arrived in clusters but also carried across eras and regions. It is only by bringing these phenomena together that we can expose the role of small wars in global politics and law.

We can be sure that small wars in empires have not failed to attract systematic study because we lack sources. The historical record brims with sharp complaints about the agony and injustice of these conflicts, including vivid descriptions of the shock they produced for people who struggled to go about their lives without imminent threat of getting robbed, injured, kidnapped, or killed but who were swept up nonetheless in vicious and unpredictable fighting. Jurists and theologians puzzled over the legalities of small wars—and did so rather more often and
at greater length than most historians have realized. Litigants also took notice. Although most plunder went unrecorded, some of it ended up as the subject of lawsuits that generated copious paper trails. Combat itself, whatever its rationales and legitimacy, inspired narratives by both victors and vanquished as they angled for political and economic reward and protection by powerful patrons or polities. Victims of raiding in every world region generated stories of captivity, and officials recorded truces, treaties, payments of tribute, and descriptions of gift ceremonies that reveal the machinations of peacemaking, security pacts, alliances, and other arrangements connected to repeating cycles of violence.

The record is so vast, in fact, that one can only proceed by focusing on select cases and themes. Rather than offering a comprehensive history of imperial small wars, I analyze exemplary conflicts in overseas European empires between 1400 and 1900 to reveal broader patterns. I have chosen to focus on small wars in regions that are typically less well integrated with global histories, especially Latin America and the Pacific world. That means that some other regions, including Africa and the Middle East, get short shrift. I include material from French and Portuguese empires but give special attention to conflicts in the Spanish and British empires. Some choices of wars to analyze were serendipitous; they came about when I found intriguing examples or followed promising sources. Others flowed directly from a desire to test or illustrate arguments about global violence. I do not always construct elaborate bridges from examples to generalizations, but the bridges are not figments of my imagination, either. The connecting sinews are made up of law—how people involved in violence thought about law, and how observers wrote about it in relation to violence.

The legal framework of small wars spans the realms that historians describe as theory and practice. I typically begin with conflicts in empires to show how the regulation of violence emerged partly from the actions and pronouncements of people far from Europe. Most histories of the laws of war start and stay in Europe and the United States, and they explain texts by analyzing the contexts in which they were made. The circle of context can be drawn tightly, for example, by focusing on a single writer, or it can be extended to encompass distant events and
trends. Here I take a different tack. Except in a few cases, I do not map the circulation of information or ideas between Europe and other regions. I instead enlarge the production of theories about law and war to include the whole world. At the same time, I analyze European writing on war and juxtapose it to histories of small wars. These moves break down the often implicit, artificial separation of theory (located in Europe) and practice (in events unfolding in or beyond empires). People in very different positions inside and outside Europe were grappling with similar problems of how to justify and regulate violence. We can think of my method as an exercise in refraction. It is like holding two objects next to each other to view each one in the reflected light of the other. I use imperial small wars as a prism focusing light on overlooked corners of European writings on war, and I look to European texts to illuminate more diffuse approaches to violence at the threshold of war and peace.

Strange Violence, Big Law

In 1504, a Dutchman penned an account of his voyage as a crew member on Vasco da Gama’s second expedition into the Indian Ocean. At Calicut (Kozhikode) on the western coast of India, the Portuguese ships bombarded the port with cannon fire. After three days of fighting, the Portuguese took the prisoners they had seized and “hanged them to the yards of ships” within sight of the walls. They then pulled the captives down from the rigging and methodically “cut off their hands, feet, and heads” before piling the body parts in a ship and casting it adrift toward the town, with a letter on a stake. For good measure, they seized another ship in the harbor, set it on fire, and “burnt many subjects of the king.”

A casual reading of this account might give the impression that the Portuguese were resorting to theatrical violence to deliver their message across a stark communication divide. The context tells a different story. Gama already knew Calicut because his ships had spent three months there on his first voyage, when mutual distrust had colored negotiations. The two sides had exchanged hostages to cool the mood—a common practice—but, with the Calicut ruler and local merchants openly
disdainful of Portuguese goods, trade was disappointing. Now, on his second approach, Gama had more fully embraced violence—both for the plunder it yielded and for its success in forcing trade and tribute. The display of mutilated bodies doubled as reprisal and an ultimatum to submit. Massacre and mutilation did not require exquisite explanation in a world where demands delivered at the gates of towns were deeply familiar and where extreme violence in response to perceived betrayal was common. The note among the corpses was there for emphasis, not explanation.²⁷

The notion that Europeans fought with people who had fundamentally different ways of making and understanding war is common. It has also been much exaggerated. The idea of deep cultural misunderstandings in imperial wars can in part be traced to European chronicles written by men with a vested interest in extolling their own abilities to interpret foreign cultures and to translate exotic signs. The idea of misunderstanding—creative or otherwise—has also struck a chord with some historians of European-Indigenous interactions.²⁸ The impenetrability of violence has had eloquent defenders. The brilliant Australian historian Inga Clendinnen wrote that Spaniards in the conquest of the land they called New Spain were “baffled” by Mexica people’s sacrificial killings and that locals puzzled over the invaders’ odd “predilection for ambush” and their practice of killing enemies on the battlefield instead of taking captives.²⁹ In Clendinnen’s telling, the conquest of New Spain was a “tangle of missed cues and mistaken messages.” The destruction of the city of Tenochtitlan, on the future site of Mexico City, occurred because the Spaniards failed to elicit the Mexica people’s surrender and the leader, Hernán Cortés, found himself heaping atrocity on atrocity to diminishing effect.³⁰

This version of the story of conquest passes quickly over evidence of mutually intelligible diplomacy and violence. The Mexica rapidly adjusted to Spanish styles of fighting and accurately read Spaniards’ intent. They also recognized that when the Spaniards and their local allies turned down their offer of tribute, fighting was imminent.³¹ The likely consequences of refusing to submit were not lost on the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan. The clarity of likely consequences led some Mexica
fighters to escape the city and join the Spanish side and persuaded others to refuse to surrender. For the Spaniards, unusual circumstances removed the possibility of half measures. They were not culturally opposed to captive taking, but in Tenochtitlan they found themselves “wandering men without a city.” They suspended an interest in acquiring captives in part because they had no way to keep them, a condition that would not last long. For the Mexica, meanwhile, the choice to fight to the death was informed by their own history of brutal punishment of the vanquished. They imagined, not without reason, they would be unlikely objects of mercy if they surrendered.

The point is not to challenge the possibility of any degree of misunderstanding about violence but to begin from a different premise. We need not choose between the supposition that violence by strangers was incomprehensible to others and the assumption that violence was always transparent. Combatants everywhere interpreted the actions of enemies and adjusted their strategies in response, often very quickly. Historical actors knew that they lacked a full understanding of the violence of strangers, but they also recognized that by analyzing violent actions they could learn useful information about structures of authority, procedures for marking difference, and the strength of legal and political commitments. They were plainly aware that war and law were inextricably intertwined.

It is hardly surprising that groups of people who came into contact actively scanned societies for signs of how they worked. Strangers needed to know with whom to negotiate and, in contests for control, whom to seek to supplicate, incorporate, or topple. To make such judgments, travelers and locals looked for ways of ordering authority. They took note of routines of supplication and mercy, and anxiously sought to interpret acts of public punishment. Guided by experiences of unequal power in their own societies, they were alert to gradations of authority. Nearly everyone recognized a few broad categories of legal action: jurisdiction (the exercise of legal authority), protection (arrangements of security involving two or more legal authorities), and punishment (actions that announced and enforced legal authority). Together these rubrics composed a framework of “interpolity law.” As a
convenient shorthand, we might use the label “big law.” The framework of big law preceded the rise of international law, and it spanned political communities with very different legal sources and procedures.

To regard acts of violence as legal in this way means treating law as something much bigger than doctrine and less tidy than systems of rules or norms. The approach moves beyond a view of law as a constraining force. Operating instead as a social field, or framework, law set flexible parameters for conflict. It combined patterns of practice, which were lawlike because they shaped expectations about the regularity of behavior and its likely consequences, and trends in written or customary law that encompassed legislation, commands, and learned commentary as well as the pronouncements and strategies of a wide range of actors. Patterns of violence encoded and sometimes altered expectations about justice, cruelty, and mercy. They conformed to, while also shaping, law that stretched across polities and regions.

A further advantage of this perspective is that it allows us to bring Europe’s interlocutors into the picture much earlier than usual and to treat them as active participants in making law across polities. Wherever possible, I pay special attention to non-elite, Indigenous actors’ legal and strategic engagement with Europeans in small wars. We know that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, local elites around the world used and altered European doctrines of international law in conflicts over sovereignty and self-determination. But we can also find evidence of this intercommunication much earlier, in practices of violence and negotiation. Some legal approaches to war and diplomacy that we once thought of as exclusively European had clear counterparts in traditions and settings beyond Europe. Not just legal practices but also broader legal strategies were often mutually legible, and they were also often interactive. For example, just as Europeans represented warring imperial subjects as rebels or enemies, Indigenous political communities confronted with European aggression alternated between appeals for legal protection and assertions of their own capacity and right to make war. Moving nimbly between characterizing antagonists as enemies or subjects crudely but effectively marked out a space for violence at the threshold of war and peace. The process conjured into existence a
framework of big law well before anyone was claiming the possibility, much less the authority, of international law.

