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America's Progressive Army: How the National Guard grew out of Progressive Era Reforms

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America's progressive army: How the National Guard grew out of progressive era reforms

by

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A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Rural, Agricultural, Technological, Environmental History

Program of Study Committee:
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Ames, Iowa

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my parents, and the loving memory of Anna Pattarozzi, Eligio Pattarozzi, and George Margis.

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NOMENCLATURE

AEF	American Expeditionary Force
ALPLM	Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum
BDE	Brigade
CAV	Cavalry
CO	Commanding Officer
DIV	Division
INF	Infantry
INGA	Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum
INGMMA	Illinois National Guard Military Museum and Archives
NACP	National Archives at College Park
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NDA	National Defense Act of 1916
NGA	National Guard Association
REGT	Regiment
UMT	Universal Military Training

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ABSTRACT

The National Guard has been an integral piece of the American military structure since its creation in 1903, and the Guard can trace its lineage to the colonial era. While the Guard had its origins in the old militia system, by the onset of the Spanish-American War, the militia proved to be unable to meet the twentieth century's military challenges. Due to outdated laws and a poor public perception, the federal government instituted a series of legal actions designed to replace the militia with a more effective equivalent, beginning with the Militia Act of 1903 and ending with the National Defense Acts of 1916 and 1920. This dissertation argues that Progressive Era politicians created the National Guard within the context of Progressive reform efforts geared toward efficiency and centralization. The new National Guard's first test as a unified military entity took place along the Mexican border in 1916, and the Guard had its chance to prove its mettle in the trenches of the First World War. Furthermore, the National Guard serves as a laboratory through which to better understand American society during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, and military attitudes closely mirrored civilian attitudes, and illustrated the emerging class consciousness among the new middle class. This middle-class mindset drove Progressive reform efforts and culminated in the National Guard's coalescence into a functional and effective military force.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The modern National Guard describes itself as “a unique and essential element of the U.S. military. Founded in 1636 as a citizen force organized to protect families and towns from hostile attacks, today’s National Guard Soldiers hold civilian jobs or attend college while maintaining their military training part time, always ready to defend the American way of life in the event of an emergency.”¹ The National Guard’s self-assessment includes many important elements of modern and historical Guard service, but also offers a vague description of the Guard’s often chaotic past. Although the modern National Guard traces its heritage to the colonial militia system, the Guard is actually a modern creation, drawn from Progressive Era political and social trends. Congressional, military, and civil leaders lobbied for a modernized military force at the end of the nineteenth century due to extreme inefficiencies in the militia system. When the United States Congress established the official National Guard in 1903, they established the basis of the modern American military structure.²

The National Guard’s creation ushered in a new phase of American military culture, where the US peacetime and wartime military structure permanently incorporated citizen-soldiers. However, an equally important aspect of the Guard’s history lies in its ability to illuminate social issues at specific time periods and bridge the gap between civil and military elements. Prior to 1903, the United States military included elements of the Regular Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, with each state maintaining a militia

¹ “The National Guard’s Legacy,” accessed April 14, 2016 <http://www.nationalguard.com/legacy>.

² Though the terms “militia” and “National Guard” were used interchangeably near the end of the nineteenth-century, this work will refer to the militia as a pre-1903 organization and the National Guard as a twentieth-century military force. This is due to the official nature of federal law, which did not officially create the National Guard until 1903. But because many states adopted the term prior to 1900 (as did the National Guard Association), the term “National Guard” may appear in a pre-1903 sense when specific units are mentioned.

component. After 1903, the federal government established the National Guard as a replacement to the antiquated militia system, and over the course of the next two decades, the National Guard became a key piece of the US Army's force structure. Extreme levels of inefficiency during mobilization for the Spanish-American War, combined with increased levels of social strife—particularly regarding the militia's role in labor disputes—demonstrated the failures of the nineteenth century military structure.³

Oftentimes, class struggles and worker strikes created a need for social order that local police and constabularies could rarely enforce. The fact that business and political leaders often flung the militia into the middle of cultural and social antagonisms during the final three decades of the nineteenth century influenced the militia's changing role in popular imagination. These perceptions limited the militia's ability to perform its mission adequately, and the federal government took steps to centralize the new National Guard during the Progressive Era. Between 1903 and 1916, the National Guard evolved into an efficient military organization with high levels of federal oversight. This transition coincided with general trends in American society, where civic leaders sought reform oriented toward efficiency, cohesion, and proficiency. Ultimately, by the end of the First World War, the National Guard was only a shadow of the old militia, and its identity had shifted from a prominently state-oriented organization to a national one.

Additionally, unlike soldiers in the Regular Army, who often represented a lower strata of society, National Guard troops came from a large cross-section of society and served in a dual capacity as civilians and soldiers, and they spent the majority of their time in civilian professions. Therefore, guardsmen transcended America's class system

³ John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and National Guard* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1983) 138-40.

and embodied changing notions of civic duty, virtue, masculinity, and class relationships. This dissertation will closely examine the militia and National Guard in the American Midwest between 1877 and 1924 because this region embodied national trends. While regional differences pertaining to militia and National Guard service and attitudes existed during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, the American Midwest encapsulated national trends. As a region, the Midwest has been simultaneously rural and urban, and densely populated cities such as Chicago existed in the same region as Pacific Junction, Iowa.

Contrary to popular perceptions, the Midwest's racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity makes it a truly distinct region with a comprehensive cultural identity. While many Americans identify the Midwest as a "normative" site, the region was in fact truly transformative and was not divorced from social conflicts usually associated with the South, West, and Northeast. In the decades following Reconstruction, militia and National Guard units in the Midwest reorganized and coalesced into centralized and efficient military entities. Between 1877 and the First World War's onset, Midwestern militia and Guard companies and regiments became embroiled in the same social tensions associated with labor disputes in the Northeast and racial strife in the South. Furthermore, the Guard's development and formation in the American Midwest reflected national trends, and the Midwestern National Guard serves as a laboratory to better understand American society during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Military attitudes closely mirrored civilian attitudes, and illustrated the class consciousness among the emerging middle-class.

Regarding larger trends in military history, historians can gain a better understanding of socio-military issues during wartime and peacetime from National

Guard troops. Eric Dean noted in his influential work, *Shook Over Hell*, that when examining small units, “the greater purpose and flow of the war is rarely evident; to the common soldier in all eras, war has seemed a chaotic and terrifying business.”⁴ In some ways, new military history’s emphases on individual troops and small units led to an oversight regarding the “big picture” of American wars. However, letters and diaries of Guard troops often contain detailed accounts of the political, social, and cultural issues of the day, and thus can offer insights regarding the common soldier’s experience as well as the “greater purpose and flow” of the war. Therefore, the National Guard’s identity went beyond traditional social spheres and boundaries. Increased historical analysis regarding the National Guard will illuminate another layer of the Progressive Era’s social and cultural trends. The National Guard serves as a prism through which historians can examine American social developments related to civic virtue and class identity within a larger political and social context.

Historiography

Generally, with the exception of specific Guard scholarship, historians have placed the National Guard either outside of major historical movements, or on the fringes of such movements. Regarding the military, Guard scholarship, such as Jim Dan Hill’s, Jerry Cooper’s, and John Mahon’s, comprehensively cover the Guard as an entity, but the militia and Guard seem to fit outside of the military system—almost separate from it.⁵ In

⁴ Eric T. Dean Jr., *Shook Over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) 188.

⁵ Jerry M. Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard: The Evolution of the American Militia, 1865-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; and Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Co., 1964). These works provide adequate

other cases, historians have included the Guard within military history narratives, but only as a minor piece of a larger puzzle. In most of these works, the narrative centers on the Regular Army, and this approach obscures the key role the militia and Guard played in wartime and peacetime. For instance, Edward Coffman and Robert Zieger offer compelling accounts of the American experience during the First World War, and both mention the Guard as part of that story. However, the Guard's role comes secondary to that of the Regular Army throughout these works.⁶ On the other hand, works such as James Cooke's *The Rainbow Division in the Great War, 1917-1919*, focus squarely on the Guard during wartime, but even these studies fail to establish the Guard's importance within the modern American military structure.⁷ While some studies (as noted in the case of Eleanor Hannah) connect the Guard to the larger military historiography, there is ample room for further examination and elaboration.

Ultimately then, the National Guard's role in the United States military system bridges the gap that Samuel Huntington points to in his seminal work, *The Soldier and the State*, which offers a theoretical framework regarding civil-military relations, and argues that, "Civil-military relations is the principle institutional component of military security policy."⁸ Furthermore, Huntington's work set the military and civilian-controlled government agencies on opposite ends of a spectrum that professional officers and politicians needed to cross in order to effectively manage military affairs. According

coverage of the Guard's history, but do little to include the Guard within the military structure. Instead, they provide a historical account of a seemingly stand-alone entity.

⁶ Edward M. Coffman, *The War to End All Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 61-3; and Robert H. Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers INC., 2000). These studies discuss the Guard and include instances of the Guard's combat experience, but the major focus of these works is the Regular Army.

⁷ James J. Cooke, *The Rainbow Division in the Great War, 1917-1919* (Westport: Praeger, 1994).

⁸ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), 1.

to Huntington, the “principal focus of civil-military relations is the relation of the officer corps to the state,” and these two elements represent the relationship between the military and the state.⁹ Therefore, an ongoing struggle between civilian entities and professional officers dominated American civil-military relations, and ultimately created two competing elements who shaped political and military policy. However, the National Guard existed in both realms, and Guard officers moved seamlessly between the two spheres. Indeed, Congressman Charles Dick (who outlined many of the elements of the modern National Guard) served as both an Ohio politician and Ohio National Guard officer.

By including the National Guard into the general historiography of not only military history, but also within the Gilded Age and Progressive Era narrative, one will gain a more nuanced understanding of American society at a contentious period. The National Guard’s origin story illuminates many of the social trends and discourses that dominated American social and political developments in the five decades following the Civil War. And because the National Guard was (and is) both a civilian and military institution, soldiers who served in the ranks epitomized various concepts and ideals of civic virtue and citizenship. As noted, historians such as Jerry Cooper and Eleanor Hannah have examined the Guard’s appeals to identity; however, the Guard’s connections to Progressive Era dynamics centered on efficiency and modernity demonstrate the ways in which the National Guard tied the political and military spheres together. Finally, the transition from the militia to the National Guard was crucial in the development of the modern American military system, and by establishing the Guard as a new organization (not simply the next stage in the militia’s evolution), this work will

⁹ Huntington, *Soldier and the State*, 3.

illuminate the progressive nature of the Guard and military system. And finally, because the long-term survival of the Guard was not a foregone conclusion—as many leaders opposed the creation of the Guard—this transitory period became even more important for the establishment of a military system capable of meeting twentieth-century challenges. Ultimately, the National Guard’s story between 1877 and 1920 was America’s story.

Historians rarely focus on the militia or National Guard during this contentious period (or any other period). This lack of attention has led to a gap in the literature. Beginning in the 1960s and 70s, historians began focusing on previously overlooked aspects of American history, and this social historical trend has created a deeper understanding of American history from the bottom up. While scholars have examined the social elements of numerous historical periods and movements, few have focused on the social elements of the National Guard or militia. And indeed, the militia and National Guard as an organization contain elements of all three social history categories—race, class, and gender, and include inherent tensions related to general trends. For these reasons, historians can benefit by focusing on the Guard as an institution through which to view American society. While a few historians, including Eleanor Hannah, have looked into this aspect of Guard service, it remains overlooked in the general narrative of American history.¹⁰

¹⁰ Eleanor Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois 1870-1917* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007); Hannah, “From the Dance Floor to the Rifle Range,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6.2, (2007); and Hannah, “Soldiers under the Skin: Diversity of Race, Ethnicity, and Class in the Illinois National Guard, 1870–1916,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 8:3 (2007). Each of these works focus on an aspect of race, class, and gender within the Illinois National Guard at the turn of the twentieth-century.

A few pieces of important literature demonstrate the lack of Guard inclusion into the Gilded Age and Progressive Era historiography. Alan Trachtenberg's comprehensive work, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, details numerous American social shifts and describes the emergence of industrial capitalism in the country, but barely mentions the militia or the National Guard.¹¹ For Trachtenberg—who focused on the coalescence of big business and social structures—the militia only played a role occasionally as strike breakers. Though the militia's role in worker strikes (and race riots) partially defined its identity during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, the organization's overall importance tied to other facets of American culture as well. While this limited definition works in a discussion of class tensions during industrialization and “incorporation,” it places the militia on the outskirts of society. Similarly, Heather Cox Richardson's recent work, *West from Appomattox* details the realignment of American society between 1865 and 1901, arguing that “a new definition of what it meant to be and American developed from a heated debate over the proper relationship of the government to its citizens.”¹² Richardson extensively details how politicians utilized the militia in the American south during Reconstruction, but barely mentions the militia after 1877.

Both Trachtenberg and Richardson offer compelling explanations of American social and cultural shifts during the Gilded Age, but only include the militia as tools of big business and politicians. While neither *The Incorporation of America* nor *West from Appomattox* are military histories, but rather focus on industrial and business

¹¹ Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982). Numerous pages discuss labor disputes and corporate responses, but mostly deal with this issue from a worker perspective. A good example is found on pages 233-4.

¹² Heather Cox Richardson, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 1.

transformations in American culture, their limited explanation of the militia's societal role ignores the fact that the militia was a traditional American institution made up of living volunteers. Militia troops came from varying political and social backgrounds, and militiamen carried personal feelings and sentiments related to their own lives into militia service. Additionally, by only including the militia as the military arm of big business, many histories gloss over tensions within the militia and do not assess why men continued to serve in the institution despite internal strife.

While Gilded Age and Progressive Era scholarship generally glosses over the National Guard's deeper contributions to societal development, military and National Guard historians have focused directly on this transformation in various ways. Jim Dan Hill's comprehensive work, *The Minute Man in Peace and War*, serves as a general historical overview of the militia and National Guard, as does John Mahon's *History of the Militia and National Guard*. However, because of the scope of these works, the period between the end of Reconstruction and the end of the First World War garner the same attention as other periods in the militia's and Guard's histories. While Hill acknowledges the struggle of the militia during the Gilded Age, he establishes the transition from the militia into the National Guard as one step in a larger process of evolution, and Mahon offers a similar analysis. This interpretation of the Guard's development as one step in a larger evolutionary process minimizes the ideological shift from the old militia to the twentieth century National Guard, and creates a false sense that the Guard's history occurred in a bubble, somewhere outside the course of American social history.¹³ These works support William H. Riker's assertion in *Soldiers of the*

¹³ Hill, *The Minute Man*; and Mahon, *History*.

States that the militia garnered federal aid during this transitional period due to its role as a strike breaking force, and that this was a major role of the militia and early Guard.¹⁴

These works offer compelling narratives regarding the Guard's overall historical development, but fail to tie the Guard's federalization to deeper societal transformations. One of the most influential Guard historians, Jerry Cooper, outlined the extensive shift in the National Guard's identity in his 1997 work, *The Rise of the National Guard*. Cooper's manuscript built on his earlier works regarding the Wisconsin National Guard during labor strikes and his detailed examination of the North Dakota National Guards service between the Spanish-American War and the Cold War.¹⁵ Cooper's earlier works establish the concept of the Guard's changing role related to increased federal oversight, which sets the basis for *The Rise of the National Guard*. While Cooper contends that the period between 1865 and 1920 was instrumental in the modern National Guard's formation, he alludes to a general evolutionary process, and places funding and practicality at the center of his story.¹⁶ While historians must not overlook or downplay these elements, this Guard transition occurred during a general transformative period in American history. These general shifts were truly instrumental in altering the National Guard's nature as a state military force. Congressional progressives and military reformers debated numerous alternatives to the existing militia system as the nineteenth century drew to a close, and ultimately created a unique dual system under state and federal authority, which reshaped the American military system. Ultimately then, while

¹⁴ William H. Riker, *Soldiers of the States: The Role of the National Guard in American Democracy* (Washington D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957), 46-54.

¹⁵ Jerry M. Cooper, "The Wisconsin Militia, 1832-1900" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1968); and Jerry M. Cooper, *Citizens as Soldiers: A History of the North Dakota National Guard* (Fargo: The North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota State University, 1986).

¹⁶ Cooper, *Rise*, xiii-xvi.

the National Guard did evolve into a federally-centered force between 1903 and 1920, the Guard system represented a clear break from the old militia system and was an outgrowth of Progressive Era reform movements.

Regarding other social issues such as race and gender, some key works have broached the subject. Eleanor Hannah's article, "From the Dance Floor to the Rifle Range: The Evolution of Manliness in the National Guards, 1870-1917," and monograph, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois, 1870-1917*, establish the National Guard as an inherently masculine institution during the turn of the twentieth century, which allowed native-born whites, immigrants, and blacks an opportunity to demonstrate their masculine and American identity. She argues that Guard service allowed men from a variety of backgrounds to both establish and maintain a "manly" identity while exemplifying existing notions of citizenship.¹⁷ When combined with supplemental articles, Hannah's works confirm that the Guard was a complex organization comprised of men from a variety of races and social classes.¹⁸ And Hannah points out that, contrary to general perceptions, the National Guard was not a homogenous group of anti-labor native-born Americans. Furthermore, Hannah effectively argues that this complex group used Guard service as a means of both assimilation and citizenship fulfillment. This dissertation builds off the confirmation that the Guard reflected a wide array of personal backgrounds, but carries that into other elements of society. Indeed, trends within the National Guard grew out of larger social developments because the National Guard remained a military institution comprised of civilian soldiers. Ultimately then, the militia's collapse corresponded to a general

¹⁷ Hannah, *Manhood*, 1-3.

¹⁸ Hannah, *Manhood*, 10-14.

breakdown of existing social institutions during the Gilded Age, and the National Guard's rise stemmed from Progressive Era goals.

Hannah's works fit well into larger historiographical trends, and complement works such as Kristin Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*, which discuss how a perceived crisis of masculinity and manhood—brought about by industrialization and the decline of skilled labor—encouraged American political leaders to seek war as a means of reestablishing a sense of “manhood.”¹⁹ Hoganson's work focused more broadly on American political and military developments at the turn of the twentieth century, and argues that American political leaders used gendered language to support or oppose imperialistic and military endeavors. Generally, political war hawks often referred to their opponents as “feminine” or “womanly” in their wartime opposition or pacifism, and thus established American expansion and military domination as synonymous with masculinity.²⁰ As Hannah points out, Guard service offered men a way of maintaining their masculine identity and a means of performing their civic duty without having to join the Regular Army.²¹ These works provide a solid foundation for further study, and there is much room for deeper investigation into the social aspects of Guard and militia service.

Similarly, some important scholarship examines the racial components of the National Guard's historical development. Charles Johnson's *African American Soldiers in the National Guard*, offers a comprehensive narrative of black troops in the old militia and in segregated Guard units through the Guard's eventual integration in 1950. Like

¹⁹ Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 2-5.

²⁰ Hoganson, *Fighting for Manhood*, 1-14.

²¹ Hannah, *Manhood*, 2-3.

many comprehensive Guard works, Johnson provides a general narrative and demonstrates change over time regarding racial inclusion and African American identity. Johnson's work also examines the ways in which the militia and National Guard appealed to black Americans' conceptions of virtue and civil service.²² More recently, Chad Williams examined the role black soldiers played during the First World War in *Torchbearers of Democracy*. While Williams focused on African American soldiers broadly, guardsmen comprised the majority of black soldiers who fought in the Great War and nearly the entire 93rd Provisional Division. Williams's work stressed elements of racial prejudice and military prowess among black soldiers during and after the war.²³ These works establish a basis for study regarding the National Guard's racial components during its transformative period, and when combined with gender studies, offer a compelling argument regarding the Guard's recruitment and appeals to duty and identity. However, larger concepts related to Progressive Era reforms and transitions expose another element to the Guard's racial and gendered dynamic, as the Guard served at an intersection between American society and military and political reforms. Indeed, issues of race, class, and gender are inherently connected in the Guard's history, and manifested themselves in Guard activities.

Additionally, recent historical works related to the National Guard have emerged during the First World War's centennial commemoration. Charles Harris and Louis Sadler's 2015 work, *The Great Call Up*, examines the National Guard's role and mission along the Mexican border in 1916. Harris and Sadler provide a detailed analysis of every

²² Charles Johnson, *African American Soldiers in the National Guard: Recruitment and Deployment during Peacetime and War* (Westport: Praeger, 1992).

²³ Chad L. Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

National Guard sector along the border and the various missions the National Guard carried out during their year-long mobilization in Texas, Arizona, California, and New Mexico. While Harris and Sadler generally argue that the Guard's training at the border prepared them for combat during World War I, their work focused on the Guard's mission in a broad sense. Furthermore, *The Great Call Up* places the Guard's mobilization within the Mexican Revolution's context and the American response to international relations with Mexico.²⁴ Ultimately then, their work serves as a prelude to the Guard's eventual actions during the First World War, but does not delve into ideas of Guard identity or wider Progressive Era societal movements.

This dissertation will build upon existing literature regarding social elements within the emerging National Guard, but will establish that the Guard was not simply another step in a general militia evolutionary trend. Instead, Progressive Era ideology drove political leaders and military reformers to establish the National Guard as a replacement to the old militia against the backdrop of a growing professionalization and centralization movement. By examining adjutant general's reports, soldier correspondence, military records, Congressional records and debates, and newspaper articles, this dissertation will demonstrate that the National Guard was the result of middle-class drives for reform during the Progressive Era. From a macro perspective, the National Guard's development even reflected international trends. During the final decades of the nineteenth century, as European nations colonized Africa and Asia, governments utilized "experts" to oversee and exert political, economic, and military

²⁴ Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler, *The Great Call Up: The Guard, The Border, and the Mexican Revolution* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

control over colonized peoples. These experts attempted to calculate unforeseen variables and alter social dynamics.²⁵

While scholars often look to Europe in terms of colonization, the United States' Progressive movement contained many similarities. Reforms in the militia and National Guard generally came from political and military experts who believed the organization could achieve greater efficiency if professionals could calculate and reduce unexpected variables related to military proficiency and mobilization. In a similar fashion, so-called high modernism had its zenith in Germany's statehood development between 1870 and 1914, and relied on an ordered set of social planning that viewed the world through a state lens.²⁶ These governmental planners sought to improve and alter the human condition through increased centralization and governmental oversight. Again, American Progressives took on similar characteristics and structured the National Guard from the same perspective. Ultimately then, the official creation of the National Guard and its subsequent development between 1903 and 1920 grew out of Progressive Era reform movements and reflected broader national and international trends.

This dissertation will focus on three key elements in the militia's decline and the National Guard's emergence in the early twentieth century. First, the National Guard's embodied a Progressive identity as it developed between 1903 and 1920. Second, the Guard's institutional development reflected larger Progressive reform movements. Finally, the National Guard's lived experience during military operations ultimately determined its long-term organizational survival. Chapter 2 will examine the social,

²⁵ Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 8-19.

²⁶ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 3-9. Under this theoretical framework, the term state refers to the standard definition of "state" rather than the US's state construct.

political, military, and ideological pressures that led to the militia's decline in public perception. Chapter 3 will focus on the National Guard's institutional formation and how political and military leaders structured the organization to meet expectations related to professionalization and centralized efficiency amidst pressure from organized labor and militia detractors. The next two chapters will focus on the intersections of the National Guard's identity and soldiers' lived experiences along the Mexican border and during the First World War. Chapter 6 will readdress the Guard's institutional development as a response to the organization's service record during World War I, and will ultimately show how the federal government solidified the National Guard as a key piece of the United States' force structure.

The National Guard and progressive identity

A major facet of onset of the Progressive Era and the National Guard's growth related to an emerging middle-class which sought to reshape social relationships and alter existing power dynamics. Importantly, this transition occurred during a tense period in American history, where social realignment was a dominant trend. Robert Wiebe and Nell Irvin Painter offered two distinct views of this era. Wiebe described America as a series of island communities connected to urban centers in the mid-1870s, but by the late nineteenth century, "America was a society without a core."²⁷ He outlined the idea that the aforementioned middle-class hoped to restore order when the system seemed to collapse by reconnecting to American traditions. Middle-class Americans hoped to tie an old value system to a new cultural identity.²⁸ In many ways, the National Guard offered

²⁷ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 12.

²⁸ Wiebe, *Search*, 111-123.

these individuals one avenue for establishing a new institution with traditional undertones. Painter posed a bleaker view of this divisive time, as she places working class tensions at the center of shifting social norms. For Painter, industrialization and the emergence of modern capitalism pitted class against class, replacing sectional conflict in the United States. Working-class antagonisms created a sense of fear among the upper classes, and they responded with force. According to this interpretation, American society was on the brink of collapse during the final decades of the nineteenth century, and eventually this crisis created the demand for a new American identity.²⁹ Ultimately, Painter's arguments outline some root causes of working-class strife, the new middle-class ultimately drove the National Guard's reform movement and served as the foundation of the Guard's growth as part of the United States' force structure.

Industrialization and urbanization brought about a series of structural shifts and created a sense of fear in a large section of the population who believed America was on a path to disaster, and they worked to realign society. As corporate managers came to allocate market resources and oligopolistic markets replaced competitive ones, Americans questioned how the future economy would shape American society.³⁰ Many reformers ultimately came from a social class between the industrial elite and the working poor. This new middle-class comprised two major groups. The first group consisted of lawyers, doctors, and teachers with strong professional inclinations, while the second group included business specialists and managers. Both groups took pride in their professions and began to identify themselves by their skills, and formed national

²⁹ Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987) 10-15 and 383-90.

³⁰ Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977).

organizations in the 1870s centered on specific professions, ranging from the American Medical Association to the American Bar Association.³¹ In a similar vein, militia officers—who often came from this emerging middle-class—carried these civilian experiences into their military sub-profession, and eventually formed the National Guard Association (NGA) in 1879 in hopes of establishing a national militia community.³²

Class identity was apparent within the militia, and ultimately reflected American society. While militia officers generally came from the middle- and upper-classes, many enlisted men had working-class backgrounds. However, middle-class professionals also served in the militia and National Guard within the enlisted ranks and as non-commissioned officers.³³ This militia class dynamic remained much more ambiguous than the Regular Army’s social structure, and became an important element in the National Guard’s identity. Regarding the Guard’s development, middle-class officers drew upon workplace drives for professionalism, and carried them over to the militia and National Guard. And just as professionals focused on increasing business efficiency, middle-class militia officers in the NGA focused on militia effectiveness and standardization, while lobbying for increased federal funding to promote those new standards.³⁴ Amidst these professionalization efforts, middle-class Americans hoped to reestablish a “traditional America,” which would reinforce virtuous values among the population and restore a semblance of order and balance.³⁵ The militia’s ties to early America fulfilled these desires, because militia traditions dated to the colonial period prior to the American Revolution. While the militia’s role changed during the nineteenth

³¹ Wiebe, 111-113, and 117.

³² Cooper, *Rise*, 88.

³³ Hannah, *Manhood*, 33-6.

³⁴ Hill, *Minute Man*, 129-30 and 320.

³⁵ Wiebe, 43-46.

century, it remained a symbol of America's noble past. Militia service alluded to popular images of the minuteman, and ideas related to civic virtue appealed to Americans of all walks of life, especially the tradition-oriented new middle-class.³⁶ Americans who sought direct connections to the nation's founding found that connection in state military service.

Men such as Irving Goff McCann and Moses Thisted epitomized the National Guard's middle class appeal in the twentieth century. McCann served as a minister in various capacities prior to 1916 and served as chaplain with the First Illinois Infantry Regiment at the Mexican border and in France during the First World War. Eventually McCann earned a law degree and became a practicing lawyer in St. Louis, Missouri. Moses Thisted also served along the Mexican border and in France. Like McCann, Thisted's career as a teacher (and eventually professor) embodied the Progressive Era's professionalization trends. Along similar lines, Mathew Tinley, Lloyd Ross, and Frank O. Lowden grew from obscurity to prominence during the Progressive Era, and all had militia and National Guard backgrounds. Tinley and Ross served in the Iowa militia during the Spanish-American War, commanded troops in the First World War, and continued serving in high ranking military and civilian capacities in their professional lives. Frank Lowden briefly served in the Illinois militia during the 1890s, and eventually became governor of Illinois. These examples reflect how National Guard service appealed to middle-class progressives, and how the Guard existed at an intersection between the nation's military and civilian spheres.³⁷

³⁶ Barry Stentiford, "The Meaning of a Name: The Rise of the National Guard and the End of a Town Militia," *The Journal of Military History* 72:3 (2008), 729.

³⁷ These stories and characters will be examined more closely in the following chapters. For general information regarding these individuals see: Irving Goff McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border:*

Congress's creation of the National Guard in the early twentieth century not only combined modernity with tradition, but reflected Progressive Era politics. The Guard was a direct response to a lack of military efficiency and functionality throughout the Gilded Age. In civilian spheres, social reformers sought efficiency in the workplace by the twentieth century's onset. In *The Principles of Scientific Management*, Frederick Winslow Taylor outlined a plan to increase manufacturing output by maximizing worker efficiency. Taylor believed that by focusing on individual efficiency, a business could increase profits, which would translate into higher pay for workers and safer work conditions.³⁸ Though Taylor focused on the business world, the values translated into militia service. Middle-class officers drew upon workplace drives for professionalism, and carried it over to their military sub-profession. By the late nineteenth century, the officer class required intellectual and managerial skills in order to maximize soldier efficiency, just as business managers needed to maximize worker efficiency.³⁹ Militia officers (as well as army officers) often attended lectures on tactics, law, and discipline in efforts to establish competent and professional state forces.⁴⁰ Ultimately, the transition to the National Guard coincided with and reflected larger trends in American society related to professionalization and Progressive Era reform movements. By the United States' entry into the First World War, the National Guard epitomized Progressive ideals and concepts of centralized authority and efficiency.

Our National Military Problem (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Co., 1917); Moses Thisted, *With the Wisconsin National Guard on the Mexican Border, 1916-1917* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Journal Publishing Co., 1917); Thomas John Sandell, "The Campaign of Major General Mathew A. Tinley for the Democratic Vice-Presidential Nomination in 1932 (master's thesis, Drake University, 1963); and "Biographical Note," Guide to the Frank O. Lowden Papers circa 1870-1943; The University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center, Online Finding Aids, <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu>.

³⁸ Frederick W. Taylor, *Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper Bros., 1911) 5-29.

³⁹ Huntington, *Soldier and the State*, 13-15.

⁴⁰ Cooper, *Rise*, 85-86.

The militia's transformation and the Guard's rise

The Guard's overall story during this period is also reflective of the ebbs and flows of a changing nation. Following Reconstruction, the militia came to reflect a social institution rather than a military organization. The lack of a solid financial structure, poor training standards, and few military challenges created a sense of complacency within the militia. Militia service became more associated with drunkenness and social gatherings than with any real military function.⁴¹ Due to the militia's poor reputation, by the late 1870s, many states went so far as to officially replace the term "militia" with "National Guard," despite no changes in federal law or legal definitions.⁴² Over the course of the final three decades of the nineteenth-century, the National Guard Association lobbied Congress for increased federal funding, and state governments worked with militia officers to increase standards and establish training and efficiency standards. However, tensions with organized labor and non-uniform standards across state lines hastened the decline of the militia in common imagination and practice. The final blow to the old militia came during the Spanish-American War, when mobilizing the organization for a foreign war became a quagmire due to outdated laws and hostility from state governments.⁴³

Throughout the Gilded Age, though, increased social tensions and worker strikes hastened governors and local authorities to use force to restore order. In large strikes, such as the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, civilian authorities proved unable to restore order, and turned to state militia forces. However, the militia also failed to ease the

⁴¹ Cooper, *Rise*, 26-7

⁴² Stentiford, "The Meaning of a Name," 741.

⁴³ Mahon, *History*, 125-38.

tension, and sometimes clashed with striking workers. Eventually, the federal government sent the Regular Army into various American cities, and managed to restore order.⁴⁴ Ultimately though, the optics of using the US Army against working-class citizens elicited images of a social breakdown, and civil authorities increasingly turned to the militia to maintain order when police forces and constabularies became unable or unwilling to do so. This meant that authorities often pitted an undertrained force against antagonistic strikers. The working-class increasingly viewed the militia as an enemy, despite the fact that many militiamen came from the same social class as those across the line, and strike duty was not part of the militia's or National Guard's mission. By the start of the First World War, guardsmen from only twenty six states ever performed such duty.⁴⁵

Even though these various engagements between the militia and strikers were limited and usually ended peacefully, the militia's public image continued to deteriorate. The militia's and Guard's negative image as strikebreakers eventually led to a general decline in both efficiency and recruitment due to continued resentment from labor unions and the working-class. In some cases, this image was justified. For instance, during a mining strike in Colorado in 1914, nearly ninety percent of laborers went on strike. The mining company (with support from the Rockefeller family) hired members of the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency to serve as strikebreakers, and the detectives and mine operators began attacking and harassing the labor camps. Most notably, the detectives used an improvised armored car—nicknamed the “death special”—to periodically spray machine gun fire into labor “colonies.” Colorado's governor responded by calling in the

⁴⁴ Jerry M. Cooper, *The Army and Civil Disorder: Federal Military Intervention in Labor Disputes, 1877-1900* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980).

⁴⁵ Cooper, *Rise*, 44-45.

National Guard to restore order, and allowed the Guard commander to enlist mine guards as a way to bolster numbers. As the strike drew on, the governor allowed the Rockefeller family to dress their strikebreakers in Guard uniforms in order to prevent his actual guardsmen from needing to remain in the field for an extended period of time. After six months, the remaining guardsmen were mostly former mine guards and company strikebreakers, and on 20 April 1914, these “guardsmen” attacked the strikers and killed 20 men, women, and children, and wounded dozens of others. Eventually, Colorado’s governor called in the actual National Guard to restore order. Indeed, these pseudo-guardsmen signed up specifically to break a strike, but were never part of the state’s official National Guard and never received any federal recognition, and instances such as this were certainly the exception not the rule.⁴⁶ Regardless of the reality though, these types of incidents exasperated the militia and Guard’s negative image, especially when the media and labor organizers focused on instances of militia ineptitude.

Despite the overall rare occurrences of clashes between state soldiers and workers, the presumed war between the militia and the working-class created strife within the militia itself. In response, militia leaders, state and federal politicians, and military officials took steps to reorganize and reform the militia. Many of these reform efforts tied to militia funding and federal allocations. State governments, federal authorities, and militia officers believed increased funding would allow the militia to increase training protocols and improve equipment and provisions. These efforts would then translate to increased recruitment and better proficiency, which would theoretically improve the militia’s public perception. States began stressing the importance of military

⁴⁶ Mark Walker, “The Ludlow Massacre: Class, Warfare, and Historical Memory in Southern Colorado,” *Historical Archaeology* 37:3 (2003), 66-70; and Sam Lowry, “The Ludlow Massacre, 1914,” accessed January 3, 2016 <https://libcom.org/history/1914-the-ludlow-massacre>.

training and proficiency in an effort to break the connection between the militia and images of drunkenness and military ineptitude. American political leaders specifically set out to reshape the American military system in the shadow of European models based on compulsory service and national mobilizations. The United States opted to remain volunteer-based, but with an option for conscription, while maintaining a large peacetime force of part-time volunteers. The resulting creation of the National Guard set up a massive supplementary force to the Regular Army, while maintaining state control over local forces, harkening back to the earliest American republican traditions.⁴⁷

Between roughly 1880 and 1900, Regular Army officers and high ranking military officials held differing views related to the militia and eventually the National Guard. In the decades following the Civil War, William T. Sherman, General Emory Upton, and Stephen Luce ushered in an era of general military professionalization. As Commanding General of the Army, Sherman stressed the importance of military education and reestablished the artillery school at Fort Monroe in 1868, helped establish infantry and cavalry schools at Fort Leavenworth, as well as advanced tactical and strategic officer schools across the country. Emory Upton became perhaps the most influential young officer in the Army regarding military reform efforts. Upton prepared a new set of tactics for the Army, served as Commandant of Cadets at West Point from 1870 to 1875, travelled across Europe and Asia in 1876 and 1877 to inspect foreign military institutions, and became superintendent of theoretical instruction at Fort Monroe. Upton's influential works, *The Armies of Europe and Asia*, and *The Military Policy of the United States* expressed the fundamental elements of a professional military class and

⁴⁷ Mahon, *History*, 1-6; Cooper, *Rise*; and Hannah, *Manhood*, 231-216.

presented a series of wide ranging reforms.⁴⁸ Regarding the militia, Upton supported maintaining a ready-reserve as a supplement to a strong and centralized Regular Army, but believed citizen-soldiers could never adequately support the Army. Though Upton committed suicide in 1881, his influence remained prevalent for decades, and “Uptonians” in the Army’s ranks regularly called for strengthening the Regular Army either through universal military training or conscription—often at the expense of the militia and National Guard.⁴⁹

Conversely, other military officers—including Sherman—supported strengthening the militia, and the militia and National Guard found strong advocates in Congress and other circles. Throughout the 1880s, the NGA convinced some Congressional leaders to increase militia funding and levels of federal oversight—particularly regarding training protocols. Despite some reform efforts though, when the United States went to war with Spain in 1898, the militia comprised a large element of the nation’s manpower potential. However, the nation still relied on an antiquated militia law and an outdated wartime volunteer structure. From the war’s onset, states struggled to mobilize their militias as “volunteers,” and barriers between the federal and state governments hindered the mobilization, and exposed serious shortcomings in the existing system. Overall, the militia performed well in both the Caribbean and the Philippines, due to increased training during the Gilded Age, but these successes did little to sway public opinion. Ultimately, by 1900, general perceptions led many governmental

⁴⁸ Emory Upton, *The Armies of Europe and Asia: Embracing Official Reports on the Armies of Japan, China, India, Persia, Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England* (London: Simkin, Marshall, and Co., 1878); Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904); and Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), 231-3.