Law and War

Traditional accounts of the history of war and law do not give a prominent place to small wars, or to the strategies they spawned. The usual narrative begins with Roman jurists’ commentary on war, followed closely by medieval European political theologians selectively mining Roman legal sources to develop theories of just war. Sharing the view that only one party in a conflict could possess a just cause, these writers elaborated on the definition of just war as a response to injury or an act of self-defense authorized by a legitimate ruler.37 The story then fast-forwards to the early seventeenth century, when Hugo Grotius, a Dutch lawyer, wrote *Mare Liberum* (*The Free Sea*), a work commissioned by the Dutch East India Company to justify the Dutch seizure of the Portuguese ship *Santa Catarina* in the Singapore Strait. Grotius expanded the foundations for legitimate violence by arguing that both public and private actors could punish violators of natural law and that both sides to a conflict might possess a just cause.38

The next great turning point in the evolution of the laws of war, according to standard accounts, arrived in the eighteenth century. Marked by the publication and wide circulation of *The Law of Nations* by the Swiss jurist Emer de Vattel, the idea gained traction that states were the principal units of global legal order. Vattel’s “dizzying array of rules” about war replaced just war theory as the centerpiece of European laws of war.39 Building on this turn toward “Enlightenment rules of law,” late nineteenth-century jurists, most notably Frances Lieber during the U.S. Civil War, codified standards of conduct in war. The tradition continued in other agreements, including the 1907 Hague Convention and the 1949 Geneva Conventions.40 These efforts to codify the laws of war paralleled the formation of international institutions, including the League of Nations and the United Nations, and, we are told, foregrounded attempts to outlaw and “humanize” war in the twentieth century.41
Uncertainty and disagreement surrounded all these developments. Political theologians debated every aspect of just war doctrine, including who possessed the authority to sanction violence or declare war, what acts might constitute injuries that justified reprisals, and to what extent a war had to promote the common good to be classed as just.42 Grotius’s influential views remained open to interpretation, too, and posed new questions, for example about the variety of conditions under which private actors, commanders, or local officials might enjoy the same legitimacy as sovereigns in making public war.43 In the wake of the wide circulation of Vattel’s work, the consensus among European powers that “civilized” states were the responsible authors of the laws of war raised tricky problems about membership in this group. Increasingly, the widening participation by non-Europeans in debates about international law clashed with efforts to restrict entry into the international community.44 Meanwhile, empires and micropolities persisted, even as nation-states proliferated and claimed their place as arbiters of international laws of war.45

In later centuries, creative interpretation of and selective deference to international law continued. International lawyers have repeatedly found themselves on the defensive, justifying the value of a kind of law that must operate without an effective authority—a world state, for example—to enforce it. With the UN Security Council unable to end many conflicts, small wars multiply and linger; they sometimes spread to engulf whole regions. Multisided proxy wars, like the conflict in Syria that erupted during the Arab Spring in the 2010s, have proven especially intractable. Actions against outliers, as in economic sanctions against Russia after its invasion of Ukraine, showcase the complexities of containing aggression without robust international jurisdiction to regulate war.

Past and present ambiguities of international law suggest the need for a new account that encompasses the regulation of war in all its dimensions: law-in-practice, including the actions of people outside Europe; institutions, defined in the broadest terms; legal and political theory, with attention to both legal writings and vernacular expressions regarding justice in war; and sequences of treaties or truces and outbreaks of violence not clearly labeled as war. This is a tall order. I approach the
challenge in this book by beginning with local practices of violence in order to identify broad patterns that assumed the shape of global regimes. In the transition from one regime to another, I emphasize how decentered conflicts assembled big trends in violence and law. Only then do I turn to European texts and use the history of conflict to read them in new ways to uncover a theory of limited war.

The result is that some familiar topics in the history of the laws of war recede into the background. Common questions about law and imperial raiding—the status of pirates, for example, or whether to restore the rights and property of returning captives—become less salient. In their place, I follow participants’ commentary on raiding to highlight arguments about the punishment of truce breakers and about self-defense and protection in empires. Similarly, instead of tracking developments in *jus ad bellum* (the authorization of war) and *jus in bello* (the regulation of conduct in war) as separate phenomena, I show how participants and writers blurred these categories to describe lawful violence at the margins of war and peace. The approach takes us well beyond standard texts or common interpretations of the laws of war, and it points to the importance of inchoate theories of limited war.

It might seem counterintuitive to call scraps of analysis and patterns of violence a theory of anything, much less a theory of limited war. We find only rare explicit mention of limited war by writers whose commentary mainly referenced related phenomena, such as truces, controls on private violence, and the authority to contain violence by regulating conduct in war. But however unsystematic and obscure, commentary on law and war betrays a continual preoccupation with defining and justifying violence in forms other than open and unbounded war. Peacetime raiding, captive taking, punishment of rebels, short strikes against Indigenous polities—these and other varieties of violence prompted worried debate precisely because they threatened to provoke all-out war. Writers on law were painfully aware that they were operating with an impoverished vocabulary to describe violence at the threshold of war and peace—and to explain how it might be kept at tepid temperatures, somewhere between hot and cold war. The problem was especially salient in and on the edges of empires.
It was not just Europeans, and not just law-trained elites, who were commenting on war. People planning and fighting in imperial wars on all sides made legal arguments, discernible sometimes through their actions or treaties, about the lawfulness of “small” violence. They were making law as they acted and wrote (or spoke). In most of the narratives of conflicts in this book, I give greater attention to European violence and European writings on small wars. There is no doubt that European imperial violence was especially consequential—for its victims and for the direction of global change. European sources are more numerous, and also more easily accessible to researchers. But the “small” violence that occupied the very center of successive global regimes elicited legal positioning and pronouncements from a broad array of parties. The actions of Indigenous groups in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific world, this book will show, helped to create and alter the global legal framework for violence.

Empires and Global Violence

European conquest and colonization were not novel in the modes of violence they deployed, or in relation to the legal framework that sustained them. Empires everywhere relied on plunder, and they required ways of distributing it, including ways of integrating captives. Europeans were like other early modern peoples in their devotion to raiding and slaving. But they managed circuits of plunder that ensnared growing numbers of Indigenous peoples in the greater Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Ocean worlds.48 As European settlers pushed the boundaries of colonies, they intensified raiding and used common practices to turn opportunistic raiding into systems of enslavement and organized plunder.

A regime of plunder centered on raiding and captive taking expanded rapidly because its component parts were everywhere deeply familiar. Short strikes for booty, waves of raiding in advance of conquest, ultimatums at the gates of towns, and punishment of resisters to invasion—these and other practices composed an orderly choreography of conquest. Europeans did not invent these practices. They did not even perfect them. Conquest and colonization shared rhythms and rationales, and
generated patterns of lawful extreme violence, including massacres in which perpetrators blamed the victims because they had refused to submit.

Captive taking was an elemental practice. The conversion from enemy to captive signified an act of mercy because warriors were forgoing the right to kill enemies. But slaving-through-war was only the first piece of a larger process. Captives had to be integrated legally into captor communities. There were mechanisms for their assignment to sovereigns or to the sovereigns’ officers and delegates, for example, when captives labored in gangs on fortifications or other public works. Much more commonly, households and kin groups took charge of captives. We think of households as social units, but they were also legal entities, unusual in that they encompassed the most intimate domestic spaces, but commonplace as arenas where a recognized legal authority, the household head, possessed the right to restrict subordinates’ rights. The relationship of households to sovereign power made sense out of captivity and war—and made both profitable. Sovereigns went to war to protect communities of households, and households continued war on behalf of sovereigns by holding and disciplining captives.

The first part of this book traces the way the regime of plunder worked in early European overseas conquests and in the militarized garrisons that advanced European imperial power. It first maps serial small wars as components of conquest and examines the logic of truces, truce breaking, and massacre. It then turns to households in early empires and their role in maritime raiding and captive taking. In uncovering concerted efforts to promote household formation and use communities of households to support a right to make local war in early overseas European empires, I highlight raiding’s social and institutional effects and how they extended far beyond the actual routines of slaving and raiding.

In the nineteenth century, another regime of violence emerged. It is the subject of the second part of the book. As Europeans inserted themselves into politically complex regions, trading companies and settlers secured control over limited territories. They relied on networks of alliance, proxy wars, and collaboration with other empires to fight against
Indigenous polities and “rebels.” In this context, imperial agents began to insist, with increasing force, on Europeans’ authority to regulate the conduct of war. Instead of describing the Europeanization of the laws of war as a process that began in Europe and spread outward to the rest of the world—the usual story—I trace how conflicts in and on the edges of empires prompted new claims about European authority over war. As imperial agents debated standards of battlefield conduct, they affirmed Europe’s power to regulate war and peace. In the process, they sharpened characterizations of Indigenous fighters as savage and increasingly labeled them as rebels.

Global militarization in the Seven Years’ War and the Napoleonic Wars further altered these routines. Imperial navies and armies on patrol were authorized to make decisions about violence against groups located both inside and outside imperial spheres of influence. The practice established a new global regime of armed peace in which Europe and the United States claimed a right to intervene militarily anywhere in the world. It is tempting to pair claims about a right to armed intervention with the rise of ideas about humanitarian intervention. I emphasize instead how violence on patrol could preface colonial campaigns of dispossession and extermination. What I label “protection emergencies”—calls to shelter imperial subjects from harm—turned easily into broader programs to protect imperial interests and promote regional order. The shift encouraged colonial officials and settlers to redefine entire Indigenous communities as natural enemies who could be attacked and killed anywhere without need for further authorization.

Across these centuries, Europeans represented conquest, colonial rule, and intervention as projects of peacemaking. An element of pure cant was at play, but there was also more. Justifications for imperial violence routinely referenced peace and order. Campaigns of conquest approached the resumption of war after unstable truces as lawful reactions to even minor threats to peace on invaders’ terms. Again and again, Europeans accused Indigenous groups of drawing them into war. Captivity was represented as punishment for refusal to make and keep the peace and defined as an act of mercy for defeated adversaries or rebels. Pledges of peacemaking also informed other visions of global order. In increasingly
militarized empires, Europeans authorized violence in the form of measures short of war to protect not just imperial subjects and interests but also, more expansively, a vague objective: global order itself.

Some distinctive temporal qualities of imperial violence emerged. Small wars made for choppy violence, but just as they do today, they also operated against the backdrop of perpetual war. Truces, cease-fires, and rituals of surrender—these and similar practices defined peace as transient and tricky, a mere interruption of an ongoing state of war. Staccato small wars permeated participants’ everyday experience of violence and their expectations about future violence, while also presenting challenges to traditional justifications for warfare.

Spatially, small wars arranged violence unevenly, and at odd scales. The logic of violence centered on households, garrisons, archipelagic spaces occupied by armies and navies, and pluripolitical regions. The spatially complex conflicts of our own time appear less unusual in a wide and long historical frame. Corporate interests, religious and ideological solidarities, and shifting local-state alliances created kaleidoscope landscapes of war. Imagining terrorists as universal enemies with the capacity to cross borders, hide in plain sight among civilian populations, and transform with mysterious speed into battle-ready armies makes a hash of borders and other typical spatial referents of war. But wars with no fronts or with fractured fronts are not new. They find ample precedents in the imperial past—and not just because fighting in empires was often unconventional. In attending to phenomena at different scales and multiple sites, such as complexes of raiding, communities of households dependent on captive labor, and moving militias and squadrons authorized to engage in small violence, this book maps unusual landscapes in which scattered small wars assembled global regimes of violence.

Precisely because empires encompassed multiple political communities and had fluid boundaries, distinctions between internal and external violence were very blurred. Raids in which small bands attacked, scooped up booty, and withdrew provide quintessential examples. They could occur within the bounds of empires; continue in peacetime across fluid political boundaries; arrive in sets to form long campaigns of
“quiet” warfare; and trigger major, formally declared wars. Like raids, various other types of small violence defied easy description because they challenged the distinctions between domestic and global or international order, and between war and peace. Small wars strained the legal and political vocabulary of binaries.

The history of small wars in European empires and global history is bleak—but necessary to tell. The hidden logic of limited war drove the pace and structure of conflicts across centuries and regions. It shaped and sustained vast empires and gave anti-imperial movements shared modalities. Never insignificant for the victims, series of small wars profoundly affected the lived experiences of people in a world of empires. The conflicts molded discourses of despotism, brutality, civility, and justice, and entered the daily workings of intimate spaces of households and the contours of public squares, real and conjectural. The imagination of perpetual war loomed in the background of extended moments of negotiation, accommodation, and unstable peace. Imperial small wars were, and perhaps still are, the beating heart of global order.
Aborigines (Australian): in New South Wales, 171, 175; in Tasmania, 171–74, 190, 242n49, 242n54. See also Tasmanians
Abu-I'-Ula (caliph of Seville), 39
Africa: East, 73; North, 33, 62, 70, 145, 175, 211n42; Portuguese captive taking in, 62, 73; Portuguese military garrisons in, 70, 221n40; raiding in, 31, 34–36; southern, 1–2, 201n3; West, 36, 70, 152, 210n25, 220n39, 221n40. See also Africans
Africans, 2, 34–35, 67, 82, 90, 98, 210n25, 227n122
Albuquerque, Afonso de, 70–81, 93, 98, 220n37, 221n40–41
Albuquerque, Francisco de, 71
Alfonso X (king of Castile and León), 40
Algeria, 197, 247n23
Algerian War, 197, 247n23
al-Mansur (ruler of Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba), 38
Almeida, Francisco de, 70, 72, 75, 219n30, 220n32, 220n35, 221n51
Almería, 211n40
Altamirano, Cristóbal, 133, 236n101
America: the: North (see North America); South (see Río de la Plata region [South America]; South America); Spanish conquest of, 11–12, 27–28, 35, 45–50; Tenochtitlan, 11–12, 23, 46–48, 212n52
Andonaegui, José de, 235n88
Andrada, Gómez Freire de, 235n88
Angediva, 70
Anglo-Dutch War, 227n135
Anglo-Zulu wars, 2
Angre, Kanhoji, 231n11
Arabs, raiding/conquest by, 33–34, 37–42, 209n14–15. See also Islam; Muslims
Aragon, 29, 31, 38–39
Arcot, 107–108, 110
Arendt, Hannah, 2, 218n14
Aristotle, 65, 218n14
armed peace, global regime of: as fully global, 182; military patrolling in, 148–50; as new international framework, 99–102; protection emergencies, interventions in response to, 150–55 (see also protection emergencies); regulation by European states of, 147
Arthur, George, 173
Artigas, José Gervasio, 166, 168
Asia: Borneo, 152, 159; China, 151–52; Coromandel Coast (India) (see Coromandel Coast); Indian Ocean region (see Indian Ocean region); Southeast, xi, 152, 159
asymmetric warfare, 4–5. See also small wars
atrocities: campaign of extermination against the Tasmanian Aborigines, 172–74; campaigns of dispossession and extermination, xiii, 2, 3, 19, 101, 188; conditions for, small wars producing, 3, 188, 197–98; Jesuit responsibility for Indigenous, accusation of, 140–41; “limited” intervention and the potential for, 150; as necessary to prevent atrocities, 174; regime of armed peace and, 101. See also massacre(s) authority, consent as the basis for political, 66–67
Áviles, Gabriel, Marqués de, 166
Baçaim, 77, 81, 222n60
Baeza, 39–40, 42
balance of power: European, 99, 104; shifting alliances and, 106; Vattel’s view of, 143–45; Wolff’s view of, 238n124
Banda Oriental, 166
bandeiras (Portuguese slave-raiding bands), 124, 125
Barbados, 84, 88, 226n119, 227n122
Barbary States, 145, 237n116
Barnewall, Francis, 115–16
Barreda, José de, 126, 135
Barrera, Lucas, 168
battlefield conduct. See conduct in war
Bay of Bengal, 81
Becker, Anna, 218n14
Beeston, William, 86, 90, 93–94, 98, 227n131
Belli, Pierino, 57
bellum solemne (solemn war), 95–96
Bentham, Jeremy, 176–77, 179, 182, 196, 244n65
Black, William, 157–58
Blake, Patrick John (captain), 160
Blanco, Juan, 169
blandengue units, 166–68
Boanes, 124, 126
Bodega y Quadra, Juan Francisco de la, 157
Boer War (South African War), 197
Booey. See plunder
Borneo, 152, 159
Boscawen, Edward, 115–16, 119
Boston, 53–55
Boston (American ship), 240n30
Bowring, John, 239n6
Boyce, James, 243n56, 243n58
Bracco, Diego, 126
Brett, Annabel, 159–66
Brewer, Holly, 88
British East India Company (EIC), 106–8, 111–12, 117–20, 151, 231n11–12, 232n30