⁴⁹ Russel Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military History and Policy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 168-70 and 221-2.

officials and military leaders to believe that the militia was inept and outdated. Federal officials worried that the nation would not be able to meet military challenges in the twentieth century under the existing format, and took to the task of reforming the United States' military structure.

In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, military reformers again reexamined the relationship between the Regular Army and the militia. Mobilization inefficiencies prompted Congressional officials and military officers to question whether or not the militia could adequately supplement the Army under the existing structure. Elihu Root (who became Secretary of War in 1899), turned to reform-oriented regular officers for advice on how to alter the Army and initiate basic reforms in national policy. By 1903, the Army established a general staff system and established war preparation as the Army's chief peacetime activity. Root also understood the need for a trained reserve force, and supported the idea of making the militia and National Guard (after 1903) a nominal reserve. Root stressed the need for increased funding and federal control, and redefining the relationship between the federal government and state soldiers became a major element in Secretary Root's reforms.⁵⁰

In 1903, Congress enacted legislation that officially replaced the militia with the National Guard, established training standards and increased federal oversight into the Guard. The Militia Act of 1903, or the Dick Act, established the National Guard as a piece of the Army's force structure, but still maintained state control over the Guard. The Dick Act allowed the federal government—particularly the executive branch—to mobilize the National Guard for national emergencies, but still restricted the Guard to activities within the United States. Amendments to the Dick Act in 1908 and 1909 built

⁵⁰ Cooper, *Rise*, 108-9.

upon the initial legislation and expanded federal oversight. By 1910, the federal government could mobilize the National Guard in the event of any invasion or insurrection without state sanction, and the federal government could deny funding to any state unit who did not meet federal standards and guidelines. Furthermore, Regular Army officers and noncommissioned officers regularly instructed Guard troops and oversaw training programs. However, even with the new laws, numerous politicians and business leaders supported replacing the National Guard with some other military organization based on compulsory service.⁵¹ This sentiment stemmed from perceived tensions between the federal government and state governments, as well as continued hostility from organized labor (the National Guard performed the same strike duty as the militia earlier). But, the National Guard remained steadfast, and in 1916, Congress once again altered the American military structure.

The National Defense Act of 1916 not only strengthened the Guard and gave the President the authority to mobilize the Guard for wartime service without state approval, but also completely reshaped the size and function of the American military.⁵² So, by 1916, the National Guard became a key element in the US Army's force structure. The survival of the Guard under the National Defense Act was tested twice—at the Mexican border and in France during World War I. Although many congressmen and some National Guard officers opposed sending the Guard to the border for political purposes, the training the Guard received at the border proved valuable for the Guard's war efforts

⁵¹ "Defense Sentiment Shown by Poll of Businessmen," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1916. This article detailed how a majority of members in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce still supported replacing the National Guard with another military entity even as late as 1916.

⁵² U.S. Congress, *The National Defense Act*, Approved June 3, 1916 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916); and John S. Eisenhower with Joanne Thompson Eisenhower, *Yanks: The Epic Story of the American Army in World War I* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 23-4.

in France. And because the Guard performed better than anticipated in Europe, Congress further solidified the Guard's position in the military system in the form of amendments to the National Defense Act in 1919, and again in 1920. Indeed, the Guard proved its worth in France during the war, but this success was the result of decades of tension, changes in the Guard's social structure, successful lobbying efforts, and Progressive Era Congressional action.

CHAPTER 2 – THE MILITIA’S DECLINE

On a cold February day in 1875, Chicago’s militia armories were hot with action. Rumors had spread around the city, pronouncing that angry, socialist, immigrants and Bohemians threatened to march on the Chicago Relief and Aid Society with little regard for private or public property. In the weeks prior, the socialists held three meetings throughout Chicago and demanded that the Relief and Aid Society change its policies in order to do more to support downtrodden individuals who applied for help. Chicagoans feared that potential chaos loomed over their city and that these socialists could institute an era of fear similar to the lawlessness of the Paris Commune earlier in the decade. Against this backdrop, the militia stood ready to preserve order and rise to the occasion just as the famed minutemen had done at Lexington and Concord. Men from the First Regiment of the Illinois Militia voluntarily assembled at its armory and within a few days, other militia companies from Chicago, including the Clan-na-Gael Guards, the Alpine Hunters, the Irish Rifles, the Montgomery Light Guards, the Mulligan Zuaves, and the Hannibal Zuaves, prepared themselves for battle, even though observers commented that “any attempts at forcible demonstration” were “extremely unlikely.”¹ Indeed, either due to military preparations or the socialists’ lack of organization, events in Chicago remained relatively quiet, but this potential riot exposed some problems related to militia mobilizations in the post-Civil War years.

¹ “The Communists: Preparations Made by the Military Companies to Prevent Trouble,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 25, 1875. Throughout this chapter, newspaper articles from the *Chicago Daily Tribune* and *The Illinois State Register* were consulted through microfilm at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum in Springfield, Illinois. Other regional newspaper sources were accessed through the Nineteenth Century US Newspaper database via Iowa State University at <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/>.

The first problem with these types of deployments was the fact that they occurred without official state sanction, and displayed a lack of authority, evident in the archaic and non-centralized names of the Chicago regiments. Secondly, most of these self-mobilized units maintained no formal ties to the official Illinois militia, but were instead privately funded and consisted of local volunteers.² While most militia activations came from state authorities, vague laws and mission statements, combined with a sense of disillusionment within the militia displayed massive militia inefficiencies in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The post-Civil War militia devolved into an undisciplined, under-funded force more closely associated with pageantry and drunkenness than with military prowess. This reality greatly undercut the militia's military effectiveness. Finally, the militia's popular decline occurred at a pivotal junction in American history. During the Gilded Age, changing geopolitical and socio-economic structures, related to urbanization, industrialization, and social class disparities placed great stresses on American society, gradually realigning American culture. The need for social and political reform eventually led to American Progressivism in the early twentieth century; the restructuring of the militia was part of this trend. Indeed, Gilded Age tensions shattered the old militia system, and Progressive Era reform movements created its replacement, the National Guard.

During the latter half of the nineteenth-century, business and political leaders often flung the militia into the middle of cultural and social antagonisms which led to a shift in popular militia perceptions. Unfortunately for the militia, these activations came during a period when state forces were in a transitory period. In the immediate years

² Eleanor Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois, 1870-1917* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007), 81-83.

after the Civil War, the antebellum militia structure completely dissolved due to funding gaps and general military malaise, and the Midwestern militia reflected national trends. Midwestern states contained both urban and rural militia units, and national trends related to labor and racial strife played out in Midwestern communities. Midwestern militia units also reorganized and grew in the decades following Reconstruction, and came to represent the organization's general state by the end of the century. For instance, by 1870, Illinois' governor reported to the secretary of war that his state had no active militia at all along with fifteen other states. In 1872, a volunteer militia reemerged in Illinois, but it had no centralized structure and each regiment carried its own antiquated name dating to the antebellum period, as evidenced by the 1875 Chicago mobilization during the Aid and Relief Society marches.³ Likewise, legislatures in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin attempted to recreate an antebellum-style militia in the decade after the Civil War. These efforts collapsed.⁴ After the disruptive railroad disputes of 1877, though, these states increased their militia appropriations and took steps to establish better trained state forces. States such as Iowa and Illinois adopted the term "national guard," and by the 1880s each regiment carried a numerical designator and fell under a state-mandated (and federally outlined structure).⁵ Ultimately, social developments related to organized labor, combined with the nation's desire to modernize its military forces led the federal

³ *Fourth Annual Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, December 1872, Submitted to Governor John M. Palmer by Adjutant General J. Dilger, Dec. 31, 1872* (Springfield: State of Illinois Printing Office, 1872); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois Transmitted to the Governor and Commander in Chief, For 1873 and 1874* (Springfield: State of Illinois Printing Office, 1874).

⁴ Cyril B. Upham, "Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1865-1889," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 18 (Jan. 1920), consulted in the General Collection, Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa; and Jerry Cooper, *The Wisconsin Militia, 1832-1900*, vol. I (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).

⁵ *Report of John H. Looby, Adjutant General and A.Q.M. General of the State of Iowa to Hon. Joshua G. Newbold, Governor of Iowa, October 1, 1876-October 1, 1877* (Des Moines: R.P. Clarkson, State Printer, 1877); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, For 1879 and 1880* (Springfield: State of Illinois Printing Office, 1880); and Hannah, *Manhood*, 10.

government to reassess the militia's situation throughout the Gilded Age. Little changed, however, until a militia mobilization debacle during the Spanish American War.

Throughout the Gilded Age, class struggles and worker strikes created a need for social order that local police and constabularies had difficulty enforcing. In many cases, the militia was the closest military force at a governor's or local official's disposal to restore order. And although many militiamen came from the same social class as those across the line, many workers viewed the militia as a tool of large corporations, and while these engagements between the militia and the working class were limited and usually ended peacefully, many workers saw the militia as the enemy. Meanwhile, class identity remained apparent within the militia (as every social class was represented within the organization). Therefore, the militia served as a reflection of American society. Sometimes, these social divisions were quite obvious and bordered on racism, as was the case when Captain Thomas Quincey recapped an incident that occurred in Virden, Illinois in 1898 when a riot broke out between white mine strikers and black replacement workers. Captain Quincey declared that:

I believe that the vast amount of harm was done by men who came from outside the town. We have heard of the English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and German. No doubt they are the better class, but there is a class of men who come to this country from Slovenia [*sic*] whom they tell me it is impossible to educate or elevate. Those are the men who came from Mt. Olive and a hundred places one hundred fifty strong and lined up along the railroad in broad daylight and fought that battle and those are the men who lost their lives.⁶

⁶ Sunset Club 92nd Annual Meeting Minutes, November 22, 1898; Papers of John H. Walker, Miscellaneous Documents; University Library, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois; and John H. Keiser, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 53:3 (1969); in Folder 5, Box 1, Disturbances/Disasters (D/D); Illinois National Guard Military Museum and Archives, Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois (INGMMA). Hereafter as Folder no., Box no., D/D; INGMMA.

While Captain Quincey certainly did not speak for all militia officers, he demonstrated an existing prejudice in the United States among social elites, which sometimes manifested itself in militia activities. Indeed, during periods of societal unrest, the militia found itself caught between two ideologically opposed social classes with little federal guidance.

This period in the militia's history occurred during a tense period in American history, and larger social transitions in the United States directly influenced the militia's decline. Robert Wiebe and Nell Irvin Painter offered two distinct views of the Gilded Age and ensuing Progressive Era. Wiebe describes America as a series of island communities connected to urban centers in the mid-1870s, but by the late nineteenth century these communal connections had broken down.⁷ He maintains that an emerging middle-class desired to restore order when the system seemed to collapse by reconnecting to American traditions. Middle-class Americans hoped to tie an old value system to a new cultural identity in a rapidly changing society.⁸ Painter presents a bleaker view of this divisive time, as she places working class tensions at the center of shifting social norms. For Painter, industrialization and the emergence of modern capitalism pitted class against class, which essentially replaced the sectional conflicts that plagued the United States throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century. Working class unrest created a sense of fear among the upper classes, and they often responded with force. According to Painter's interpretation, working-class unrest drove American social strife, which created the demand for a new American cultural identity.⁹ These contesting views provide the

⁷ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 12.

⁸ Wiebe, *Search for Order*, 111-23.

⁹ Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987), 10-15 and 383-90.

setting for the militia's role in Gilded Age society, as social discord directly led to increased militia activity. Amidst this turmoil, militia service appealed to the new middle-class's desire for order.

In the decades following the Civil War, an emerging middle-class began to reshape social relationships and altered existing power dynamics it they sought to realign society, while priding itself on professional endeavors. This middle-class created professional organizations during the Gilded Age such as from the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association as a way of establishing a professional identity.¹⁰ Within the militia, middle-class reformers (often within the militia officer corps) established similar associations to increase military efficiency and professionalization in the state militias. For example, New York militia officers promoted the formation of the National Rifle Association in 1871 in order to increase rifle proficiency within their organization, and other states followed suit.¹¹ Nearly two decades later, delegates from various Midwestern militia regiments met in Chicago and formed the Military Rifle Association of the National Guard of the Northwest, which included members from Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, and Michigan.¹² However, the most influential militia professional organization was formed in 1879 when middle-class militia officers formed the National Guard Association (NGA) with

¹⁰ Wiebe, 115-121.

¹¹ Russell S. Gilmore, "Crackshots and Patriots: The National Rifle Association and America's Military-Sporting Tradition, 1871-1929" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974), 40-54; and Jerry Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard: The Evolution of the American Militia, 1865-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 85.

¹² *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1889 and 1890* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1891), 6-7; and "Inter-State Rifle Work," *Milwaukee Daily Journal*, February 8, 1890.

the hope of establishing a national militia community with a professional base, and individual states created their own guard associations.¹³

Furthermore, the militia's ties to early American society reflected the middle-class's desires to reestablish "traditional America." Although the militia's role changed during the nineteenth century, it remained a symbol of America's noble past. However, by the time the United States went to war with Spain in 1898, the militia's legal structure remained almost unchanged since the nation's founding, and the federal government struggled to mobilize the militia to meet the challenges associated with overseas endeavors. At the turn of the twentieth century, the militia still relied on an antiquated legal structure based on the Militia Act of 1792 which established that "each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is or shall be of age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years...shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia."¹⁴ While this act provided the framework for a force structure, it remained, with the exception of the word "white," unchanged until the twentieth century. Due to the limitations of the old law, one commentator pointed out that over the course of the nineteenth-century, "the country rapidly advanced in population and prosperity, and in the same proportion that it progressed, the militia law was disregarded."¹⁵

Eventually, Progressive politicians responded by replacing the old law with the Militia Act of 1903, which ultimately replaced the militia with the National Guard. However, the National Guard's ultimate establishment was the result of a series of failed

¹³ Cooper, *Rise*, 88.

¹⁴ The Militia Act of 1792: An Act more effectually to provide for the National Defense by establishing an Uniform Militia throughout the United States, 2nd Cong (1792), Chapter XXVIII.

¹⁵ Albert Ordway, "A National Militia," *The North American Review* 134:305 (1882), 398.

reform movements in light of the ongoing tensions associated with Gilded Age society. Interestingly late nineteenth century perceptions led many states to adopt the term, “national guard” for their organized militias in the mid- and late-1870s, although there was nothing “national” about these forces. Indeed, the nature of federal control, and the role of the Guard as a dual force (between the federal and state governments) marks a distinct shift away from the militia’s origins, which had placed the militia’s control firmly with the states. While this change may seem like a trivial semantic shift, it is indicative of the general decline of the militia in popular imagination. By 1877, the term “militia” elicited images of fancifully dressed soldiers walking in parades and drinking heavily, not military pride. States hoped a name change could rebrand the militia. Importantly though, these forces remained under state jurisdiction until passage of the Militia Act in 1903, and newspapers, state authorities, and even militia officers and adjutant generals used the two terms interchangeably until the years preceding the First World War. For the sake of clarity, this chapter will use the term “militia” to describe the institution in general, and the term “National Guard” will refer to specific units or the organization after 1903.¹⁶

Despite the unofficial name change, the militia remained connected to American political shifts during the latter half of the nineteenth-century, and internal social pressure ultimately dismantled the organization. This chapter will thematically examine the breakdown of the old system, as it related to the disputes between the militia and organized labor, the changing nature of militia service during the Gilded Age, and the mobilization struggles in 1898. Even the militia’s combat successes in the Philippines

¹⁶ This is a slightly different approach than other Guard scholarship. For example, John K. Mahon uses the term “militia” prior to the Civil War, then uses the phrase “militia/national guard” until the twentieth century.

during the Philippine-American War did little to rebuild the militia's reputation amidst looming efficiency struggles. Although regional differences played a role in determining funding (related to state emphases), a unit's strike duty frequency, and overall enlistment numbers, the militia across the nation witnessed some general trends. These trends influenced national perceptions, and while nineteenth century newspapers were not the pinnacle of accuracy, commonality found within various papers (even ideologically opposed ones) demonstrated a general inclination. For a variety of reasons, at the turn of the twentieth century, many Americans agreed that the existing militia system was inadequate to meet the challenges of a new era.

The militia and organized labor

The militia's decline and transformation coincided with larger military and social professionalization efforts that began after the Civil War. Reformers like Emory Upton stressed the importance of professional standards within the United States officer corps. General William T. Sherman and Secretary of War William Belknap dispatched Upton to Europe, where he examined European militaries and hoped to increase the standards of the American military. Upton noted that, "Entry into the officer corps was only by graduation from a military school or by promotion from the ranks after pursuing a course of professional study and passing a qualifying exam."¹⁷ In other words, Upton believed officers, both regular army and militia, required professional military training. And

¹⁷ Emory Upton, *The Armies of Europe and Asia: Embracing Official Reports of the Armies of Japan, China, India, Persia, Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England* (Portsmouth, England: Griffin and Co., 1878), 319-320.

although many militia units still held elections for officers well into the 1890s, the elected consistently came from educated, professional backgrounds.¹⁸

While the military sought new professional avenues for officers, the nation as a whole witnessed an outgrowth of class tension and working class strife, and the militia became intertwined with labor struggles. Working-class Americans found themselves at odds with an elitist upper-class and middle-class managers across the nation, and American workers organized against their corporate bosses. Eventually, class struggles outside of the militia hindered military efficiency within state military organizations. When labor strikes, work stoppages, and riots grew out of control, civil authorities often called on the militia to restore order. During such missions, enlisted men often sympathized with the protesters across the lines because they often shared similar ethnic or social backgrounds. Officers, on the other hand, usually empathized with the managers and business leaders hoping to end the strikes and maintain a sense of order. Occasionally, troops refused to follow orders and even crossed the lines, but more commonly, working class union members avoided militia service, either out of animosity toward the organization or fear of reprisal from union leadership.¹⁹

The potential for violence during labor strikes demonstrated the need for a professional and efficient militia during times of crisis. In 1877, railroad workers from across the nation organized a massive strike. When the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company cut wages by ten percent, laborers responded by walking off the job and halting train movements. The governor of West Virginia hastily called the militia to force the

¹⁸ "Militia Elections," *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois), January 26, 1880; and Cooper, *Rise*, 67-68.

¹⁹ "Organized Labor," *Morning Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), October 13, 1893. This article is only one example of a union encouraging its members to avoid militia service. See also, "Labor Unions and the Militia," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, August 25, 1892; "Labor Vs. Militia," *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colorado), December 21, 1897; and "Says Unions Hurt Militia," *New York Times*, November 15, 1910.

strikers back to work. Militiamen proved unable, and sometimes unwilling to end the strike in its earliest stages, prompting the governor to petition President Rutherford B. Hayes for federal military aid. Hayes sent in federal troops, but the unrest grew out of control nonetheless.²⁰ Eventually the work stoppage carried over to other states, and merchants, farmers, clergy, reform oriented politicians, and workers from other industries joined the striking railroad workers. The massive strike created a sense of chaos throughout the nation, and reminded Americans of all classes of the Paris Commune seven years earlier, prompting middle- and upper-class Americans to feel that social collapse was imminent.²¹

The railroad strike of 1877 continued for over a month as authorities of West Virginia, New York, Illinois, Maryland, Missouri, and California utilized the militia, local police forces, and federal troops to restore order. In many instances the militia performed as well as the federal troops and carried out orders without hesitancy, but this was not always the case.²² Militiamen of West Virginia and Pennsylvania refused to oppose the strike and the 16th Pennsylvania National Guard even crossed the line and joined the strikers.²³ Conversely, other militia units responded with great hostility toward the workers. Some militiamen fired into crowds of strikers (not always with orders) and escalated hostilities between the two factions.²⁴ The strike finally ended when federal

²⁰ Jerry Cooper, *The Army and Civil Disorder: Federal Military Intervention in Labor Disputes, 1877-1900* (Oakland: The University of California Press, 1980); and Painter, *Standing at Armageddon*, 15-16.

²¹ Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982), 40-41.

²² *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, For 1877 and 1878* (Springfield: State of Illinois Printing Office, 1878).

²³ "The New-York National Guard," *New York Times*, July 27, 1877. This article details the actions taken by the 16th Pennsylvania when compared to the New York militia. According to the article, the New York militia performed admirably despite funding and equipment issues, while the Pennsylvania troops acted disgracefully.

²⁴ Painter, 22.

troops carried out a city by city campaign against the strikers, and though the strike did not result in a general social collapse, it displayed social class strains, and put the militia on national display.

Worker upheavals and strikes continued to plague the nation in the decades following the events of 1877. Corporate leaders and politicians repeatedly called in the militia when local police forces could not restore order, and the soldiers responded to strike duty in various ways. In some cases, militiamen enthusiastically volunteered to maintain peace in their communities, upholding the interpretation that the militia thrived as an anti-labor organization. In one instance, during an 1885 walkout in Indiana by workers of the Oliver Plow Works Company, members of the state militia and of the Grand Army of the Republic (a Civil War veteran's organization) volunteered to put down the strike, and managed to do so without much hostility.²⁵ Interestingly, Indiana's adjutant general made no mention of this event in his annual report to the governor, and indeed made no mention of labor troubles in the state for the years between 1884 and 1886.²⁶ Similarly, during a meat packers strike in Chicago in 1886, local authorities were unable to contain the situation. The governor called out the militia and placed them under the orders of the local sheriff with little incident.²⁷ The Chicago strike was one of three in which the Illinois militia responded to labor troubles that year, and the soldiers' presence quieted each disturbance in a timely fashion with little incident.²⁸ Generally the

²⁵ "Workingmen Start a Riot," *Milwaukee Daily Journal*, January 13, 1885; and "Riot of Strikers," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 14, 1885. These two articles discuss the events in Indiana, and they demonstrate the national media focus on worker strikes.

²⁶ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana for the Two Years Ending October 31, 1886, to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1887).

²⁷ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1885 and 1886* (Springfield: Springfield Printing Co., State Printers, 1886); and "The Militia Ordered Out: To Keep the Peace in the Streets of Chicago," *New York Times*, November 8, 1886.

²⁸ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1885 and 1886*, 12-36.

militia's presence led strikers and rioters to return home, but some interactions turned violent.

Even though the militia trained for actions against mobs, the training did not always work itself in the field, as happened during a riot in Syracuse, New York, prompting the state's Inspector General Thomas Barber to proclaim, "Time spent on the various systems of riot drill is wasted." Barber further noted that the officers and men of the New York militia spent countless hours practicing formations and crowd control, "yet these same officers and men, when confronted with an actual emergency, as at Syracuse, and while still fresh from the training school at Peekskill, permitted themselves to be surrounded by the mob to such an extent that they were unable to employ the weapons with which they were armed, either offensively or defensively."²⁹ Reasons for the lack of proficiency stemmed from antiquated riot control techniques where the soldiers trained against imaginary rioters in Napoleonic formations. An 1883 report outlined a typical day at a militia summer encampment. The troops awoke at 6:00AM and began official company-oriented drills at 8:30AM. Militia units would train as a company for three and a half hours and work on rifle proficiency and small-unit formations. Following lunch, militia units would spend four hours practicing large movements and battalion-oriented formation techniques.³⁰

Likewise, in 1888 Indiana's militia centered much of their annual training regimens on marksmanship competitions and unit-based drill and ceremony techniques.³¹

Though these militia units would train in mass formations, their skills became oriented

²⁹ "National Guard Gossip," *New York Times*, August 17, 1890.

³⁰ *Report of William L. Alexander, Adjutant General of Iowa, to Buren R. Sherman, Governor of Iowa, October 1st, 1883* (Des Moines: F.M. Mills, State Printer, 1884), 4.

³¹ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana for the Two Years Ending October 31, 1888* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1889).

toward engaging an armed military force, not enraged civilians. Interestingly, one Illinois captain “ignored the stereotyped routine of drill and dress parade” in 1892 and provided his troops with advanced combat maneuver training that was reportedly “deeply interesting” to both officers and enlisted soldiers.³² However, a captain with the 5th US Cavalry reported of the same 1892 encampment that “with the exception of very considerable progress made in target practice,” the Illinois militiamen still devoted the majority of their yearly training to interior guard duties, ceremonies, and close-order drills. According to the captain, most militia companies were scattered around the state and needed to rely on “their own exertions” to keep up interest and carry out training programs. As such, most of the Illinois militia only received actual training during their annual summer encampments.³³

Furthermore, the militia believed that riot duty should be centered on shows of force rather than engagement with “the enemy.” Therefore, militia commanders believed tight formations would demonstrate a level of proficiency that would be adequate to disperse large and small mobs. Other military theorists emphasized large-scale battles against urban “Marxist rioters” with the intent to physically wipe out the strikers. However, these theorists believed harsher actions should fall to regular military forces, not the militia.³⁴ General Albert Ordway outlined a plan for “reasonable” militia reform in an article in the *North American Review*, where he pointed out flaws in the existing system. In addition to the lack of necessary federal appropriations, Ordway believed that

³² *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1891 and 1892* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1893), 5.

³³ Report of Captain J.B. Babcock, 5th US Cavalry, of the Encampment of the Illinois National Guard in 1892 for the United States Adjutant General, War Department, August 31, 1892, found in *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1891 and 1892*.

³⁴ Eugene E. Leach, “The Literature of Riot Duty: Managing Class Conflict in the Streets, 1877-1927,” *Radical History Review* 1993:56 (1993), 25-28.

a new militia law “should further prescribe the amount of drill and instruction to be required of the volunteer militia, and to provide for annual inspections, by officers of the army, to determine their efficiency.”³⁵ In other words, the federal government should outline specific training techniques each state had to follow in order to increase efficiency and success in various endeavors because rifle proficiency did not translate well to riot control against a civilian crowd.

Despite varying training emphases, the militia’s close connection to rifle training techniques proved hard to break. In 1884, though Illinois’ rifle-ranges were reportedly underdeveloped and neglected due to poor funding, the state’s adjutant general declared that the “most important step” in a militiaman’s training was to “teach him how to use it [a rifle].”³⁶ In many cases, rifle training took precedent over riot control drills because marksmanship “is a power eminently useful to the State for defense against internal and foreign foes,” and marksmanship as a sport contained many “manly” qualities.³⁷ Even as late as 1894, when the Illinois militia found itself lined up against Pullman railroad strikers, their only unit-centered drilling was based on nineteenth-century linear firing techniques, and most of their rifle familiarization focused on familiarization and marksmanship rather than crowd suppression.³⁸ Additionally, sometimes time limitations worked against the militia regarding adequate training during the Gilded Age because each state maintained individualized training protocols. One Michigan captain believed that “The time allowed for annual encampment is too short to do what should be done,”

³⁵ Ordway, “A National Militia,” 399.

³⁶ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1883 and 1884* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1884), 9.

³⁷ “The Rifle,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, January 2, 1880.

³⁸ Samuel Blackwell, Jr., “The Pullman Strike and the National Guard,” *Illinois Magazine* (March, 1982). Located in Folder 3, Box 1, D/D; INGMAA.

and that his state should increase its training time which was “much longer in other states.”³⁹ Generally then, the militia trained to fight a nineteenth-century conventional battle, but lacked the ability to stand against a civilian mob who rarely assembled in linear fashion with shouldered rifles.

An 1884 incident demonstrated the limitations of the militia’s antiquated training techniques when the 4th Ohio National Guard moved against a mob that was surrounding the local jail, but “when the commanding officer gave the command to charge on the mob and fight through to the jail the militiamen became demoralized and retreated to the depot, followed by derisive yells from the mob.” The rioters then managed to disarm the Ohio troops, many of whom simply went home. According to the militiamen, they retreated because “it would have cost the life of every man in the regiment to have charged the mob, which was 10,000 strong and armed,” though the crowd was likely much smaller.⁴⁰ After a detailed investigation, the inspector general discovered that the sheriff and militia officers of the governor’s staff issued orders to retreat without authorization, and charged seven officers with offenses ranging from incompetency and disobedience to intoxication and desertion.⁴¹ Fortunately for the Ohio militia, their poor performance prompted the state legislature to increase the militia’s appropriations and allocation, and during a strike in Cincinnati the next year the Ohio militia performed effectively.⁴²

³⁹ Captain Cornelius Gardener to the Adjutant General of the State of Michigan, October 18, 1893, found in “Exhibit D,” *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Michigan for the Years 1893 and 1894* (Lansing: Robert Smith & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1894).

⁴⁰ “Cowardly Soldiers,” *Milwaukee Daily Journal*, March 31, 1884.

⁴¹ “Ohio Militia Censured: Several Officers of the Fourth Regiment Found Guilty of Disobedience,” *New York Times*, May 30, 1884.

⁴² “Ohio National Guard Association Report” in *Annual Report of the Adjutant General to the Governor of the State of Ohio, For the Year 1885* (Columbus: The Westbote Co., State Printers, 1886).

Although the events in New York and Ohio demonstrated a high level of militia inefficiency and ineptitude, in other cases state troops met expectations. And generally, militiamen carried out their duties despite personal animosity related to the fact that strike duty often pitted militiamen against their friends and neighbors from the same social class as themselves. When prison laborers in a mine in Tennessee refused to work, the militia responded, but most were “not anxious to go.”⁴³ In April 1894, the Iowa militia squared off against unemployed protesters who were marching on Washington D.C. Led by Jacob Coxey, this “army” swept across the nation and gained support and media attention, and on one occasion, members of Coxey’s army under the direction of “General” Charles Kelly seized a train and rode toward Council Bluffs, Iowa. The militiamen arrived in Council Bluffs just prior to Kelly’s protesters, but the two sides never engaged each other. In fact, interactions between the troops and the marchers remained peaceful, and some troops exchanged pleasantries with the activists. However, after only three days, public sentiment swayed toward Kelly’s army, and the Iowa adjutant general ordered the troops home in order to avoid escalation. Events shifted though when the militia left the city. Without a large armed force lined against them, Kelly’s mob grew restless and overconfident. Council Bluffs authorities proved unable to contain the rabble and the militia returned days later. The very presence of a military force carried martial authority, and the troops quieted the protesters without any violent interaction.⁴⁴ For all the inefficiencies and internal struggles associated with strike and riot duty, the militia remained the largest and most effective force at a governor’s

⁴³ “Fighting Miners.” *The Daily Inter Ocean*, August 17, 1892; and Hannah, 157-58.

⁴⁴ Joseph Markey, *From Iowa to the Philippines: A History of Company M, Fifty-First Iowa Infantry Volunteers* (Red Oak: Thos D. Murphy Co., 1900), 17-21. Located in 1890-1902 Box, Spanish-American War Documents; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

disposal, meaning civil authorities repeatedly relied on the militia to maintain social order, despite soldier and officer objections.

Because of the militia's ties to social strife and unrest, the organization became popularly associated with strike-breaking, though that assumption ignored intra-organizational dissent. Civil authorities did little to mark this distinction, and at times, state government officials used the militia preemptively when they believed local authorities would not be enough to keep the peace. In 1895, the Columbian Athletic Club arranged to hold a prize fight near the Illinois and Indiana border at Roby, Indiana. Although local law enforcement officials believed they were incapable of maintaining order if spectators at the event became unruly, "a large body of men in Chicago boasted that they would see that the arrangements were carried out."⁴⁵ Indiana's governor responded to the situation by ordering a contingent of militia troops to Roby to prevent potential trouble, and his efforts worked. In all, 613 men, including a Gatling gun crew, responded to the call, and although Chicagoans loaded two trains of men determined to hold the fight, they abandoned their plan when news of the militia's involvement reached their city. Indeed, two years after the suppression at Roby, Indiana's governor praised the militia's efforts at maintaining law and order in his state.⁴⁶

During the same year as Coxey's march on Washington, state governors responded to a massive coal miner strike by mobilizing militiamen from Iowa, Illinois, Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, and West Virginia, and the militia helped suppress the strike (with the aid of federal troops). Guardsmen from twelve states

⁴⁵ William D. Pratt, *A History of the National Guard of Indiana, from the Beginning of the Militia System in 1787 to the Present Time, Including the Services of Indiana Troops in the War with Spain* (Indianapolis: W.D. Pratt, Printer and Binder, 1901), 116.

⁴⁶ "To Suppress Roby," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, January 12, 1895.

responded to the Pullman Railroad strike that originated in Chicago, and although some militiamen reportedly fired into crowds without orders, most soldiers carried out their orders and minimized hostilities.⁴⁷ These events placed a high level of stress on militiamen. According to Illinois' adjutant general, during the two-year period between 1893 and 1895, the Illinois militia performed "more active service than its entire prior existence," but despite prolonged strike duty and isolated incidents, "the clerity [*sic*] of its movements, and the courage, patience, and fidelity evinced in the discharge of delicate, as well as hazardous duties, were the admiration of all impartial observers."⁴⁸ Unfortunately for the militia, instances of success did not overcome negative public sentiments though.

Many citizens and politicians viewed the militia as inept strikebreakers, who fired randomly into unarmed crowds and retreated when hostilities escalated beyond control. For the working class, the militia became the enemy of progress. The Illinois militia took specific steps to break this association. During a mine strike in LaSalle, Illinois in May 1894, the governor responded to requests from LaSalle's mayor and local sheriffs to mobilize the militia. The militia arrived on the scene and set up camp on heights overlooking the city in order to promptly "quell disturbances" if any occurred. However, the adjutant general issued a general order that established "that it is not the business of soldiers to act as custodians or guards of private property." Additionally, the state's commanding officer ordered his soldiers to preserve only the peace, quell the riots, and execute the law. While this order was in keeping with standard procedures, the adjutant general hoped to outline explicitly the militia's role in the strike as defenders of public

⁴⁷ Hannah, 162-64.

⁴⁸ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1893 and 1894* (Springfield: Ed F. Hartman, Printer and Binder, 1895), vi.

property and state laws, not as tools of the corporate elite. Reportedly, “This order met with the universal approval of the National Guard, who, under it, could no longer be used as private watchmen.”⁴⁹

Despite the militia’s efforts, unions and workers continued to view the militia as a tool of corporate interests, whose focus was on maintaining the status quo and protecting private interests. This perception remained into the twentieth century regardless of the fact that strike duty only made up roughly one third of militia mobilizations. Indeed, during the 1870s, 80s, and 90s, only twenty-six of forty-five possible state militias performed strike duty when local authorities failed to maintain rioting crowds.⁵⁰ Throughout most of this period, the militia performed duties related to military proficiency, public aid, disaster relief, and social activities. Many biannual adjutant general’s reports to state governors made extensive mention of rifle competitions, yearly training encampment programs, and recruitment programs, making no mention of strike or riot duty.⁵¹ On other occasions, militia units organized in anticipation of potential unrest, but never actually left their armories because no riot or strike broke out.⁵² Indeed, militiamen spent most of their military time at regular drills, at annual summer camps, and in local competitions.

⁴⁹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1893 and 1894*, viii.

⁵⁰ Hannah, 79-80; and Cooper, 44-45.

⁵¹ *Report of the Adjutant-General and A.Q.M.G. of the State of Iowa to Hon. Horace Boies, Governor of Iowa, for the Biennial Period Ending September 30, A.D. 1891* (Des Moines: G.H. Ragsdale, State Printer, 1891); and *Report of the Adjutant-General to the Governor of the State of Iowa, For Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1899* (Des Moines: F.R. Conaway, State Printer, 1900). These Iowa Adjutant General’s reports are just two examples of numerous state reports where the officers outlined appropriation needs for uniforms and training encampments, but did not mention any issues of social strife.

⁵² *Report of William L. Alexander, Adjutant-General and A.Q.M.G. of the State of Iowa, to Hon. Buren R. Sherman, Governor of Iowa, For Biennial Period Ending June 30, A.D. 1885* (Des Moines: Geo. E. Roberts, State Printer, 1886), 3.

While strike duty was not the most common form of militia activity during the Gilded Age, the scale and scope of strike duty garnered national attention.⁵³ The perception of strike duty and hostile attitudes greatly hindered militia and eventually Guard recruitment into the twentieth century. Labor unions hoped to minimize militia efforts by reducing their numbers. In some instances, the strategy worked. In 1892 a private of the 47th New York Infantry Regiment, withdrew from the militia after seventeen years of service because he was a trade-unionist, and refused to line against fellow workers (as was the case during a strike in Buffalo). A captain in the private's company said he, "would not be surprised to hear of an organized labor movement against the National Guard."⁵⁴ The captain's comments were prescient. The Chicago Federation of Labor started a trend when they called on their members to resign from the militia if they served, and some trade unions threatened to revoke an employee's membership if the worker continued serving in or voluntarily enlisted in the militia. However, the Illinois adjutant general believed national reports of militiamen losing employment while in active service "has been largely exaggerated [*sic*]." Instead, General Alfred Orendorff expected that labor union efforts held little sway over long-term enlistments.⁵⁵ However, in 1896, Indiana's adjutant general alluded to "hard times" as one reason for reduced attendance at the militia's yearly encampments, as those "fortunate enough" to have remained employed in manufacturing sectors were unlikely to risk losing their jobs in exchange for the rigors of annual training.⁵⁶

⁵³Michael D. Doubler, *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War: The Army National Guard, 1636-2000* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 95-97; and Cooper, 44.

⁵⁴"The National Guard," *Morning Oregonian*, October 11, 1892.

⁵⁵ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1893 and 1894*, xxxiii.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana for the Two Years Ending October 31, 1896* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1896), 17.