British Empire: English settlers in North America, 50–56; free trade and expanding the scope of protection, 175–80; “king’s peace,” maintaining the, 4; legal character of imperial outposts, improvisation to address, 97–98; map of English Jamaica, 89; Ohio Valley, claim on, 230n2; Ohio Valley, skirmish with the French in, 103–4; private raiding as legitimate public war in the Caribbean, 88–94; protection of British subjects, 148–49 (see also British Navy; protection emergencies); raiding and household formation in the Caribbean, 82–88; Second Carnatic War (see Second Carnatic War); War of the Axe, 1–2
British Navy: captains/commanders, responsibilities and authority of, 149, 154–65; justifications for violent intervention, 153–54; Northwest coast of North America, patrol and protection emergencies on the, 156–59, 161–63; patrolling to protect the interests of British subjects, 179; protection of British subjects and interests as responsibility of, 148–54; southern and western Pacific, patrol and protection emergencies in the, 159–61, 163–65
Brito Peixoto, Francisco de, 125
Buenos Aires, 123, 125, 128–30, 133–34, 136, 139, 166, 168–69
Burley, James, 159
Byzantine Empire, 33, 34, 209n19
Caaibaté, Battle of, 138, 140
cabildo (town council in Spanish America), 48, 125, 129, 205n32
Calicut, 10, 71, 220–21n39
Callwell, C. E., 6, 203n17
Canada, 103, 157. See also French Empire
Cannanore, 70, 79
canon law, 56–57
Cape Colony, 1–2, 151, 158, 201n1
Cape Horn, 157
INDEX 271
capitulation, 33–35, 41–42, 45, 50, 59
captive taking: the Church’s position on, 67;
in Cyprus, example of, 34; by the English in
the Caribbean, 87–88, 90–91; in the global
regime of plunder, 18, 25–26; households
and, 18, 61–64; by the Portuguese in Indian
Ocean ports, 73; raiding in the Rio de la
Plata region and, 125–26; by the Spanish in
the Americas, 61–62; of women, 79–80
Caribbean, the, English raiding and household
formation in, 82–88
Carnatic Wars, 105, 110. See also Second Car-
native War
Cartagena, 91, 227n122
Carysfort (British ship), 159
casados (married men in Portuguese empire),
76, 78, 79, 81, 222n63, 224n82, 224n89
Castañeda de Nájara, Pedro de, 49–50
Castile, 27–28, 38–39, 47, 65; 208n5
Castile, Juan de, 29
Central Asia, 175
Ceylon, 70, 74, 151, 152
Chaco (region in South America), 124
Chanda Saheb, 108, 110, 114, 120
Charrúas, 124–30, 137–38, 147, 166–67, 169–70,
191
Chatterjee, Indrani, 223–24nn80–81
Chaul, 81, 222n60
City of London, 42; 230n4
China, 151, 178, 239n16
Cholula, 48–49, 212n52, 213n62
Christianity: conflicts over conversion to, 42,
78; legitimacy of warfare and, 56–57; marriage to local women as promotion of,
76; political thought in relation to, 212n43;
truces and, 56–57, 215n87. See also canon
law; raiding, by Christians.
Civil War, American/U.S., 14, 104, 181
conquest (continued)
empires and, 18; of Granada, 42; of Jamaica, 85; Jeremy Bentham on, 176; legal framework of small wars and, 23–24, 193; of Madras, 107; Mongol empire and 34–35; peacemaking and, 19, 32–33, 45–50; raiding as an element of, 17, 23–24, 34; rebellions as justification for, 189; by Spanish in Americas, 11, 27–28, 45–50, 65, 212n52; truces in, 37–60
consuls, in Pacific and British Navy captains’ legal actions, 155, 159–60
Cook, James, 156
Cordoba, 42, 210n31, 211n42
Cornet, Samuel Warral, 117
Coromandel Coast (India): justification of violence in, 146–47; map of, 107; the Second Carnatic War (see Second Carnatic War); war by proxy on the, 106–10
Cortés, Hernán, 11, 46–49, 205n32, 208n5, 212n52, 213n58
Council of the Indies, 130
Craig, Dylan, 204n22
Crimea, 185
Crimean War, 197
Cromwell, Oliver, 84, 226n119
Cuba, 47, 61, 91, 92, 205n32. See also Havana
Cyprus, consequences of resistance to raiding in, 34
Daedalus (British ship), 161
Daman, 81, 222n60
d’Auteuil, Louis Hubert de Combault, 111, 113
Dayaks, 159
decolonization, 183, 186, 197
degredados, 76
deserters/desertion, 117, 118, 138, 161
Díaz, Bernal, 48
Dido (British ship), 155, 240n117–19
Diu, 23, 81, 222n60
Dominican Order, 61, 65, 76–78
dominium, 62, 67
Don Pacifico affair, 244n75. See also Pacífico, David
D’Oyley, Edward, 90–92, 227n131, 228n137
Drake, Francis, 82, 87
drones, in warfare, 184
Duntz, John Alexander, 241n31
Dupleix, Joseph-François, 108, 111–20
Duquesne de Menneville, Michel-Ange, 230n3
Dussart, Fae, 243n56, 243n58
Dutch empire: marriage of European men to local women in, 217n12; Pequots, relations with, 52–53
EIC. See British East India Company
Elkins, Caroline, 202n7, 203n17, 245n1
Elliot, Charles, 151
Emerald (British ship), 163
emergency, law and, xiii, 181–82, 195, 245n79. See also protection emergencies
empire(s): colonial conflicts as “small wars,” 6; colonization and free trade, 175–80; global violence and, 17–21; insider/outside status in, instability of, 190–91; legal rationales for legitimate violence within, 56–60 (see also justifications for violence/war; raiding; truces); literature on, xi; militarization of, 100–101; opponents of as “rebels” or “enemies,” 101; peacetime violence and militarization of, 104; plunder and, 26 (see also plunder); regional order and protecting the interests of, 175; systematization of repression in, 183; twentieth century, xiii; unsettling effect of intermittent violence on, 193; violence and, xiii–xiv, 2–5 (see also small wars)
England/the English. See British empire
Enrique III (king of Castile), 41
enslavement/slaving: Atlantic world slave trade, 4, 67, 90, 196, 217n11, 224n81; in Caribbean by English, 87–88, 90–91; Cypriot city of Laphathos, 34; demographic collapse of Charrúas and
Minuanes as a result of, 126; distinction between slavery and, 223–244n81; Guaraní fear of, 126, 131; households and, 67, 80, 98, 223–244n81; of Indigenous Americans, 45, 62, 125–26; in Jamaica, 88; martial law and, 218n21; of Pequots, 51; as permanent state of war, 63; as punishment for vanquished populations, 3, 25, 197, 211m40; raiding and, 17; represented as act of mercy, 67; in Río de la Plata region, 125–26, 129; slavery-through-war, 18; women’s reproduction, control of through, 217n11. See also captive taking

Estado da Índia: authority of high officials in, 219n30; household formation encouraged by, 64; households and the legal character of authority in outposts of, 97; imperial model, built on, 225n92; local women, control over relations with, 78; officials’ backgrounds in military garrisons, 70; permanent settlement of officials in territories of, 74; population of casados in, 224n82; raids organized by, 73; service in Morocco by early leaders of, 221n40; struggles with labor and territorial control, 80–81

Ethiopia, Tigray War in, xv

Europe: anti-Jesuit sentiment in, 124, 133, 140–42; anti-imperialism in, 154; anxieties about imperial expansion in, 100; balance of power in, 144, 181, 182, 237n123; as distinctive juridical space, 6, 7, 182, 227n29, 245n82; ideas about laws of war in, 9, 10, 19, 142; exile from empires to, 115; influence of right to regulate violence/conduct in war, 19, 99, 115 (see also Europeanization of the laws of war; conduct in war); raiding in, 35, 36; small wars in, 5, 7; as state system, 146–47, 238n123; Suárez in, 65, 150; truces in, 56, 37–42

Europeanization of the laws of war, 19, 99, 105, 196 Europeans: as auxiliary fighters, 110, 114; captive taking by, 17, 35, 193, 227n121; claims to exclusive right to regulate war, 121, 147, 191, 194, 196 (see also Europeanization of the laws of war); interactions with Indigenous people, 11, 13, 105, 191, 192; protection and, 175; race to militarize empires, 100; representing Indigenous people as rebels or enemies, 102, 165, 189; rivalry among, 113, 119

exile, 41, 42, 115, 174, 182, 188, 194, 243n58

Fanon, Frantz, 247n23

feitórias. See trading posts

Fernando I (king of Navarre), 38

Fernando III (king of Navarre), 39, 42

Fernando IV (king of Navarre), 40

Fiji, 164

Fisgard (British ship), 241n31

First Nation people. See Indigenous people

Florida, 45

“forever war,” 188, 195

Fort Astoria, 158

fortresses/fortification: Anjengo, fort at, 231n11; British, 82–83, 104, 106–7, 158, 226n118, 240n23; captive labor to construct, 18, 25; characteristics of a good site for, 70; empires/imperial power and, 97; financing of, 45, 71–72; Fort Astoria, 158; Fort George, 158; fortified towns, 24; Fort St. David, 107, 112, 117–18; Fort St. George, 106–8, 111; garrison empires as collections of, 62; household formation and, 63; Jesuit teaching of Guaraní about, 141; marking control of a territory by, 96; Moroccan, 221n40; Pequot village at Mystic, 51; Portuguese program of, 70–72, 74–75, 80–81, 97, 220n32, 224n89; raiding and assaults on, 31, 33, 36; Rio Pardo, fort at, 140; Saybrook Fort, 52, 55; sea outposts, 25; Trichinopoly, fort at, 108; Virudhachalam, fort at, 115