Regarding the ongoing struggle between organized labor and state soldiers, the *Rocky Mountain News* out of Denver, Colorado explained that, “This feeling in labor circles against the National Guard is not a recent growth. It has been gathering for years, and received an impetus whenever state troops have been called out to act as guards for employers’ property, or shoot down striking workmen in the name of the law.”⁵⁷

Chicago’s *Daily Inter Ocean* declared that the trade union’s strategy was, “exceedingly short-sighted and foolish,” and that “the militia in no case takes the place of strikers. It does not do their work. It does not find workmen to fill their places. It does not interfere with any of their legitimate plans. It does nothing but prevent unlawful acts.”⁵⁸ These reports upheld General Orendorff’s claims that the public generally opposed union efforts in hindering the militia’s abilities, but the situation between unions and the militia did not improve as the nineteenth-century gave way to the twentieth. This ongoing hostility from labor circles even forced the militia and National Guard to appeal directly to workers in order to reach wartime strength during the Spanish-American War and First World War.⁵⁹ As an organization then, the militia was inherently tied to contemporaneous social trends in the United States, and the militia’s ability to function rested on its ability to carry out orders and maintain unit cohesion. Ultimately, the Gilded Age tensions that pitted class against class placed great strains on the state militia system, and demonstrated many of the drawbacks of the existing disparities between the states.

Additionally, the militia represented other social tensions, as racial strife became apparent in militia activities during the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Southern

⁵⁷ “Labor vs. Militia,” *Rocky Mountain News*, December 21, 1897.

⁵⁸ “Labor Unions and the Militia,” *The Daily Inter Ocean*, August 25, 1892.

⁵⁹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Iowa, For the Biennial Period Ending June 30, 1918* (Des Moines: State of Iowa Printing Press, 1919), 43.

militia regiments found themselves in the center of the racial divide more frequently than their Northern counterparts, especially in response to lynch mobs. On numerous occasions, militia units across the South responded to instances of racial violence when local authorities proved unable to maintain the peace.⁶⁰ Midwestern militia units found themselves caught up in racial struggles as well. In August 1892, about 100 men of the Illinois militia “broke camp Thursday night and came into the city [Springfield, IL] to have a row with the colored people.” A small riot broke out between the militiamen and black civilians in the Illinois capitol when the soldiers apparently went into the city looking for a fight during their regularly scheduled drill duty.⁶¹ According to local news sources, racial tensions climaxed because “ever since the camp opened a few irresponsible colored men or boys have been hanging around and living on the camp, and perhaps indulging in a little pilfering,” and after a few small quarrels with white soldiers, two companies went into town with fixed bayonets to “clear out what colored people they could find.”⁶² While the militia authorities did not deny the troopers’ unlawful activities, the regiment’s colonel questioned whether or not bringing official charges against every man involved in the fray would be practical, but “says he will turn over any of them to the civil authorities for whom warrants may be sworn out.”⁶³

⁶⁰ For general information regarding the militia during racial disputes see, George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and “Legal Lynchings”* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); and A.W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993). For some specific examples see, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Texas, December, 1888* (Austin: State Printing Office, 1889); *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Texas, 1892*; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Virginia for the Year 1892* (Richmond: J.H. O’bannon, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1892); and *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Virginia, 1893*. These Southern AG Reports were accessed through Hathi Trust at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Search/>.

⁶¹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, For 1891 and 1892* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1893).

⁶² “What Caused the Riot,” *The Daily Inter Ocean*, August 6, 1892.

⁶³ “Can’t Punish them All,” *The Daily Inter Ocean*, August 7, 1892.

Incidents such as this illuminate larger issues in American society regarding race at the turn of the twentieth-century, and as all too often happened, racial violence against blacks often ended without judicial recourse against the white antagonists. Such was the case for the majority of the Illinois troops who went about usual camp duties two days after the disturbance. Indeed, in Captain J.B. Babcock of the 5th US Cavalry made no mention of this incident in his official report to the War Department regarding his observations of the Illinois encampment, and instead reported that “their behavior in camp was very good.”⁶⁴ Additionally, in 1895, Spring Valley, Illinois (a small mining town), witnessed a race riot after coal mine bosses brought in black workers to replace strikers, most of whom were Italian immigrants.⁶⁵ Interestingly, though the Illinois militia had responded to a coal strike in Spring Valley the previous year, the local sheriff opted to not ask for militia assistance despite mounting deaths and injuries.⁶⁶ In these cases, the militia became entangled with black citizens on some occasions, but racial prejudices determined the manner in which the militia responded to some disputes as well as how justice played out. Ultimately, the militia found itself at the center of social antagonisms in the United States, and these struggles often played out within the militia’s ranks.

⁶⁴ Report of Captain J.B. Babcock, 5th US Cavalry, On the Encampment of the Illinois National Guard in 1892 to the United States Adjutant General, War Department, August 31, 1892, found in *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois, 1891 and 1892*, 60.

⁶⁵ “A Race Riot in Illinois,” *New York Times*, August 5, 1895.

⁶⁶ *Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1893 and 1894*; and *Report...1895 and 1896*. These two AG Reports detail the militia’s role in the 1894 strike but make no mention of the race riot or any militia mobilizations in response to the riot in 1895.

Manning the militia

Throughout the Gilded Age, disillusion within in the militia's ranks became associated with strike activity. One anonymous soldier declared, "Even in those favored communities where the value of an efficient militia force has been so often proved, and where the citizen soldier finds this highest encouragement, there is oftentimes too little appreciation of the National Guard on the part of its members, and too little intelligent sympathy from the communities at large."⁶⁷ Why then did men continue to serve? A sense of patriotism and civic duty drew many men toward militia service. In the decade following the Civil War, the militia offered young men a public stage to demonstrate their patriotism and masculinity during a time when units donned elegant uniforms while they marched in parades and threw elaborate balls and parties for local citizens. While these displays certainly served a valuable financial purpose (most units relied on private fundraising for survival), they also drew in members from all classes of society. Single men from the working- and middle-class used militia service as a way of attracting female attention, while professional officers mingled with prominent and wealthy citizens.⁶⁸ Politicians and militiamen took great pride in their role as public patriots. The governor of Pennsylvania noted that the militia performed admirably during the Centennial Exposition of 1876, and declared that, "They were a testament to patriotism."⁶⁹ Eventually though, public parades and parties diminished in popularity, which created a shift in the militia's general mindset across the nation, as monthly drills shifted away from public displays toward military proficiency and training.

⁶⁷ "National Guard Gossip," *New York Times*, September 22, 1889.

⁶⁸ Hannah, 41-50.

⁶⁹ "State Affairs," *The North American*, January 4, 1877.

Yet, militia service still provided men with a masculine outlet, as they used the military arena to compete against each other in marksmanship drills and sporting competitions, which ultimately established a sense of masculinity within the unit.⁷⁰ The militia ultimately allowed men to prove their masculinity without having to live the life of a regular soldier. By the twentieth century, the militia had effectively transformed itself into an organization where military proficiency took center stage, though the militia's effectiveness remained closely tied to appropriations and unit cohesion.

Nonetheless, in the early twentieth century (after Congress created the official National Guard), General Wilbur Sadler reminded Americans that “the public should bear in mind that the National Guard is no longer a social institution, upon whose dandified uniforms, which were anything but practical, money was lavished, and which devoted its time to acquiring proficiency in fancy drills and evolutions that made a pretty display at times of public ceremony, but had little connection with the stern duties of a real soldier.”⁷¹

While militia service became more tactically oriented during the final two decades of the nineteenth century, the militia continued to appeal to a sense of masculinity at a time when industrialization and urbanization threatened masculine identity in the United States.⁷²

⁷⁰ Hannah, 104-5.

⁷¹ Wilbur F. Sadler Jr., “Efficiency in the National Guard,” *The North American Review* 202 (1915), 545.

⁷² For examples of reports regarding military efficiency and discipline see, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana for the Two Years Ending October 31, 1888*; *Report ...for the Year Ending October 31, 1889*; *Report ...for the Year Ending October 31, 1891* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burfort, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1893); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1893 and 1894* (Springfield: Ed. F. Hartman, State Printer and Binder, 1895); and *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1895 and 1896* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1897). For an overview of masculinity during the Gilded Age, see Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); and Judy Hilkey, *Character Is*

Furthermore, the militia was a military organization that bridged the gap between the larger military structure and civil authority, as demonstrated by the fact that social desires and trends witnessed within the militia translated to other segments of American political culture. While masculine endeavors took center stage in militia recruitment and training, Kristen Hoganson argues that gender notions shaped American foreign policy at the end of the nineteenth century, and American politicians engaged in aggressive diplomacy in the Caribbean and Philippines during the 1890s because they needed a venue to demonstrate America's "manliness." Further, war-minded politicians often portrayed pacifists as "womanly," because their views on warfare often aligned with nineteenth-century female activists.⁷³ Eleanor Hannah carries this argument into the National Guard as an organization, and establishes that the militia and Guard allowed men to demonstrate their masculinity during a time when increased industrialization threatened masculine identity.⁷⁴ The masculinity issue played a key role in maintaining the militia's appeal, as service in the organization aligned with the desire to maintain a traditional sense of masculinity, and actually provided the avenue for many American men to meet that desire.

Along similar lines, the militia continued to offer a men an avenue through which they could perform their civic duty along traditional American lines, dating to the colonial era. Even during the height of strike duty—when many American men struggled to balance their patriotism with class loyalties—the militia continued to appeal to civic idealism. For example, in 1893 an Iowa militia officer remarked that "the young men of

Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

⁷³ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 31-37.

⁷⁴ Hannah, 1-16.

Red Oak [Iowa] experienced a revival of the martial spirit. The enthusiasm became so intense that in August steps were taken towards the organization of a company.”⁷⁵ When combined with existing notions related to masculinity, this “martial spirit” ensured the militia could continue to draw new recruits against the backdrop of class tension and poor funding during the Gilded Age. Youthful men sought avenues to prove their manhood and experience the types of adventure associated with masculine exploits.

Near the turn of the twentieth century, political leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt alleged that the symbolic closing of the frontier, combined with industrialization had reduced the arenas in which American men could prove themselves.⁷⁶ Roosevelt believed military service and the “pioneer spirit” offered men a way to establish their manhood and avoid a weakness brought by industrial work.⁷⁷ Similarly, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the Italian Futurist, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, exemplified this desire when he called to all “*living* men of the earth” to glorify the love of danger and glorify war, “the only true hygiene of the world.”⁷⁸ For many American men during the Gilded Age and Progressive Eras, the militia fulfilled this desire. However, even masculine and patriotic yearnings could not reverse the militia’s ongoing struggles as the nineteenth-century drew to a close.

Throughout the Gilded Age, the militia was in a state of flux. While patriotic and masculine desires led men to continue enlisting in the militia, external events and trends also influenced the militia’s numbers and effectiveness. As noted earlier, regional differences and national economic trends played a role in shaping some elements of the

⁷⁵ Markey, *From Iowa to the Philippines*, 15.

⁷⁶ Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 7-13.

⁷⁷ Hoganson, 138-39.

⁷⁸ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, “The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism,” *Poesia*, April, 1909. Originally published as “Manifeste du futurism,” *Le Figaro* (Paris), February 20, 1909.

militia's development after the Civil War. In 1873 total militia numbers were particularly high at more than 150,000; however, Reconstruction militias in the American South partially accounted for these high figures, as fifteen states reported having no organized militia that same year. Two years later, the overall number had fallen to 90,000 with ten states still reporting no organized militia, and Texas accounted for most of the drop in the militia's aggregate strength when they disbanded their Reconstruction force. By 1880 though, a number of factors increased the militia's overall numbers to over 127,000, in part because many Midwestern states created new regiments and increased militia appropriations after the 1877 Railroad Strike. Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, and Ohio increased their combined militia numbers by roughly 14,000 between 1875 and 1880.⁷⁹ However, as Reconstruction came to an end, many Southern states began disbanding their forces, and by 1885, militia numbers fell to less than 85,000.⁸⁰ Over the next five years, the militia's numbers steadily increased, and by 1890, aggregate numbers rose above 106,000, and climbed over the next five years to over 115,000.⁸¹

In addition to numerical shifts, state appropriations differed greatly between states and regions during the final two decades of the nineteenth century. Midwestern struggles reflected national trends. As early as 1877, the Illinois adjutant general pointed out that the fact troops needed to pay for their own equipment was the largest flaw in the militia system, and many states were unable (or unwilling) to expend funds on their militias

⁷⁹ *Militia Force of the United States*, S. Exec. Doc. 43-41 (1873); S. Exec. Doc. 44-45 (1875); H.R. Exec. Doc. 46-74 (1880); and S. Exec. Doc. 49-52 (1885).

⁸⁰ Cooper, 27-29.

⁸¹ The Military Information Division, Annual Report to the War Department, *The Organized Militia of the United States* (Washington D.C., US Government Printing Office, 1895).

during peacetime, regardless of social strife.⁸² William T. Sherman weighed in on the situation when asked if he would serve as commanding general of the Missouri militia after his retirement from the army. Sherman refused the offer and stated in a letter that:

The state makes liberal provision for its local police, for its courts, Judges, Sheriffs, and marshals, for its legislative and executive officers, but foolishly expects its militia, composed of poor young men, to give gratis their time and money, to provide their own armories, uniforms, clothing, arms, and accouterments, and to respond to the call of the Governor to quell riots and mobs, always caused by some popular clamor of prejudice, whereby they often incur the ill-will of their neighbors and employers, and lose the very bread needed by their families.⁸³

In response, some state governments opted to reduce their militia numbers in order to better utilize funding, which illuminates another drawback of the Gilded Age militia system, and played into the manpower ebbs and flows of the 1880s and early 90s.⁸⁴

In 1883 for example, Illinois opted to disband fifteen companies and reduce its militia force by 3,000 men in order to better utilize its \$75,000 annual state appropriation.⁸⁵ Once again (as with organizational manpower), regional disparities related to state funding gaps hindered the militia's overall effectiveness. By 1885, five Northeastern states (New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island) accounted for nearly 50 percent of all state funding, with New York appropriating \$825,000 annually to their state militia.⁸⁶ Ten years later, New York reduced their annual funding by half, and nine states (including Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin) allocated over

⁸² *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, For 1877 and 1878* (Springfield: State Printing Office of Illinois, 1878); and "Bold Soldier Boy," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, February 9, 1877.

⁸³ "Gen. Sherman on the Militia: Its Maintenance of More Importance," *New York Times*, May 4, 1884.

⁸⁴ Illinois Militia Returns to the Secretary of War, 1885; State Militia Returns, Box 13, Records of the National Guard Bureau, Record Group 168; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.; *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1891 and 1892*; and Cooper, *Rise*, 29.

⁸⁵ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1883 and 1884* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1884), 6.

⁸⁶ Cooper, 40.

\$100,000 for their militia's yearly, which amounted to 75 percent of national spending. Other states suffered from severe funding struggles.⁸⁷ Throughout the 1890s, Missouri (which was the fifth most populous state) only appropriated \$10,000 for their militia annually, and Arkansas offered no state funding for their state militia in 1895.

Ultimately, the Northeastern and Midwestern militia's enjoyed a relatively high amount of state appropriations (amounting to between \$26 and \$34 per soldier in 1895), while Southern states (who maintained numerically large militias) only spend about \$4 per soldier.⁸⁸ Ultimately then, although the militia's numbers had stabilized by 1895, most states still reported numbers much lower than anticipated due to funding gaps and ongoing social tensions. In 1897, on the verge of the Spanish-American War, adjutant generals from around the nation reported that their states remained well understrength.⁸⁹

Congressional reform efforts

Social and cultural tensions associated with the militia, combined with instances of ineptitude and funding gaps, compelled political and social leaders to propose massive reforms to the existing militia system in the late 1870s. In 1880, the United States House of Representatives examined a proposed bill intended to organize "the entire militia force of the country as a National Guard, to be armed and equipped out of the National Treasury."⁹⁰ The bill allowed for increased federal appropriations, and called for establishing an inactive militia consisting of all able bodied men between the ages of

⁸⁷ Committee on Militia Affairs, *Efficiency of the Militia*, H.R. Rep. No. 51-754, at 25-26 (1891).

⁸⁸ Cooper, 40-41.

⁸⁹ General Samuel Breck, *The Organized Militia of the United States: Statement of the Condition and Efficiency for Service of the Organized Militia, From Regular Annual Reports and Other Sources, Covering the Year 1897* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898), 436.

⁹⁰"Proposed Militia Laws: The Powers of the Federal Government," *New York Times*, January 1, 1880.

eighteen and forty-five and an active militia consisting of volunteers, which would conform to federal army standards.⁹¹ This early attempt to reorganize the militia failed because of issues related to constitutionality and the separation between the federal and state governments. In 1888, Congress again proposed a bill to create a national militia. This second attempt went further than the previous and called for the establishment of a volunteer National Guard, numbering 100,000 with no more than 400 members from any single Congressional district. The troops in the proposed National Guard would enlist for a term of three to five years, and could return home if the president did not require a national force. The fact that this new force would not replace the militia, but would actually be another force was the largest drawback of the proposal, and it eventually failed.⁹²

Militiamen responded to calls for a new system and the lack of federal funding by creating a national lobbying force that continually advocated for the militia's continued presence in the American military structure. In 1878, militia officers created an advocacy group for state volunteer soldiers, similar to the recently-organized National Rifle Association, and individual state militia organizations followed suit. Militia delegates from around the United States formed the National Guard Association (NGA) in 1879, and held their first national convention in St. Louis, Missouri. The NGA actually endorsed the 1880 House of Representatives bill, because it called for expanded funding to the state militias and it would replace the existing militia law, but Congress still failed to pass the bill through Congress.⁹³ Over the next decade, the NGA enjoyed a significant level of success, and the organization began receiving federal recognition. In February

⁹¹ Reorganization of the Militia, H.R. 5638, 46 Cong. (1880), 8.

⁹² "A National Militia," *New York Times*, July 31, 1888.

⁹³ Cooper, 88-89.

1890, the Secretary of War detailed a regular army officer for special duty with the National Guard Association of Wisconsin “for the purpose of giving such instruction as may be practicable,” and over the next few years began similar programs in other states.⁹⁴ This program had such a high success rate that General John M. Schofield, Commanding General of the Army, stated that the inclusion of regular officers in state militia units was of such value that his office received “numerous application from the governors of States for the detail of officers for prolonged service, for the purpose of organizing, instructing, and disciplining the militia of their States.” Schofield further proposed to the War Department and to Congress that these temporary officer assignments should be expanded to three or four years, and that Congress should make such assignments permanent through the “sanction of law.”⁹⁵

Despite the seeming improvement in the state of the militia by increased federal oversight and by regular army instruction, many in the federal government continued advocating for a revised system. The NGA worked tirelessly to convince Congress of the ineffectual nature of the existing militia situation, but according to a *New York Times* article in 1886, “the appeal has thus far been ineffectual.” The article went on to say that “at one time it was proposed to found a national militia, but this plan was open to several objections, among them being the opposition of the volunteer organizations that now furnish local militia defense, and do not care to be swallowed up by a different system,” and though the NGA and militia leaders understood they needed drastic reforms to promote efficiency, militia advocates refused to support legislation that would lead to their replacement. Eventually, “after twenty years of doing nothing,” the NGA and other

⁹⁴ “First Case on Record,” *The Wisconsin State Register*, February 15, 1890.

⁹⁵ House Committee on Military Affairs, Detail of Army Officers for Service with the Militia, Letter Transmitted from the War Department, Ex. Doc. No. 53-224 (1893).

militia supporters simplified their approach and asked Congress to increase the militia's annual appropriation "to a sum more nearly corresponding to the growth of the country during the last eighty years." Congress understood that they either needed to increase the regular army's size or strengthen the militia in order to meet the challenges of the day.⁹⁶

When the NGA began their quest for higher funding, the federal government provided \$200,000 (split between the states based on population) annually. This appropriation remained constant since 1808, despite a nearly eightfold increase in population.⁹⁷ In the early 1880s the NGA proposed that Congress should increase annual appropriations to \$1,000,000 which would be divided by the states, but Congress refused.⁹⁸ In the midst of ongoing disagreements between the NGA and federal government, some states altered their existing militia organizations in order to better utilize available funds. This restructuring often meant states would disband more expensive units such as artillery or cavalry regiments. States hoped that by saving money they could dedicate more resources to infantry regiments as a means of increasing efficiency.⁹⁹ By 1887, though, the NGA succeeded in persuading Congress to raise the federal appropriation to \$400,000; however this number was only a fraction of the NGA's original request.

While the NGA fought for increased appropriations as a means of increasing efficiency and military standardization, militia advocates generally opposed fundamental reform legislation out of the fear that such legislation would serve as federal overreach.

⁹⁶ "Congress and the Militia," *New York Times*, June 10, 1886.

⁹⁷ Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard* (New York: Stackpole Co., 1964), 129.

⁹⁸ "Illinois National Guard," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, January 7, 1880.

⁹⁹ *Report of William L. Alexander, Adjutant General and A.Q.M.G. of the State of Iowa, to Hon. John H. Gear, Governor of Iowa, October 1, 1881* (Des Moines: F.M. Mills, State Printer, 1881), 3-4.

An 1892 proposal “evidently ran upon the rock where so many of its predecessors have made shipwreck—the fear that the existing organizations of State troops were to be ‘nationalized,’” however, this new bill altered the nature of appropriations from one where each state received funds based on congressional representation to a system where states received funds based on how well they maintained their forces and how sizeable their state militias were.¹⁰⁰ This proposal gave militia reformers a manner to combine appropriation requests with the actual promotion of military prowess. In 1896, the US House of Representatives passed a Senate bill which would allow the federal government to issue new Springfield rifles to each states National Guard in order to promote proficiency and standardization.¹⁰¹ On the eve of the Spanish-American War, the Senate passed a bill which would replace the existing law of 1792, and was intended to increase the efficiency of the militia, but it too failed to pass through the House of Representatives because it appeared to place the fate of the militia firmly within the federal government’s hands.¹⁰²

Over the course of the final decade of the nineteenth century, the NGA continued to press for increased funding and continued to come up short; however, by 1900 some US Senators agreed with the NGA. New Jersey Senator, William J. Sewell, argued that in the wake of the Spanish-American War, “It requires no argument to show that the appropriations for years have been entirely inadequate for the purpose intended. If \$200,000 was considered necessary in 1808, \$2,000,000 would be a fair amount to expend at the present time for this object. The National Guard Association has presented

¹⁰⁰ “Organizing the Militia,” *New York Times*, March 13, 1893.

¹⁰¹ H.R. Rep. No. 54-2362 (1896).

¹⁰² To Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, S. 392, 55 Cong. (1898).

this case in very strong terms for several years.”¹⁰³ Other members of Congress agreed with Sewell’s sentiments, but disagreed on the terms. Illinois Congressman Benjamin F. Marsh amended the House’s version of a new appropriation bill in 1900 to cut the proposed increase from \$2,000,000 to \$1,000,000, but this was still a large increase from the existing sum of \$400,000.¹⁰⁴ While Congress agreed to increase militia funding as the nineteenth-century drew to a close, they continually refused to amend or replace the Militia Act of 1792, and would not until 1903.

Mobilization problems

While the NGA advocated for increased funding and federal recognition, the militia continued serving as strikebreakers well into the 1890s, but the onset of war in 1898 changed that. When the United States declared war on Spain, the militia realized a revitalized role. In response to a nationalistic uprising by Cuban rebels, the Spanish government resorted to repressive and extreme methods to end the rebellion. Many Americans, alluding to the nation’s own struggle for independence against a European empire a century earlier, sympathized with the Cubans.¹⁰⁵ Patriotic fervor ran high, and American political leaders believed a colonial war with Spain provided the nation with an opportunity to demonstrate its power to the world.¹⁰⁶

The United States faced the question of what type of force would face off against the Spanish, and despite all the NGA’s successes and increased in federal recognition

¹⁰³ Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Arms and Equipments for the Militia, S. Rep. No. 56-1859 (1900).

¹⁰⁴ H.R. Rep. No. 56-1169 (1900).

¹⁰⁵ Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971); and John K. *History of the Militia and National Guard* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983), 125-26.

¹⁰⁶ Painter, 141.

between 1877 and 1898, old prejudices against the militia remained in place. As the United States prepared for war, army officers solicited Congress regarding force structure, and “all alike dread the passage of an act or resolution looking to the use of the militia of the several states in such a war.” While the officers claimed to hold no malice toward the existing militia, and considered the state soldiers as the major source of military power in the nation, they “realized” that, “as militia, this magnificent body of men cannot be employed in any foreign war requiring offensive operations” because “since the time of the Revolution the militia have been considered absolutely unsafe in the field against regular troops.”¹⁰⁷ However, on a local level, the militia enjoyed high levels of support. The city of Chicago “decked itself in the National colors,” and 250,000 citizens lined the streets “and bade godspeed to its [the city’s] citizen soldiers.” Indeed, “not since the departure of the volunteers at the time of the civil war have such stirring scenes been witnessed.”¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately for the militia, good feelings and encouragement could not prevent the ensuing mobilization disaster.

In order to raise necessary war-time numbers, Congressman John A. T. Hull introduced a bill to raise the wartime army to 104,000 men without including any militia troops. Militia officers and the NGA firmly opposed the proposal because it ignored the organized militia and President William McKinley backed a new bill that granted the states the ability to draw volunteers from militia organizations to meet federal quotas based on population. Eventually, the president authorized a new volunteer act intended to raise 60,000 men that included troops from the militia, but war enthusiasm was so high that the president raised the initial call to 125,000 troops in April, and even made a

¹⁰⁷ “The Militia in Warfare,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1898.

¹⁰⁸ “Chicago Fond of Militia,” *New York Times*, May 1, 1898.

second call for an additional 70,000 volunteers in May, 1898.¹⁰⁹ Within six weeks of the declaration of war, 200,000 men volunteered for service in Cuba and the Philippines.¹¹⁰ Each call for volunteers required states to meet numerical quotas, and required larger states such as New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois to raise over 5,000 troops during the second call, where medium sized states such as Iowa and Michigan only needed to raise about 2,000 troops. Some of the smallest states like Idaho only needed to supply 140 volunteers.¹¹¹ States seemingly had no problem recruiting the necessary numbers, and militia units swelled to their maximum allotted size, but incorporating these units into the federal army proved problematic.¹¹²

Though a volunteer arrangement existed, mobilization exposed the inefficiency of the existing system. The process of volunteering state troops for federal service caused a great deal of confusion in state legislatures, and Secretary of War Russell Alger's directive to the states only exacerbated the situation. He explicitly outlined number requirements, but provided little legal specificity.¹¹³ Under the 1792 law, the federal government did not have the authority to mobilize the state militias for overseas service. Instead, state troops needed to volunteer to enter the regular army, and those troops who did not officially volunteer for service, or who were medically rejected, remained in

¹⁰⁹ H.C. Corbin, Adjutant-General of the United States to the Governor of Iowa, May 29, 1898; Reproduced in *Report of the Adjutant General to the Governor of the State of Iowa, For Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1899* (Des Moines: F.R. Conaway, State Printer, 1900).

¹¹⁰ John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and National Guard* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1983), 126-27.

¹¹¹ "Volunteers Asked for in Second Call," *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, 1898; Documents, Spanish-American War Era (Sp-Am War Docs), Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as "Title," *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, year; Sp-Am War Docs; INGA.

¹¹² *Report of the Adjutant General to the Governor of the State of Iowa, For Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1899*, 8-9.

¹¹³ Brigadier General J.N. Reece, *Roster of Illinois Volunteers in the American-Spanish War, 1898-1899* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1900), 350-51, consulted in General Collection, Illinois National Guard Military Museum and Archives, Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois; and "Lack of Necessary Authority," *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, 1898.

service to their states, and were “liable for all duty.”¹¹⁴ The potential confusion grew to such proportions that President McKinley delayed officially calling for volunteers for a week because the War Department hoped to avoid “destroying the present organization of the National Guard which is to be called into service first.”¹¹⁵

State governments hoped to streamline the process by offering entire militia companies and regiments as volunteers in order to meet quota demands, but state troops mustered into the federal army “involuntarily” could refuse to leave the country’s borders because their terms of service tied to their state rather than the federal government.¹¹⁶ Additionally, most militiamen who initially volunteered for service did so “only under the condition that they serve as now organized,” meaning many remained unwilling to incorporate themselves into the regular army.¹¹⁷ The vagueness of Alger’s order, combined with unclear laws, resulted in a confused process of state governments volunteering whole militia units and incorporating them into the federal army, which led to delays across the nation.¹¹⁸ Additionally, under the initial call for volunteers, state governments needed to fund, equip, and transport their soldiers to designated rendezvous locations, which created more delays and exposed dramatic monetary shortfalls.¹¹⁹

Despite an ineffective mobilization process, the militia responded to the president’s call for volunteers with enthusiasm, and states responded in kind. On 25 April 1898, Illinois’s governor called his state’s militia units to Springfield even before

¹¹⁴ “National Guard Notes,” *New York Times*, May 29, 1898.

¹¹⁵ “President Waiting Until Monday to Officially Call,” *Illinois State Register*, April 24, 1898.

¹¹⁶ Mahon, *History of the Militia and National Guard*, 126.

¹¹⁷ “President Waiting Until Monday to Officially Call,” *Illinois State Register*, April 24, 1898.

¹¹⁸ *Report of the Adjutant General to the Governor of the State of Iowa, For Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1900* (Des Moines, B. Murphy, State Printer, 1900), 5-8.

¹¹⁹ General Reece, *Roster of Illinois Volunteers*, 355-56; and “Errors May Lead to Delays,” *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, 1898.

the president's official call, and the governor declared that "the troops will come to Springfield as the Illinois National Guard and remain so until turned over to the national government." However, Governor John Riley Tanner maintained the racial prejudices of the era when he mobilized every Illinois militia unit except the state's all-black regiment out of Chicago.¹²⁰ Even in wartime mobilization then, the militia reflected the ongoing racial and societal divisions that existed at the turn of the twentieth-century.

Furthermore, wartime service provided militiamen with an opportunity to fulfill patriotic responsibilities and offered a welcomed respite from strike duty, and in order to maximize military potential, the War Department divided state militia volunteers into three distinct categories. The first troops mustered into service quickly moved toward Chickamauga, Georgia and, after a hasty training period, embarked for Cuba. The army stationed the second group of volunteer troops in and around Washington D.C., where they served as a reserve force and awaited potential deployment to the Caribbean. The final group of volunteers moved to California for training and eventual deployment to the Philippines.¹²¹

Service in the war varied between volunteer groups and organizations, and the four regiments of Iowa shed light upon the varied service avenues. The 2nd Iowa National Guard Regiment (redesigned the 50th Regiment of Iowa Volunteers during the war) was in the first group sent to Florida to await Cuban service, but they remained in Florida for the duration of hostilities in Cuba and served in a support role.¹²² The 1st Iowa (who were designated as the 49th Iowa Volunteers during the war) also went to

¹²⁰ "Illinois Call to Arms," *Illinois State Register*, April 25, 1898.

¹²¹ "Volunteer Distribution," *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, May 10, 1898; Sp-Am War Docs; INGA.

¹²² Michael W. Vogt and Judy M. Holzmer, eds. *The Diary of Walter C. Laugheed: Company D, 50th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Saturday 21 May – Thursday 11 August 1898* (Johnston: Iowa Gold Star Military Museum, 2007), ii-iii.

Jacksonville, Florida, where they remained until the end of hostilities, and the 4th Iowa moved to Georgia as a reserve force because they were in the second muster group. Others, such as the 3rd Iowa National Guard Regiment (the 51st Iowa Volunteers during the war) served for an extended period of time in the Philippine theater. These Iowans arrived in San Francisco early in June, 1898 and remained there until September, where they spent most of their time in training and drilling. Unfortunately some soldiers fell victim to active army life. Between 21 July and 14 September, five men of M Company alone died of various diseases spread throughout the camp.¹²³ In October, the 3rd Iowa embarked on the U.S.S. *Pennsylvania* for Manila Bay in order to aid American forces during the Filipino-Insurrection.

Like their regular army counterparts, the militia found themselves embroiled in larger diplomatic and political issues during the Spanish-American War and ensuing Philippine-American War. Recent scholarship regarding America's overseas endeavors just prior to the turn of the twentieth century argues that overlapping economic, geopolitical, and military issues led American policymakers to establish a colonial empire. Paul Kramer points out that this empire—though unique in its approach—still operated within a network of imperial thought and practice.¹²⁴ Most general scholarship glosses over or omits the militia's role in these conflicts; however, the militia played a central role in the United States' military mission. During the Cuban and Puerto Rican campaigns, observers commented on the militia's performance as it pertained to the mobilization disaster of 1898, and the war's short duration did not allow the militia to demonstrate their combat effectiveness in a nationally recognized way. Indeed, Theodore

¹²³ Markey, *From Iowa to the Philippines*, 159.

¹²⁴ Paul A. Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910," *The Journal of American History* 88:4 (2002), 1315-1353.

Roosevelt's famous 1st Volunteer Cavalry gained a much higher level of national renown than any militia unit in Cuba or Puerto Rico. Importantly though, by 1899, the US government worked out many of the issues that plagued the militia's mobilization the previous year, and militiamen from around the nation found themselves bound for the Philippines, where they performed on par with the regular army.

The militia in the Philippines

Beginning in February, 1899, members of the Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota militias actively engaged insurgents northwest of Manila. After the troops retook Malolos in March, the militiamen pursued the retreating Filipinos for nearly five months, often resulting in small engagements.¹²⁵ With few exceptions, fighting in the Philippines rarely included large-scale battles, and many of the confrontations between militiamen and insurgents resembled guerilla warfare. In a letter to his parents, Henry Hackthorn of Iowa noted that officers at the front, "dress just like the men and carry no sword nor anything to denote rank, as the insurgent sharpshooters are picking off all the officers they can."¹²⁶ As the nineteenth century drew to a close, militiamen viewed the insurrection in various ways. Eventually, many soldiers such as Hackthorn came to sympathize with the insurgent cause. Hackthorn noted that extended combat wore the volunteers out and they simply wanted to return home. He further observed that the

¹²⁵ L. Edward Purcell, ed. "Letters from the Philippines: The 51st Iowa U.S. Volunteers at War, 1898-1899," *The Palimpsest* 55:6 (1974), 165. Located in the Spanish-American War Era Collection (Sp-Am War Docs); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). This edition contains letters from various soldiers of the Iowa National Guard in the Philippines during the war. Hereafter cited as *Palimpsest*, page number; Sp-Am War Docs; INGA.

¹²⁶ *Palimpsest*, 169; Sp-Am War Docs; INGA. The *Palimpsest* was a newspaper established in the twentieth century as a way of preserving Iowa's history, and contained reproductions of soldier letters, newspaper articles, and magazine articles. The publication's name reflects historians' efforts to uncover and publish pieces on Iowa history similar to the efforts of medieval historians to read early accounts recorded on reused pieces of paper underneath later writings.

Filipinos misunderstood American intentions at the onset of the war with Spain, and they simply grew impatient with American forces.¹²⁷

Henry Hackthorn's observations about the Filipino Insurrection and the United States' role in the region reflected trends in larger American society related to the war in the Philippines.¹²⁸ Indeed, a large portion of the American populace believed that the United States government violated their principles by remaining in the archipelago as an occupying force after ousting the Spanish government.¹²⁹ Hackthorn also represented larger militia trends near the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, the young Iowan was an educated citizen who volunteered for militia service in the 1890s and found himself in the Philippines as a member of E Company in the 51st Infantry Regiment. After his return home, Hackthorn married and took up a job in the insurance industry.¹³⁰ By the outbreak of the First World War, Hackthorn worked for the Union Central Life and Royal Hartford Insurance Company, and by 1920, Hackthorn owned his own home and provided for his wife and young son.¹³¹ Ultimately then, Hackthorn represented the American middle-class at the turn of the twentieth-century, and he epitomized the mindset that permeated the militia's ranks.

While Hackthorn never directly criticized the American war effort, others did. John. E. Fetterly of the Nebraska militia declared, "I do not approve of the course our government is pursuing with these people [the insurgents]." Fetterly's opinions also

¹²⁷ *Palimpsest*, 175; Sp-Am War Docs; INGA.

¹²⁸ Paul A. Kramer, "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War," *Diplomatic History* 30:2 (2006), 169-210.

¹²⁹ Brian McCallister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000).

¹³⁰ "Iowa, Select Marriages Index, 1809-1992" (online database); "Iowa State Census, 1905" (online database), both accessed November 2015, <http://ancestry.com>.

¹³¹ "U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918" (online database); and "1920 United States Federal Census" (online database), both accessed November 2015, <http://ancestry.com>.

aligned with a segment of American society who believed that the military's mission in the Philippines ran counter to the original intent of the American war effort. He continued by saying, "I marched into battle to make them free – not to make them subjects."¹³² For many Americans and militiamen, the wars in Cuba and the Philippines initially offered new opportunities, but expectations waned. Middle-class officers believed the wars represented progress, both in a national sense (America's imperial entry into the world stage) and a racial sense, as they believed the United States had the duty to "civilize" the "lesser" races.¹³³

Additionally, some political leaders and struggling American workers hoped an independent Filipino ally would open new foreign economic markets.¹³⁴ Therefore, both middle-class officers and working-class soldiers initially viewed the war in a positive light. However, as the insurrection in the Philippines devolved into a guerilla conflict, many soldiers lost sight of the war's objectives.¹³⁵ Working-class militiamen held little desire to engage in extended conflict with the same Filipinos they hoped to aid at the onset of hostilities with Spain. Yet, regardless of personal sentiments, the militiamen carried out their orders in the Spanish-American War and the ensuing Filipino Insurrection. Indeed, due in part to ongoing strike actions and poor publicity, the militia expanded drill sessions and trained in more realistic scenarios, and state governments issued a variety of riot training manuals to militia units.¹³⁶ Similarly, the Regular Army officers assigned to militia units helped increase military standards and streamline tactics.

¹³² *Palimpsest*, 165; Sp-Am War Docs; INGA.

¹³³ Wiebe, 237; and Painter, 141-45.

¹³⁴ Painter, 146-47.

¹³⁵ Painter, 151-55.

¹³⁶ Various Drill Cards, Printed by the New Hampshire National Guard; Box 23, Correspondence, Pre-Federal Period, 1886-1899, Records of the National Guard Bureau, Record Group 168; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

By the 1890s, state soldiers trained in small unit tactics as well as company-based riot control procedures, and militiamen became subject to increased discipline and regular army officers inspected training sessions at annual summer encampments.¹³⁷

Therefore, the militia in the field at the turn of the twentieth century was the best trained militia force in decades. Militia volunteers performed admirably during the conflicts in Cuba and the Philippines, but the inefficient and inept deployment, combined with long training periods demonstrated the pitfalls of the existing system. As early as August 1898, plans calling for extreme militia revision regained steam in light of the mobilization disasters only a few months prior. Cleveland's mayor, Webb C. Hayes (former president Rutherford B. Hayes's son), proposed a plan where the President "shall appoint an Adjutant General for each State; that as many bodies of militia shall be raised in each State as circumstances require, and that all officers of such militia shall be nominated by the Governors of various States," and these troops would then fall under "direct control of the National Government and much of the difficulty experienced when the Guard was called into service for the Spanish war would be obviated."¹³⁸

In October, 1898, the editor of the *New York Times* argued that reorganization of the militia was a matter of statesmanship rather than military ability. According to Charles Lydecker's article, "it is too late in the present era to expect the several States to maintain at their own expense a volunteer army for National purposes other than purposes of self-preservation." He went on to describe how a complete reorganization of the militia and National Guard would serve both political parties and strengthen the

¹³⁷ Regarding training sessions and officers' reports, see *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1891 and 1892; Biennial Report...1893 and 1894; and Biennial Report...1895 and 1896*. For other information pertaining to training techniques in the 1890s, see "A Skirmish in the Army," *The Daily Picayune*, January 2, 1890; and Leach, "The Literature of Riot Duty," 25-26.

¹³⁸ "National Guard Revision," *New York Times*, August 31, 1898.

United States as it expanded its imperial domain. The *Times* article went on to suggest that many Americans believed the militia was at a crossroads during the Spanish-American War, and political leaders needed to do away with the older system of volunteer mobilization because some men would only serve according to their political allegiance to whichever political party led each individual war campaign. Additionally, the policy of enlisting “the most unfortunate of laboring classes” in the militia or National Guard for state and national defense at the expense of the state governments would only increase governmental spending, but would not alleviate the problems associated with uneasy mobilization.¹³⁹ Seemingly, the mobilization quagmire in 1898 stemmed from poor and outdated organization, and not a total lack of military proficiency.

Congress responded to the militia crisis with a series of federal actions that eventually replaced the old system with a new National Guard system. The inefficiencies of the militia led military officials and civilian leaders alike to question the future of the organized American militia. In a 1900 article, one militia critic proposed that the militia should be abolished and all civil associations “who supported the Guard too much” should also be abolished.¹⁴⁰ According to the article, militia and National Guard deficiencies ranged from poor officer training to power struggles stemming from state control.¹⁴¹ Opponents of the militia proposed alternative plans based on the concept of universal military training which will be discussed in the following chapter. The “continental army plan” was the most common proposal, and it involved the abolishment of the militia and the creation of a federal force of all able bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45. This proposal remained under consideration just prior to the passage of the

¹³⁹ Charles Lydecker, “The Disorganization of the National Guard,” *New York Times*, October 30, 1898, 15.

¹⁴⁰ Charles Sydney Clark, “Future of the National Guard,” *The North American Review* 170 (1900), 734-5.

¹⁴¹ Clark, “Future of the National Guard,” 732-33.

National Defense Act in 1916 despite Congress's passage of the Militia Act of 1903 and its 1908 amendments.¹⁴² However, not all believed the militia needed to be abolished. The NGA worked tirelessly to reform and maintain the state soldiery, and they found allies in Congress. These Progressive Era congressmen worked to strengthen the militia under a centralized structure with increased federal oversight.

Throughout the Gilded Age the militia served at the intersection of American society and the American military. In a broad sense, the militia appealed to traditional American ideals related to patriotism and virtue. When speaking of the militia in his biannual address to the state legislature, Illinois Governor John Peter Altgeld said, "they draw no pay except when on active duty. They are all engaged in private business pursuits just as other citizens. This being the case, there was impressed upon the officers the importance of making their arrangements for calling their men together so perfect that they could be collected at any hour of the day or night from their homes and places of business without the loss of a minute, and I am proud to say that the highest requirements in this regard have been met."¹⁴³ The governor stressed ideas of civic responsibility and the aspect that militiamen were citizens the majority of the time, yet answered the call to arms under various circumstances, often with little advanced notice. During his address, Illinois's chief executive went on to praise the militia for their service during a recent coal and railroad strike, and declared that "in many cases, especially in Chicago, the conditions under which they had to do duty for many weeks were very severe, but they bore all hardships like veterans. It may be satisfaction to the people of Illinois to know

¹⁴² "The Militia Question," *New York Times*, February 7, 1916.

¹⁴³ "Raps at Cleveland," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, January 11, 1895.

that they have one of the best military establishments in America, and that it is maintained at small expense.”¹⁴⁴ Of course, this “small expense” to the state was one of the major complaints of the NGA, and one of the reasons for slackening standards between institutions during the latter half of the nineteenth-century, but nonetheless, Governor Altgeld’s statement embodied virtually every major aspect of militia service: civic virtue, strike duty, and funding. Ultimately though, the existing militia system dissolved at the turn of the twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century, social strains related to labor disputes and racial tension prompted state and local authorities to utilize the militia to protect public property and restore order. Unfortunately for the militia, labor unions and some social commentators increasingly viewed the militia as little more than a corporate tool. Regardless of the fact that most militia companies and regiments rarely, if ever, performed strike duty, organized labor advocates considered the militia an enemy of the working-class. Ultimately then, the militia found itself caught up in an ongoing battle between corporate interests and organized labor during the Gilded Age. This association between the militia and strikebreaking illuminated a few inherent problems within the existing militia structure. For one, many militiamen came from the same social class as the workers against whom they sometimes found themselves aligned. These working-class soldiers became torn between a sense of duty and a sense of loyalty to their fellow workers, and a strong sense of animosity toward strike duty emerged within the militia. While workers continued to enlist in the militia as a means of carrying out a sense of civic duty or as a way of maintaining a masculine identity, they increasingly came under scrutiny for their dual role as both unionists and militiamen. On some occasions these soldiers risked

¹⁴⁴ “Raps at Cleveland,” *The Daily Inter Ocean*, January 11, 1895.

losing their jobs or union positions if they continued serving in the militia, and on other occasions, militiamen found themselves sympathizing with strikers across the lines.

The situation between the militia and organized labor also exposed serious shortcomings in the system. Instances of militia inefficiency and ineptitude demonstrated the inadequacy of the militia's existing training protocols. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the militia focused on close-order drills and unit marching order. While the militia increased its overall emphasis on military tactics and marksmanship in the 1880s and 90s, poor funding and state-by-state standards led serious training lapses in many companies and regiments. Indeed, as one regular army officer pointed out after observing the Illinois militia, the only companies who regularly trained in combat maneuvers and riot-control techniques were those units near major industrial centers. The rest of the Illinois militia spent many of their monthly drills trying to keep their soldiers entertained in order to maintain enlistment levels.¹⁴⁵ Regional differences in the United States resulted in some militia variances, but exposed many of the same shortcomings. Class tension related to worker strikes were much more prevalent in the American Northeast and Midwest, while racial tension required militia activities more frequently in the South. However, despite these regional differences, the lack of interstate cohesiveness and standardized funding greatly hindered the militia's ability to respond to various instances of social discord. By the end of the Gilded Age, social strife revealed many of the militia's serious flaws, and the militia struggled to meet new challenges amidst these larger tensions.

¹⁴⁵ Report of Captain J.B. Babcock, 5th US Cavalry, of the Encampment of the Illinois National Guard in 1892 for the United States Adjutant General, War Department, August 31, 1892, found in *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1891 and 1892*.

Meanwhile, calls for militia reform reflected middle-class desires for professionalism and efficiency. The emerging middle-class directed social reform through a search for order among chaos and by reconnecting with America's traditions. In this manner, middle-class officers and soldiers achieved massive reforms within the militia and National Guard systems, while maintaining close ties to American patriotic and civic traditions. Additionally, the new middle-class sought occupational legitimacy through organizations designed to increase efficiency and standardization. The National Guard Association grew out of the same sentiments that promoted the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association, and NGA members stressed the creation of a professional militia officer corps while lobbying the federal government for increased financial support. By the turn of the twentieth century, the NGA and middle-class officers achieved a high level of success, but serious militia forms came slowly.

Beginning in the early 1880s, Congress began considering alternatives to the militia and reassessed the antiquated Militia Act of 1792. Militia opponents within the federal government generally supported replacing the militia with some form of universal military training or state constabulary force. Reformers believed these replacement proposals would allow the federal government to increase their control over the nation's military elements and ease the tensions between the state soldiers and organized labor. Conversely, militia advocates (with NGA backing) also called for reform, but rejected replacement proposals. Instead, these reformers sought to standardize the militia and increase federal appropriations, while maintaining the militia's state-centric nature. Eventually, Congress agreed to increase federal appropriations (which had remained stagnant since 1808), but failed to reach any systematic reforms during the Gilded Age.

The only major changes related to training techniques near the end of the nineteenth century (both as a response to ongoing strike duty and some increased federal oversight). Indeed, by the Spanish-American War's onset, the militia was better trained than it had been in decades, and ultimately performed well in combat. However, internal strife and the ineffective mobilization during the war forced militia officers and politicians to advocate for a new system at the turn of the twentieth century.

As the nineteenth-century drew to a close, new international developments and American foreign policy demonstrated the militia's shortcomings. Poor funding (especially during economic downturns), the lack of federal oversight, and social tensions related to race and labor prompted militia advocates to press for comprehensive reforms. And while the middle-class and working-class differed on many issues, those within the militia agreed that the organization's benefits outweighed its shortcomings. In a larger political sense, the same political leaders who pushed for social and economic reforms examined the American military system. Just as with business, reformers sought to maximize military mobilization efficiency. Political leaders used the lessons of 1898 to create a supplement to the federal army, which fell under presidential authority during national emergencies, but still maintained its traditional role as state forces. In a similar vein, Progressive Era reformers examined the militia under the guise of social control and cultural divisions. The tense relationship between labor unions (who represented the working class) and the militia (who, fairly or unfairly, represented corporate interests) reflects a major division in American society during the Gilded Age. Ultimately, numerous social factors influenced militia reform, but the officer corps needed to maintain a delicate balance between themselves and the working-class soldier. The

militia system ultimately collapsed in the years following the Civil War. Due to problems related to military efficiency, social stigma, and class antagonisms, political reformers sought a new military system. The old state militia system's downfall reflected the larger issues in Gilded Age society, and militia reform became a product of Progressive Era politics.

CHAPTER 3 – THE NATIONAL GUARD’S RISE

Jerauld Olmsted paced back and forth in the Des Moines Telegraph Office throughout the night of 17 May 1898 as operators tapped their transmitters and translated official messages from the United States War Department regarding recent setbacks in the deployment of Iowa’s militia regiments to Cuba. Prior to his service in the Iowa National Guard Inspector General’s Office, Olmsted graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point and served in a variety of administrative positions in the American West, but now his office tasked him with overseeing a portion of Iowa’s mobilization for the war with Spain.¹ Olmsted eventually wired Washington his bleak report; Iowa would not be able to get the 50th regiment—the first to go to the front lines—ready by the weekend deadline. Though the troops were motivated for possible conflict, and the people cheered their cause, the existing laws hindered the War Department’s ability to supply the state militias with the necessary supplies needed for a hasty deployment to the Caribbean.² As discussed in the previous chapter, cases similar to Iowa’s occurred throughout the United States as the federal government attempted to supplement the Regular Army with state troops as a means of attaining the necessary numbers required for the war effort. The Spanish-American War demonstrated the need for a reformed militia system, and even though many in Congress opposed reform legislation, the events of 1898 made continued postponement impossible.

The militia also remained in a tense relationship with organized labor, and suffered from a lack of assured financial support. After a fire in the Illinois National

¹ “U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current” (online database), Jerauld Olmsted, accessed November 2015, <http://search.ancestry.com>.

² “Soldiers Are Not Ready,” *The Fort Dodge Chronicle*, May 20, 1898; Documents, Spanish-American War Era Collection; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

Guard clothing and ordinance stores led to an equipment shortage in 1894, Illinois' governor petitioned the Federal government to replace such items "as far as possible."³ Under the existing system, the federal government did not guarantee that states who were underequipped or who lost military items due to unforeseen circumstances would receive replacements within a year. Therefore, the militia was in a perpetual state of military limbo regarding appropriations and equipment. Furthermore, states needed to appeal to the War Department to garner funding for required annual training sessions.⁴ Once again, requisitions were not definite, so while the federal government required state militia units to attend a set amount of training periods to attain federal subsidies, any additional funding necessary to meet such requirements fell to the War Department. While the War Department granted most requests, this loose relationship between the federal and state governments regarding militia funding was a serious shortcoming in the old militia structure. Therefore, the federal government, filled with Progressives who desired efficiency and centralization, ushered in a series of protocols that replaced the antiquated militia system with a truly nationalized state-centered force, the National Guard. Ultimately, the Militia Act of 1903 became the first major step at militia reform in over a century. However, vagueness in the new law, combined with charges of unconstitutionality and continued hostility from labor circles prompted government and military officials to press for continued reform which resulted in a series of amendments

³ John Peter Altgeld, Governor of Illinois to Daniel S. Lamont, Secretary of War, May 8, 1894; Box 23, Correspondence, Pre-Federal Period, 1886-1899 (Pre-Fed), Records of the National Guard Bureau, Record Group 168 (RG 168); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Correspondence Details; Box number, Pre-Fed, RG 168; NACP.

⁴ Numerous letters between state adjutant generals and the War Department have survived regarding training appropriations during the final decade of the nineteenth-century. For examples see: C.C. Hilton, Illinois Adjutant General to Daniel S. Lamont, Secretary of War, March 10, 1896; Wisconsin Adjutant General to Daniel S. Lamont, Secretary of War, July 2, 1895; and Iowa Adjutant General to Joseph Doe, Assistant Secretary of War, June 29, 1896; Box 23, Pre-Fed, RG 168; NACP.

to the 1903 law and ultimately culminated with passage of the National Defense Act in 1916.

In 1882, when the militia remained torn between rival social factions, one political commentator noted that Constitutional limitations made altering the existing arrangement difficult. According to General Albert Ordway, “there are certain limitations imposed by our form of government that make the question a more difficult one. Under these limitations the question becomes, how can the National Government, under the powers conceded to it by the Constitution, provide that the militia of a large number of separate States shall be so equally and uniformly organized as to be available for national defense when required?” While Ordway believed there was a solution to the problem, he readily admitted that “If the solution of the problem be left entirely to the different States, it is evident that no State will make any greater expenditure for the organization and instruction of its militia than its own necessities require.”⁵ Ultimately then, the federal government needed to enact stricter legislation which would allow for increased uniformity and efficiency, but that would not violate existing Constitutional provisions.

As the United States entered the twentieth-century, congressional leaders and military lobbyists proposed replacing the militia with a system capable of complementing the Regular Army, generally centered on some form of universal military training (UMT). Under such a structure, all men of military age would receive some amount of military training and could be activated for service at any time.⁶ Meanwhile, other

⁵ Albert Ordway, “A National Militia,” *The North American Review* 134:305 (1882), 397.

⁶ “Senate Debates the Militia,” *New York Times*, January 16, 1902. Throughout this chapter, *New York Times* articles and editorials were accessed through the “New York Times Historical Edition, 1857-1922,” via proquest.com.

prominent politicians and militia officers supported a new system based upon strengthening existing militia organizations. One political commentator, compared the two concepts and wrote, “In view of the vast difference between the degrees of readiness and efficiency offered by the two systems, the question immediately presents itself whether our Government should not commit itself without delay to the European system of universal military service in time of peace.”⁷ Throughout this debate though, the National Guard Association continued to press for laws that reinforced the existing militia structure, but remained willing to cede some state control to the federal government in exchange for increased militia appropriations. Congress responded to the NGA’s lobbying and replacement proposals by passing a series of laws intended to increase militia efficiency, but ultimately replaced the old militia with a new National Guard. Nonetheless, these laws did not stop opponents, as they continued to attack the new Guard system, and debates concerning UMT continued throughout the first decades of the twentieth-century.

A transition to the National Guard occurred between 1898 and 1916 during a general army modernization and reorganization process. Ultimately, the new National Guard system was a result of Progressive Era reform movements because Progressive politicians generally sought to increase federal authority to promote centralization and efficiency. Congress intended these military measures to prepare the United States for the trials and necessities associated with modern warfare. Yet, these modernizing and professionalizing efforts developed against the backdrop of long-standing traditions. As discussed in the previous chapter, the United States had maintained a state-controlled militia force since the colonial period, and although the system failed during mobilization

⁷ John F. O’Ryan, “The Role of the National Guard,” *The North American Review* 202 (1915), 364.

for the Spanish-American War, many state governments and civilians opposed a complete break with convention. Meanwhile though, critics questioned the validity of maintaining the old militia system.⁸ The prevailing notion among militia opponents was that a volunteer force consisting of “amateurs” could not adequately support the Regular Army, and the militia’s struggles during the Gilded Age and the mobilization debacle of 1898 seemed to validate their opinion.⁹

Although the militia performed adequately in the Philippines, observers continued to emphasize the organization’s inefficiencies. And while the militia survived this tense period in some ways, they did not do so under the existing structure. National Guard historians (as well as the National Guard itself) generally argue that the Guard was the next logical step in a militia evolutionary process.¹⁰ While the modern National Guard certainly has its roots in the colonial and nineteenth century militia system, the Guard after 1903 was a new organization. Unlike the traditional militia, Congress established the Guard as a state force with high levels of federal oversight, and new laws allowed the president or Congress to federalize the National Guard for emergencies without state approval. While this transition did not happen overnight, the move toward a more centralized and truly “national” National Guard began to take shape in the early twentieth century, and solidified itself by the onset of World War I. Furthermore, in comparison to the old militia, the Guard’s association with federal oversight allowed the redesigned organization to serve in a more standardized fashion, while states maintained organizational control during peacetime.

⁸ Charles Sydney Clark, “The Future of the National Guard,” *The North American Review* 170 (1900), 732-3.

⁹ “Defense Sentiment Shown by Poll of Businessmen,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1916.

¹⁰ This is the generally supported argument forwarded by William H. Riker, Jim Dan Hill, John K. Mahon, and Jerry Cooper.

The new National Guard also served at an intersection between the federal and state governments and bridged the gap between the military and civilian spheres in ways the Regular Army could not. Indeed, the Guard's unique nature as a civilian force allowed America's professional class to press for increased efficiency from outside the military system, whereas professional-minded regular officers attempted to reform the system from within. Long-standing civilian suspicion of the military meant that many Regular Army officers were often at odds with their civilian governmental counterparts.¹¹ The National Guard, though, allowed reformers to press for change from a "less threatening" source. Officers in the NGA worked closely with their Congressional allies to increase the Guard's legitimacy and increase federal funding and oversight. And Congressmen such as Charles Dick actively served in National Guard regiments and essentially became Guard representatives within America's civilian government, where they could influence structural changes. Therefore, the National Guard effectively connected the American military to federal and state governments in areas where the Regular Army failed to do so.

For working-class Americans, the Guard continued to offer men an avenue to express their masculinity through company drills and public displays. Guardsmen competed with each other in marksmanship competitions, and took pride in their ability to outshoot and outmarch, their fellow troops. And along similar lines, soldiers staged boxing matches and participated in masculine-oriented games (like blanket tossing) at monthly drill sessions. Finally, though the Guard moved away from flamboyant public displays, guardsmen continued to demonstrate their manly qualities to the opposite sex in

¹¹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), 80-98.

unit-sponsored balls and parades.¹² Additionally, the National Guard provided minorities and immigrants a means of attaining citizenship and assimilating into American culture.¹³ By the onset of the First World War, the National Guard maintained eight all-black regiments across the nation, including the 8th Illinois Infantry Regiment and the 15th New York Regiment who would fight bravely with the 93rd Infantry Division in the First World War. For men like Johannes Anderson (a Finnish immigrant whose exploits will be discussed in the following chapters), the National Guard promised a higher level of citizenship without the hardships of Regular Army life.¹⁴ Ultimately then, the Guard drew its numbers from every element of American society despite continued labor hostility and a fluctuating legal structure.

Redefining and reshaping the militia into the National Guard proved difficult. Opposition to the Guard system came in many forms, and tensions between supporters and detractors led to years of Congressional debate. Interestingly, these debates rarely fell along party or regional lines, and militia reform proposals were non-partisan in nature. Congress ultimately voted in favor of the National Guard in the form of the Dick Act of 1903 and the law's 1908 amendments, as well as the National Defense Act of 1916. However, the vagueness and vastness of the new laws raised questions of Constitutionality and created high levels of confusion among the ranks. Prior to the First World War, calls for reform threatened the new Guard's long-term inclusion in the

¹² Eleanor Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois, 1870-1917* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007), 59-63; and Eleanor Hannah, "From the Dance Floor to the Rifle Range: The Evolution of Manliness in the National Guards, 1870-1917," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6:2 (2007), 149-77.

¹³ Hannah, *Manhood*, 13, 17-18, and 70-75.

¹⁴ Johannes Sigfrid Anderson, *Diary, Memorandum Pages*; Johannes Anderson Collection, Medal of Honor Recipients; Illinois National Guard Military Museum and Archives, Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois. The Majority of Anderson's diary was dedicated to his wartime service, but he expressed a sense of pride in the Guard's close ties to his home state.

modern American military system, and the organization's continued existence was not a foregone conclusion. Between 1903 and 1916, the National Guard transitioned from a state-centric militia force into a nationalized military entity. The Spanish-American War exposed many inadequacies in the existing militia system, particularly related to overseas deployments. This chapter will examine how Progressive Congressional officials and military leaders used their power to promote efficiency and centralization, and ultimately created a new, stronger, and more effective citizen army.

The Militia Act of 1903

High profile calls for militia reform were not new at the beginning of the twentieth-century. Throughout the nineteenth century, numerous American Presidents called on Congress to revise the militia structure. Prior to the Civil War, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson pointed out the militia's shortcomings, and Lincoln expressed similar sentiments in the 1860s. However, presidential demands for militia reforms seemingly increased as the militia became more embroiled in social and political tensions. In 1880 President Rutherford B. Hayes supported legislation "for organizing, arming, and disciplining the active militia of the country, and liberal appropriations are recommended on this behalf." Similarly in 1882, President Chester A. Arthur called "the attention of Congress to the propriety of making more adequate provision for arming and equipping the militia," and in 1890 President Benjamin Harrison declared that "the encouragement hat has been extended to the militia of the States should be continued and enlarged. These military organizations constitute in a large sense the Army of the Unites

States, while about five-sixths of the annual cost of their maintenance is defrayed by the States.” And perhaps most to the point, in 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt pronounced, “Our militia law is obsolete and worthless! The organization and armament of the National Guard of the several States should be made identical with those provided for the regular forces.” Roosevelt encouraged further legislation by saying “the obligations and duties of the guard in time of war should be carefully defined.”¹⁵

While many of the chief executives’ calls for reform remained unanswered throughout the nineteenth-century, this trend shifted in the wake of the Spanish-American War mobilization crisis. Early plans centered upon the establishment of a national part-time army which could be called at the president’s behest, and President Hayes’s own son called for the formation of a peacetime militia that would fall under the permanent control of the federal government.¹⁶ However, the National Guard Association continually lobbied on the militia’s behalf, and convinced Congress to reject such schemes. As the twentieth-century dawned, militia opponents found renewed vigor in light of the 1898 mobilization failures. The most notable alternate proposal of the early twentieth-century became the “continental army plan,” which involved the creation of a federal force of all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45, who would be compelled to serve on active duty for at least two years, and this proposal remained under consideration just prior to the passage of the National Defense Act in 1916.¹⁷ Other plans supported the establishment of a national constabulary for use during emergencies that

¹⁵ These quotes are found in: Committee on the Militia, Efficiency of the Militia, H.R. Rep. No. 1094, at 10-11 (1902).

¹⁶ “National Guard Revision,” *New York Times*, August 31, 1898.

¹⁷ “The Militia Question,” *The New York Times*, February 7, 1916.

would train in peacetime, but would be separate from the existing militia. The NGA rejected these suggestions, and they found powerful allies in Congress.

Progressive Congressman Charles Dick—who was also served in the Ohio National Guard—was one of these influential Guard allies [*figure 1*]. In many ways, Dick came to represent how the National Guard (which officially replaced the militia) grew out of Progressive Era political trends. Since the United States’ founding, the military has remained subject to civilian control, and increasingly over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, regular officers served as the professional wing of America’s military sphere. Militia and National Guard officers often served in a dual capacity as both civilian authorities and military professionals. During the Spanish-American War, Dick served with the 8th Ohio Volunteer Regiment and won election to Congress shortly after.¹⁸ Charles Dick simultaneously served as president of the NGA, and he was reelected to three succeeding Congresses and served as chairman of the House Committee on Militia Affairs until 1904 when he resigned to serve in the US Senate upon the death of Marcus (Mark) Hanna, the “Ohio Kingmaker.”¹⁹ However, unlike the man he eventually replaced in the Senate, Dick supported many of Theodore Roosevelt’s Progressive agenda items, particularly those related to the military and the militia. Not surprisingly, as both a high ranking militia officer and president of the NGA, Dick rejected many universal military training (UMT)-style replacement proposals based on some form of conscription, and he developed a working relationship with Colonel William Sanger, New York’s inspector general. In 1900, Secretary of War Elihu Root

¹⁸ “Biography of Charles William Frederick Dick,” Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-Present, Library of Congress, accessed December 2015, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/>.

¹⁹ “Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center Obituary Index, 1810s-2013” (online database) accessed July 2015, <http://ancestry.com>; and William T. Horner, *Ohio’s Kingmaker: Mark Hanna, Man and Myth* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010).

dispatched Sanger to Europe to report back on how other Western nations handled their civilian reserves, particularly Great Britain and Switzerland. Sanger reported that “an effective militia is a force of the greatest value.”²⁰

After Sanger returned from Europe, Charles Dick began regularly meeting with him, and moved forward in an effort to strengthen the nation’s militia. Dick appointed a panel to outline a bill he could present to the NGA at their annual meeting in January 1902.²¹ Dick and his supporters in Congress hoped to increase the militia’s efficiency through a modernization process that involved placing the militia firmly within the federal army system. Dick’s proposal gained momentum, and the War Department submitted a reform bill to Congress that closely resembled Dick’s original bill. However, the War Department’s bill held one element that Dick and the NGA opposed outright. Section 24 of the proposal would establish a 100,000-man national reserve consisting of men with prior military service, but had no connection to any state. Secretary Root argued that this was simply a move to keep 100,000 veterans closely connected to the nation’s military structure, but the NGA believed this was an effort (with support from the Regular Army) to marginalize the militia in the long term. Despite Section 24 and Dick’s opposition, the bill passed through the House. However, in the Senate, Republicans favored the bill, while Democrats (with labor union support) argued that the bill was at once anti-state and militaristic. Senator Stephen Mallory II (Florida) took particular issue with Section 24 and declared that “the measure is disingenuous,” because “under the guise of being a scheme for the promotion of the efficiency of the militia, it

²⁰ William C. Sanger, *Report on the Reserve and Auxiliary Forces of England and the Militia of Switzerland: Prepared for President McKinley and Secretary of War Root* (Washington D.C.: US Government Publishing Office, 1903), 9.

²¹ John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1983), 138-39.

deliberately declares that a certain body of men, to be called national volunteers, are a part of the militia,” which the senator believed violated constitutional provisions.²²

Secretary Root and his Senate allies withdrew Section 24 in order to ensure passage, and the Senate passed the bill in January 1903.²³ This law designed “to increase the efficiency of the militia,” effectively became the Militia Act of 1903, commonly referred to as the “Dick Act.”

The Act established that “the militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age, and shall be divided into two classes—the organized militia, to be known as the National Guard of the State, Territory, or District of Columbia, or by such other designations as may be given them by the laws of respective States or Territories, and the remainder to be known as the Reserve Militia.” Furthermore, “the regularly enlisted, organized, and uniformed active militia in the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia who have heretofore participated or shall hereafter participate in the apportionment and the annual appropriation provided” will “constitute the organized militia.”²⁴ Illinois Adjutant General Thomas Scott noted in his biennial report that the Militia Act of 1903 established the National Guard as “part of the military force of the United States, thus giving it a definite relationship with the United States Army.”²⁵ Iowa’s adjutant general, Melvin

²² 57 Cong. Rec. 570 (1903) (statement of Sen. Mallory).

²³ Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard*, 139.

²⁴ Militia Act of 1903: An Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, and for Other Purposes, Pub. L. No. 57-33, 775 Stat. (1903), Sections 1 and 3. Hereafter cited as Militia Act of 1903, Section number.

²⁵ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1903-1904* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1904), 3.

Byers, who personally witnessed the law's signing, similarly noted that the Dick Act "will greatly benefit the Guard of the states," because it brought the Guard and army into a closer relationship. He went on to say that "we [the National Guard] should make the most of it, and be worthy of the benefits accrued under this law."²⁶

Under these provisions, the existing organized militia became the new National Guard (assuming they met federal standards), and anyone who enlisted in the organized militia after implementation of the Dick Act automatically transferred to the newly-created organization. Similarly, all those already enlisted or commissioned in the existing militia transferred directly to the National Guard. This new law also allowed the president to call the National Guard into federal service for the "period for which such service is required, not exceeding nine months, and the militia so called shall continue to serve during the term so specified unless sooner discharged by order of the President."²⁷ However, the Dick Act held to the Constitutional provision regarding militia deployment, where the president or Congress could only federalize the force "to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, and to repel invasion."²⁸ Therefore, the Militia Act of 1903 did not allow for the federalization of the Guard in the event of a foreign war. Despite this, the new law did set the precedent where the president could activate the Guard without state approval and without the need for a volunteer provision in the event of a national emergency. In this way then, the Dick Act kept with general Progressive Era trends which increased executive power. During Senate debates surrounding the bill, one of the largest complaints came from senators who argued that the Militia Act would

²⁶ *Report of the Adjutant-General to the Governor of the State of Iowa, for Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1903* (Des Moines: B. Murphy, State Printer, 1903), 11.

²⁷ Militia Act of 1903, Section 5.

²⁸ U.S. Const. art I, § 8, cl. 15; and Committee on the Militia, *Efficiency of the Militia*, H.R. Rep. No. 57-1094, at 22-23.

give the president the power to activate the National Guard without Congressional authorization.²⁹

On 21 January 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt, the nation's first Progressive president, signed the Dick Act into law amidst a crowd of people, including Congressman Dick and Secretary of War Root. After a brief ceremony, President Roosevelt declared that he "hoped that no president ever would be confronted by such an emergency as would render it necessary for him to avail himself of the services of the troops provided for in the bill."³⁰ With the stroke of a pen and a few words, the National Guard was born. During this same period, Congress passed the General Staff Bill aimed at modernizing mobilization methods in order to avoid the problems exposed in 1898, and naval reformers established the United States Navy League, which influenced naval policy and ideology.³¹ When combined with the Militia Act, these policy efforts effectively reorganized and centralized the American military structure. Similarly, Congress passed the Army Appropriation Act in March 1903, which guaranteed that each unit of the "organized militia" would receive the same "armaments and equipment" as the Regular Army, without any added costs to the individual states.³² The combination of these three bills ensured that the National Guard would have a place within the American military structure, and the laws allowed the Guard to increase its military potential. Furthermore, many hoped that the Dick Act would increase the "efficiency of the National Guard in the

²⁹ 57 Cong. Rec. 570-6 (1903).

³⁰ "Militia Bill Signed," *New York Times*, January 22, 1903.

³¹ George T. Davis, *A Navy Second to None: The Development of Modern American Naval Policy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940), 147.

³² Extract from Army Appropriation Act, Approved March 2, 1903, in *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York, for the Year 1903* vol. I (Albany: Oliver A. Quayle, State Legislative Printer, 1904), 13.

States in which it is greatest” and that in more “backward States, the standard will be gradually but steadily raised under the pressure of the law.”³³

Congress’s first major reform of the Militia Law of 1792 also guaranteed that federalized guardsmen would receive the “same pay and allowances as are or may be provided by law for the Regular Army,” which was a major victory for the NGA and other advocates who sought pay equality for services rendered, but the federal government was not willing to leave the National Guard and the states to their own devices.³⁴ In order to promote efficiency and military standards in the National Guard, the War Department officially detailed “one or more officers of the Army to attend any encampment of the organized militia, and to give such instruction and information to the officers and men assembled in such camp as may be requested by the governor,” and those officers “shall immediately make a report of such encampment to the Secretary of War, who shall furnish a copy thereof to the governor of the State or Territory.”³⁵ Furthermore, Congress gave the War Department the authority to ensure states adhered to the new policies, and the Secretary of War was “hereby authorized to issue, on the requisition of the governors of the several States and Territories, or of the commanding general of the militia of the District of Columbia, such number of the United States standard service magazine arms, with bayonets, bayonet scabbards, gun slings, belts, and such other necessary accouterments and equipments [sic] as are required for the Army of the United States.”³⁶ While the government intended these equipment appropriations to

³³ “The Militia Bill,” *New York Times*, January 23, 1903.

³⁴ Militia Act of 1903, Section 10.

³⁵ Militia Act of 1903, Section 19.

³⁶ Militia Act of 1903, Section 13.

be of no costs to the states, the War Department basically held the authority to execute or ignore the new law.

Under the provisions in the Dick Act, the National Guard needed to meet military proficiency standards, and Congress and the War Department required each state to participate in marksmanship drills and submit reports to the federal government each year.³⁷ Additionally, the Militia Act of 1903 outlined that the National Guard should have a minimum of 65 infantry organizations, 65 cavalry organizations, 120 artillery batteries, 120 coastal artillery batteries, and 100 engineering organizations.³⁸ Under this guideline, the new National Guard would have uniformity with the Regular Army regarding organizational breakdown, and these guidelines fixed one drawback of the old militia system. This new structure ultimately dissolved some of the disparities between states and standardized the overall force structure. The Secretary of War further mandated that Regular Army officers would inspect state organizations as a means of ensuring compliance with new regulations.³⁹ This new emphasis on uniformity was evident by 1908 when Illinois' adjutant general reported that there was a "remarkable change in the National Guard," particularly related to "the strides taken toward efficiency and the assumption of a more professional air and the getting away from the amateur ideas of a soldier."⁴⁰ Ironically, at the time of this report, Illinois still failed to meet the

³⁷ For examples, see: Report of Drills, Target Practice, and Field Instruction of the Organized Militia of the State of Illinois, for the Calendar Year 1911, Under Section 18, Act of January 21, 1903; and Report of Marksmanship Drills with General Remarks, March 22, 1912; Box 359, Reports in Small-Arms Firing and Drills, Records of the National Guard Bureau, Record Group 168; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

³⁸ "The New Militia Law," *New York Times*, March 22, 1903.

³⁹ "The New Militia Law," *New York Times*, March 22, 1903.

⁴⁰ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1907 and 1908* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1909), 1.

Dick Act's organizational regulations, but the law still established a move toward more effective training actions.

Though the new law strictly outlined the organization of the new National Guard while federalized, Congressman Dick sought to assuage state fears related to federal overreach and appease political opponents who could potentially argue against the Dick Act's constitutionality. Dick assured the War Department and the states that, "in time of peace it might properly be liberal, when not interfering with the true intent of the provision." Additionally, while during times of peace, states could have extra officers or non-commissioned officers "as a necessity of instruction," and could even have more units than tactically allowed in the event of heightened volunteerism because "it is not unreasonable to assume that with the increased public appreciation of the importance of the organized militia under the new law, the necessary increase of companies and recruiting would follow." Finally though, under the original Dick Act, states would maintain their current unit designations because "there appears to be nothing in the new law to conflict with present nomenclature."⁴¹ Therefore, states maintained localized designators, as the Third Iowa Infantry Regiment, the First Illinois Infantry Regiment, and the First Wisconsin Cavalry Regiment kept their state-centric names unless federalized.

National Guard proponents hoped the new law would quickly modernize America's fighting forces, and fix the militia's efficiency limitations. However, the Dick Act contained some inherent flaws. And although many, including President Theodore Roosevelt applauded congressional efforts at military reform, carrying out the new

⁴¹ Committee on the Militia, Efficiency of the Militia, H.R. Rep. No. 58-1094, at 19-20.

legislation proved problematic.⁴² One major problem related to the fact that even though the president signed the militia act into law in January 1903, the bill did not have immediate consequences for every National Guard unit. When outlining the Dick Act's provisions to various local authorities, General Samuel Baldwin Marks Young, stated that "Under the law the organized militia are given until January 21, 1908, to adopt 'the organization, armament, and discipline' of the 'regular and volunteer armies,' and within that time the organized militia is expected to conform as rapidly as practicable to the standard." And while the new law gave states five years to meet the new standards, General Young expected that most states would "take reasonable steps towards the attainment of the standard" in a relatively short period of time.⁴³ As noted, the law's execution rested with Assistant Secretary of War William Sanger, which meant that implementation of the new regulations fell to the federal government and kept state governments on the periphery.⁴⁴ Therefore, many states did not put much effort into meeting the new standards very quickly. Indeed, by 1907—four years after passage of the Dick Act—only Massachusetts met the established requirements.⁴⁵

Most other states took their time in implementing change, but eventually planned to align with the new law. As required in the Dick Act, each state had until 1908 to instill the necessary protocols to comply with the new laws. In November, 1907, Illinois's commanding general confirmed to the War Department that "we are now revising the Rules and Regulations and when completed they will cover all necessary changes to

⁴² "Congress Expires Throes of Deadlock," *The New York Times*, March 5, 1903.

⁴³ "The New Militia Law," *New York Times*, March 22, 1903.

⁴⁴ "The New Militia Law," *The New York Times*, June 10, 1903.