Fort St. David, 107, 112, 117–18, 231n10, 232n26

Fort St. George, 106–8, 111
France, 36, 92, 112, 114, 117, 118, 412, 144, 177, 230n2. See also French empire
free trade, 175–79
French East India Company. See Compagnie des Indes Orientales
French empire: Jesuits suppressed in, 142;
Ohio Valley, claim on, 230n2; Ohio Valley,
skirmish with the British in, 103–4;
raiding and treatment of women by,
93–94; raiding by, 36; the Second Carnatic War (see Second Carnatic War)
Furcy (enslaved man), 217n11

Gallagher, John, 175
Gállego, Juan, 49–50
Gama, Vasco da, 10–11, 220–21n39
Ganson, Barbara Anne, 234n62, 236n99
Gardiner, Lion, 55

Garrison empires, 62–63, 70–75, 98, 192–93, 196
Garrison government, 83
Gaul, 32
Gellius, Aulus, 57
Geneva Convention of 1949, 14, 185, 246n7
G浓缩is Kahn, 34
Gentili, Alberico, 57–59, 195
Giovio, Paolo, 59

Global militarization, 19, 100
Global order, xi, xiv–xv, 2, 19–21, 99, 106, 147, 150, 179, 181–82, 188, 198
Global regimes: of armed peace, 99–102, 147
(see also armed peace, global regime of); of plunder, 23–26, 188, 193; protecting Western interests, 180; of violence, 20, 60, 99
Goa, 64, 71–74, 76–81, 224n82
Gonzalez, Roque, 136
Goockin, Daniel, 226n115
Granada, 39–42, 47, 211n42
Gratian, 56
Greenblatt, Stephen, 207n2
Grotius, Hugo: civitas, humans in family
groupings considered a, 229n159; just war
doctrines, stretching of, 195; knowledge of by North American settlers, 215n83;

Guaiho, Mighel, 135
Guanaos, 124, 126
Guaraní: alleged brutality of, 140–41;

Guaraní War, 105, 121–39; anti-Jesuit sentiment in Europe following, 140–42
Gubbio, 43–44
guerrillas/guerrilla warfare, 5–7, 85, 86, 183, 242n54
Gulf of Oman, 71
gunboat diplomacy, 153

Hague Convention of 1907, 14, 185
al-Hakam (ruler of Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba), 38
Hare, Alexander, 148–49
Harkaway, Nick, 151
Hatfield, April, 228n136
Havana, 45, 48
Hawaii, 155, 240n19
Hoogensen, Gunhild, 244n62
Hormuz, 71, 73, 222n60
Hostiensis (Henry of Seguso), 57
households: British formation of in the Caribbean, 82–83, 87–90, 94; formation of in early empires, 63; in the global regime of imperial plunder, 25–26, 64; political communities and, 63–69, 97–98; Portuguese formation of in the Indian Ocean area, 75–81; racialization of language about, 93; as repositories for holding captives and plunder, 18, 82, 87–88, 217n11; Suárez on, 65–68

Hudson Valley, 50

humanitarian intervention, 4, 19, 182. See also intervention

Hume, Joseph, 151

Hunter, Ian, 143–44, 237n121, 238n128

Iberian Peninsula: dynamics of raiding and truce making from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, 37–42; guerrilla resistance to Napoleon’s invasion, 6; raiding/plundering in, 32. See also Spanish empire

Ibicuí River, 121

Idris, Murad, 207n47, 216n94

Ifrán, Juan Ventura, 167–70

Indian Ocean region: Bay of Bengal, 81; Calicut, 10, 71, 220–2139; Cochín, 70–72, 76, 78–79; Cocos-Keeling Islands, 148; Goa, 64, 71–74, 76–81, 224n82; Mysore, 106, 110, 147; Portuguese bombardment of, 10–11; Portuguese fortifications in, 69–75; Portuguese households in, 75–81

Indigenous peoples: Aborigines (Tasmanian), 171–74, 190, 242n49, 242n54; the British Navy and protection emergencies in the Pacific northwest, 161–63; as captives, 61–62; centrality of in the Río de la Plata region, 121–22 (see also Guaraní); Charrúas (see Charrúas); classification as subjects, rebels, or enemies, 19, 150, 165, 170–72, 174, 189–90; diplomacy and war, engagement in, 147; Europeans, distinguished from, 119–20, 191; fighting and raiding practices of Europeans and, comparison of, 35–36; Guaraní (see Guaraní); justifications for violence against, 59; Marathas, 106, 110, 147, 231n11; the Mexico, 11–12, 47–48; Minuanes (see Minuanes); as peoples of “unsettled habitation,” 145; Pequots, 50–56; regime of armed peace, responses to, 102; regulation of violence and, 3–4, 105; relations with European powers in the Second Carnatic War, 106–10, 114–15; savagery of/atrocities by, discourse about, 140–41, 229n11; sovereignty of, xi, 47, 100, 102, 105, 161; the Spanish conquest of, 27–28, 45–50, 61–62; suffering of in small wars, 114; Xhosa, 1, 201n1

infieles (pagan Indigenous Americans), 125, 128, 168, 234n69

international law, xiii, 13–15, 102, 143, 186, 196–97, 205–636, 237–38n123

interpolity law, 12, 102

intervention: as an European/U.S. right, 3, 19, 99–100, 153, 196; atrocity, potential for, 150, 171, 182, 188; criticism of British imperial, 177; cross-border, 4, 182, 194; definition of, 245n79; humanitarian, 4, 19, 182; justification for in the British Navy, 153–57; protection emergencies, in response to, 101, 150, 175, 182, 195; within the regime of armed peace, 101–2, 150, 153; reprisal and emergency, distinguished from, 181; as small war, 6; in Vietnam, 197

Islam: Portuguese Christians converting to, condemnation of, 222n55; the requerimiento and, 27–28. See also Arab/ Islamic raiding/conquests; Muslims

Israel, Yanay, 208n5

Italy, 42

Jaén, 39, 42

Jamaica, 84–94, 97–98, 226n119, 228n136
Jaume III (king of Aragon), 29


Johnson, Lyndon, xi

Juan Blanco (cacique of Charrúas), 169

Juan II (king of Castile and León), 41

Jumonville, Joseph Coulon de, 103, 229n1

Juno (British ship), 240n17

jurisdiction: as a category of legal action, 12; defense argument regarding, 164; dispute over/competing, 53, 100, 213n61; exercised by imperial officials, 45, 48, 132, 160–61, 164–65, 211n42; international, 15; over marriage, 217–18n12

jus in bello, 16, 181. See also conduct in war

jus ad bellum, 16, 181. See also justifications for violence/war

just war: defense of political communities and, 96; evolution of doctrine, 14–16; legitimacy of violence and, 56–57; Massachusetts Bay Colony application of, 215n83; Pequot war/massacre, invoked to justify, 55–56; private violence and, 68–69; the requerimiento as influenced by Roman ideas on, 27–28; Roman commentaries on, 14; seizing of captives in war, 62; slavery and, 67; Suárez’s position on, 218n10; Vattel’s positive law interpretation of, 143–44

justifications for violence/war: continuities in, i, xiii, 8, 99, 186–87; in empires, 56–60; in garrison empires, 68; interventions and, 153; limited war and, 96; protection and, 175, 185 (see also protection emergencies); massacres in relation to, 46, 210n29 (see also massacres); public versus private, 68–69; rebellions and, 120;

religious views on, 36; representations of peacemaking as, 19, 46; resumption of hostilities and, 56; self-defense, 113, 150, 175 (see also self-defense); small wars in relation to, xix, 2; truce breaking and, 129

Kellogg-Briand Pact, 185–86

Khwarizm, 34–35

Kilwa, 70, 76

King Philip’s War, 4

Koskenniemi, Martti, 204n25

Kuper, Augustus Leopold, 161–62

La Bourdonnais, Bertrand Mahé de, 108, 112

LaMettrie, Quentin de, 115–16, 119

Lapathos, 34

las Casas, Bartolomé de, 27–28, 61–62

las Casas, Pedro de, 61–62

law: “big,” 13–14; categories of legal action, widely recognized, 12; the common good and, 67; emergency and, xiii, 181–82, 245n79 (see also protection emergencies); imperial violence and, 7–8; Indigenous legal cultures, 53–54; instability and change in, sources of, 189–92; international, xiii, 13–15, 102, 143, 186, 196–97, 205–6136, 237–38n123; interpolity, 12, 102; martial, xiii, 101, 172, 203n19; of nations (see law of nations); raiding and, 24–25; regulation of violence in battlefield conduct (see conduct in war); Suárez’s distinction between natural law and law of nations, 219n22; Vattel’s law of nations and the transition from natural to positive, 143–44; protection emergencies; law of nations; peacetime violence and the transition from natural to positive, 103–5; raiding and, 24–25; regulation of violence in battlefield conduct (see conduct in war); Suárez’s distinction between natural law and law of nations, 219n22; Vattel’s law of nations and the transition from natural to positive, 142–46; violence, legal framework of, 13–14, 17, 196; violence and, 13–14; violence and, continuities between, 183–89

law of nations, 59, 94–95, 104, 106, 111, 117, 119, 121, 142–47, 219n22, 230n2, 223n30, 238n128