⁴⁵ "Changes in Militia Law," *The New York Times*, December 14, 1907.

conform to said Order. This will be done before January 21, 1908.”⁴⁶ In order to demonstrate compliance with the original Dick Act and its amendments, Illinois established the *Military and Naval Code of Illinois* in July, 1907, and many elements of the *Military and Naval Code* reflected the existing federal laws. For example, the Illinois code book stated that “All of the able-bodied men of the state, aged 16-45 are subject to military duty and make up the Illinois State Militia. However, as article II states, the state’s organized land force would be the Illinois National Guard “and shall consist of not more than twenty-four (24) battalions of infantry, one battalion of artillery, one regiment of cavalry of nine (9) troops, a company of engineers, one signal corps, and shall be organized as a division under the command of a major general.” In order to make Guard service slightly more appealing, the state guaranteed that “every officer, non-commissioned officer, musician, private, or enlisted man of the Illinois National Guard or Illinois Naval Reserve shall be exempt from jury duty, from payment of road labor and head or poll tax of every description during the time he shall hold a commission as an officer or be enrolled as an enlisted man in the Illinois National Guard or the Illinois Naval Reserve.”⁴⁷

Similarly, Wisconsin’s adjutant general, C.A. Boardman, ensured that his state would conform to the government’s guidelines by the end of January, and enclosed a copy of Wisconsin’s National Guard regulations.⁴⁸ Apparently Wisconsin was well on their way to compliance because the War Department responded by saying “the

⁴⁶ Thomas W. Scott, Illinois Adjutant General to the Acting Secretary of War, November 18, 1907; Box 25, Correspondence, Document File 1903-1908 (1903-1908), Records of the National Guard Bureau, Record Group 168 (RG 168); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Correspondence Details; Box number, 1903-1908, RG 168; NACP.

⁴⁷ *The Military and Naval Code of Illinois: July 1, 1907*; Box 25, 1903-1908, RG 168; NACP.

⁴⁸ C.A. Boardman, Wisconsin Adjutant General to the Acting Secretary of War, November 21, 1907; Correspondence, Document File 1903-1908, RG 168; NACP.

organization therein outlined, in so far as the War Department is concerned, appears to meet all requirements.”⁴⁹ By the end of 1907, then, states were more apt to institute changes to their military organizations in accordance with federal regulations than they were in 1903 because of the looming deadline, but other drawbacks to the Dick Act prevented the law from effectively fixing existing shortcomings. Though the act would strengthen the overall American military structure, the War Department hesitated to enforce the law’s regulations strictly. And while many historians and contemporaries credited Secretary of War Elihu Root for pushing Guard reforms through governmental channels, he was actually a proponent of an all-volunteer force for times of war. Root believed, even as late as 1916 that using the National Guard as a supplement to the Regular Army was, “quite absurd.” Root maintained in a letter written for public consumption that, “the National Guard are primarily State troops for state purposes, and they must continue to be so.”⁵⁰

While some elements of the Dick Act allowed for high levels of resistance and a very gradual shift toward compliance, the law did work as planned in other respects. In addition to detailing Regular Army officers to serve as National Guard trainers and liaisons, the War Department also ordered numerous non-commissioned officers to oversee National Guard training activities and institute Regular Army standards at the enlisted level. These sergeants then submitted quarterly reports to the War Department and the National Guard Bureau as a means of ensuring Guard units met federal mandates.

For the most part the Regular Army sergeants participated in seemingly mundane

⁴⁹ Acting Secretary of War to Wisconsin Adjutant General’s Office, December 10, 1907; Box 25, 1903-1908, RG 168; NACP.

⁵⁰ Elihu Root, *Military and Colonial Policy of the United States: Addresses and Reports by Elihu Root*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), 441-442, as cited in, Elbridge Colby, “Elihu Root and the National Guard,” *Military Affairs* 23 (1959), 29.

exercises, but such training actions were necessary to guarantee the National Guard performed effectively and at a high level. For example, the Army detailed Sergeant Tiffin Annesser to the Hospital Corps of the First Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, where he trained soldiers in how to properly carry a litter, how to apply and use blanket rolls, and how to use and apply field dressings.⁵¹ Sergeant Charles Baird trained with B Battery of the Fourth Minnesota Field Artillery and taught upcoming National Guard non-commissioned officers every Tuesday evening and drilled with the field artillery batteries every Friday. Sergeant Baird also worked with the headquarters detachment of the Fourth Minnesota Field Artillery and oversaw training related to personal hygiene in the field as well as how to properly mark routes, scout artillery positions, and signal between forward units.⁵² Similarly, Sergeant J. Leland Bass trained with Troops A, C, E, F, and H of the First Illinois Cavalry Regiment and instructed soldiers in proper mounting, bridling, saddling, and dismounting techniques, as well as manual of arms drills with rifles and pistols.⁵³ Overall, the efforts of these Regular Army sergeants helped ensure that the National Guards of various states would be able to meet and in some cases exceed the federal government's standards of military effectiveness.

⁵¹ Quarterly Personal Report of Tiffin Annesser, February, 1916; Box 354-358, Quarterly Reports of Sergeants (Q Reps of Sergeants, 1908-1916, Records of the National Guard Bureau, Record Group 168 (RG 168); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Report details; Q Reps of Sergeants, 1908-1916, RG 168; NACP.

⁵² Quarterly Personal Report of Charles F. Baird, December, 1914; Q Reps of Sergeants, 1908-1916, RG 168; NACP.

⁵³ Quarterly Personal Report of J. Leland Bass, December, 1913; Q Reps of Sergeants, 1908-1916, RG 168; NACP.

The Dick Act's flaws

The flaws in the Militia Act of 1903 demonstrated themselves in a variety of capacities during the first decade of the twentieth century. In early January 1908, as the conformity deadline approached, the Committee on Militia Affairs reported that only four states (Idaho, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and South Dakota) were up to standard, and only another four (Illinois, Maine, Michigan, and Nebraska) reported that they would meet the requirements by the deadline. Therefore, the Committee supported a Senate bill to extend the deadline two more years—to 21 January 1910.⁵⁴ Due partly to the lack of compliance, and partly to other limitations of the original bill, Congress decided to amend the existing law in 1908 (and again in 1909 and 1910), and while the amendments did extend the deadline two years, they further clarified the Militia Act's provisions. One of the major changes in the law related to time constraints, as Congress removed the nine-month limit on presidential authority. The amended law read, "it shall be lawful for the President to call forth such number of the militia of *the* State or of the States or Territories or of the District of Columbia as he may deem necessary to repel invasion, suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, and to issue his orders for that purpose to such officers of the militia as he may think proper," provided that "no commissioned officer or enlisted man of the organized militia shall be held to serve beyond the term of his existing commission or enlistment."⁵⁵

Additional amendments to the Dick Act clarified the fact that when federalized, the National Guard would receive the same pay allotted as the Regular Army, and "their pay shall commence from the day of their appearing at the place of company

⁵⁴ Committee on Militia Affairs, Militia Act of 1903, H.R. Rep. No. 60-26, at 1-2 (1908).

⁵⁵ To Amend the Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, H.R. 14783, 60 Cong. (1908), Section 4-5. Hereafter cited as, To Amend the Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, Section number.

rendezvous,” but the law did not cover allowances for payment prior to the arrival at specified camps.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Congress gave the War Department expanded discretion regarding inspections of state units as well as more authority to detail Regular Army officers to serve with National Guard units for training purposes, and clarified pay allowances for guardsmen who attended courses of study at military schools or academies.⁵⁷ Finally, Congress established that the National Guard and Regular Army would attend joint training sessions in order to promote organizational cohesiveness and establish a singular standard for the American land forces.⁵⁸ Once again, these amendments followed Progressive Era trends regarding executive authority. During House debates, Democratic Congressman John Floyd of Arkansas argued with John Hull (Republican, Iowa) regarding Hull’s proposed amendment which would allow the Secretary of War to order Guard units to conform to federal organizational guidelines. Floyd was opposed to the amendment because the amendment “takes away from Congress the power to fix these regulations.”⁵⁹

Although the amended Dick Act expanded executive authority over the National Guard regarding organizational structure and deployment options, the law did not specifically give the president the authority to deploy the National Guard to foreign countries. However, many federal officials hoped the amended law implied such a possibility. In a January 1908 address, Assistant Secretary of War, Robert Shaw Oliver, spoke of the National Guard and proclaimed, “Now, I do not think that many of the National Guardsmen realize that they are exactly on the same plane as the Regular Army

⁵⁶ To Amend the Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, Section 11.

⁵⁷ To Amend the Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, Sections 14-22.

⁵⁸ To Amend the Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, Section 23.

⁵⁹ 60 Cong. Rec. 561 (1909) (Statement of Mr. Floyd).

if war occurred to-morrow. Every National Guardsman, the day he signs his enlistment paper, or every officer of the National Guard, whenever he takes his oath, enlists for the war.” Oliver went on to say that much talk of whether the National Guard would be the first line or the second line of defense was basically moot because as guardsmen, “you are in the first line, and you have volunteered. The thing is done.”⁶⁰

The amendments to the Dick Act that took effect in 1908 strengthened the bond between the Regular Army and the National Guard, and clarified some other issues pertaining to federalization. In June 1908, the National Guard and Regular Army began a series of joint military training sessions at nine locations throughout the nation. While the army attempted a similar program in 1906, only four states participated, leaving the mission a failure, but by 1908, thirty nine states sent troops (totaling over 45,000) to the ten-day military camps. Assistant Secretary Oliver hoped these camps would become permanent rendezvous points for the Guard and Regular Army in order to “so organize the militia that every militia command will be permanently connected with certain commands of Regulars,” with “one co-ordinated whole army being organized.”⁶¹ While each state did not necessarily send their entire Guard contingents to these camps, they did send regiments to receive what Illinois’s instructor general referred to as, “more efficient instruction.”⁶² By 1910, Oliver’s plans seemed to be working, as a system for a general mobilization became part of the National Guards’ and the Regular Army’s general orders. Under this structure, “the whole country will be divided up into districts that will

⁶⁰ Committee on Militia Affairs, Amend the Militia Law of January 21, 1903, S. Rep. No. 60-630, at 3-4 (1908).

⁶¹ “Regulars and Militia to Form one Great Army,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1908.

⁶² Report of Major General Edward C. Young to the Illinois Adjutant General, November 21, 1910 in *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1909-1910* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1914), 63-64.

ultimately take the place of the present military departments.”⁶³ Generally, the War Department hoped that the clarified relationship between the National Guard and federal government would lead to a streamlined mobilization process and would ease some tensions with state governments. Nonetheless, a high level of ambiguity remained in the existing Militia Act.

Ultimately, the 1908 amendments served to solidify the National Guard as a federal force under state authority; but some state governments continued to resent the new system. One major point of contention among various states was a new provision that required Guard units to receive state approval if they needed to pass through that state for training purposes.⁶⁴ This was displayed in 1914, when troops from North Carolina and Georgia needed to travel through South Carolina in order to carry out their required annual training, and in an effort to oppose Senator (and former Secretary of War) Elihu Root, South Carolina’s governor refused to let troops enter his state.⁶⁵ The Governor used this opportunity to voice his disapproval of the secretary after the War Department moved a military encampment from South Carolina to Georgia. Seemingly, Congress’s attempts to clarify the Guard’s role and to diminish the divide between the federal government and the states could not completely erase existing divisions.

The new Guard, organized labor, and social strife

Although Congress and the War Department actively worked to strengthen the new system, civil leaders and labor leaders continued to raise questions concerning the benefits of a federally supported state military force. Indeed, organized labor’s

⁶³ “New Mobilization of Regulars and Militia,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1910.

⁶⁴ To Amend the Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, Section 15.

⁶⁵ “Bars Militia from State,” *The New York Times*, July 9, 1914.

opposition to the militia did not disappear just because the federal government redefined the overall structure of the new National Guard. Despite an unofficial truce between organized labor and the old militia during the Spanish-American War, tensions re-emerged as the Gilded Age gave way to the Progressive Era. When the Dick Act became law, labor unions took action against guardsmen within their organizations, and generally responded to the act's passage with increased hostility. Seemingly, the clause that declared every able-bodied man as part of a reserve militia, and every volunteer as part of the National Guard created a sense that the government was taking steps to suppress labor rights because now virtually every citizen became part of the militia or National Guard, who organized labor still viewed as an enemy of worker progress. Indeed, while the National Guard moved toward centralization, it still represented larger elements of American society. Therefore, the same tensions that plagued the militia threatened to unravel the National Guard from its inception.

Shortly after Congress implemented the Dick Act, labor organizers in New York set forth a series of initiatives that would allow unions to expel members who also served in the National Guard during a labor convention in Albany. Responses to such initiatives were mixed at best, and the *New York Times* went so far as to say "Organized labor has never put itself, not even in the outrages committed with its approval or connivance during the excitement of a strike, in so wretched a plight as the people who speak in its name at Albany are trying to put it in by insisting upon the right of trades unions to punish their members for doing their duty as citizens in the ranks of the National Guard."⁶⁶ New York's adjutant general reported a year prior to the Albany labor conference that he believed legislative action had become necessary to ensure there be

⁶⁶ "The Demand for Free Riot," *New York Times*, February 13, 1903.

“no adverse discrimination toward those who voluntarily offer their services for the protection of life and property and the preservation of law and order.”⁶⁷ Meanwhile, organized labor voiced its opposition to the National Guard in more subtle ways. For example, members of local labor unions boycotted a dance put on by a New York National Guard regiment who “was in active service” during a recent strike. However, despite the boycott, “the dance was a success.”⁶⁸

Only a few weeks prior to the Albany labor congress, the Painter’s Union forced George A. Hindley, a Connecticut guardsman, to retire from service in the National Guard or face expulsion from the union because “the by-laws of the Painter’s Union prohibit any member from belonging to the militia.” Additionally, the union suspended the soldier from their organization for 60 days as “punishment” for his insolence. While Hindley desired to continue serving in the National Guard, he submitted his resignation because he believed permanent expulsion from the union would make finding work nearly impossible, and another Connecticut guardsman voluntarily resigned his commission because he was a union man.⁶⁹ In the months that followed, some states attempted to make “discrimination against the employment of National Guardsmen” a punishable offense.⁷⁰ Despite these efforts, unionists continued to voice opposition to the National Guard. Robert Walker said that he “recently joined the Car Builders’ Union, Federation of Labor, and has been made secretary,” and in his view “it is inconsistent for a member of a labor union to belong to the militia, as in the event of a strike he would not

⁶⁷ *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York, for the Year 1902* vol. I (Albany: The Argus Company, Printers, 1903), 25.

⁶⁸ “Unions Boycott National Guard Dance,” *New York Time*, January 15, 1903.

⁶⁹ “Forced to Quit the Militia,” *New York Times*, February 8, 1903.

⁷⁰ “Militia Bill to be Reported,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1903.

be able to be loyal to both sides.”⁷¹ According to the Illinois adjutant general, the ongoing tension between “capital on one hand and organized labor on the other” had hindered the Guard’s recruitment efforts, but he hoped that both sides were coming to the conclusion that “the National Guard is organized for the purpose of guaranteeing life and safeguarding the property of all citizens irrespective of their varied interests.”⁷²

During a Central Federated Union meeting, a delegate reported that there was an entire militia regiment in Pennsylvania composed of union members who “are liable to be called onto take up arms against their brethren who are on strike for living wages.” The delegate who brought this to the union’s attention proposed that the United Mine Workers prohibit future members from joining the militia, but not all agreed. One delegate wished the entire National Guard was composed of trade unionists because “the soldiers would hardly care to shoot their fellow-workers when on strike,” and he concluded that “they would be better than the United States Army.” Another attendee proudly declared that he was a member of the National Guard, but if his officers ordered him to “shoot down” workers on strike, “I would resign.”⁷³ In another case, roughly fifty percent of one Illinois regiment’s enlisted personnel were members of labor unions, and twenty five percent of their officers held membership in labor associations. Though this unit demonstrated that they would turn out in full to follow orders, as they had during a strike in 1903.⁷⁴ On the other hand, many believed some states would form military organizations where “the representatives of organized labor cannot gain admission,” and

⁷¹ “Union Man Quits Militia,” *New York Times*, January 3, 1903.

⁷² *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1905-1906* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1907), 3.

⁷³ “Miners in National Guard: Subject Introduced at Central Union Meeting,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1902.

⁷⁴ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1902-1903* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., State Printers, 1904), 80.

indeed, the tension between trade unions and the National Guard could reach such lengths that, “In the event of trouble necessitating the intervention of the State for the protection of life and property, the chance of serious trouble for riotous strikers is greatly increased by the growing ill feeling which is developing between the unions and militia.”⁷⁵

Throughout this period, the National Guard repeatedly found itself caught up in larger social issues, and just as during the Gilded Age, these issues were not only labor oriented. On the evening of 14 August 1908, an angry mob in Springfield, Illinois converged on the city jail with the intention of killing a black prisoner accused of raping a white woman, as well as another out-of-town black man accused of killing a white train engineer a month earlier. When the lynch mob found that the city’s mayor secretly transferred the accused men out of town they turned increasingly violent and methodically destroyed a small black business district downtown. Eventually the rioters turned their attention on a poor black neighborhood in town, known as the Badlands.⁷⁶ Due to the size of the riot, “the police were utterly powerless to cope with the mob, and the Fire Department, which had been called out, was not allowed to extinguish the flames.”⁷⁷ Desperate, the governor ordered an infantry company from the Fifth Illinois Infantry, a cavalry troop from the First Illinois Cavalry, and a Gatling-gun section from Springfield to the scene by special train, with an additional infantry company from Peoria, Illinois in reserve. Shortly after their arrival, the Gatling-gun section cut off one of the city’s main streets to the mob, but they moved through side streets, and continued looting and burning homes and businesses. Sometime around 2:30 AM, the local troops

⁷⁵ “Trade Unions and the Militia,” *New York Times*, January 18, 1903.

⁷⁶ James L. Crouthamel, “The Springfield Race Riot of 1908,” *The Journal of Negro History* 45:3 (1960), 164-81.

⁷⁷ “Illinois Mobs Kill and Burn: Foiled in Attempt to Lynch Two Negroes, Angry Whites Start Destructive Raid,” *New York Times*, August 15, 1908.

“fired a volley into the mob, which was putting the torch to negro houses in the ‘bad lands,’” and shortly after more guardsmen arrived and went to work “to aid in breaking up the crowds wrecking and firing the disreputable houses.”⁷⁸

Eventually, the Illinois National Guard managed to restore order to the state capital, but not until after the throng left a path of destruction through Springfield’s black neighborhoods. After the initial clashes between the Guard and the mob, the rioters dispersed, but the violence regained intensity the next day, forcing the governor to declare martial law.⁷⁹ Even this declaration did little to end the riot though, as the horde lynched an elderly black man during the evening of 15 August, pushing the overall death toll to four, and later that night a guardsman killed a young rioter who was attempting to board his regiment’s transport train. Eventually Guard numbers in the city reached 3,000, and later that evening the Illinois cavalry charged through the unruly mob, and an infantry company then moved in to serve as support. Finally, after many similar military actions, the riot collapsed, but bullet fire wounded at least sixteen men (two fatally), with “scores of men wounded in other ways, and twenty-five buildings wrecked.”⁸⁰ The Springfield Race Riot was the second such riot the city witnessed in four years, and one of the worst in Illinois’s history, and as in many other similar cases, the National Guard became central to the protest’s narrative.

The same Illinois governor, Charles Deneen, again declared martial law in 1912, this time in Rock Island, Illinois, after a massive crowd (which mostly consisted of men from Davenport, Iowa) attacked city hall. The riot began after Rock Island’s mayor

⁷⁸ “Troops Fire on Mob, 1 Lynched in State Capital,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 15, 1908.

⁷⁹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1907-1908* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1908), 8-9.

⁸⁰ “Capital Mob Slays Again,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 16, 1908; and “Rioters Hang another Negro,” *New York Times*, August 16, 1908.

arrested John Looney, a local gangster who published an inflammatory newspaper as a means of extortion. Four days after the arrest, Looney's supporters issued a series of incendiary speeches to throngs of people that eventually grew to over 1,000. When the protestors began breaking windows in city hall, the police began firing into the mass and injured at least nine with one dead.⁸¹ After the clash, the police became unable to restore order, and the governor ordered 800 Illinois guardsmen to the scene. The Illinois troops "raised the siege of the City Hall and the police station and dispersed all crowds.

Twenty-five men who refused to move on or give any satisfactory account of themselves were promptly placed under military arrest."⁸² Over the next few days, the guardsmen continued patrolling the city, closed all bars and saloons, and dispersed any crowds of any size. Eventually the riots drew down, and the Guard restored order.⁸³ These events reflect how the National Guard found itself at the center of American social and cultural strife. Similar situations required National Guard mobilization in Alabama and Virginia in 1902, Mississippi and Georgia in 1906, and numerous other states throughout the nation in the first two decades of the twentieth century.⁸⁴

Although the National Guard was indispensable in quelling many cases of mob violence, the situation between the state soldiers and organized labor continued to draw negative attention. A 1910 article declared, "The hostile attitude of labor unions towards the organized militia has created a very pessimistic feeling among officers of the army

⁸¹ "Regiment Curbs Rock Island Mob; Barrooms Closed," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 28, 1912.

⁸² "Martial Law Checks Rock Island Mob," *New York Times*, March 28, 1912.

⁸³ Report of Riot at Rock Island, March 27, 1912—Major Charles G. Davis, Sixth Infantry, Commanding Provisional Battalion, to the Adjutant General of Illinois, in *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1911-1912* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1914), 131-40.

⁸⁴ See "Race Riot in Alabama," *New York Times*, March 27, 1902; "Gov. Vardaman Hurries to Scene of Race Riot," *New York Times*, December 27, 1906; and "Race Riot in College Town," *New York Times*, September 1, 1902.

and the National Guard, and the feeling is reflected strongly in the annual report of Col. E.M. Weaver, head of the Division of Militia, to the Chief of Staff.”⁸⁵ The article further noted that Weaver believed states should create a highly trained constabulary dedicated to the suppression of social unrest in the hopes that the Guard would ultimately be viewed as a defensive force. And when Congress passed a bill in 1914 “to prevent the transportation by interstate carriers of certain persons and articles for the alleged prevention of so-called labor troubles,” they specifically exempted the “Organized Militia of any State or Territory,” as well as soldiers in the Regular Army and uniformed police forces.⁸⁶ Congress essentially maintained the precedent that the government would continue to use the National Guard to maintain order during labor disputes. Overall then, because of the vagueness of the Dick Act, questions of Constitutionality, and labor hostility, the new Guard system came under attack from various circles.

Proposed alternatives

In addition to the ongoing struggles with organized labor, the new National Guard faced a series of legal debates under the Dick Act’s structure. While the War Department alluded to the notion that as volunteers, guardsmen were liable for overseas service, the law remained vague, and such a deployment could still warrant calls of unconstitutionality. Critics generally argued that the federal government could not force state military units into the federal army without state approval.⁸⁷ The federal government responded by claiming that the distinction between the “organized” and “unorganized militia” solved this problem because only those who volunteered for

⁸⁵ “Says Unions Hurt Militia,” *The New York Times*, November 15, 1910.

⁸⁶ H.R. 13002, 63 Cong. (1914).

⁸⁷ Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 123.

service in the National Guard would be called into service, and members of the “unorganized militia” would still need to volunteer in the event of a war, but opponents were not convinced. One legal scholar, B.M. Chipperfield, noted that even the Judge Advocate General of the Army cited the unconstitutionality of the Dick Act and its amendments.⁸⁸ Further, opponents argued that the existing system unlawfully forced state governments to re-structure National Guard units in times of peace, even though Congressman Dick assured states that they would have some peacetime leniency regarding organizational structure.⁸⁹ In light of these attacks, renewed calls for a UMT replacement to the National Guard emerged, and the NGA and their Congressional allies once again hoped to solidify the existing system without replacing the National Guard. As the first decade of the twentieth-century closed, the federal government again began reassessing the nation’s military structure.

Ultimately, the United States witnessed a dramatic transformation during the first two decades of the twentieth century related to Progressive desires for increased centralization and effective management. The ongoing reassessment of the National Guard’s abilities coincided with general trends in the larger American political and social process. Frederick Winslow Taylor’s 1911 booklet, *The Principles of Scientific Management* serves as an example of this mindset. Taylor outlined a plan to increase manufacturing output by maximizing worker efficiency, and he believed that businesses could maximize profits if managers used scientific methods to determine who performed the best work at the maximum rate. Ultimately businesses could use this method to

⁸⁸ Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard* (New York: Stackpole Co., 1964), 208.

⁸⁹ B.M. Chipperfield, “The Legal Status of the National Guard Under the Army Reorganization Bill,” *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 5 (1917), 680.

increase worker pay, increase corporate returns, and increase safety protocols.⁹⁰ Though Taylor and similar Progressives focused on the business world, the values they espoused translated to militia service and reform. Militia officers (as well as Regular Army officers) required managerial and intellectual skills to maximize soldier efficiency, and officers often attended lectures on tactics, law, and discipline in efforts to establish efficient and professional military organizations.⁹¹ On a macro level, militia reformers used similar language when they proposed new laws or amendments. The original Dick Act was aptly named “An Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia,” and its amendments centered on better increasing the National Guard’s effectiveness. Despite these efforts, many military and civilian leaders believed the Dick Act did not do enough to prepare the nation and the National Guard to effectively meet the twentieth century’s military challenges.

Regardless of the Dick Act’s shortcomings, some high ranking members of the federal government believed the current structure was sufficient in dealing with potential conflicts with foreign powers. When the *National Sunday Magazine* asked Secretary of War Lindley Garrison to write an article regarding the standing of the US Army in 1913, he spoke very highly of the Regular Army and expressed pride what the army accomplished in “Cuba, the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Panama,” as well as in numerous public works projects, and the army’s smooth operation to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg. Garrison then disputed claims that the nation needed a stronger reserve force (i.e. National Guard) by saying “It has been well said that what our Army needs more than anything else is, first, a trained reserve to draw

⁹⁰ Frederick W. Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper Bros., 1911), 5-29.

⁹¹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 13-15; and Cooper, *Rise*, 85-86.

upon in time of war; second, a more widespread interest on the part of the public. But I should reverse the order.” Garrison went on to say that the army’s abilities and pride in their service would be enough to promote enlistment in a trained reserve.⁹² In other words, Garrison deflected any calls for a replacement of the existing structure along the lines of a UMT plan, but also avoided discussing any efforts to modify the current Guard system. However, many civilian officials pressed for further reform.

National Guard opponents in Congress again introduced serious plans to replace the Guard with some other military system, and most of these ideas centered on some form of UMT. Many supported the revival of the old continental army plan, which allowed the federal government to implement a draft as a means of mobilizing this national “volunteer” force. Another proposal would have expanded the Regular Army’s size, with two regiments of regulars stationed in each state to carry out the traditional role of the militia and the Guard.⁹³ Other plans called for creation of state police forces for the repression of social uprisings and strikes, which would fall completely under state governmental control.⁹⁴ Proponents of these plans hoped to increase the efficiency of the American military system based on European models, where the central government could mobilize an entire nation for warfare very quickly.

Generally speaking most American reformers who advocated for a European-style military, supported something similar to the Swiss system where, “The whole manhood

⁹² Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War to William N. Taft, US Senate Press Gallery, December 1913; Decimal Series 300-310 (DS 300-310), *Pride in the Army and its Uniform—the Use of the Army in Time of Peace*, Records of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107 (RG 107); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Correspondence details; DS 300-310, RG 107; NACP.

⁹³ John F. O’Ryan, “Role of the Guard,” *The North American Review* 202 (1915), 370-2; and Sadler, “Efficiency in the Guard,” 550.

⁹⁴ “Says Unions Hurt the Militia,” *The New York Times*, November 15, 1910. According to this article, Col. E.M. Weaver called for the creation of state constabularies similar to Pennsylvania’s to aid in repressing social disorder.

of the nation is subject to service and there are no officers but those who have served as privates. There are no such colleges as at West Point, but the man who is to become an officer must get his instructions in a few weeks training in the schools at Thun or Basle.” Additionally, “The Swiss boy learns his drill at school, and from 20 to 32 he is liable to service if he is physically capable. Rich and poor, professional man and laborer, serve side by side in the ranks,” and “every year the recruits have a six weeks training.”⁹⁵ German based proposals were slightly different and more geared toward compulsory military service in a reserve militia for an active period of two years with an inactive period to follow, but grew out of favor as the First World War loomed in Europe.⁹⁶ In any event, each replacement plan found some level of support among civilians, politicians, and even military officers.⁹⁷ Indeed, the Progressive Era’s complexities created a vast array of reform proposals in both society and the military. Therefore, though many political leaders supported the new Guard system, others pressed for more extreme structural overhauls.

Amidst this ongoing debate, Regular Army officers held differing views regarding the new National Guard and their ability to adequately supplement the army during wartime. Generally speaking, army officers supported Emory Upton’s theories regarding the old militia and Guard, which downplayed the citizen-soldier’s military effectiveness.⁹⁸ However, some regular officers in high positions weighed in on the

⁹⁵ “The Swiss Military System,” *The Chicago Livestock World*, July 31, 1915.

⁹⁶ Ute Frevert, *A Nation in Barracks: Modern Germany, Military Conscription, and Civil Society* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009).

⁹⁷ O’Ryan, “Role of the Guard,” 364.

⁹⁸ *Organization of the Land Forces of the United States* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1912), 19. Wood interestingly chose fifty when describing the National Guard instead of forty eight, though there were forty eight states. This choice most likely included the Washington DC organized militia and the Coastal Defense Reserve Force; and Mahon, 142.

ongoing debate regarding the National Guard and UMT. When General Leonard Wood became the fifth Army Chief of Staff, he set himself apart from many in the officer corps by supporting the citizen-soldier's role in national defense, though he did so as an advocate for UMT. Wood mistrusted the National Guard's state-centric nature while he favored a nationalized militia, and he once referred to the organization as "an uncoordinated army of fifty allies."⁹⁹ In order to support a move toward UMT, Wood increased civilian training programs, though he did seek to strengthen the Guard by encouraging inter-service rivalries and Wood advocated for joint army and Guard participation in summer encampments.¹⁰⁰

While Wood pressed for comprehensive military reform, Adjutant General Fred Ainsworth challenged him at every turn. Eventually the ongoing fights between Wood and Ainsworth resulted in Ainsworth's early retirement in 1912, but he remained diametrically opposed to a highly centralized military structure.¹⁰¹ Ainsworth eventually supported the NGA and Guard supporters in Congress. The Army's judge advocate general, Enoch Crowder, also weighed in on the issue in early 1912 [figure 2]. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson had asked Crowder to examine the existing laws and determine the legality of utilizing the National Guard in the event of possible intervention in the ongoing Mexican Revolution. Crowder determined that the National Guard was little more than the militia under a new name and could not therefore serve as a legal substitute for a volunteer army. He went further to declare that Congress made a mistake in 1908 by amending the Dick Act to permit the use of the organized militia outside the United

⁹⁹ Steven L. Ossad, "The Frustrations of Leonard Wood," *Army Magazine* 53:9 (Sep. 2003), 43-50.

¹⁰⁰ Ossad, "The Frustrations of Leonard Wood," 45-47.

¹⁰¹ Mahon, 147.

States.¹⁰² Crowder would later deal a major blow to the National Guard in the First World War's immediate aftermath, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Within individual units though, a relatively high level of cooperation existed between Regular Army and Guard officers. Provisions in the Dick Act established a system where regulars inspected annual Guard encampments and drill sessions, and guardsmen generally welcomed their advice. Through this arrangement, officers in both organization developed working relationships as well as friendships and worked toward the mutual benefit of both the Regular Army and National Guard.¹⁰³ Despite this, high ranking regular officers often held a sense of superiority over their Guard counterparts because the state soldiers carried an amateur status (despite professionalization efforts). These officers hesitated to support the National Guard fully and believed that, as amateurs, the Guard was ill-equipped to face the twentieth century's military challenges.

John McAuley Palmer penned a fictitious narrative entitled, *An Army of the People* in 1915.¹⁰⁴ Palmer's work never achieved commercial success, but his account demonstrated the division over the continuance of the National Guard versus the implementation of a Swiss-style volunteer organization that would train during peacetime. Some within the Regular Army staunchly supported the latter. Palmer outlined a "new" American military system based upon the "fiction that Congress is to pass THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT in the near future, and that I am simply writing a

¹⁰² Crowder's Opinion, reprinted in the *Department of Military Affairs Annual Report, 1912*, December 29, 1911; Entry 5, Memoranda and Reports, Records of the War Department General and Record Staff, Record Group 165; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.; and Cooper, *Rise*, 114.

¹⁰³ Cooper, 140-41.

¹⁰⁴ John McAuley Palmer, *An Army of the People: The Constitution of an Effective Force of Trained Citizens* (New York: G.M. Putman's Sons, 1916); consulted in SC 1135, Miscellaneous Documents, John McAuley Palmer Papers; Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, Illinois. Hereafter cited as *An Army of the People*, page numbers.

popular history of the American ARMY OF THE PEOPLE as it stands complete a few years later.” According to this story, Congress passed the National Defense Act in January 1916, just five weeks after the law’s proposal. Here, Congressional leaders debated the issue, but when “a few courageous leaders frankly presented the issue of National Security to the common-sense of the people, the response was overwhelming and immediate. This condition of the public mind materially simplified the legislative problem. That our military institutions were antiquated, expensive, and inadequate, was the general consensus of public opinion.”¹⁰⁵ In many ways, this chronicle predicted the fact that Congress was indeed on the verge of redefining the military structure, but the anonymous officer certainly had some personal bias as to how that new structure would look.

An Army of the People outlined how the existing forces would become modernized and strengthened, and “it follows that no body of citizen soldiers having the constitutional status of militia can be welded into an effective fighting team for war purposes under modern conditions.” Therefore, true military effectiveness meant “that the officers and enlisted men of the organized militia should be encouraged to transfer to the new national force and should thereby become its nucleus and leaven of training and efficiency.” Of course, “a large number of the more intelligent officers of the Organized Militia” accepted this “fact,” and the American people generally understood the benefits of the Swiss model, but rejected the idea of conscription.¹⁰⁶ In this book, after Congress established a new, national, all-volunteer force, young Americans flocked to the president’s call for volunteers to serve in Europe in 1916. They formed a new volunteer

¹⁰⁵ *An Army of the People*, 1-2

¹⁰⁶ *An Army of the People*, 2-4 and 11-12.

army, consisting of over 320,000 recruits and 15,000 officer candidates, organized into fifteen infantry divisions, three cavalry divisions, and a volunteer coast artillery corps of 216 companies.¹⁰⁷ While *An Army of the People* had a limited readership, this book outlined UMT's appeal, and though it was only one officer's opinion, this book captured broader sentiments among Regular Army officers who supported an alternative to the National Guard. Palmer certainly believed that the American people would ultimately support his concept of a universally conscripted and trained defense force.

The National Defense Act of 1916

Despite some successes of the Dick Act, many prominent officials still viewed the Guard system as flawed and ineffective. A major reason for this perception reflected the states' unwillingness to carry out the law, but the law itself did not fix all the failings of the old system. When Leonard Wood stepped down as army chief of staff in 1914, the Army War College released *A Proper Military Policy for the United States*, which outlined training protocols for war service. According to the booklet, soldiers needed no less than twelve months' training at 150 hours per month, which the National Guard simply could not achieve with only 24 drill periods per year with one mandatory summer encampment.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, an already noted problem with the Dick Act and its amendments pertained to deployments, which did not include overseas service.¹⁰⁹ With the First World War already underway in Europe, American political leaders and civilians weighed the possibility of the United States joining the war effort, and President

¹⁰⁷ *An Army of the People*, 41-42.

¹⁰⁸ *A Proper Military Policy for the United States* (Washington D.C., US Government Printing Office, 1915), 22-23; and Mahon, 146-47.

¹⁰⁹ Militia Act of 1903, Sections 23 and 24.

Wilson called for a form of armed neutrality. Under the existing structure, if the nation did go to war, the National Guard could only mobilize for overseas duty with gubernatorial authority, and the nation risked another mobilization debacle reminiscent of 1898. The War Department and Congress were aware of this problem, and hoped to fix the issue through amendments to the existing law, or the Constitution itself. In December, 1915 once concerned senator wrote a letter to the War Department stating that he received a number of requests from constituents asking for a Constitutional amendment authorizing the use of the National Guard in wars outside of the United States.¹¹⁰

Secretary Garrison had earlier noted that the existing system would allow for an adequate national defense, but he altered his position in 1915. Garrison presented a bill to Congress that would create a “Continental Army,” made up of 100,000 regulars and 400,000 national reservists with no state connections. President Woodrow Wilson, who publicly supported the Preparedness Movement, endorsed Garrison’s plan (as well as a naval buildup plan) amidst growing international anxiety.¹¹¹ The NGA remained obstinately opposed to the plan though, and took efforts to block it. Congressman James Hay of Virginia, the chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, refused to accept the notion of a completely federal army, and led the effort to block Garrison’s plan. Over the course of the next year, Hay and his allies (who included retired Major

¹¹⁰ Thomas P. Gore, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Forestry and Agriculture to Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, December 31, 1915; Decimal Correspondence 005.5-012.4 (DC 005.5-012.4), National Guard (NG), Use of in Foreign Wars (Foreign Wars), Military Laws of the United States—Revision and Codification (Military Laws—R and C), Records of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107 (RG 107); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Correspondence details; DC 005.5-012.4, NG, Foreign Wars, Military Laws—R and C, RG 107; NACP.

¹¹¹ Davis, *A Navy Second to None*, 204-7; and George C. Herring, Jr., “James Hay and the Preparedness Controversy, 1915-1916,” *Journal of Southern History* 30 (Nov. 1964), 383-404.