Law of Nations, The (Vattel), 14, 104, 106, 142–46, 238n131

Lawrence, Stringer, 113–14, 118, 120
Lawrence, T. J., 181
laws of war: application of, 158; battlefield conduct and, 147 (see also conduct in war); codifying, 14, 181, 185, 230n7; Europeanization of, xii, 15, 19, 99–100, 102, 105, 115, 196; evolution of/theorizing about, 14–17, 104, 144–45, 181, 238n131; histories of, 9–10, 16, 104; *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*, 16, 181; prizes, taking of, 73–74, 158, 220n35; small wars outside the purview of, 5
League of Nations, 14
Lester, Alan, 243n56, 243n58
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 204n25
Li, Darryl, 247n14
Lieber, Frances, 14, 104, 181
Lieber Code, 14, 104, 181, 185
limited violence/force, xi, 2, 101–2, 149, 153, 163–64, 179–80, 182, 188, 194
limited war: the global order/broader context and, 2, 21, 188; legal authority to make, 159; local, 98; as possible and necessary, xi; preoccupation with, xv; protection emergencies and, 150, 163, 175–82; theories of, 8, 16–17, 65, 95–96, 106, 180–82, 186–88, 195–98, 202n6, 207n47
Linstrum, Erik, 246n110
Lisbon, 70–72, 74, 76, 98, 236n105
Lopes de Sequeira, Diogo, 74, 219n30, 222n53
Louis XIV (king of France), 144
Lozano, Pedro, 127, 134–35, 137–38
Lyttelton, Charles, 92
Macedo, Jorge Soares, 125
Machado, João, 74
Mackintosh, James, 179
Madras, 107–8, 115–16, 117
Maine, 51
Malacca, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 78, 222n60
Malta, 151
Malthus, Thomas, 177
Mansfield, Edward, 91
al-Mansur (ruler of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba), 38
Manuel, Juan, 168
Manuel I (king of Portugal), 70, 220n32, 220n35
Maquinna (chief of the Nuu-chah-nulth people), 240–41n30
Marathas, 106, 110, 147, 231n11
marriage: control over women and, 98; to non-Christians by Portuguese men in Asia, 74; policies in Dutch empire, 217n12; policies in Portuguese empire, 75–79; slavery and, 80. See also households
martial law, xiii, 101, 172, 203n19
Martin, John Jeffries, 209–10n23
Martín García Island, 132, 136
Masalana (cacique of a band of Minuanes), 167
Massachusetts Bay Colony, 215n83
massacre(s): at Cholula, 48–49; defining a just, 50–56; as lawful punishment, 28–29; of Pequots, 51–52; at Salsipuedes, 170. See also atrocities
Maxwell, W. H., 163–64
Meares, John, 156–57
measures short of war, 20, 101, 149–50, 181, 186, 245n79
Mercado-Montero, Ernesto, 226–27n121
Mexico people, 11–12, 47–48
military patrolling: authorization to engage in small wars as feature of, 101; by *blanden-gue* units, 161–171; by the British Navy (see British Navy); increase in scale and scope of, 149–50; protection emergencies and, 151, 179
Mill, John Stuart, 180
Miller, Joseph, 224n81
Minuanes, 124–30, 137–38, 147, 166–70, 191, 235n83
Miranda, Francisco Javier, 128
Moctezuma, 47–48, 212n52, 213n58, 213n62
Modyford, Thomas, 88, 90, 92–93, 228n149
Mohegan people, 55
Molesworth, William, 178–79
Molina, Luis de, 229n159
Mongol Empire, 34–35
Montaigne, Michel de, 209–10n23
Montevideo, 123, 125, 128–29, 138–39, 166, 170
Moors, 40, 62, 120, 219n30
Moresby, Fairfax, 161–62
Morgan, Henry, 88, 91, 93
Moriscos, 39
Morshead, H. A., 155–56
Moyn, Samuel, 202n6, 246n7, 246n10
Mudéjars, 39
Muhammad I (ruler of emirate of Granada), 39–40
Muhammad II (ruler of emirate of Granada), 40
Muhammad III (ruler of emirate of Granada), 40
Muhammad VII (ruler of emirate of Granada), 41
Muscat, 73, 222n60
Muslims: in Granada after the Christian conquest, 211n42; Portuguese labor and loyalty shifted to communities of, 74; Portuguese looting of mosques in Indian Ocean ports, 72. See also Arab-Islamic raiding/conquests; Islam
Mysore, 106, 110, 147
Mystic, 51, 52, 55
Nahwitti people, 158, 161
Napoleon Bonaparte, 6
Napoleonic Wars, 19, 99, 151
Narragansett people, 53, 55
Nasir Jing, 119
natural law, 14, 67–68, 95, 104, 143, 146, 260n42, 219n22, 230n8
Navarre, 38
Navigator Islands. See Samoan Islands
Neah Bay, 157, 158
ñeengirú, Nicolás, 136–37
Neff, Stephen C., 245n79
New South Wales, 171, 173, 175
New Zealand, 159, 243n60
Niantic people, 53
Nizam-ul-Mulk, 106
Nootka Conventions (first and second), 156–57
Nootka Sound, 156, 157, 240n30
North America: Connecticut River, 50–53, 230n4; King Philip’s War, 4; Northwest coast, British Navy patrol and protection emergencies on the, 156–59, 161–63; Northwest coast, map of, 158; Ohio Valley, 103–4, 230n2, 230n7; the Pequot War, 50–56; United States (see United States)
Nusdorffer, Bernardo, 126–27, 134–35
Nuu-chah-nulth people, 156, 240n30
Ohio Valley, 103–4, 230n2, 230n7
Opium Wars (first and second), 151–52, 239n6
Oregon, 241n30, 241n31
Owen, Edward, 148–49
Oyster Bay, 171
Pacheco, Jorge, 168–70
Pacific, the, 17, 148–50, 155–56, 159, 162–65, 219n31. See also North America, Northwest coast pacification, 49–50, 166, 170
Pacífico, David, 152–53
Pagden, Anthony, 206n42
Palacios Rubios, Juan López de, 27
Palestine, 33
Palmerston, Lord (Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston), 152, 244n75
Paraguay River, 134, 138
Paratge, Guillen de, 29
Parker, Charles H., 217n12
Paulet, George, 159
peace/peacemaking: “hyper-violent,” 192; as a religious duty, 42–44, 56; as transient and tricky, 20; truces distinguished from, 57–58; war and, fuzzy boundaries between, 58–60, 189–90
peacetime violence: assistance to allies battling rebellions as justification of, 113–14, 120–21; law and regulation of, 103–5; self-defense as justification of, 112–14

Penn, William, 84, 226n110

Pequots, 50–56

Pequot War, 51–56

perpetual war, 20, 21, 138, 194–95

Persian Gulf, 71, 151

Persian empire, 33

Philip V (king of Spain), 135

Phillip II (king of Spain), 75, 219n30

piracy: English in the Caribbean, 88–89; legal politics of households and, 98; pirates and privateers, distinction between, 227–28n136; sea raiding as, 70

Pirú, Vaimaca (Spanish captive from the Charrúas), 170

Pitcairn, 155, 239n1, 240n19

Pitts, Jennifer, 237n116, 238–39n132, 238n123, 238n128

planting, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 92, 225n99, 227n136

plantations, 62, 82, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 136, 225n103, 227n121

Plassey, Battle of, 110

plunder: the British Hispaniola expedition and, 84–86; as coveted target of raiding, 31; global regime of, xii, 23–26, 188, 193; households and, 64; imperial reliance on, 17–18; planter households in Jamaica and, 89–90; by Portuguese captains and soldiers, 72; Portuguese financing of Indian Ocean operations through, 70, 74; soldiers’ desire for, 32. See also captive taking; raiding

Plymouth Colony, 50–51

Pombal, Marquês de (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo), 140–43, 236n105

Ponce de León, Juan, 45–46

Pondicherry, 107–8, 112, 116, 118, 119

Portobelo, 88, 91, 93

Port Royal, 88, 91

Portuguese empire: alliances with Indigenous peoples in the Río de la Plata region, seeking of, 125; “formal” and “informal” components of, division into, 81; Guaraní War following from the Treaty of Madrid, 105; interimperial alliance created by the Treaty of Madrid, 131, 138–39; Jesuits expelled from, 141; legal character of imperial outposts, improvisation to address, 97–98; making households in the Indian Ocean area, 75–81; trade, violence, and fortresses in the Indian Ocean area, 69–75; Treaty of Madrid, 121–24; Treaty of Tordesillas, 70, 220n38; violence employed on Gama’s second expedition into the Indian Ocean, 10–11; wooden crosses/stone pillars erected to mark “discoveries” of new territories, 220–21n39. See also Estado da Índia

positive law, 104, 230n8

possession, 70, 84, 104, 154, 221n39, 230n2; as basis for claims by Guaraní, 135, 136; claims of, by navy captains on behalf of European empires, 154–58, 160, 161, 240n23

postriliuminum, 207n46

Pottinger, Henry, 201n1

preemptive warfare: justice of, argument for, 59; right to authorize claimed in Jamaica, 92

Pritchard, George, 155, 159–60

private and public, relationship of, 67; fusing private violence and public authority, 94–98; in Portuguese Indian Ocean operations, 81; private-public collaboration in raiding, 228n136; private raiding as legitimate public war in the Caribbean, 89–94; salience of private-public distinction for Europeans in comparison to South Asians, 223–24n81

private violence: imperial rule and, 26; legitimate public war and, 68–69, 94–98; raiding connected to a private dispute, 31–32; truces as a means to quell, 41
property: belonging to captives, legal treatment of, 16, 61, 207n46; conversion of booty to, 25–25, 81, 94–97, 193; efforts to retain by people attacked by raiders, 33, 34, 42, 85, 211n42; free trade arguments and, 159; of Guarani, 122, 131; inheritance of, in Portugal, 72; justifications of war/violence to protect, 96, 157, 180, 196, 206n42; navy captains actions to protect, 159; in people, 87–88, 89, 94; restoration of, to LaMettrie, 119; Samoan Islands case, 155; seizure of, as act of self-defense, 58

protection: allies secured in seeking, 106; appeals/bargaining/claims for, 3, 9, 24, 102, 107; as a category of legal action, 12; discourse/language of imperial, xiii, 101, 150, 244n75; emergencies (see protection emergencies); expanding scope of, 175–76, 182, 185, 196; fortifications providing, 74; of households, 81, 83; Indigenous communities and, 13, 169; of individual rights, 97; as a justification for Russian invasion of Ukraine, 185; peace, offered in exchange for, 45, 208n11; the Peace of God, provided by, 56; revenue collection in exchange for promises of, 110; of and by the Romans, 32; safe conduct passes sold for, 69; of settlers, 169–70, 226n19; specific incidents related to, 53, 116–17, 156, 185 (see also protection emergencies); of subjects as the duty of empires, 135–37, 152, 154–56, 164, 175, 179, 189, 244n75; treaties, provided by, 116, 230n2; tribute paid for, 34, 38, 50–51; violence justified by, 187, 190, 197–98

protection emergencies: all-out war in Tasmania, path to, 171–75; the British Navy responses to, 151–54 (see also British Navy); definition of, 19; discretion/authority of captains / commanders in response to, 154–65; humanitarianism and, 243n60; interventions in response to, 101; interventions in the global regime of armed peace in response to, 150; as a legally permissible environment for imperial limited wars, 181–82; promoting regional order and, 175–80; range of available responses to, 152; in the Río de la Plata, 165–71 Providence Island, 82–83, 225n99 Pulsipher, Jenny, 214–15n80, 214n76, 215n83 Puritans, 51, 60, 82, 83, 225n99 Putin, Vladimir, xv, 185

Queen Charlotte Islands, 158, 161 Queensland, 164, 165

race, discourse about households and political community in Jamaica, 93; in Portuguese empire, 224n89; race war, 141; in vision of Anglo-American global order, 178, 180 racism, empires/small wars and, xiv; inherent in visions of global order, 178, 180; in raids in early Caribbean, 138n22 Bahrain, domestic order and, 47; as the background to truces, 41; English in the Caribbean, 82, 84–94; European and Indigenous, comparison of, 35–36; in the global regime of plunder, 2.4–26; households and, linkage of, 61–64; livestock, 210n31; the Pequot War and, 51–55; Portuguese, 69–70, 72–73, 124–25; private-public collaboration in, 228n136; in the Río de la Plata region, 124–28. See also piracy; plunder rebellions: battlefield conduct of local armies and, 120–21; fears of Jesuit and Indigenous, 124–28, 137, 141; justification for violence against, 113–14, 120–21, 130–31; procedures in the Treaty of Madrid for addressing, 132; resistance to the Treaty of Madrid and potential for, 126–28

Rech, Walter, 237n116, 238–39n132

regime of armed peace. See armed peace, global regime of regime of plunder, xiv, 23–26, 188, 193

repartimiento, 45
INDEX 281

reprisal: by British commanders, 162–64, 187; by Indians, 167; intervention and emergency distinguished from, 181; just/right of, 3, 15, 53, 55, 197; by Mongols, 35; by proxy, 161; rationales for/logic of, 51, 54, 165, 187, 195, 245n79; by Romans, 32; violence motivated by, 3, 8, 11, 53, 55, 101

República Oriental del Uruguay, 170. See also Banda Oriental

requerimiento, 27–28, 45–46, 49, 54, 129, 208n5, 214n71

rights/right: to break a truce, 58; of captives, 16, 207n46; to capture deserters, 117; to control women, 217n11; to discover, settle, or trade, 45, 55, 70, 147, 206n42, 220n38, 221n40, 230n2; of Englishmen/Britons, 116, 179; of household heads, to restrict the rights of others, 18, 67, 94, 97; to kill enemies, 18; to land, 137; to make peace, 137; to make war, 3, 13, 18, 25, 64, 82, 88–94, 98, 105, 112, 113, 115, 150, 180, 186, 192, 194, 228n145; to marry, reproduce, or live with kin, 64; under natural law, 117, 135, 206n42, 220n159; private, 229n162; to property, 211n42; to protection, 135, 244n75; to regulate war, 100, 105, 121; to reprisal, 53, 55, 94, 112, 113, 193; to refuse conversion, 42; to resist or rebel, 135, 189, 191; to repress rebellions, 146; to revenue, 110; to self-defense, 49, 58, 63

Rio de Janeiro, 157, 235n88

Río de la Plata region (South America): Colonia do Sacramento/Colonia del Sacramento, 121–23, 125, 131, 139; creating rebels in, 121–22; the Guaraní War, 105, 130, 138–39; interimperial framework for violence in, 131–32; justification of violence in, 146–47; map of, 123; militarization of, 166–68; protection emergencies leading to war and a campaign of extermination, 165–71; raiding prior to the Treaty of Madrid, 122–28; resistance to the Treaty of Madrid, 132–38; secret republic founded by the Jesuits in, accusation of, 140–42, 236n105; Spanish-Indigenous violence in, 128–31, 169–71; Spanish patrolling in, 166–71

Río Negro, 128, 169

Robinson, Ronald, 175

Rochefort, Charles de, 35–36

Rome/Romans: on just war doctrine, 14; raiding by, 32–33; rationales for resuming a war provided by, 58; ruthlessness in warfare by, 59

Ross, John Clunies, 148

Russell, Edward, 159

Russia, 15, 149, 156, 175, 209n20; invasion of Ukraine, xv, 184–85

Ryan, Lyndall, 242n54

Sahagún, Bernardino de, 48

Saint Helena, 155, 240n19

Samoan Islands, 155, 159

Sandfly (schooner), 163

Sandilands, Alexander, 148–49, 239n1

Santa Catarina (Portuguese ship), 14, 59, 95

São Paolo, 124

Saunders, Thomas, 111–12, 114, 119

Saybrook Fort, 52, 55

Schilling the Younger, Diebold, 30

Schmitt, Carl, xiii, 6–7, 203n19, 227n129, 246n11

scholasticism: captive taking and just war in, 65, 67; Grotius in relation to, 95; treatment of households in (see households); moral possibility within, 134; pact between subject and sovereign in, 134; right of subjects to resist illegitimate law, 135; rights in empire, 206n42, 229n162; Suárez representative of, 65, 67, 195, 218n20. See also natural law; rights, under natural law