General Fred Ainsworth) battled against Wilson and Garrison's proposal, and Garrison backed down slightly.¹¹² In a January 1916 letter, Garrison announced that he was more open to the idea of increasing the Guard's military potential, and said that Congress should amend Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution by adding the words, "and to carry on war."¹¹³ This would allow the president to utilize the National Guard (still referred to as the militia in the secretary's letter) in any war scenario, not just to put down insurrections and repel invasions. However, Garrison still believed the existing National Guard was much too small to carry out its mission.

In 1916, both the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs addressed the issue of overall manpower and how the National Guard should fit into the military structure going forward. Former Secretary of War Elihu Root spoke before the committees and openly denounced the National Guard, arguing that the notion that forty eight different governors could establish "the basis for developing an efficient, mobile national army is quite absurd." Garrison predictably testified that the existing 129,000-man National Guard was much too small, and an adequate reserve needed a minimum of 400,000 troops, and General Leonard Wood voiced his support for a UMT-oriented force.¹¹⁴ Following these hearings, Congress addressed the issues at hand, and had before it three bills designed to raise the military's manpower and increase the nation's potential to wage conflict overseas.

¹¹² Mahon, 146-47.

¹¹³ Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War to Senator Thomas P. Gore, January 22, 1916; DC 005.5-012.4, NG, Foreign Wars, Military Laws—R and C, RG 107; NACP.

¹¹⁴ *Hearings on the Preparedness for National Defense, before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 64th Cong. (1916)* (Statements of Elihu Root, Secretary of War Lindley Garrison, and General Leonard Wood).

Congressman Hay's bill (which the NGA supported) was one proposal before Congress, and Secretary Garrison's was another. Senator George Chamberlain of Oregon offered the third proposal. Chamberlain's bill would create a national reserve fed by UMT that would be free of state influence. As debates over these various bills intensified, the NGA and states' rights supporters swayed President Wilson toward a modified version of Hay's proposal. Lindley Garrison resigned soon after, and Wilson replaced him with Newton D. Baker, an ardent progressive and Wilsonian idealist. Shortly after, the United States faced another military situation that demonstrated the need for further reform when Francisco "Pancho" Villa raided two Southwestern US towns (this event will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter as it related to the National Guard's mobilization along the Mexican border). Facing the looming threat of war and the upcoming 1916 election (where Wilson campaigned on the fact that he kept the nation out of war), Wilson pressed Congress to move forward.¹¹⁵ Without Garrison's personal backing, his plan fell apart, and Congress voted 402 to 2 in favor of Hay's bill (which had broadened in scope during the ongoing debate). When the bill moved to the Senate, the body weighed it against Senator Chamberlain's bill, and after some debate, the bill passed the Senate. President Wilson signed the bill into law on 3 June 1916.¹¹⁶

This monumental piece of legislation revised the entire United States military code, which included the regular forces as well as the National Guard and ready reserve. The Hay-Chamberlain Law, officially known as the National Defense Act of 1916 (NDA) firmly established "That the Army of the United States shall consist of the

¹¹⁵ S.D. Lovell, *The Presidential Election of 1916* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980); and Joseph Allan Stout, *Border Conflict: Villistas, Carrancistas, and the Punitive Expedition, 1915-1920* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1999), 32-39.

¹¹⁶ Mahon, 147-48.

Regular Army, the Volunteer Army, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the National Guard while in service of the United States, and such other land forces as are now or may hereafter be authorized by law.”¹¹⁷ Additionally the NDA guaranteed that the Militia Bureau would be part of the overall army command structure.¹¹⁸ Apropos the general composition of the militia, the NDA maintained that the “militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who shall be more than eighteen years of age and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than forty-five years of age, and the said militia shall be divided into three classes, the National Guard, the Naval Militia, and the Unorganized Militia.”¹¹⁹

The National Defense Act of 1916 clearly defined the National Guard's role in the new military structure and expanded federal authority over the organization. Many states needed to alter their existing officer commissioning processes. Though most states did away with the tradition of electing officers (and sometimes returning officers to enlisted status after a period of duty) between 1900 and 1916, some states still held to this custom. Under the NDA, each state needed to ensure that all commissioned officers met federally mandated qualifications and that said officers would remain commissioned until they retired due to age or other specified regulations.¹²⁰ Iowa's adjutant general believed this was the most important element of the new law because “It assures an officer, if he works hard, that he will be maintained in his position,” and “an officer must therefor [*sic*] come

¹¹⁷ The National Defense Act, Pub. L. 54-85, 39 Stat. 166 (1916), Section 1. Hereafter cited as, The National Defense Act of 1916, Section number.

¹¹⁸ The National Defense Act of 1916, Section 2.

¹¹⁹ The National Defense Act of 1916, Section 57.

¹²⁰ The National Defense Act of 1916, Sections 74 and 75.

up to a required standard.”¹²¹ Additionally, the army could force any officer who did not meet the new federal guidelines to retire or accept an honorable discharge.

Furthermore, the federal government outlined the size and structure of Guard units, and authorized the president to assign the National Guard of various states to divisions, brigades, or other tactical units commanded by either Guard or regular officers for training purposes.¹²² Some states needed to alter their existing Guard structures slightly to comply with new regulations. Iowa broke up one of its infantry regiments and solidified its Guard into three, and the state decided to drop the existing numerical designators and simply maintain the “First, Second, and Third” regiments.¹²³ Most importantly though, the NDA set the enlistment period in the National Guard to six years (the last three years of which could be in the National Guard Reserve), and established that “hereafter all men enlisting for service in the National Guard shall sign an enlistment contract and take and subscribe to the oath prescribed in the preceding section of this Act,” which declared that those already enlisted in the National Guard became obligated to “defend the Constitution of the United States and to obey the orders of the President of the United States.”¹²⁴ Once Congress authorized the use of the army for any purpose, “the President may, under such regulations, including such physical examination, as he may prescribe, draft into the military service of the United States, to serve therein for the period of the war unless sooner discharged, any or all members of the National Guard and

¹²¹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, For the Biennial Period Ended November 30, 1916* (Des Moines, State of Iowa Printing Office, 1916), 13.

¹²² The National Defense Act of 1916, Sections 60, 62, and 64.

¹²³ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, for the Biennial Period Ended November 30, 1916* (Des Moines: State of Iowa Printing Office, 1916), 7.

¹²⁴ The National Defense Act of 1916, Sections 70 and 71.

of the National Guard Reserve.”¹²⁵ Under the new law then, the president could deploy the National Guard anywhere in the event that Congress authorized the use of military forces.

Many currently serving in the National Guard believed the requirement of a second oath of service violated their constitutional rights, and refused to serve when President Woodrow Wilson sent the Guard to the Mexican border only weeks after passage of the National Defense Act (this issue will be discussed in the following chapter). In addition to requiring guardsmen to take a federal oath of service, the National Defense Act established training parameters, clarified equipment regulations, set payment protocols, and outlined legal proceedings regarding courts-martials of guardsmen in federal service and those in regular state service.¹²⁶ And, in order to maintain effectiveness of existing Guard units, the NDA continued the process of assigning Regular Army sergeants to National Guard units “for the purpose of assisting in the instruction of the personnel and care of property in the hands of the National Guard,” but this number could not exceed “one thousand sergeants for duty with corresponding organizations of the National Guard.”¹²⁷

Overall, when the National Defense Act became a law, Congress allowed the Regular Army to double its size to over 200,000 men, and the National Guard to increase its strength to 17,000 officers and upwards of 400,000 men (as Lindley Garrison originally proposed).¹²⁸ Furthermore, the Hay-Chamberlain Law established the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) as a means of bolstering the level of competent

¹²⁵ The National Defense Act of 1916, Section 111.

¹²⁶ The National Defense Act of 1916, Sections 80-110.

¹²⁷ The National Defense Act of 1916, Section 36.

¹²⁸ Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War to Senator Chamberlain; DC 005.5-012.4, Analysis of the Army Reorganization Bill, RG 107; NACP.

commissioned officers, and allowed “qualified” guardsmen between the ages of “twenty-one and forty-five” to attend military schools and academies to gain commissions in the National Guard or Regular Army.¹²⁹ In many ways, the NDA revised and replaced many of the problematic clauses in the Dick Act, and firmly placed the Guard within a redefined military structure, and established that the National Guard was an integral part of the US Army when in federal service. However, questions remained about the Guard’s role in American society. One major question related to the constitutionality of the new laws regarding federalization procedures. Another looming question concerned organized labor and whether or not the NDA would ease existing hostility.

Legal experts examined the federal government’s ability to federalize a state’s military force as defined by the U.S. Constitution.¹³⁰ Traditionally, militia mobilizations were voluntary or state-imposed, but under the new law, Guard authority was transferred to the president upon the declaration of a national emergency. Prior to the law’s passage, J. Leslie Kincaid, the chairman of the New York Assembly Military Affairs Committee, argued that the new law would be constitutional. According to Kincaid, “The only power reserved to the States in respect to the militia are the appointment of officers and the authority in training, but it is significant that this latter power is carefully limited by the addition of the following words: ‘According to the discipline prescribed by Congress.’”¹³¹ Therefore, Congress and the federal government held the authority to utilize the militia for nationalistic purposes. Others were less certain. In June, 1916—the same month that Congress passed the National Defense Act—American high schools increasingly imposed compulsory military training, which many viewed as a “step by

¹²⁹ The National Defense Act of 1916, Sections 40-55.

¹³⁰ B.M. Chipfield, “The Legal Status of the National Guard,” 679-80.

¹³¹ “To Make the Militia a National Force,” *The New York Times*, January 17, 1916.

[the] United States toward [the] Swiss System.”¹³² And even as late as January 1917, B.M. Chiperfield noted, “So then after viewing the whole situation, I conclude that the status of the National Guard under the Army reorganization bill is most indefinite and uncertain and but little improved over what it was before the passage of that bill.” He went on to say, “The need of truly nationalizing the Guard is great, but the difficulties are many and hard to overcome.”¹³³ Indeed, only months before passage of the National Defense Act, *The New York Times* still supported a continental army plan and declared that the proposed act, “saviors of politics and suggests that the idea of adequate national defense is not uppermost in the minds of its projectors.”¹³⁴

Additionally, the NDA did not erase existing hostility between the new National Guard and organized labor. In 1917, Captain Irving Goff McCann of the Illinois National Guard wrote:

One of the serious drawbacks to the adequate and efficient National Guard is the opposition of labor unions. Strange as it may seem to those whose lives have been given to the unselfish labor of preparing themselves and others to defend our government in times of emergency, yet every guardsman in the United States has had to face this problem time and again. The men in the ranks have had to defend themselves against the slurring remarks that have been cast at them as the minions of capital. The officers, in their efforts to increase the Guard, have either felt the cold and silent opposition of the moderate unionist, which made their efforts very difficult, or the outspoken and bitter antagonism of radicals, which made their efforts fruitless.¹³⁵

Indeed, organized labor continued to view the Guard as their enemy. McCann believed that the unions “have a sadly distorted conception of the motives and functions of

¹³² “Compulsory Training of School Children is Called Step by United States toward Swill System,” *Illinois State Journal*, June 23, 1916.

¹³³ Chiperfield, 688.

¹³⁴ “The Militia and Defense,” *The New York Times*, February 13, 1916.

¹³⁵ Irving Goff McCann, *With the National Guard on the Mexican Border: Our National Military Problem* (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Company, 1917), 174.

National Guardsmen,” and that the Guard spends ninety percent of their time preparing for war in times of peace. And though McCann claimed to sympathize with organized labor, he asked “is it asking too much for labor unions to have a somewhat larger conscience than their own little group and think in terms of our country for a while?”¹³⁶ McCann, who was a middle-class Progressive pastor from Chicago noted how he once spoke to a class of twenty boys regarding the value of the National Guard for the nation and the individual. By the end of his lecture, almost the entire class was interested in joining the First Illinois Infantry Regiment out of Chicago, but when they “returned to their homes, their parents and brothers said to them, ‘So you’ll join the National Guard and shoot down your own father and brothers will you?’ and not a single boy enlisted.”¹³⁷ So then, even as the National Defense Act took effect, the National Guard remained embroiled in a social battle with organized labor, but would face a new set of challenges only a month after passage of the National Defense act in 1916.

In many ways, continued Guard opposition and calls for reform reflected ongoing trends in the Progressive Era United States. Because American Progressives came from a variety of backgrounds, no single type of Progressive existed. Indeed, historian Glenda Gilmore noted that, “Asking ‘Who were the Progressives?’ provokes answers that contradict one another.”¹³⁸ Similarly, various civilian and political leaders supported some form of UMT replacement, while others supported the Militia Act of 1903 and its amendments. In December 1916, the new secretary of war, leading Progressive Newton Baker, applauded Congress for their continued military reforms. According to Baker,

¹³⁶ McCann, *With the National Guard*, 179.

¹³⁷ McCann, 180.

¹³⁸ Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, ed., *Who Were the Progressives?* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2002), 4.

“The latest codification of the military laws of the United States is found in the second edition of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which includes all military legislation of a general and permanent nature down to and including March 2, 1877. Since that date the military laws of the United States have undergone repeated and often extensive modification.” Secretary Baker went on to note how these continued shifts in military policy and structure were necessary and instrumental in preparing the United States military for a potential conflict in the twentieth century.¹³⁹ Ultimately then, while the National Defense Act of 1916 came under fire from outside the government regarding Constitutionality and the seemingly unending stream of military revision dating back to the turn of the century, those within the War Department stood behind the new law.

Between 1898 and 1916, the militia transformed into the National Guard. The old militia demonstrated numerous inefficiencies during the latter half of the nineteenth century, which culminated in the disastrous mobilization during the Spanish-American War. Though training reforms and limited governmental reform allowed the militia to perform adequately in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the US government realized that the old system could not face the military challenges of the twentieth century. In 1903, Congress passed the Dick Act with the NGA’s support, and took the first step in establishing the National Guard. In many ways, the Dick Act followed general Progressive Era trends by granting the federal government—particularly the executive branch—increased authority over state soldiers. While the Dick Act increased federal oversight and Guard appropriations, some serious drawbacks in the new law became apparent when states hesitated to implement various provisions. Additionally,

¹³⁹ Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War to the President of the Senate, December 4, 1916; DC 005.5-012.4, Military Laws—R and C, RG 107; NACP.

the original Dick Act limited the federal government's ability to mobilize the Guard for overseas service or for any extended length of time. In 1908 Congress passed a series of amendments to the Dick Act, which further increased federal oversight, but the law still maintained the National Guard as primarily a state organization.

Even with approval of the Dick Act in 1903, and again in 1908, the Guard's survival remained in doubt. And indeed, throughout the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, poor public perception and pressure in Washington from many who supported replacing the Guard with some form of UMT added to the Guard's uncertain future. Meanwhile, continued hostility from labor unions who viewed the Guard as a tool of big business created tension within the organization and threatened the Guard's overall validity. Calls for replacement came in many forms, as some supported the continental army plan, while others hoped to create constabularies tasked with maintaining law and order at the state level. Unfortunately for the Guard, Regular Army officers and many top-tier political leaders hoped to replace the Guard with a more universal system because of a fear that citizen soldiers could not adequately supplement the Regular Army. However, the NGA and Guard supporters rejected these claims and took further steps to strengthen the National Guard within the American military structure.

In 1916, the US government implemented a series of military reforms designed to increase efficiency and military prowess. For the Army, the National Defense Act outlined a new divisional structure as well as an updated force structure. The new law engrained the National Guard within the Army's official structure and again increased levels of federal oversight. The National Defense Act allowed the President and

Congress to mobilize the National Guard for overseas service in the event of a war or emergency, and would ultimately reshape the Guard's force breakdown. Within a month of the NDA's passage, the National Guard found itself in active service. However, events in Mexico and along the border added to the confusion regarding the Guard's new role. Even as President Wilson activated the National Guard in June 1916, mobilization issues and oath requirements threatened to unravel the new system. Indeed, this period between 1903 and 1916 in the Guard's history was not simply an evolutionary step, but a process of recreation, redefinition, and reform. By the middle of 1916, the federal government established the National Guard as a supplement to the Regular Army in a modernized military structure, but that system was about to be tested along the Mexican border.

CHAPTER 4 – THE GUARD’S FIRST TEST: THE BORDER

In early 1918, large contingents of the United States Army and National Guard were serving in the trenches in France, but in the US Senate, William Calder was fighting a related battle regarding service medals for guardsmen. Senator Calder was not worried about soldiers in France failing to receive battlefield recognition, but was concerned instead with the Guard’s service along the Mexican border throughout 1916 and into 1917. Calder proposed a bill that would allow the Secretary of War to “procure a bronze medal with a suitable device, to be presented to each of the several officers and enlisted men and families of such as may be dead, of the Regular Army & Natl. Guard, who served not less than 4 months in the U.S. service on the Mexican border, or with the American expeditionary forces in Mexico, in the years 1916 to 1918, inclusive.”¹ For the most part, the National Guard’s actions along the border were limited to mundane patrols and extensive drilling, and National Guard deaths during this period were accidental or due to disease rather than enemy contact. However, this period at the border became an invaluable interlude between the Guard’s federal creation and their service in France during the First World War.

Only weeks after passage of the monumental National Defense Act of 1916 (NDA), the National Guard found itself poised for action along the Mexican-American Border. While at the border, the National Guard never engaged Mexican raiders, but received valuable training that prepared them for future military engagement, ultimately allowing a highly-trained National Guard element to be among the first American

¹ Mr. Calder, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, to Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, February 18, 1918; Decimal Series 168-210.524 (DS 168-210.524), Medals, Services on the Mexican Border or in Mexico, 1916-1918 (Mexican Border), Records of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107 (RG 107); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Correspondence details; DC 168-210.524, Mexican Border, RG 107; NACP.

soldiers deployed to Europe in 1917 and 1918.² Additionally, this extensive training period at the border came at a crucial time in the Guard's history because, despite Congressional and Guard advocates' efforts throughout the first decade of the twentieth-century, the Guard's long-term position in the American military structure still remained in doubt in 1916. Even as late as May 1916, 800 of the 970 commercial organizations who held membership in the United States Chamber of Commerce voted in a referendum advocating for the implementation of universal military service.³ Furthermore, the same week that the Guard left for the border, political and social leaders continued to call for compulsory military training for schoolchildren as a means of emulating the Swiss military system.⁴

Historians have given the National Guard's service along the Mexican border limited attention for a variety of reasons. Military historians often focus on the United States' actions in France during World War I, which overshadow discussions about the Guard's brief stint along the border. While such historical accounts may mention the border duty, these mentions are brief and many historians focus instead on the Guard's performance during the war. Additionally (as will be discussed in the next chapter), much existing historiography comes from the Regular Army's point of view, and thus unjustly disparages the Guard's combat performance. Other historians group the Mexican border duty together with General Pershing's Punitive Expedition into Mexico during the same time period, despite the fact that the Army only assigned two National

² Matthew Margis, "Ensuring Survival: How Mexican Border Service and World War I was Vital for the Survival of the National Guard System" (master's thesis, Iowa State University, 2012), 1-4, <http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3404&context=etd>.

³ "Defense Sentiment Shown by Poll of Businessmen," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1916.

⁴ "Compulsory Training of School Children is Called Step by United States toward Swiss System," *Illinois State Register*, June 23, 1916.

Guard units (the 1st New Mexico and 2nd Massachusetts) to join the expedition in Mexico. Indeed, the two military events were distinct and had very different missions. The Punitive Expedition sought to capture Pancho Villa, while the border duty was specifically a defensive posturing.⁵

National Guard historians have kept their mentions of the border duty brief. Jerry Cooper discusses the border duty for less than ten pages in his comprehensive work, *The Rise of the National Guard*, and although Cooper discusses mobilization issues, internal tensions, and the military system's shortcomings, he places the border mobilization within the larger context of the Guard's deployment during the First World War.⁶ Recently, Charles Harris and Louis Sadler published *The Great Call-Up*, which comprehensively covers the Guard's border service. Harris and Sadler conclude that the Guard's service on the border reveals the shortcomings of the National Guard (as it existed in 1916), as well as the downfalls of the US Army (which was under-strength and logistically overwhelmed). Harris and Sadler accurately conclude that the border service better prepared the Guard for World War I combat because the men received badly needed training and equipment, and officers received invaluable experience commanding large groups of men.⁷ Indeed, the Guard's extensive training along the border was one important element of the border duty, and it allowed the Guard to carry out their overall mission in France less than two years later. However, the border duty influenced the Guard's growth and place in the American military system in other important ways as well.

⁵ Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler, *The Great Call-Up: The Guard, the Border, and the Mexican Revolution* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 4-5.

⁶ Jerry Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard: The Evolution of the American Militia, 1865-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 159-66.

⁷ Harris and Sadler, *The Great Call-Up*, 6-8.

Harris's and Sadler's monograph provides a valuable contribution to the historiographic understanding of border service. While this dissertation supports their argument that border duty created a well-trained cadre of soldiers—many of whom eventually served in the First World War, their monograph builds off of some outdated assumptions regarding the National Guard's nature. For example, Harris and Sadler note that many regulars disdained the Guard because many units resembled quasi-social clubs. While this perception was true during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Guard's growth and focus on efficiency after 1903 reduced greatly the amount of Guard units with little to no military proficiency. Additionally, Harris and Sadler note that the Guard traditionally elected its officers and noncommissioned officers based on popularity not skill.⁸ Once again, by 1916 the National Guard had moved away from this practice. While many Regular Army officers still viewed the Guard with derision by 1916, the National Guard had addressed many of the issues that weakened public perception during the Progressive Era.

Another issue Harris and Sadler focus on throughout their work is regional differences between Guard units. They point out that some states, such as New York, fielded a well-equipped and well-funded division of 18,500 men during border duty while other states, such as New Mexico, maintained small forces with little state-based financial support.⁹ These differences played a role in Guard preparedness when border duty began. Regardless of these differences, the National Guard remained a civilian force, and the Midwestern experience at the border encapsulates the Guard's shared experience. The American Midwest remained a largely rural region but contained densely populated

⁸ Harris and Sadler, 6.

⁹ Harris and Sadler, 6.

urban areas. Illinois equipped and maintained a large Guard force, but dedicated most of their resources to Chicago units who participated in numerous strikes and riots. States such as Iowa and Wisconsin fielded Guard units mostly from rural areas. Because of these variances, the Midwestern National Guard serves as a laboratory through which to view the larger border duty experience.

The National Guard continued to exist at an intersection between American politics, military affairs, and international developments. Service at the border grew out of the Punitive Expedition's failures to capture Villa after he raided two US towns. The federal government utilized the Guard as a defensive force after the diplomatic situation between the US and Mexico deteriorated and the Army demonstrated its weaknesses in a public fashion. Furthermore, just as the National Defense Act of 1916 (NDA) had a close connection to the upcoming presidential election, so too did the border service. President Wilson needed to demonstrate to the American public that he was taking every available effort to keep the public safe, while maintaining a high preparedness level.¹⁰ Therefore, the Guard became the president's best military option to address not only international developments, but military developments as well. Finally, the Guard continued to exist in both the military and civilian spheres, and guardsmen carried civilian social dynamics to the border. Middle-class and working-class antagonisms remained relevant within the National Guard and the organization continued to reflect racial tensions while deployed to the border. Ultimately then, Woodrow Wilson's activation of the National Guard to serve along the Mexican border in 1916 provided invaluable training, which notably aided combat effectiveness in the Great War, and reveals how the new Guard remained a

¹⁰ S.D. Lovell, *The Presidential Election of 1916* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 7-10.

defensively-oriented institution that reflected broader trends in American social and political history.

When the National Guard found itself at the Mexican border, the organization's long-term survival remained in question, and societal concerns related to class, race, and masculine identity continued to define the Guard as representative of larger national concerns, even while on active duty. The National Guard held a unique position within American society as both a civilian and military entity, and often found itself embroiled in larger social tensions and rifts. The strife between organized labor and the National Guard took a heavy toll on the working-class troops within the organization, many of whom served as a means of fulfilling a sense of civic pride, or as a way to ensure their masculine identity during a time of increased industrialization.¹¹ Similarly, middle-class officers and soldiers served in the National Guard in order to perform their patriotic duty as citizens. While the border offered soldiers and officers a respite from strike duty, the same social relationships pertaining to race, class, and gender carried over to border service and played out in various ways in military camps and during training periods.

The National Guard's service along the Mexican border took place during a pivotal time in the Guard's overall history. Paradoxically, the border duty was simultaneously the final action of the old Guard and militia and the first military endeavor of the modern National Guard. When President Wilson mobilized the Guard for border service, he did so under the guidelines of the outdated Dick Act even though he recently signed the NDA into law (the new law had not taken effect yet). Therefore, the Guard's mobilization to the border was their last mobilization under the old law, and

¹¹ Eleanor Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois 1870-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007).

it illuminated some of the NDA's potential downfalls. Despite the legality of the mobilization process, the federal government opted to include the NDA's new oath requirement for all guardsmen entering federal service, and many soldiers refused to swear an oath to the federal government on top of the previous oath they already made to their individual states. Some guardsmen went so far as to risk a court-martial in order to avoid taking this new oath. Other soldiers feared their dependent families would suffer financially if they travelled to the border, and they hoped to avoid federal service. Therefore, during the border deployment, the federal government granted leaves of absences for many troopers with dependents at home, and upon completion of the border service, the federal government decided to allow states to grant discharges to soldiers who refused the second oath of service. Ultimately then, the National Guard that remained in service when the border duty ended were highly trained in military proficiency, acclimated to military life, and fully embodied the more centralized nature of the new Guard system. As such, the border service was a major step in establishing the National Guard as part of the American military system.

The president's call

Tensions with Mexico did not begin when Woodrow Wilson mobilized the National Guard in 1916, but instead dated back to Porfirio Diaz's election as Mexican President in 1910. Over the next few years, the United States became diplomatically caught up in an ongoing power struggle within Mexico. The two nations came to the verge of war in 1914 when US Marines occupied Veracruz, Mexico after Mexican authorities arrested US citizens in the area. By the middle of 1915, foreign pressure

allowed Venustiano Carranza to assume the Mexican presidency in the hopes of renewed peace.¹² However, shortly after Carranza's victory, some influential Mexican rebel leaders opposed the new power structure, and after years of tense relations and false promises, Francisco "Pancho" Villa raided two American towns in March 1916. Incensed by these raids, the United States demanded a response to these actions and justice for Villa. President Wilson—at the recommendation of the new Secretary of War, Newton Baker—chose John "Blackjack" Pershing to lead an expedition to capture the Mexican bandit.¹³ General Pershing's Punitive Expedition proved to be a massive failure as American troops always seemed one step behind Villa and suffered from constant equipment failures and poor lines of communication.¹⁴ Furthermore, the expedition demonstrated that the United States Army remained unprepared for potential conflicts with other nations, especially in the event that the nation would become involved in the ongoing war in Europe. In June 1916, President Wilson declared a national emergency, and ordered the National Guards of every state (except Nevada who maintained no National Guard) and the District of Columbia to the Mexican Border in anticipation of further Mexican raids.

¹² Clarence Clendenen, *Blood on the Border: The United States Army and the Mexican Irregulars* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969), Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916-1932* (Chicago, 1972); Joseph A. Stout Jr., *Border Conflict: Villistas, Carrancistas, and the Punitive Expedition, 1915-1920* (Texas Christian University Press, 1999); and Freidrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, The United States and the Mexican Revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981). These works provide general outlines of the situation between the United States and Mexico and serve as comprehensive accounts of the ongoing tensions between the two nations.

¹³ Frank E. Vandiver, *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing* vol. I (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977); and Donald Smythe, *Pershing: General of the Armies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

¹⁴ S.D. Lovell, *The Presidential Election of 1916*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980); and Joseph A. Stout Jr., *Border Conflict: Villistas, Carrancistas, and the Punitive Expedition, 1915-1920* (Texas Christian University Press, 1999). These provide comprehensive accounts of President Wilson's elections and his response to the Mexican crisis, as well as detailed accounts of Pershing's Punitive Expedition to capture Villa.

The National Guard responded to Wilson's orders with enthusiasm. After all, answering the nation's call reflected notions related to civic virtue and was ideally the role many troops hoped for when they enlisted. Furthermore, new federal laws did little to sway the views of many Americans who still viewed the National Guard as a tool of corporations and the government against working-class people. Therefore, federal service offered a welcomed shift away from strike or riot duty.¹⁵ When war fever first struck in March 1916, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported, "[at] All of the armories of the Illinois National Guard, the scenes of such bustle and activity has not been witnessed within them since the Spanish American War," the headline of that same article was, "'On to Mexico' Spirit Sweeps Over Chicago: Recruiting Stations Swamped and Militia Armories Crowded by Eager Civilians."¹⁶ In Springfield, Illinois, guardsmen swarmed to the Illinois State Fairgrounds conjuring up images of "the excitement that prevailed" in 1898 when the nation went to war in Cuba.¹⁷

Officers and men alike became excited when the June call-to-arms came, as the *Chicago Daily Tribune* declared Illinois' officers to be "Elated by Call," and in Springfield, non-commissioned officers answered "with alacrity."¹⁸ Scenes of excited mobilization such as in Chicago and Springfield occurred throughout the nation. Iowa's adjutant general ordered the Third Iowa Infantry to proceed to Camp Dodge in Des

¹⁵ Irving Goff McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border: Our National Military Problem* (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Co., 1917), 179. McCann's detailed memoirs recount his service along the Mexican border as well as general feelings among the soldiers with whom he served.

¹⁶ Eleanor Hannah, "From the Dance Floor to the Rifle Range: The Evolution of Manliness in the National Guards, 1870-1917," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6.3 (2007): 166; and "'On to Mexico' Spirit Sweeps Over Chicago," *The Chicago Tribune*, March 12, 1916.

¹⁷ "Stirring Echoes of '98 Heard in Wilson's Call," *Illinois State Register*, June 19, 1916.

¹⁸ "Illinois' 7,000 Militia Ready; Officers Elated by Call," *The Chicago Tribune*, June 19, 1916; and "Springfield 'non-coms' Ready to Answer Call," *Illinois State Register*, June 20, 1916.

Moines on 21 June 1916, with the rest of the Iowa National Guard to follow.¹⁹ In Columbus, Ohio, “all members of the Ohio National Guard have taken the oath of allegiance to the government and are ready for border service at any time,” and 600 Missouri Guardsmen from St. Louis waited fully equipped and ready for service in the St. Louis armory, where “not since the days of the blowing up of the *Maine* has military interest been so high.”²⁰ Captain Irving Goff McCann of the First Illinois Infantry described the feeling of the troopers in his memoirs:

On Sunday night, June 18, 1916, came the call to arms for which the National Guard had been waiting so long. After two years of exasperating expectancy, during which our government made scrap iron of typewriters, raised the price of white paper, indulged itself to drunkenness on grape juice and treaty writing, and coined half dozen catchy peace phrases, the National Guard had come to think that our government did not give a ‘tinker’s dam’ for the lives of its citizens or the honor of our flag. If you asked a National Guardsman what the United States was going to do about Mexico, he would give you a sickly grin and answer: ‘there is no such thing as being too proud to fight.’²¹

In addition to offering insights about troop attitudes and individual activities at the border, McCann’s memoirs (like other Guard writings) demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of the US’s military system and the intricacies of civil-military relations. McCann dedicated an entire chapter to the “Handicaps of the National Guard” in 1916 and 1917, which he believed were mostly related to hostilities of organized labor.²² Additionally, McCann embodied the National Guard’s middle-class appeal and orientation. McCann was born in 1887 to a Methodist minister in Alabama. He initially followed in his father’s footsteps and served as a minister in various locations, finally

¹⁹ “Iowa National Guard Ordered to Fort Dodge,” *Illinois State Register*, June 22, 1916.

²⁰ “Soldiers Gathering throughout Union,” *Illinois State Journal* June, 20 1916.

²¹ McCann, *With the National Guard*, 90.

²² McCann, 174-207.

finding himself in Chicago as Chaplain in the First Illinois Infantry Regiment in 1916. However, McCann held other aspirations and by 1917 he moved to St. Louis, Missouri and declared himself as a lawyer on his draft registration card as well as the 1920 census. By 1930, McCann was a general practicing attorney and lived in Wyoming with his first wife, son, and three daughters. Eventually, McCann divorced and moved to Kansas City, Missouri and then to New Hampshire, where he remarried in 1938.²³ McCann's background as both a minister and lawyer place him firmly within the Progressive Era's middle-class, many of whom defined themselves as reform oriented professionals.²⁴ McCann then, went to the border as an educated citizen with a firm grasp of society's values who held traditional notions of civic virtue.

In the month after the president's call, guardsmen from across the nation travelled to mobilization camps as they prepared to "go to war." Life at these mobilization camps was fairly comfortable for the guardsmen, as they prepared to enter federal military service. When the soldiers arrived they underwent physical examinations, received various inoculations, and subsequently took the new federal oath. Lieutenant Fred Ballard of the Second Iowa Infantry Regiment noted how he personally "assisted in examining candidates who wished to take the new federal oath. I examined the teeth, throat, and hearing of every officer in the 2nd Reg. Inf. Ia. N.G. and also those of several

²³ McCann's personal details were compiled through an ancestry.com search. By including his first and last names as well as his estimated birth year and location in 1916, the search provided access to the 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 census, as well as McCann's World War I Draft registration card and his 1938 marriage certification from New Hampshire. "1900 United States Federal Census" (online database), accessed December 2015; "1910 United States Federal Census" (online database), accessed December 2015; "1930 United States Federal Census" (online database), accessed December 2015; "U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," accessed December 2015; and "New Hampshire, Marriage and Divorce Records, 1659-1947" (online database), accessed December 2015, <https://ancestry.com>.

²⁴ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 43-46; and Heather Cox Richardson, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 2

hundred enlisted men.”²⁵ Not everyone passed the physical examinations; for instance, 25 out of 100 men of K Company, First Iowa Infantry Regiment failed, and A Company saw 16 men fail for various reasons.²⁶ Those troopers who passed their physicals immediately speculated as to how long they would stay at the camps, or whether or not they would ever leave, and a few troopers even believed that they would stay in camp until after the November elections.²⁷ However, most of their stays were very short. The First Illinois Infantry Regiment left Camp Dunne on 28 June 1916, only five days after arriving in Springfield, and Troop A and Battery B of the First Wisconsin Infantry Regiment left Camp Douglas two days after muster on 1 July 1916.²⁸ Others stayed much longer, for example, the Second Iowa took the oath of service in Des Moines on 28 June, but did not leave for the border until 22 July.²⁹ Troopers who stayed in camp longer than a few days were able to enjoy the sights and sounds of their adjoining town, as numerous Iowa guardsmen enjoyed a baseball game between a local Des Moines team and a team from Sioux City, Iowa, and the fact that “all the boys in kaki are admitted free” only added to the enjoyment.³⁰

Although these longer stays in camp were generally uneventful, there were instances worthy of note. Some Iowa troopers experienced a catastrophe during a

²⁵ Lt. Fred F. Ballard, Diary, July 1, 1916; 2004.44.1, Papers of D. Gallant (Gallant), Mexican Border Collection (Mexican Border); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as Ballard, Diary, Date; Gallant, Mexican Border; INGA.

²⁶ Dick Dreyer, compiler, *Iowa Troops in Mexican Border Service, 1916-1917*; Miscellaneous Documents (Mis Docs), Mexican Border Collection (Mexican Border); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as *Iowa Troops in Mexican Border Service*; Mis Docs, Mexican Border; INGA.

²⁷ McCann, 109.

²⁸ Moses Thisted, *With the Wisconsin National Guard on the Mexican Border, 1916-1917* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Journal Publishing Co., 1917), 41.

²⁹ Corporal Rulison J. Parker, “The Melody of Life, F. Co, 2nd Iowa Infantry;” Miscellaneous Documents, Mexican Border Collection; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

³⁰ Ballard, Diary, July 8, 1916; Gallant, Mexican Border; INGA.

summer storm. According to Lieutenant Ballard, a strong storm initially offered a welcomed respite from the July heat as many young soldiers were “running through the rain up and down company streets in their underwear. They were shouting and laughing like kids.” But this seemingly innocent event turned tragic when the storm intensified. Ballard recalled that a lightning bolt struck near where he was standing, and “down I went, dazed but not injured.” He went on to sorrowfully recount that, “Just as I rec’d the shock I could hear screams from Co. A. 2nd. Reg. about 50-100 ft. away. I also saw two or three boys shoot out from one of the tents. They screamed and raved for several moments afterwards. As soon as I got to my feet and realized what was going on I ran over to where the boys were and assisted only a little as the hospital corps had charge. One of the boys got it in the heel, ripping his shoe from his foot.” The lieutenant went on to describe how others received shocks in different parts of the body, and in all, at least 20 troops went to the hospital suffering from the shocks.³¹ Of course, events such as this storm were isolated, and most guardsmen endured life in camp with little incident.

Iowa guardsmen celebrated Independence Day at Camp Dodge in Des Moines, and listened to a variety of military bands as well as a few fiery speeches. Former US Senator, Lafayette Young, gave a “very fine speech” to the Iowans, where he proclaimed that “If I were president of the United States I would take all of the troops available to the Mexican border and withdraw all the troops now in Mexico to the border. Then I would wait until just one shot was fired across the border at which time I would order my troops forward and make a Desert of Mexico!”³² The Iowa guardsmen responded to Young’s speech with resounding applause, but regardless of rhetoric, the soldiers needed to tie up

³¹ Ballard, Diary, July 15, 1916; Gallant, Mexican Border; INGA.

³² Ballard, Diary, July 4, 1916; Gallant, Mexican Border; INGA.

loose ends related to their personal lives. And although “reports that the national guard troops would be called out for border duty were received in this city [Springfield, Illinois] last night with much enthusiasm and comment,” men sought to get their affairs in order before possibly engaging in hostilities.³³ One major issue pertaining to federal service related to pay and dependent issues at home, and many women saw the advantages of being married to a soldier on active duty because a spouse could draw a pension if her husband was killed in action.