Second Carnatic War: disputes over battlefield conduct in, 115–21; legal arguments justifying actions in, 110–15; lessons learned from, 110; war by proxy in, 105–10. See also Coromandel Coast (India)
self-defense: continuities in discourses of, 187; definitions of by the U.S. government, 184–85; households as basis for claim to, 90, 93; as justification for violence in the Second Carnatic War, 112–14
self-determination, 13
sepoys, 120
Sequeira, Diogo Lopes de, 74, 219n30
Seven Years’ War, 19, 100, 103, 139, 237n116
Seville, 61, 211n42
Seymour, George, 160, 241n31
sieges, 24, 31, 34–36, 42, 55, 139, 208n5, 211n40
slavery: the Atlantic slave trade, 4, 67, 90, 196, 217n11, 224n81; households and, 63–64, 67–68, 80, 88, 217n11; Indian Ocean complex of, Portuguese assimilation into, 80; lawful consent to enslavement, question of, 218n21; plantation, the African slave trade and, 94; plantation, household formation in the Caribbean and, 82, 87–88, 90–91, 217n11; as punishment, just war doctrine and, 62, 67; raiding for slaves in the Río de la Plata region, 124–26; trade in people, legal basis for, 87–88
slaving. See enslavement/slaving; captive taking
small wars: atrocities and, 3, 188, 197–98; continuing effects of, 4–5; definitions of, 5–8; European regulation of violence during armed peace and, 105–6; full-scale war and, distinguishing between, 31; Indigenous communities and, 3–4; interventions during the global regime of armed peace as, 150 (see also protection emergencies); justifications of, 186–88; legal framework of and the global regime of plunder, 23–26; patterns of, xiii–xiv, 2; patterns of as global regimes, 3; raiding as an element of (see raiding); serial originating in protection emergencies, 175; spatial and temporal impacts/frameworks of, 192–95; statehood and the conduct of war as themes intertwined in, 142–47; study of, xii–xiii; suffering and shifts in power produced by, 4; violence arranged unevenly by, 20. See also limited war
soldiers: battlefield conduct (see conduct in war); plunder and, 32; recruitment of, 24
South African War, 197
South America: Buenos Aires, 123, 125, 128–30, 133–34, 136, 139, 166, 168–69; Montevideo, 123, 125, 128–29, 138–39, 166, 170; Río de la Plata region (see Río de la Plata region); Río Negro, 128, 169; Uruguay River, 121–23, 128, 133, 139, 167, 234n63
Southeast Asia, xi, 152, 159
southern Africa: Anglo-Zulu wars, 2; War of the Axe, 1–2
sovereignty: European claims to/doctrines of, 13, 241n34; Indigenous, xi, 47, 100, 102, 105, 161; quasi-, 192; Treaty of Tordesillas and, 70; vassals, retention by, 190–91
space/spatial analysis: division of the globe into European and extra-European parts, 6; Grotius on war and, 95–97; implications of small wars, 20, 192–94
Spanish empire: battlefield practices of, 35; captive taking/enslavement of Indigenous inhabitants in, 61–62, 125–26; conquest as a route to peace, the requerimiento and, 27–28, 45–50; fears of Indigenous raiding/rebellion, violence and, 125–31; Guarani War following from the Treaty of Madrid, 105; interimperial alliance created by the Treaty of Madrid, 131, 138–39; in Jamaica, 85–86; Jesuit-Guarani mission towns, support for, 124–25; Jesuits expelled from, 142; misunderstanding in European-Indigenous interactions, question of, 11–12; Northwest coast of North America, conflict and negotiations with the British regarding, 156–57; on patrol in the Río de la Plata, violence against the Indigenous peoples and, 166–71; Seville, 61, 211n42; Treaty of Madrid, 121–24; Treaty of
Tordesillas, 70. See also Castile; Iberian Peninsula

Stanton, Thomas, 215n80

state of exception, xiii, 203n19

Stephen, James, 154

St. Francis, 43, 44

Stone, John, 53–54

Stowers, John, 155

St. Thomé (Portuguese enclave), 107, 116, 119

Suárez, Francisco, 65–69, 95–97, 186, 195, 218n20, 219n22

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, 224n82

surrender: following resistance, severe violence resulting from, 34–35; pledge by the invader to act in good faith to implement conditions, 209n19, in Roman empire, 33. See also capitulation

Syria, drone strikes against the Islamic State in, 184

Tahiti, 155, 239n1, 240n19
taifa kingdoms, 38–39
Taino, 61

Tanaghrisson, 229n1

Tasmania, 171–75, 190, 242n49, 243nn57–58

Tasmanians (Aboriginal), 171, 172, 174, 188, 242n54, 243n57, 243n58

Tatobem, 53

Tenochtitlan, 11–12, 23, 46–48, 212n52

Thetis (British ship), 161, 162, 241n33

Tiarajú, Sepé, 133

Tigray War, xv

Tilly, Charles, 204n12

Torrens, Robert, 178–79

Townsend, Camilla, 213n62, 213n65

trading posts/factories, 52, 70, 71, 73, 75, 158, 221n40

treason/traitors, 37, 42, 48, 114, 116, 120, 124, 141, 190, 222n55

treaties, law of nations and, 219n22, non-application "beyond the line," 90; regulation of small wars via, 17, 194; in rise of positive law, 104, 144; standing to make, 138; Vattel on inherent ambiguity of, 146


Treaty of Madrid, 105, 121–25, 128, 131, 139


Treaty of Tordesillas, 70, 220n38

tribute: agreements to pay, 24; payment by Christians and Muslims in Iberia from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, 38–39; peacemaking through pledges to pay, 36

Trichinopoly, 107, 108, 110, 114

truce breaking: as betrayal of trust, 44, 47–50, 210n19; legitimate reasons for, 58; massacres/violence in response to, 8–9, 23, 25, 49, 51–56

truces/trucemaking, 37–44; actions permitted during, Grotius on, 215n92; as an element of conquest, 19, 29, 50; European legal discourse on, 56–60; Gentili's and Grotius's approach to, 216n94; in the global regime of plunder, 24–25; in Iberia, 37–42; peace, distinguished from, 57–58; raiding and, 33–34; serial, between Castile and Granada, 39–42, Spanish conquest and, 45–49; in Tigray War, xv; tragic character of, 60

Tryon, George, 164

dollars’ Truce, 60

Ukraine, Russian invasion of, xv, 184–85

United Nations, 14–15

United States: Civil War, 14, 104, 181; drone strike logged as a defensive measure, 184–85; empire, characterized as, xii; humanize war, attempt to, 186, 202n6, 246n10; Vietnam War, xi–xii, 197–98, 246n17; “war on terror,” xiv–xv, 246n10; wars against Native peoples in the Western territories, 175

Uruguay River, 121–23, 128, 133, 139, 167, 234n63
Valdelirios, Marqués de, 134, 235n88, 236n100
Valencia, 29–31
Valparaíso, 155, 240n19
Vancouver, George, 156–57
Vancouver Island, 156, 157, 158, 240n19
vassalage (in Spanish America), 46, 47, 231n56
Velásquez, Diego, 47
Venables, Robert, 84–86, 91, 225n103
Viana, José Joaquín de, 129–30
Victoria, Francisco de, 95
Vietnam War, xi–xii, 197–98, 246n17
violence: characterizations of imperial, 4; cross-cultural understanding of, 11–12; as element of imperial conquest, 28–29; empires and global, 17–21; European and Indigenous peoples’ strategies regarding, 3–4; European right to regulate, claim of, 105 (see also conduct in war); frontier, logic of, 169–70; global regimes of, 60, 99; households and, 64–65 (see also households); instability in ways of justifying and regulating, 189–92; justification/legitimization of, 45, 68–69, 94–98, 111–15, 120–21, 130–31, 146–47, 153–54, 187–88 (see also just war doctrine; protection emergencies; requerimiento, the); law and, continuities between, 183–89; the law of nations and imperial, 143–47; legal framework for, 13–14, 17, 196; legal rationales for legitimate, 56–60, 188 (see also raiding; truces); local right to regulate, English colonization and, 82; “moral effect” of European military operations against non-European forces, 203n17; peacetime (see peacetime violence); private disputes and (see private violence); settler, 172; small wars and imperial (see small wars); threat of extreme, raiding and, 36; on the threshold of war and peace (see armed peace, global regime of); violations of truces and, 25, 28–29, 37. See also massacres; raiding
Virginia, 88
Vitoria, Francisco de, 65, 206n42
Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 177–78, 244n65
Walter, Dierk, 202n7, 204n28, 207n47
Wangunk people, 55
War of 1812, 157
War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748), 106
War of the Axe, 1–2
“war on terror,” 4, 246n110
war(s): asymmetric, 4–5, 202n7; conduct in (see conduct in war); conventional, 5, 7, 183; definitions of, 58, 95–96; duels and, difference between, 219n27; endless, 2, 4; European discourse on limited, 56–60, 95–96; guerrilla, 5–7, 85, 183, 242n54; humanize, attempt to, 14, 186, 202n6, 246n10; “interstitial,” 204n22; just (see just war); laws of (see laws of war); legitimate reason to resume following adoption of a peace treaty, 146; limited (see limited war); local right to make war, claim of, 90–94; measures short of, 20, 101, 149–50, 181, 186, 245n79; peace and (see peace); perpetual, 194–95, 197; private violence and, 95 (see also private violence); proxy, 4, 15, 18, 100, 105–8, 110–15, 119, 161, 194; public declaration of as a check on, 180–81; race, 141; small (see small wars)
Washington, George, 103
Webb, Stephen Saunders, 83
Wellesley, George, 161
Western Design, 84
Wethersfield, 55
Windsor, Thomas, 92, 226n119
Winthrop, John, Jr., 54
Winthrop, John, Sr., 54–55
Witt, John Fabian, 230n7
Wolff, Christian, 180, 238n124
women: commodification of, 224n81;
control over reproductive rights of,
217n11; dearth of, in Providence Island,
83; extreme violence toward after truce
breaking, 25; killing/massacre of, 51, 172,
184; as objects of plunder/raids, 35, 55,
62, 80, 93–94, 126, 129, 167, 169, 171,
215n80, 216n4, 235n82, 235n83; Portugese
marriage policy and control of
local, 75–81; race and the status of,
93–94; sexual attacks on, 26, 36, 174;
subordination in households of, 26, 62,
97, 223n80; with Venables's fleet, 225n103
Xavier, Ángela Barreto, 222n63
Xhosa, 1, 201n1
Young Dick (British ship), 164
Yucatán, 46
Yusuf III (ruler of emirate of Granada), 41
Zará (cacique of Minuanes), 169