The *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that “Romance began to spread among the troops like a conflagration,” and soldiers and their sweethearts rushed to the wedding altar before being shipped out.³⁴ Of course, some families did not support such rushed actions, and on one occasion the parents of the soldier refused to witness the wedding, believing their son was making a mistake. However, their efforts at stopping the ceremony were in vain, as an entire company of troopers were more than willing to serve as witnesses to the nuptials.³⁵ While many soldiers sought marriage licenses on the eve of their mission to the border, military service also inhibited existing marriage plans. Illinois Governor Edward F. Dunne’s son, Richard, enlisted in the Illinois National Guard prior to President Wilson’s call, and border service meant that he would miss his wedding to Frances Fitzgerald of one of Chicago’s leading families. And “Mrs. Dunne regarded the matter seriously,” because “about 500 invitations have been issued, and this order will probably bust up the festivities.”³⁶ In any event, soldiers ensured that their financial and legal affairs were in order before they moved to the border.

³³ “Call for Militia Excites Whole City,” *Illinois State Register*, June 19, 1916.

³⁴ “Girl Speeds to Wed Soldier at Mexican Border,” *The Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1916.

³⁵ McCann, 222.

³⁶ “Mobilization may Disturb Cupid’s Plan,” *Illinois State Register*, June 19, 1916.

Some guardsmen were not as enthusiastic as others about the possibility of traveling to the border and possibly facing combat, and though many troops married prior to service, others hoped to use their personal situation as a means of avoiding service. Guardsmen from across the nation with dependents petitioned the War Department for early discharges, as they feared their spouses and children would suffer financially and socially from the separation related to service. This anxiety did not dissipate when border duty began, as rumors spread that upwards of twenty percent of Wisconsin troops already at the border asked for discharges related to issues with families at home.³⁷ Some soldiers even went to deceitful means to get out of service. One young woman with a child in her arms approached an Illinois captain and declared, "I am Mrs. Arthur Karafte, and I came for my husband, who left me to starve and support this infant. He is a private in your regiment." Private Karafte reinforced the woman's claims, and the captain drew up papers for the private's discharge, only to find that the young soldier had sworn he was single on his enlistment papers, and the destitute woman was the private's sister. Their ploy ultimately failed.³⁸ Honest soldiers did have some success though, as only a few weeks after mobilization, President Wilson "took steps to forestall criticism" by instructing Secretary Baker to grant discharges to guardsmen with dependent families in need who sought reprieve from service.³⁹

While many guardsmen willingly responded to the possibility of carrying their state and national flag into battle, others resented President Wilson calling them from

³⁷ Thisted, *With the Wisconsin National Guard*, 55. Thisted's work was a published version of the diary he kept while stationed along the Mexican border in 1916. Alphet printers re-released Thisted's published diary in 1981, complete with additional notes from the author, as well as previously non-included photographs and accounts from Wisconsin's adjutant general. Thisted also included *Milwaukee Journal* excerpts in his diary, and the published version contains some reproduced newspaper articles.

³⁸ "Wily Relatives Attempt to get Recruits Out," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 27, 1916.

³⁹ "Men with Dependents will get Discharges," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1916.

their civil lives in order to intimidate Villa or serve Wilson's political ends in a reelection year.⁴⁰ Some guardsmen who hoped to avoid service took a different approach than those with dependents. In May 1916—a month before official mobilization—the president activated the Texas National Guard for federal service and 116 Texas men failed to report for muster.⁴¹ Some of these men were simply away from their home stations at the time of Wilson's call, but others outright refused service. Fourteen of the Texas soldiers made a point of refusing to take a second oath of service to the federal government.⁴² The War Department responded by threatening the mutineers with a court-martial, but this case illuminated a larger issue pertaining to Guard mobilization under the new National Guard system. As a means of avoiding the gridlock and confusion associated with militia mobilization during the Spanish-American War, the Dick Act of 1903 and its amendments in 1908 and 1910 established that the president could simply order the Guard to any location within the country in times of a national emergency. Subsequently, the Hay-Chamberlain Law expanded the president's war powers, but required mobilized guardsmen to take a second oath of service to the federal government (in addition to earlier oaths taken to their states).⁴³ While the laws dictated that these oaths were not optional, there were no set protocols in the event of refusal.

Additionally, although Congress passed the National Defense Act in June 1916, the law did not officially take effect until 1 July. Therefore, President Wilson's mobilization orders technically fell under provisions in the Dick Act. In order to ensure

⁴⁰ Cooper, *Rise*, 159.

⁴¹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Texas, From January 1, 1915 to December 31, 1916* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., Printers, 1917), accessed January 2016, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/>.

⁴² "Court Martial of Guardsmen to Begin Today: Texas Militiamen Who Refused to Answer Call by President Face Serious Trial," *The Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916.

⁴³ The National Defense Act, Pub. L. 54-85, 39 Stat. 166 (1916), Sections 58, 60 and 61; and *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General, State of Wisconsin, 1914-1916* (Madison: Wisconsin Printing Office, 1916), 17.

compliance, General A.F. Mills, chief of the Militia Bureau, informed state adjutant generals that mobilization was to proceed “under army regulations ... April 22, 1914,” and that the “troops are to be mobilized as organized militia, not as national guard. Act of Congress, June 3, 1916, does not influence details of your present preparedness and movement to mobilization camp.” This distinction meant that guardsmen could technically refuse foreign service (which was contingent under the new law), but the old law still obligated the troops to enter federal service as state soldiers, and therefore, were subject to military discipline if they failed to take the second service oath.⁴⁴ Captain Henry Reilly of the Illinois National Guard reiterated this sentiment to his troops and declared that border service was not voluntary, “as it is mandatory,” and a court martial awaited any who refused service.⁴⁵ The War Department followed through with its threat and the Texas guardsmen faced the military’s highest court, and so would any other “slackers” within the Guard.

The threat of justice proceedings seemed to be enough to dissuade guardsmen from other states from following the Texans’ example, and mobilization continued, but was beleaguered by difficulties from the start. The fact that the United States Army sent little—if anything—to the state mobilization camps was the largest issue related to early mobilization. State governments needed to supply their troops with equipment and rations, while they hastily constructed the camps.⁴⁶ The original Dick Act and the Army Appropriations Act of 1903, required the federal government to provide the National Guard with the same armament and equipment issued to the Regular Army, and these

⁴⁴ “Troops are not National Guard,” *Illinois State Register*, June 21, 1916.

⁴⁵ Captain Henry J. Reilly, “Court Martial Waits Slackers among Militia,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 19, 1916.

⁴⁶ *Roster of the Illinois National Guard on the Mexican Border, 1917-1917* (Springfield: State Printing Office, 1927), vii.

reform laws further outlined that the federal government and state governments would establish state rendezvous locations to expedite mobilizations.⁴⁷ Ultimately though, a lack of execution left many states with inadequate camp sites and provisions. Despite the lack of federal resources, the various states enthusiastically worked to prepare their troops for service, and sites quickly took shape.⁴⁸ State engineers cleared sites of manure, dirt, and trash, and constructed housing and latrines for the thousands of soldiers in route. Incredibly, many of these bases were ready in less than ten days, and Captain McCann declared that the work of the general in charge of building up the camps and his staff “was a tribute to their patriotism and enterprise.”⁴⁹

To the border

Guardsmen began travelling to their respective border locations in June 1916, and their destinations varied depending on need, threat, and unit designation. Most of the Illinois and Wisconsin National Guard traveled to San Antonio (Camp Wilson), and the majority of the Texas Guard operated out of Corpus Christi. The First Illinois Cavalry Regiment, the First Virginia Infantry Regiment, the Oklahoma National Guard, the Iowa National Guard, and contingents of the South Dakotans, Texans, and Wisconsinites travelled to Brownsville, Texas. The New York National guard anchored the most dangerous section of the border (the Brownsville District), and operated out of three locations: McAllen, Mission, and Pharr. The First Missouri Brigade and elements from Maine and New Hampshire moved to Laredo, Texas, and soldiers from Maryland,

⁴⁷ “Extract of Army Appropriation Act, Approved March 2, 1903; and “General Orders, No. 55,” both found in *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York, for the Year 1903* vol. I (Albany: Oliver A. Quayle, State Legislative Printer, 1904).

⁴⁸ McCann, 98, and Thisted, *Wisconsin National Guard*, 28.

⁴⁹ McCann, 98-9.

Kansas, Vermont, and Tennessee operated out of Eagle Pass, Texas. The army stationed guardsmen from every other state in camps near the Big Bend and El Paso, Texas, Deming and Columbus, New Mexico, Naco and Nogales, Arizona, and in Southern California.⁵⁰ However, as guard elements returned home or moved stations, troops from other states would replace them, so throughout the border service these assignments fluctuated somewhat.

As the Guard prepared to travel to their destinations, the organization met a series of logistical and strategic limitations. Because the president's call came less than a month removed from passage of the NDA, both the Regular Army and National Guard were in a transitory phase. States who provided more Guard resources during peacetime could concentrate their troops quickly and move to the border. Other states needed to select mobilization sites, and in some cases recruit large amounts of men to reach full strength.⁵¹ Furthermore, the War Department devised a new divisional organization for the US Army (including the National Guard) in 1914 amidst growing anxiety related to the First World War. Under this structure, the National Guard would be divided into twelve divisions, numbered five to sixteen (with the Regular Army comprising divisions one through four). New England's National Guard units would make up the Fifth Division, New York would make up the Sixth, Pennsylvania the Seventh, and so on based on region.⁵² However, few states managed to conform to the new twelve-division

⁵⁰ Harris and Sadler, *The Great Call-Up*.

⁵¹ Cooper, *Rise*, 161.

⁵² Brigadier General Henry J. Reilly, *Americans All: The Rainbow at War, Official History of the 42nd Rainbow Division in the World War 2nd* ed. (Columbus: The F.J. Heer Printing Co., 1936), 25.

structure which replaced the old state quota system.⁵³ In 1916, the War Department informed individual governors of which types of units (combat or auxiliary) and what size elements (battalion, regiment, or brigade) they needed to supply. The Army's adjutant general, Henry McCain, sent a response to any governor or guardsmen opposed to this policy where he stressed the divisional plan and argued that any departure would create a confused mobilization process.⁵⁴ Ultimately though, the War Department and National Guard did depart from the plan in exchange for a hasty mobilization. Due to variances in readiness levels and railroad limitations, the Guard generally moved to the border and arrived at duty stations with little regard to divisional breakdown.⁵⁵

For many troopers, the trip to the border was unpleasant. Most of the soldiers rode the entire journey in day coaches without the comforts afforded in larger sleeper cars, though officers enjoyed a few more luxuries.⁵⁶ The First Illinois Cavalry's journey to the border was delayed for a day because their commander, Milton J. Foreman, refused to allow his men to move to the border in chair cars, but instead waited for twelve Pullman sleeper cars.⁵⁷ Foreman's regiment also happened to include socialite Major Robert McCormick, president and editor of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, who certainly had a hand in influencing his regiment's fortunes.⁵⁸ Furthermore, numerous men recounted that frustrating delays that plagued the long journey. For instance, after a delay of over 24 hours due to a series of small accidents, "the first section of the Second Wisconsin

⁵³ *Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-Fourth Congress, First Session, To Increase the Efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States, January 6 to February 11, 1916* vol. 2 (Washington D.C., US Government Printing Office, 1916), 976

⁵⁴ Cooper, *Rise*, 161.

⁵⁵ General Reilly, *Americans All*, 25.

⁵⁶ "Roads Awaiting Order to Move Men to Border," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1916.

⁵⁷ *Adjutant General's Report, Illinois, 1916-1917* (Springfield: State Printers, 1918), 577-78.

⁵⁸ Harris and Sadler, 139.

Infantry detrained at Camp Wilson at 11 A.M., Friday, July 14, 1916, and marched into camp. A wreck ahead of them at Texarkana delayed them for 7 hours. Their locomotive killed a cow, causing another delay, and three cars broke loose from one of the trains, causing a stop of many hours. The men had no complaint about the travel rations, but every man, it seemed, was indignant over the Day Coaches and the poor service enroute.”⁵⁹ While most soldiers grumbled about their accommodations, there were simply not enough cars available to accommodate the nearly 120,000 troops from around the country to the border.

Nevertheless, reports circulated that troops travelled in overcrowded cars without lights, and numerous men were crammed into small spaces with little room to move about. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that the train cars were filled with “weary, sleepless, unwashed human freight,” though the paper’s editor avoided such a fate.⁶⁰ One political cartoon of the period hinted at class warfare, National Guard exploitation, and outlined the hypocrisy of the railroad companies regarding the border situation and strike duty [figure 3]. In the cartoon, a wealthy railroad magnate welcomed guardsmen onto a fine dining and sleeper car, complete with a personal servant for service during a railroad strike, and declared “Hop on, boys, there’s nothing too good for you.” The cartoon then showed the same magnate saying “Day coaches are good enough for them, we need our good cars for the vacation rush” during the border crisis.⁶¹ Indeed, for many, the train situation illuminated larger issues pertaining to Guard service and fair treatment, but the rail companies did in fact go to great lengths to ensure troop comfort. Robert

⁵⁹ Thisted, 54.

⁶⁰ Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, 290.

⁶¹ “Why Militia Men Re-Enlist,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1916.

McCormick's personal influence certainly swayed the *Tribune's* reporting, but these types of reports swayed public opinion.

Ultimately, many reports of ill treatment turned out to be exaggerations. The *New York Times* noted that complaints regarding food shortages were "not so general as has been supposed, and in every case of dissatisfaction so far reported the investigation has shown that the guardsmen had a sufficient supply of food and were themselves to blame for going hungry."⁶² Rumors of poor treatment on the journey to the border nonetheless prompted Secretary Baker to investigate each complaint of poor treatment, and he sent an official letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, which refuted many of the claims. Baker stated that "No cars without lights were used to transport troops," and that the troops were given Regular Army rations, "which were sufficient." Furthermore, he explained the reasons for using day coaches as a means of financial efficiency, and the secretary discounted rumors that the troops were delayed unreasonably on the journey.⁶³ Baker's letter went into further details regarding sleeping space, food rations, and passenger car usage.

Secretary Baker sent his letter, as well as a series of telegrams, to various state governments as a means of quelling rumors of mistreatment. Following receipt of these telegrams, Illinois Governor Edward Dunne issued a public statement denying the assertions by many of his state's soldiers, refusing to call a special session of the state legislature to address such claims.⁶⁴ Despite the grievances, exaggerated or not, the First Illinois Infantry Regiment's largest complaint related to the lack of stabilizing springs on

⁶² "Refutes Criticism of Militia's Food," *New York Times*, July 17, 1916.

⁶³ Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, July 21, 1916; DS 168-210.524; Mexican Border, RG 107; NACP.

⁶⁴ "Say Troops are Well Provided," *Illinois State Register*, July 1, 1916.

the food cars. 8In order to promote efficiency, the Army used simple freight cars as cooking cars, causing many meals to find their way from the stoves to the floor before being served.⁶⁵ While the lack of creature comforts irritated many soldiers, the trip to the border was a feat in itself, as all in all, nearly 120,000 guardsmen traveled to the border between 28 June and 31 July 1916. The federal government utilized over 3,000 passenger cars and day coaches for the journey, and the American Railway Association supplied over 400 baggage cars, 2,000 stock cars, and 1,300 box cars as a means of transporting troops and supplies to the border. Interestingly enough, had all the trains used been fastened together, the train would have been 90 miles long.⁶⁶

The First Illinois Cavalry Regiment was among the first troops to arrive at the border after only two days aboard the transport trains, and some among the ranks believed they were destined to go to war.⁶⁷ On 1 July, Colonel Foreman invited his officers to accompany him to Christmas dinner in the presidential palace of Mexico City after his regiment had helped pacify the nation. Certainly, this invitation contained some jingoistic and humorous qualities, but also carried a hint of expectations. Indeed, many officers and civilians alike wondered why a veteran organization such as the First Illinois Cavalry (whose lineage dated to the Civil War) would go to the border if not for the purpose of waging war. Others noted that the reasoning was more precautionary, as the troops would be at the border in the event of a war declaration, which was not out of the

⁶⁵ McCann, 118-9.

⁶⁶ The American Railway Association, "Moving Troops to the Mexican Border," 204; Box 37, Personal Correspondence, Papers of Senator Lawrence Sherman (Papers of L Sherman); State of Illinois Archives, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, Illinois (ALPLM). Hereafter as Correspondence details; Personal Correspondence, Papers of L Sherman; ALPLM.

⁶⁷ *Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1919-1920* (Springfield: State of Illinois Printing Office, n.d.), 84, consulted in General Collection, State of Illinois Archives, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, Illinois.

question, given the existing hostility between the United States and Mexico.⁶⁸ Near the end of July, some guardsmen still believed they would cross the Rio Grande and march into Mexico, and one Iowa private remarked to his parents that there were “20,000 Mexicans within a mile of us,” and “shots are exchanged across the river [Rio Grande] almost every night.”⁶⁹ However, war never came to fruition, and the Guard’s official assignment related to defensive posturing.

General Frederick Funston laid out the Guard’s mission by declaring patrols from the Pacific Ocean in California to the Gulf of Mexico in Texas would commence upon the Guard’s arrival, and used his authority as commander to “designate the time and place for movements of guardsmen to the international line as the occasion shall require.”⁷⁰ In 1915 Funston had taken command of the Southern Department and worked out of his headquarters at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas. When the Guard’s mobilization began, Funston was waiting to take command of this newly federalized force.⁷¹ Funston had earned a reputation as a daring soldier during the Spanish-American War and Philippine-American wars after he served with Cuban insurgent forces in 1898. He earned the Congressional Medal of Honor, along with two privates, after swimming across a river under intense fire to tie ropes allowing his regiment to cross by raft and overtake insurgent positions. Less than three months later, Funston captured the Filipino

⁶⁸ Walter Noble Burns, “First Cavalry Expects to go to Vera Cruz,” *The Chicago Tribune*, July 2, 1916.

⁶⁹ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, July 25, 1916; 2011.75.1-6, Letters of Rudolph A. Dubbert (Letters of R.A. Dubbert), Mexican Border and WWI (MB and WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as Rudolph A. Dubbert to Recipient, Date; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

⁷⁰ Thisted, 29.

⁷¹ Frederick Funston, *Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1911); Mark J. Denger, “Californians and the Military, Major-General Frederick Funston, U.S.V., Medal of Honor Recipient,” accessed November 2015, <http://www.militarymuseum.org/Funston.html>; “General Frederick Funston,” accessed November 2015, <http://www.sfmuseum.org/1906/funston.html>; and Harris and Sadler, *The Great Call Up*, 77-80.

rebel leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, and earned instant fame. The Army commissioned Funston as a brigadier general after he captured Aguinaldo and placed him in command of the Department of California where he commanded troops in the aftermath of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, and some proclaimed him as “the man that saved San Francisco.” In 1914, Funston’s involvement with Mexico began. Funston served as military commander in Veracruz after the US seized the port in April 1914, and in recognition of his administrative achievements, the army promoted Funston to major general in November 1914. When the border duty commenced though, neither Frederick Funston nor Secretary Baker were willing to overstep their authority and spark an international war, and Baker publicly announced that “no additional troop movements into Mexico were contemplated, except in pursuit of raiders.”⁷²

Additional speculation existed related to how the federal government would accommodate the Guard at the border. Illinois Senator Lawrence Sherman stated in a reply to a constituent that there were no existing provisions for supplying the Guard at the border, and “Outside of the Regular Army there is no preparation for the enlisted men. There is neither food, clothing, nor shelter for his care. He is without arms. Outside of the Regular Army if we needed 50,000 men for instance, for service we do not have them.” Sherman concluded with the words, “I believe in universal military training. It ought to be part of every able bodied boy’s education.”⁷³ And though Senator Sherman—among others—continued to support replacing the Guard with some semblance of UMT, he sponsored legislation which would offer fifty dollars a month to a guardsman’s dependent family during the border crisis, but the Senate defeated this bill

⁷² “Grave Developments are Feared,” *Illinois State Register*, June 19, 1916.

⁷³ Senator Lawrence Sherman to Roy Hill, June 29, 1916; Box 37, Personal Correspondence, Papers of L. Sherman; ALPLM.

45 to 30 after a “fiery debate.”⁷⁴ In the end, while the Senate voted in favor of upholding the president’s use of the Guard under the National Defense Act of 1916, the federal government basically had no plan in place for the payment, housing, and supplying of the National Guard.

Even as late as 30 July 1916, the lack of adequate supplies continued to plague the Guard at the border. Moses Thisted of the Wisconsin Guard blamed the problems on logistics and lack of experience, as well as incompetence. According to Thisted, the guardsmen:

Are learning the science of warfare. The troops wonder where the money for military training provided by States and Congress has been spent during the past few years. Had it been spent by competent military authorities than by politicians, every troop, company, or battery would be effective military units today. As it is, Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Montana, Texas, and several other States are losing time and money being outfitted or re-outfitted in the elementary essentials of Warfare.⁷⁵

An editorial in the *Milwaukee Journal* used these shortages to stress the need for universal military training and noted that there were “Cavalry without horses, Infantry without guns, Artillery without batteries and gunners, a dozen little armies without officers capable of leading their men into battle with a fighting chance.” Some men remained at the border for over a month without a government issued blanket, and the editorial went on to say that:

Shortages of clothing, blankets, cots, and tents can be remedied rapidly, but the lack of trained horses, mules, machine guns, of trained men to handle artillery batteries, are defects that can be remedied only after months of delay. Here in Douglas, Arizona, the guardsmen of Arizona, Colorado, Montana, and New Jersey loll around their camps with

⁷⁴ “Militia Draft Passes Senate; Fiery Debate,” *The Chicago Tribune*, June 27, 1916.

⁷⁵ Thisted, 65-6.

empty rifles. There is no question of the courage of these patriotic Americans, but the past national military situation has proven a failure.⁷⁶

Despite the lack of adequate supplies, the federal government did take steps to ensure the base camps were up-to-standard. When the Illinois troopers arrived, they found government workers constructing bathhouses and making a water connection to the nearby town.⁷⁷ However, the camps were still in an early stage of development and readiness when the soldiers de-trained. Once again—in a repeat of the arrival at mobilization camps—the troopers needed to dig latrines, set up pup tents, secure the perimeter, and build mess areas. Furthermore, the soldiers found numerous kinds of pests and critters scattered throughout their campgrounds in need of extermination. Private Dubbert confirmed his parents' fears when he described the numerous tarantulas around his campsite, but assured them that “they aren't the deadly ones, I guess.”⁷⁸ When the Second Iowa Infantry Regiment arrived in camp at Brownsville, Texas on 27 July 1916, it found that its new home was infested with “locusts (beetles), lizards, camillians [*sic*], red ants, black ants, horned toads, and even rattle snakes have been killed on the camp grounds.”⁷⁹ Interestingly enough, Fred Ballard described this infestation ten days after General Tasker Bliss, Assistant Chief of Staff of the War Department, issued initial inspections of the troops at Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio and at Brownsville, where he confirmed the camps to be up to standard and the troops to be fit, well fed, and adequately sheltered.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ “Plattsburg and the Border; Plea for Universal Training,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, July 30, 1916.

⁷⁷ McCann, 129.

⁷⁸ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, July 28, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

⁷⁹ Ballard, Diary, July 27, 1916; Gallant, Mexican Border; INGA.

⁸⁰ Thisted, 58.

Various factors marred the overall border mobilization process. Confusion over the twelve-division structure and low numbers meant that the Guard arrived at state sites and border camps somewhat haphazardly. Additionally, Army inspectors and commanders witnessed Guard units across a broad readiness spectrum. Some units remained at their mobilization camps upwards of four months before travelling to the border because inspectors declared them unfit for duty.⁸¹ For some Regular Army officers, the logistical struggles confirmed their doubts regarding the National Guard's ability to supplement the Army. One former inspector declared that the border mobilization "only strengthens my belief that the militia is worthless," and one inspector at the border camps remarked that the Guard "has proved a hopeless failure."⁸² However, the Army was not without fault in the mobilization process, and the federal government's inability to supply the Guard adequately or uphold standards hindered the Guard's effectiveness. Furthermore, the Regular Army's performance a year earlier on the Punitive Expedition was as disastrous as any Guard operation. When the Army considered these factors, they saw the border mobilization as an opportunity to both strengthen the existing Guard and increase overall readiness. Therefore, when the guardsmen arrived at the border, they prepared for the mission at hand, which centered on the coast-to-coast patrols, meaning that the guardsmen needed to undergo a series of long hikes and marches, and when the soldiers were not hiking or drilling, they dug trenches.⁸³

⁸¹ Cooper, *Rise*, 161.

⁸² Lt. Colonel Helmick, Final Report to the Army Adjutant General, November 11, 1916; Box 432, Reports, Inspector General, Entry 12, Records of the National Guard Bureau, Record Group 168; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland; and Cooper, 163.

⁸³ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, August 25, August 28, September 12, and November 2, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA. These are just a selection of letters where Dubbert describes digging "ditches" both for preparation and camp maintenance.

Political implications

While social issues played out within the guard at the border, this service also carried important political implications, and politicians used border service as an avenue for carrying out political attacks. In early November, former President Theodore Roosevelt, addressed a large crowd in Cleveland, Ohio, where he took the opportunity to denounce President Wilson's Mexican policy as well as his use of the National Guard and Regular Army. Roosevelt declared, "We have about 150,000 American soldiers on the Mexican Border and deep in Mexico, enough to 'eat Mexico raw,' but "they aren't doing anything." Roosevelt continued by saying, "Mr. Wilson has put them down there because he can't make up his mind whether we are at Peace or War."⁸⁴ Months earlier, Congressional authorities denounced Wilson's policies after he declared he opposed intervention in Mexico. These congressmen and senators questioned why the president intended to hold civilian soldiers at the border for an undisclosed length of time "at a cost which bears heavily upon the nation," when the Regular Army could perform the same job.⁸⁵ Ultimately, Congressional Republicans believed President Wilson was using the National Guard as a political tool to implement a wartime policy while running the 1916 election on a peace platform.

In one heated debate shortly after President Wilson's call, two Democratic senators (Charles Thomas of Colorado and Blair Lee of Maryland) slightly broke with party lines when they argued that the Guard's mobilization tore guardsmen from their families, and that the president should have made a call for volunteers prior to mobilizing the National Guard. Senator John Works (Republican, California) pressed his

⁸⁴ Thisted, 91; and "News Briefs," *The Milwaukee Journal*, November 3, 1916.

⁸⁵ "May Ask Recall of All Militia on the Border," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 6, 1916.

Democratic colleagues, and asked “whether that can justly be said under the circumstances,” because “As I remember, when the provision that they should be made Federal Soldiers was before the Senate in connection with the military reorganization bill [NDA], the friends of the National Guard very strongly favored that proposition and insisted that provision should be enacted as part of the law.”⁸⁶ As the debate went on, Senator James Reed (Democrat, Missouri) proposed offering guardsmen additional foreign service pay, despite the fact that the soldiers remained on US soil. Senator Works argued against the extra pay, and offered a lengthy retort to on the Senate floor where he argued that the President was using the National Guard as political pawns, and that “The country is being stampeded by fear.”⁸⁷ Senator Reed and other Democrats vehemently opposed Senator Works’s accusation.

The Wilson administration responded to Congress’s claims of Guard misuse. President Wilson argued that the Guard’s presence was in fact a peace protocol and was a means of keeping the nation out of a potential war with Mexico. On 22 August 1916, Secretary Baker issued a statement supporting the president’s stance, and declared that “By its very presence on the Border, the National Guard is winning bloodless victories every day.”⁸⁸ The secretary further ensured the public that “the Guard will be retained on the Mexican border until it can be withdrawn without again endangering American lives and property.”⁸⁹ Some Republican political leaders agreed with the administration regarding the peaceful mission of the Guard. Senator Lawrence Sherman wrote in a letter that if the United States did not pursue an aggressive strategy to pacify Mexico, then “we

⁸⁶ 64 Cong. Rec. 9966-9968 (1916).

⁸⁷ 64 Cong. Rec. 9980 (1916) (statement of Sen. Works).

⁸⁸ Thisted, 75.

⁸⁹ “Won’t Recall Guard till Border is Safe,” *New York Times*, August 22, 1916.

must maintain a military force from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean. It is the only way to safeguard our citizens.” Sherman concluded the letter by denouncing other Republican senators who “believe in ambling peaceably along until the earth blows up under them.”⁹⁰ As the border duty was winding down, and many troops were returning home, Secretary Baker sent a personalized letter to various state adjutant generals where he praised the Guard’s service. Baker played up the danger associated with “formidable bandit raids,” as well as the “danger of international war.”⁹¹ Regardless of these claims, the opposition gained steam, and many believed the border service was a political ploy.

Private Rudolph Dubbert weighed in on the political situation in a letter to his family in Iowa. In the letter, Dubbert commented on a conversation he had with his “Mexican friend” who “tells us that Roosevelt is the man for peace, and explains the Columbus and other raids.” Dubbert went on to say that “It is certain that the Republicans with [William Randolph] Hearst are backing Villa for Hearst’s interests are all in Villa’s control and he has to back him to keep his money and oil fields.” While these claims were unlikely, they demonstrate the political divide over the border duty and the US’s involvement in the Mexican Revolution. Dubbert continued his letter by saying “twenty train loads of food would do more to settle the minor difficulties than an army, but the U.S. has to go in.” Ultimately, Dubbert believed the nation’s best political interests involved entering Mexico as a benevolent force to feed the countryside and

⁹⁰ Senator Lawrence Sherman to Oliver Harker, Dean, University of Illinois Law School, June 30, 1916; Box 37, Personal Correspondence, Papers of L Sherman; ALPLM.

⁹¹ Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War to The Commanding Officer, Headquarters, Wisconsin National Guard, December 20, 1916, reproduced in *Biennial Report, The Adjutant General of the State of Wisconsin, for the Two Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1918* (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1918), 9.

settle things. Not surprisingly, Dubbert's "Mexican friend" agreed with his sentiments and said that "there wouldn't be a shot fired" if the US entered Mexico because "they want the Gringos to come in and settle things." The Iowa private also encouraged more US involvement because there was an abundance of land "worth \$15 gold an acre and is a veritable gold mine."⁹² Of course, Dubbert's letter and claims came from a partisan background and did not reflect the complexities of foreign involvement in the Mexican Revolution, but did demonstrate the political nature of the border duty as a whole, as well as a sentiment shared by some guardsmen.

Hikes and patrols

Unfortunately, officers and observers quickly realized that most troops were not physically or mentally prepared to undergo long patrols, and therefore, guardsmen spent their first month or so at the border drilling and undertaking short hikes with lightened loads. When the officers implemented this policy, they hoped the marches would not only prepare the soldiers for the tasks ahead, but also turn them into a more efficient fighting force. Irving McCann declared that, "no matter how skillful a man may be at goose-stepping, no matter how much aplomb he may show at dress-parade and in the manual of arms, no matter whether he can outshoot the traditional Robin Hood. If he is physically weak, shiftless, lazy, selfish, or a moral leper, he is a detriment to any military organization."⁹³ Initially, planners limited these hikes to only a mile or two in duration, but eventually they grew a bit longer, and after about a month at the border, the troopers

⁹² Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, October 30, 1916; Letters of RA Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

⁹³ McCann, 150.

set out on hikes in full marching order, with full backpacks, a nine pound Springfield rifle, fixed bayonet, and all other essential equipment.⁹⁴

Generally, officers hoped these short marches would condition the troopers for their mission ahead, and prepare them to undergo hikes upwards of fourteen or fifteen miles per day. At the end of July—less than a month after their arrival—the First Illinois Infantry Regiment embarked on their first long march, which spanned about twenty-five miles in length from San Antonio to Leon Springs, TX. Intense heat, combined with poor execution took its toll, and troops began falling out of the march in droves, causing ambulances to clog the streets, and in all, about 600 men failed to complete the first day’s trek.⁹⁵ The poor showing on this march enraged General Funston, who became “savagely angry,” and commented on the First Illinois’s lack of courage and motivation. Funston even condemned the officers by blaming them for lacking the ability to handle their men, which was responsible for “the agonizing exhibition.” Seemingly, Funston’s berating did not fall on deaf ears, and the guardsmen—bound and determined not to have a repeat of the first day—performed much better on the second day of the march, as less than 50 troopers failed to complete the hike the rest of the way to Leon Springs.⁹⁶ Of course, newspapers proved more than willing to pick up this story, resulting in increased censorship efforts, and “alarmists” who complained to their families about the heat and conditions in border camps ran the risk of facing disciplinary actions if those accounts reached the papers.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ McCann, 152.

⁹⁵ McCann, 153-8.

⁹⁶ Sidney Willis, “Only Fifty Quit on Second Hike of Chicago Men,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 26, 1916.

⁹⁷ Floyd P. Gibbons, “Muzzle Threat for Guardsmen,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 28, 1916.

While this disastrous first march hurt the Illinoisans pride and morale, their failure offered motivation for other state troops. Moses Thisted recorded in his diary that “The poor showing of the Illinois troops in their first day’s hike Monday, July 24th, has aroused the Wisconsin officers and enlisted men to greater effort. Fully 600 Illinois guardsmen dropped out of their Brigade on its ten-mile hike. The Wisconsin troops hiked over six miles today without a single drop-out.”⁹⁸ Furthermore, General Funston ordered all regiments at the border to increase their level of short training hikes in preparation for the longer hikes to various training sites, and eventually a day’s march could be as long as seventeen or eighteen miles with only a few small resting periods. The First Iowa Infantry Regiment partook in a 20 mile march in the middle of August, and finished with only a few drop outs. The next day though, the regiment took the day off to sleep.⁹⁹

Personal motivation and increased officer incentives prompted the men “to see the marches through” and prove themselves as competent soldiers. Eventually, soldiers could expect to endure long marches numerous times per week with little rest. During the first week of September, the First Iowa Infantry Regiment marched twenty two miles in eight hours on Monday, and then hiked another fifteen miles on Wednesday. The unit participated in some short marches of less than ten miles on Thursday and stood for inspection on Friday. In each of these marches the soldiers hiked with a full load consisting of a rifle, an ammunition belt, a bayonet, a canteen, and a forty-five pound rucksack. Unfortunately for the Iowans, nearly 300 soldiers dropped out of these marches over the week.¹⁰⁰ Increasingly, these marches—long and short—became a source of pride for the men. Earl Beeson of the First Iowa Infantry Regiment noted in his

⁹⁸ Thisted, 61.

⁹⁹ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, August 14, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹⁰⁰ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Ruth (sister), September 9, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

diary that his company completed a four-mile hike in “46 minutes, with no men out,” while I Company took 56 minutes to complete the same march, and they lost four men, one of whom required a stretcher to carry him out.¹⁰¹ Although Rudolph Dubbert of F Company boasted that his company completed the same march in “53 minutes and 40 seconds,” which was “the fastest it’s been done.”¹⁰² Regarding the Illinois troops who fell out on their first march, Captain McCann declared the regiment “hard as rocks” after only three months at the border.¹⁰³

Proficiency training

In addition to the hikes and patrols, another major aspect of border service pertained to weapons training, and guardsmen became proficient in bayonet drills, marksmanship, and fire distribution (coordinating fire so that targets were adequately covered). Furthermore, weapons aptitude became a major source of pride for the soldiers, in the same manner as competently completing a long march. Beginning in the first decade of the twentieth-century, Guard identity moved away from ceremonious company level displays and shifted toward individual military accomplishments within larger social constructs of masculinity.¹⁰⁴ According to Eleanor Hannah, the complex process between 1877 and 1914 in which rifle training took on increased characteristics of importance which could define a man’s worth, not only militarily, but also socially. Marksmanship competitions became central to demonstrating one’s masculine identity

¹⁰¹ Earl Beeson, Diary, October 18, 1916; 2011.64.1, Papers of R. Norton (Norton), Mexican Border Collection (Mexican Border); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as, Beeson, Diary, Date; Norton, Mexican Border; INGA.

¹⁰² Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, October 18, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹⁰³ McCann, 161.

¹⁰⁴ Hannah, “From the Dance Floor to the Rifle Range,” 170.

within the National Guard, and these competitions remained prevalent at the border. As Guard units from different states began competing against each other and the Regular Army at the border, these competitions intensified. Therefore, weapons competitions allowed not only individual soldiers, but also entire state organizations to demonstrate their level of prowess. Lieutenant Park A. Findley boasted that Iowa's troopers "won the championship of the world" in the border shooting competition.¹⁰⁵

Although marksmanship drills became a vital aspect of border service, not all camps contained a rifle range. Troopers then, needed to march from their base camps to the training sites, and commanders combined weapons training with long-range hikes and patrols. Indeed, the above mentioned march where the Illinoisans performed less than admirably occurred during a hike from their base camp near San Antonio to a rifle training facility in Leon Springs. Furthermore, due to the lack of training sites, soldiers could spend anywhere from a week to fourteen days on a weapons range, which included rifle, pistol, and machine-gun ranges. Moses Thisted lamented that his brigade's "shooting record was just fair, not remarkable," which he partially blamed on the fact that they needed to focus on putting the camp at Leon Springs back in shape because "Some of the Illinois companies had left the incinerators and camping grounds in bad shape and these had to be rebuilt and cleaned."¹⁰⁶ Regardless of the state of the camp, weapons training and marksmanship competition became a staple of border duty training, and Thisted found it important to note that "some exceptional shooters hit 27 out of 30

¹⁰⁵ Park A. Findley, *Iowa Troops in Mexican Border Service, 1916-1917*; Miscellaneous Documents (Mis Docs), Mexican Border Collection (Mexican Border); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as Findley, *Iowa Troops in Mexican Border Service*; Mis Docs, Mexican Border; INGA.

¹⁰⁶ Thisted, 71.

shots on one strip of bullets,” further demonstrating the high level of unit pride placed on marksmanship ability.

Marksmanship was of course closely related to the types of weapons the soldiers trained with at the border. Generally speaking, the militia and early National Guard were notorious for using out-of-date and obsolete weaponry (though the US Army was not much better, having not officially adopted a magazine-fed repeating rifle—the Krag-Jorgensen—until the 1890s).¹⁰⁷ However, while at the border, the National Guard enjoyed the finest military weaponry at the US military’s disposal. Young soldiers gained their first opportunity to fire the Springfield M1903 rifle as well as the “new automatic Colt pistol” (the Colt M1911).¹⁰⁸ The M1903 was a five-round, magazine-fed, bolt-action rifle capable of hitting a target between 300 and 700 yards away. Indeed, skilled marksmen could hit a target at a much farther distance, and the rifle became one of the US Army’s standard-issue weapons during the First World War (the weapon actually remained in use in some capacity into the 1950s). The Colt pistol was also state-of-the-art in 1916, and was a magazine-fed, semi-automatic pistol that fired a .45 caliber round (variations of the M1911 remained the standard side-arm in the US Army until 1986 and is still widely used).¹⁰⁹ Ultimately then, the soldiers at the border trained with high-quality, modern weapons while at the border, and would many would use these same weapons in the trenches in France a year later.

¹⁰⁷ Allan R. Millett, Peter Maslowski, and William B. Feis, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America* Revised and Expanded (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 238.

¹⁰⁸ McCann, 148.

¹⁰⁹ Detailed descriptions of the M1903 and M1911 as well as technological specifications are outlined in various publications, including Ian V. Hogg, *GUNS and How they Work* (New York: Everest House Publishers, 1979), 90-130; and Chuck Willis, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Weaponry: From Flint Axes to Automatic Weapons* (San Diego: Thunder Bay Press, 2012).

Likewise, the guardsmen extensively trained with machine guns at ranges such as at Leon Springs while in service along the border—a luxury not often afforded during regular drill sessions. Prior to border service, the War Department hedged on the decision to supply the National Guard with machine guns. Many individual regiments needed to purchase the weapons privately, such as the First Illinois Cavalry, who used their high profile to raise funds and purchase five machine guns privately.¹¹⁰ The rest of the Illinois National Guard only held two machine guns for each regiment, and both of the First Illinois Infantry’s guns were awaiting repairs at the Rock Island Arsenal when the border duty commenced. And because the government would not issue the guardsmen new guns until they regained possession of their original weapons, some of the Illinois guardsmen did not receive their guns until they were at the border for over a month. However, as the guardsmen “tore the heart out of a bull’s eye” with their machine guns, officers appreciated these weapons’ destructive capabilities, and were surprised by “how few machine guns our army possesses.”¹¹¹

Unlike with their rifles and pistols, guardsmen utilized a variety of machine guns at the border. The War Department officially announced that they would furnish the National Guard with machine guns on 2 July 1916, but suffered from an overall lack of modern guns. The Army only had 1,077 machine guns in their possession in July because the War Department spent the previous three years deciding which gun to adopt. The Ordnance Department approved the use of Vickers-Maxim guns in 1913 and 1914, but the War Department generally ignored their recommendation. Conversely, the Ordnance Department tested and issued the Lewis gun, but rejected it to the dismay of

¹¹⁰ Harris and Sadler, 140.

¹¹¹ McCann, 147-148.

both Congress and the War Department who pointed to the British's successful use of the weapon in combat. Eventually the Army approved the use of the Browning machine gun, but did not issue it until 1917.¹¹² Because of this confusion, the Regular Army generally received the older Benet-Mercier gun, which was difficult to use and prone to jamming, and Guard units who possessed guns prior to border duty often utilized heavy Maxim guns.¹¹³ Ultimately, the War Department announced that they would supply the National Guard (and Regular Army) with more machine guns. The department issued Lewis guns to the National Guard and Maxim guns to the Regulars until it could procure ample Brownings. In September 1916, Secretary Baker ordered the establishment of a machine gun school at Harlingen, Texas, and ordered the machine gun companies of each Guard regiment to receive two weeks of instruction at Harlingen. However, some units trained with and received Benet-Mercier guns, while others received Lewis guns, and the First Illinois Cavalry had Maxim guns.¹¹⁴ Regardless of the weapon type, guardsmen gained important familiarity with the types of weapons (rifles, pistols, and machine guns) that the US military would take to the battlefields in Europe.

Military proficiency drills at the border also took the form of mock or sham battles, often between units. During these "battle practice" exercises, "companies competed against each other as to the accuracy and distribution of fire."¹¹⁵ In many cases, officers planned these battle drills while the soldiers were in camp between

¹¹² Harris and Sadler, 150-51.

¹¹³ Though neither McCann nor Thisted specifically describe their regiment's machine guns, but photographs in both memoirs show Illinois and Wisconsin troopers firing Maxim Guns. Similarly, a photograph in "Mystery Doughboy could be Marion County Soldier," *Portland Tribune*, March 25, 2014, accessed December 2015, <http://portlandtribune.com/pt/9-news/214834-73841-mystery-doughboy-could-be-marion-county-soldier>, clearly shows a machine gun squad training at the border with a toggle-switch operated Maxim Gun.

¹¹⁴ *War Department Annual Reports, 1916*, vol. I Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1917), 827; and Harris and Sadler, 151.

¹¹⁵ McCann, 142.

marches, but at times, the troops engaged in these sham fights during long marches as a means of gaining more experience. Once again, these battles became competitions between various organizations. Generally, Regular Army training officers set hidden targets up in specific areas, and as a company advanced, the officer in charge signaled someone down range to open the targets. The companies then engaged the targets as they would a human enemy, and the company with the best target score and fire distribution won.¹¹⁶ Some of these sham battles could last for days. On one occasion, the First Iowa Infantry Regiment marched fourteen miles to a “battlefield” where they engaged an entrenched company. That evening they set up camp about 100 yards from the “enemy,” and the next day’s fighting forced the First Iowa to retreat to a nearby town for the night. In the town, the Iowans enjoyed a warm meal and took in a movie, but moved back to the “frontlines” the next morning. Once again, the guardsmen used blank cartridges to storm the enemy’s trench and try to overtake the opposite position before marching fourteen miles back to their home station.¹¹⁷

Sometimes, nature made these training sessions less than enjoyable. For instance, Earl Beeson described one such sham battle which occurred after four days of continued rain, making the ground “very sloppy.”¹¹⁸ Another type of mock battle added a human element to both sides. In these engagements, two companies or brigades would face each other, with one company in a defensive position and the other on the offensive. During one of these mock engagements, Captain McCann and a young Illinois lieutenant jumped on a pair of horses and completely circled the “enemy, having a dozen narrow escapes and arriving back at camp with a thirst that made a bottle of Coca-Cola look like a spring

¹¹⁶ McCann, 142.

¹¹⁷ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, November 26, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹¹⁸ Beeson, Diary, October 4, 1916; Norton, Mexican Border; INGA.

of water in a dry and thirsty land.” Although McCann pronounced that “this was great fun,” a nearby major from the “other side” declared that had his men had real cartridges, McCann’s “final resting place would have been Hill 13, Leon Springs Military Reservation, and my [McCann’s] epitaph would read, ‘Here lies a fool chaplain who didn’t have sense enough to stay in the rear.’”¹¹⁹ Indeed, officers preferred to utilize blank cartridges to increase the realism of these drills, but often, supply limitations made the acquisition of blanks difficult if not impossible; therefore, many troops went into these mock battles without any ammunition.¹²⁰ Some larger sham battles could last most of the day, such as one Beeson described which lasted from seven A.M. to after three-thirty P.M., but others lasted even longer.¹²¹ One of the largest battle exercises took place during the longest march of 1916 in August, when 14,000 men under General Henry A. Greene marched 83 miles from New Braunfels to Austin and back over the course of three weeks. When the troops arrived back at New Braunfels, 4,000 Wisconsin and Illinois soldiers took up a defensive position, and the remaining 10,000 men “attacked” trying to force the defenders from their entrenched position. When the battle ended, the troops fired over 80,000 rounds of blank ammunition.¹²²

Whether the guardsmen trained with their weapons or in formations, the drilling at the border was never relaxed. While some observers and military officials questioned the validity of this extensive training, at the squad, company, and platoon level, Irving McCann outlined why he believed the training was necessary to turn the National Guard into a proficient fighting force.

¹¹⁹ McCann, 146-7.

¹²⁰ McCann, 144-5.

¹²¹ Beeson, Diary, October 18, 1916; Norton, Mexican Border; INGA.

¹²² Thisted, 78-9.

It may seem that the connection between “squads right about” and the winning of victory is rather far-fetched, but the advantage of drill lie in acquiring habits of automatic obedience that will make possible accuracy, uniformity and celerity of movement under circumstances of great nervous excitement. This explains why raw recruits cannot as a rule cope with seasoned veterans. Moreover drills today are not conducted by word of mouth alone but by the notes of a whistle and by gestures. Consequently repetition upon repetition is required to secure satisfactory results in code drilling.¹²³

The training at the border did more than simply increase Guard efficiency; it transformed large groups of previously undertrained soldiers into a cohesive military force capable of meeting modern military challenges. By the time the guardsmen returned from the border (even those who only served on active duty a short while) they were part of perhaps the best trained military element at the United States’ disposal. However, there was more to border duty than extensive training exercises.

Leisure at the border

When the troops were not marching, shooting, or pretending to shoot, they partook in a variety of leisure activities. Soldiers wrote letters home, played a variety of games either in camp or at newly erected Y.M.C.A.’s, participated in athletic competitions, drank in local saloons (when the officers did not ban the purchase of alcohol), watched movies and plays performed by local acting troops or soldier organizations, and formed bonds of military comradeship. Rudolph Dubbert and his friend, Ike, regularly traveled to Brownsville, Texas to buy local goods or stayed on post to watch movies when they were off duty.¹²⁴ On one occasion Dubbert and a few other

¹²³ McCann, 139-40.

¹²⁴ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, August 28, 1916; September 6, 1916; Rudolph A. Dubbert to Ruth, September 9, 1916; Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, September 13, 1916; Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, October 12, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

Iowans received a three-day pass and decided to travel to Corpus Christi by train. Apparently, strong winds blew through the open windows of the cars, and Dubbert's campaign hat flew out of the train and "right into a salt lake along the road." Luckily for Dubbert, he came across some Tennessee guardsmen when he arrived in town and bought a new hat.¹²⁵ However, leisurely activities in the town sometimes took a financial toll on the guardsmen. Dubbert complained to his parents that "money doesn't last long here," because local merchants raised the price of local favorites like Mexican candies.¹²⁶ Apparently Dubbert's gripes reached his sister's ears and she sent him \$1.00 because she thought her brother "was broke."¹²⁷

Additionally, maintaining romantic relationships with loved ones at home became an important aspect of maintaining morale on the border because separation from wives and sweethearts was a new phenomenon for many guardsmen. And ultimately, female support from home influenced nearly every soldier at the border—married or not—as they left wives, sisters, girlfriends, and mothers in order to answer the nation's call. One Illinois observer wrote that "for every man who wears the khaki there's a woman who'll watch the war news."¹²⁸ In the end, virtually every trooper needed to deal with separation in one form or another, and interestingly enough, for those soldiers who were not married, border service offered a unique means of entering into a romantic relationship with a woman at home. Shortly after border service began, troopers started receiving letters from unmarried women in their home states seeking soldier companions, and company chaplains sifted through these letters, threw away the lewd ones, and found

¹²⁵ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, September 6, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹²⁶ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, August 27, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹²⁷ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, September 4, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹²⁸ Katherine Synon, "Women Smile as Khaki Clad Prepare to go," *The Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1916.

adequate suitors for the women. Some of these chaplain matchmakers seemingly performed this job well, as a few troopers began relationships with their female pen-pals when they returned home.¹²⁹

Games and sporting events offered troops other avenues to keep up morale while maintaining a competitive edge when they hoped to clear their minds from the pain of separation and find a leisurely way to burn off excess energy. Once again, masculinity seemed to be a centerpiece in these border activities, as many of the games and events carried an inherent level of risk or violence. For instance, “blanket tossing” became an extremely popular game among the guardsmen, and in order to participate, a soldier (often unwilling) sat in the center of an Army-issued blanket. Then, several other more than willing players tossed the seated trooper into the air as often as possible, while trying to toss the man higher every go around. Of course, blanket tossing provided a great deal of entertainment for the tossers, but the game often “lost its charm” for the tossee after a second toss.¹³⁰ Similarly, tugs-of-war allowed soldiers to take out some aggression in an entertaining way, while demonstrating a squad’s, a platoon’s, or even a company’s superior physical prowess over another’s. Irving McCann recounted numerous games of tug-of-war in his memoirs, and took great pride when his company’s soldiers won, which again demonstrated a desire to uphold or prove one’s manhood through competition, and

¹²⁹ McCann, 225-7.

¹³⁰ McCann, 229; and Eleanor Hannah, “The Gilded Age of Camp Lincoln, 1886-1916,” *Chicago History* 24.2 (2006) 20-41. In this article, Eleanor Hannah complements McCann’s first-hand account of blanket tossing by discussing the games origins at Camp Lincoln in Springfield, IL, and even provides photographs of soldiers high in the air as their comrades waited for their return fall. McCann also included a photograph in his memoirs.

even those who did not participate in the game itself could take pride in the win through association based on unit affiliation.¹³¹

Similarly, inter-unit athletic competitions served as both entertainment and sources of pride for guardsmen. While any soldier could participate in these athletic events, which included baseball and football tournaments, as well as boxing matches, most of the more competitive events included men with a fairly high level of athletic experience. As noted, guardsmen came from a variety of backgrounds, much more so than their Regular Army counterparts, and as also previously discussed, many troopers held some level of college education. Not surprisingly then, many student athletes served at the border in some capacity. The machine gun platoon of the First Illinois Infantry Regiment contained numerous college baseball players as well as noted prize fighters, “Kid Boswell” and Danny Goodman, “the Hebrew Battler,” who fought over 300 opponents in the ring. Goodman boasted that “we deserted the prize ring to shoot a few left hooks for the country.” But this platoon’s athletic credentials did not end with a few fighters, as Carl Timmerman, a former Chicago White Sox pitcher, who remained under contract in the Three-I (Illinois-Indiana-Iowa) Baseball League, also served with the Illinois machine gunners, and he “told manager [Daniel] O’Leary that I was going to the front” because “baseball is one kind of war, and real war is another.”¹³²

The abundance of top athletes at the border did not end with the Illinois troopers, Captain Paul Clemens of the Third Wisconsin Infantry Regiment played football for the University of Wisconsin and coached for several years, while Sergeant David August was

¹³¹ McCann, 233-4.

¹³² “Many Athletes in National Guard,” *The Illinois State Journal*, June 24, 1916; and “U.S., School Yearbooks, 1880-2012, Northwestern University, 1909 and 1910” (online database), accessed November 2015, <https://ancestry.com>.

captain of Northwestern's team in 1909 and 1910.¹³³ With this many solid athletes in the ranks, official competitions arose up and down the border. One major athletic challenge began on 11 November 1916 and included sixteen football teams from various Guard and Regular Army units who competed in an elimination tournament that culminated on Christmas Day. Wisconsin's team put up a good showing throughout the tournament, but almost came up short when they faced the Fourth Illinois Infantry Regiment who had "a team of heavyweights." The Wisconsin team came out on top and made it to the championship game where they lost to the Third Illinois Infantry Regiment's team who defeated the Virginia Field Artillery Regiment in the semi-final game.¹³⁴ Many other units from across the border participated in similar tournaments and boasted about their successes, as evidenced by Park Findley's account of the Iowa border service where he stated "The Iowa troops entered in many contests; baseball, football, polo, prize drills, shooting, every form of clean sport represented, and Iowa always brought home the bacon."¹³⁵ Apparently the Iowans failed to bring home the bacon in the Christmas tournament, but nonetheless, these competitions offered soldiers a means of release and provided bragging rights to soldiers connected to the victorious teams.

Hardship and tension

While the troops found various ways to keep themselves entertained when they were not training, life on the border could also be very stressful. Boredom, the natural elements, and tragedy added stress to the situation. From the borders duty's onset, the heat and sun took their tolls on the troopers, as guardsmen's faces were "burned red," and

¹³³ Thisted, 89-90.

¹³⁴ Thisted, 103-4.

¹³⁵ Findley, *Iowa Troops in Mexican Border Service*; Mis Docs, Mexican Border; INGA.

the *Springfield Register* noted that the sun provided scorchers for the men as they arrived at the border.¹³⁶ However, the troops faced weather obstacles not related to the heat and sun as well, as the 1916 Gulf hurricane season hit the border in August. One such hurricane that struck on 20 August interrupted General Greene's long march to Austin and back from New Braunfels mentioned earlier. Claude C. Manley of the *Milwaukee Journal* initially praised the troops, stating "Troop 'A' rides all through the storms," but Moses Thisted seemed less than pleased with the weather when he wrote, "My brother Aaron and I who shared a pup tent, spent the night holding the tent in place." Manley went on to say that "Within a short time but few tents were still standing, and General Richardson sought shelter in his automobile for the rest of the night." All the while, other officers stood in the night vainly trying to firth their shelters, and "scores of officers and men carried their cots to the wooden bathhouses and latrines."¹³⁷ Continued rainy conditions also turned the sand and dirt in the camps into a thick much that Captain McCann described as "the stickiest black mud imaginable, upon which this regiment had to spread their blankets and sleep as best they could."¹³⁸ Elsewhere, the First Iowa Infantry Regiment at Brownsville, Texas felt the effects of the hurricane as the men lost numerous tents throughout the night.¹³⁹

In addition to constant weather changes, guardsmen dealt with another uncontrollable element of military service: bugs and insects. Soldiers consistently complained about the presence of chiggers, scorpions, ticks, tarantulas, and even rattle

¹³⁶ "First's Faces a Bright Red," *Springfield Register*, July 2, 1916.

¹³⁷ Claude C. Manley, "Troop Rides all Through Storm," *The Milwaukee Journal*, August 20, 1916; and Thisted, 72

¹³⁸ McCann, 125.

¹³⁹ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents (post card), August 24, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

snakes in their camps. Private Dubbert had been in Texas less than a month when he suffered from a “light attack of malaria,” and though Dubbert recovered, had not been able to “keep anything in my stomach” for a few days.¹⁴⁰ Fred Ballard lamented in his diary how the Iowa camp in Brownsville was filled with all kinds of insects ranging from red ants to locusts, and other pests such as horned toads and lizards, and Moses Thisted simply said, “chiggers have a feast here.”¹⁴¹ Captain McCann remembered hearing sounds of scratching within the pup tents after “Taps,” and joked that, “I once had half of the jiggers in Mexico on me at one time.”¹⁴² Additionally, brushing against a tree or resting in by a bush could “gather you a crop of ticks,” and scorpion stings and tarantula bites remained a constant threat; however, the stings and bites did little more than caused an annoying itch.¹⁴³ Overall then, these camp pests rarely inflicted any real damage upon the soldiers, but did offer an annoying foreshadowing of conditions many eventually faced on European battlefields less than a year later, and in some ways served as a means of conditioning the guardsmen for the realities of life in a combat zone.

Furthermore, boredom, accidents, and petty jealousies also negatively affected the troops along the border. The lack of action and enemy engagement led to a level of monotony within the camps. Fred Ballard wrote on a few occasions in his diary that he “did nothing but walk around town today.”¹⁴⁴ And in a similar vein, Senator Lawrence Sherman responded to a constituent’s letter by saying, “My friends, Walter A. Ronenfield, R.R. McCormick, and Col. Milton J. Foreman of the First Illinois Cavalry are stationed at or near your place. If you could call around sometime it might break the

¹⁴⁰ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, August 13, 1916; Letters of R.A. Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹⁴¹ Ballard Diary, July 27, 1916; Gallant, Mexican Border; INGA; and Thisted, 71.

¹⁴² McCann, 234.

¹⁴³ McCann, 234-5.

¹⁴⁴ Ballard, Diary, July 26, August 6, and 8, 1916.

monotony of their camp life for them to know one of their friends is in that part of the country.”¹⁴⁵ Apparently, the Senator’s friends informed him of the lack of action and their persistent state of boredom so much so that Sherman found the situation important enough to reference this dullness in a letter to a third party. And unfortunately accidents and unforeseen tragedy also combined with prolonged tediousness. One young soldier of the Second Illinois Infantry Regiment died in a camp hospital after a mule kick fractured his skull, and another popular trooper of the First Illinois Infantry Regiment died suddenly of a ruptured appendix.¹⁴⁶ Many such deaths from illness or accidents occurred along the border and could not be prevented, but other tragedies were self-inflicted.

One preventable death occurred when a trooper from the First Wisconsin Infantry Regiment shot himself in a farmhouse off a trail during a two-day march to Landa’s Park, Texas, and no one in the regiment could point to a reason for the suicide.¹⁴⁷ Another unfortunate incident took place on the night of 15 August 1916 when a corporal of the Second Iowa Infantry Regiment died after he heard a fight between a Regular Army soldier and a woman in a tent. Lieutenant Fred Ballard wrote that the corporal “was killed through a fit of jealousy,” and “It seemed as tho’ the fellow and a girl were quarrelling” when the corporal entered the lovers’ tent. The soldier allegedly “shot the corp. twice through the body killing him, then shot the girl through the body, but she did not die. Then he tried to commit suicide but rec’d only a small wound.”¹⁴⁸ After the shooting, the soldier turned himself into the authorities and faced murder charges.

¹⁴⁵ Senator Lawrence Sherman to Mr. John Hainsworth, No Date; Box 37, Personal Correspondence, Papers of L Sherman; ALPLM.

¹⁴⁶ McCann, 209.

¹⁴⁷ Thisted, 77.

¹⁴⁸ Ballard, Diary, August 16, 1916; Gallant, Mexican Border; INGA.

Ultimately, these types of death remained rare, and the death and illness rates in the National Guard remained lower than the same rates in the Regular Army.¹⁴⁹

Through all this, border service reflected broader trends in American society, as race and class relations did not disappear when the guardsmen entered federal service. On the evening of 24 July 1916, the regular provost guard shot three members of the all-black Eighth Illinois Infantry Regiment after “an affray near Army Headquarters.” Some commentators and witnesses believed more men of the Eighth received wounds, but escaped capture after the incident, and one local motorist, a Mr. Henne, described the event as follows:

I drove my car around the corner just as one of the Negroes was stepping form the curb. I didn't touch him, in fact nearly wrecked my car swinging out of its way. There were ten or twelve men in the party and they started to curse me. One of them threw a brick into my car. I had stopped the machine and they were evidently going to pull me out. I ran into the saloon at New Braunfels Road and Wilson Street and asked the bartender for a revolver. The Negroes ran in after me and the bartender hid. The provost guard ran in to investigate the commotion and when the Negroes showed fight, opened fire.

According to the wounded soldiers though, they entered a local saloon on payday to exchange twenty dollars' worth of gold into paper money, and made no mention of the motorist. The sergeant in charge and two soldiers entered the saloon while the rest of their squad waited outside. The troopers claimed they never attempted to purchase a drink, but patrons began yelling at them to “get out of here!” from every corner of the barroom, after which the black and white soldiers exchanged some choice words when

¹⁴⁹ Thisted, 75; and Troy Ainsworth, “Boredom, Fatigue, Illness, and Death: The National Guard on the Texas-Mexico Border, 1916-1917,” *Journal of Big Bend Studies* 19 (2007), 95-6.

finally someone threw a brick on the street. About this time, the provost guard arrived and shot three of the black Illinois troops, one sergeant and two privates.¹⁵⁰

This event increased racial tensions between various Guard regiments, and demonstrated a level of racial hostility between the local populace and black troops, as well as racial tension within the National Guard itself. After this incident, officers expected the trouble to grow exponentially worse over the next few weeks, and took steps to reduce the possibility of a riot or violent outburst. Wisconsin leadership begged their soldiers not to get involved and to avoid areas near the Eighth Illinois's camp.¹⁵¹ Enlisted men who had no involvement in the incidents between white and black troops used the racial strife as a means of justifying other illicit behaviors. One Wisconsin corporal, John Owens, shot Private Charles Wege, after the two (who were tent-mates) returned drunk from a local saloon. Owens claimed he borrowed the pistol from a bugler and obtained ammunition for the weapon "by a ruse," because he feared "trouble with negro soldiers."¹⁵² Over the course of the next month, the situation remained tense, but relatively peaceful.¹⁵³ Just as in the civilian world, racial issues remained tense at the border, and though the black and white troops served in segregated units, racial mistrust and historical stresses plagued the National Guard.

Race also played out on the border in other unexpected ways. Due to the hasty border mobilization, many Illinois soldiers traveled to Texas with men who were mustered into federal service, but later failed to pass their physical examinations. And

¹⁵⁰ "Negro Soldiers shot by Guard in Saloon Fight," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 25, 1916.

¹⁵¹ Thisted, 61.

¹⁵² Thisted, 62-3.

¹⁵³ The *Chicago Daily Tribune* and *Illinois State Register* contain numerous articles between 19 July and 30 July related to fears of a potential race riot at the border between the 8th Illinois and white troops, but contain little specificity. Neither of the papers report any major incidents after the shooting of the 17th.

because no instructions existed regarding discharge of such troops, the Regular Army officer in charge ordered the Illinois guardsmen to take these “derelicts” to Texas with them and then send them home after their official discharges went through the chain of command. Because many of these young men were unable to physically endure even the shortest marches, all of the unfit troopers remained at Camp Wilson near San Antonio even after their regiments left for their duty stations at New Braunfels. This meant that the Eighth Illinois Infantry Regiment became tasked with overseeing these soldiers until they could return home. When Captain McCann visited this “sore bunch” to bid them farewell and “try to put them in a good humor with everything and everybody before they return to Chicago” the derelict soldiers “openly declared” that officers of other regiments treated them better than their own officers. And, these soldiers noted that the “Eight or Colored Infantry had treated them best of all.”¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the Eighth’s own experiences led them to treat these military outcasts with less derision than their white counterparts. In any event, these types of incidents demonstrated how racial tensions in society carried over into guard service—even when federalized.

In addition to race, the social class dichotomy that existed in the National Guard throughout the Gilded Age and Progressive Era remained ubiquitous at the border, and even gained the attention of major newspapers. The *Illinois State Journal* declared in a headline, “Millionaires and Poor do Same Work,” and the article went on to note how “It is impossible to designate a millionaire from one who labors for a livelihood in the field artillery now at Camp Lincoln. The two classes perform the same duty.” Additionally, the “rich and poor are together and partake of the same rations from the same cook

¹⁵⁴ McCann, 133-34.

tents.”¹⁵⁵ This article hinted at the notion that Guard service at the border somehow erased class barriers, but at best border service only temporarily blurred the lines. On 31 August 1916—only about two months after the initiation of border service—President Wilson recalled twelve regiments of guardsmen from nine states with key railroad terminals back home. These troopers from New York City, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle, and New Orleans returned home immediately in the event of a possible railroad strike, and once again demonstrated the ongoing labor strife in the nation as well as the prevailing willingness to use the class-divided National Guard for strike duty.¹⁵⁶

Although strike duty still loomed over the Guard in 1916, other elements of the class divide were on display at the border. Many units maintained the same social distinctions that existed within the organization prior to the president’s call to arms. Moses Thisted outlined the varying professions of a number of Wisconsin guardsmen in a machine gun company. Within that unit, George Sattler worked as an auto mechanic and Frank Angst regularly worked as a machinist in a Milwaukee factory. These laborers served alongside Moses and Aaron Thisted who both worked as school teachers and Elmer Groth who attended Marquette University’s law school.¹⁵⁷ Every officer in the Second Battalion, First Illinois Field Artillery Regiment were college graduates, and furthermore, many prominent citizens who were well versed in public affairs found themselves at the border. Fifteen employees of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* served in the Illinois National Guard (including R.R. McCormick), of which four served as commissioned officers and two as non-commissioned officers. The other ten travelled to

¹⁵⁵ “Millionaires and Poor do Same Work,” *The Illinois State Journal*, June 24, 1916.

¹⁵⁶ “Wilson Orders 15,000 Guards from Border,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, August 31, 1916.

¹⁵⁷ Thisted, 43.

the border as privates, which demonstrates a stark contrast to the composition of the Regular Army.¹⁵⁸ These units continued to represent a cross-section of American society, and because these soldiers came from many walks of life, and were generally educated, their service records and personal writings provide compelling insights into American ideals of civic virtue and social responsibility which was not inherent in the peacetime Regular Army.

The class structure of the Guard created unexpected tensions with some civilian organizations. Because previous militia mobilizations centered around volunteerism, college students and workers could avoid active duty if they so desired, but under the provisions of the Dick Act and National Defense Act of 1916, mobilization became mandatory. For some, such as the members of D Company, First Iowa Infantry Regiment, of which “quite a number were students of Coe College,” service meant suspension of college enrollment.¹⁵⁹ Because of this reality, a few students wrote to their respective colleges and asked for the opportunity to begin the fall term late, once they returned from the border. At least one college president, Samuel Plantz of Lawrence College in Appleton, Wisconsin, “got himself into hot water,” when he told a prospective student that he “could enroll, not over 2 weeks late by paying a penalty for the privilege.” Plantz went on to voice his opposition to the border service by saying, “I would not make this suggestion (of coming home from the Border earlier) if I did not think you were on the Border FOR NO GOOD PURPOSE AND WERE NOT NEEDED.”¹⁶⁰ President Plantz contended that his response was misquoted and that he only wanted his students to return as soon as possible, but his reaction drew harsh criticism from Army commanders.

¹⁵⁸ “‘Tribune’ Men Called to Colors,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 21, 1916.

¹⁵⁹ Findley, *Iowa Troops in Mexican Border Service*; Mis Docs, Mexican Border; INGA.

¹⁶⁰ Thisted, 81.

General Greene, as well as other officers and enlisted men, resented the “tone and contents” of Plantz’s letter, and General Greene declared that “these men cannot get away from here if they wanted too [*sic*]. Anyhow, I don’t believe in class distinction in the Guard. Any man who takes such a view is unpatriotic.”¹⁶¹ While Greene’s sentiment regarding the lack of class distinction in the Guard contained elements of idealism, the reality remained that members of all class and racial segments of society constituted the National Guard and comprised its major elements; therefore, social issues related to discord and strife influenced the Guard’s composition and created discontent less prominent in regular military organizations.

The Guard continued to drill and train throughout their time at the border, but by the final months of 1916, the War Department realized that there was not going to be any war with Mexico. The return home came in phases, and some troops remained in federal service longer than others. Units such as the First Illinois returned as early as August in order to face potential labor strikes, while other Illinois units remained at the border until the early months of 1917. Once again, the Army abandoned the divisional breakdown and as early as October 1916 many guardsmen began returning home in increments. Those that arrived on the border earlier usually left for home first, while those that arrived later stayed longer, and either way, most troops were ready to go home.¹⁶² When men from the First Wisconsin marched from their camp to San Antonio to board the

¹⁶¹ Thisted, 81-2.

¹⁶² General Reilly, *Americans All*, 25.

trains for home, they actually marched faster than the scheduled pace and arrived in San Antonio days early.¹⁶³

Some soldiers who stayed at the border longer apparently grew weary of the monotonous days and the long separation from home. In early December 1916, some men from the 32nd Michigan Infantry Regiment stationed near El Paso, Texas mutinied because they “wanted to go home.” The Michigan troops attempted to “invade” the neighboring camp of the 31st Michigan as a means of growing their rebellious numbers, but were dissuaded by the efforts of a few officers, including Colonel Louis C. Covell, who went into the crowd and gave a speech about military discipline and patriotism. Someone in the crowd shouted “nonsense,” and the colonel tore off his rank and declared, “Now I’m on the level of a private, and if any man who said that will step forward, I’ll meet him man to man.” No one rose to the challenge, and the colonel ordered the men back to their quarters, thus ending the short-lived revolt.¹⁶⁴ In the end though, most of the troops returned home without incident when their time came, but the return only brought one old issue back to the forefront.

As the troops returned to their home states, the oath issue sprung back to life, as the troops who served at the border needed to take another federal service oath after only a short time at home. As previously noted, President Wilson mobilized the Guard for border service after passage of the National Defense Act of 1916, but before the law technically took effect. Therefore, the Guard mobilized under the conditions of the 1903 Dick Act and its amendments, which required an oath to serve to uphold the laws, repeal invasions, and suppress insurrections. However, under the Hay-Chamberlain Law (the

¹⁶³ Thisted, 82-3.

¹⁶⁴ Thisted, 93.

National Defense Act), the National Guard fell under the official structure of the US Army, and would thus serve under the same rules and regulations when mobilized. For the guardsmen, this status carried some benefits, as they would receive the same pay as the Regular Army and foreign duty pay when appropriate, but this new structure also required another service oath.¹⁶⁵ And, as with the earlier oath, some troopers refused to raise their right hand. Men from the Second Battalion, Second Illinois returned to Chicago after their time at the border and declined the oath because they had enlisted and served at the border before the new law became official.¹⁶⁶ Ultimately, the War Department decided to allow states to grant discharges to any soldier who refused the federal oath, which diminished the Guard's overall numbers on the eve of the First World War.

Ultimately, states reassessed their Guard organizations in the months following the border duty and granted a series of discharges to soldiers who either refused the oath or had dependent families. Additionally, many soldiers refused to reenlist when they completed their service terms in early 1917, and many officers simply resigned their commissions. In the ensuing months following the border duty, the National Guard reentered a short-lived transitory phase.¹⁶⁷ Numbers had fallen, and states struggled to meet the new requirements outlined in the NDA. Ultimately though, those soldiers who remained in the Guard, such as Colonel Joseph Sanborn, Private Rudolph Dubbert, Private Moses Thisted, and Captain Irving McCann returned from Texas in August 1916

¹⁶⁵ The National Defense Act, Pub. L. 54-85, 39 Stat. 166 (1916), Section 1.

¹⁶⁶ Thisted, 99.

¹⁶⁷ Cooper, *Rise* 166-68.

and reported for European duty in March or April 1917.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, the Eighth Illinois Infantry Brigade (Illinois's only African American brigade) returned for service in 1917, despite some congressional efforts to prevent blacks from enlisting in the Army or Navy.¹⁶⁹ While the situation in Mexico created a stir in the United States in 1915 and 1916, the challenges of 1917 and 1918 brought the nation and the military into a war so devastating, many claimed the conflict would end all further warfare, and the National Guard was a central component to the American war effort.

In any event, the intensive training at the border certainly did more to prepare the National Guard for the ensuing wartime service than any other training efforts in the decades between the Spanish-American War and America's entry into the First World War. Wisconsin Adjutant General, Orlando Halway wrote in 1934 that "Regardless of what the real motive was in mobilizing the entire National Guard of the United States (158,664 Guardsmen were mustered in to Federal service in addition to the 40,722 Regulars), the training was of inestimable value for World War I service the next year."¹⁷⁰ Ultimately, when the guardsmen arrived at the border they were unfit for long marches, undertrained in new weapons, undersupplied, and they lacked efficiency with new technologies such as trucks and motor vehicles. Within a few months, these troops became proficient with their rifles and small arms, understood firing lanes, could regularly march long distances in a variety of natural elements, and participated in

¹⁶⁸ *Illinois National Guard Border Roster* (Springfield: Illinois State Government Press, 1916); and *Roster of National Guard and Naval Militia as Called for World War Service* (Springfield: Illinois State Government Press, 1918). Names can be compared between the two rosters. Additionally dates of enlistment and muster are also included.

¹⁶⁹ Thisted, 62.

¹⁷⁰ Orlando Halway, Wisconsin Adjutant General, to the Governor of Wisconsin, 1934, in the *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General, Wisconsin National Guard, 1932-1934* (Madison: Wisconsin Printing Office, 1934).

numerous sham battles with varying force sizes, and Park Findley declared that the troops returned as “better men morally, physically, and more patriotic than the men who stayed at home.”¹⁷¹ So, for instance, when the federal government reactivated every Illinois National Guard unit for service in Europe in 1917, those men who remained in service were as prepared as the best Regular Army fighting units, and this training directly related to the Guard’s wartime service record.

Ultimately, the Guard’s border service played a key role in its evolution during the first two decades of the twentieth century. While the Guard’s training prepared the soldiers for combat and life in the trenches, the border duty’s timing also came at an important time. Essentially, the border duty was the final military endeavor of the National Guard under the Dick Act. Those guardsmen who traveled to the border in 1916 did so under provisions in the Militia Act of 1903 and its amendments. During the mobilization process, many guardsmen refused to take a federal oath of service required under the NDA. When border duty concluded, those guardsmen who remained were fully integrated into the American military system under the NDA and were members of the most highly trained state-centered military force in generations. The First World War exposed a series of new challenges for the National Guard, but the border duty served as the Guard’s military transition from the old system into its new NDA role.

¹⁷¹ Findley, *Iowa Troops in Mexican Border Service*; Misc Docs, Mexican Border; INGA.

CHAPTER 5 – THE GUARD IN THE TRENCHES

Moses Thisted arrived in France less than a year after returning from the border where he had the chance to put his border training to good use with a pioneer infantry regiment. Thisted and the rest of the pioneers served essentially as modern-day sappers, combining engineering skills and infantry tactics to aid the front line combat troops. Ultimately then, Thisted's time building encampments, undergoing long marches, driving mules, and practicing marksmanship proved very valuable for his service as a member of a mostly-National Guard Pioneer regiment.¹ Other guardsmen who served at the border found themselves hunkered down in trenches as shells poured in from across no-man's land, and eight Guard divisions led America's main offensive thrust of the war in mid-1918.² Others, such as Lieutenant Colonel Mathew Tinley of Iowa put previous wartime experience to use as he commanded a battalion of Iowa troopers in his second war (Tinley was a lieutenant in the 51st Iowa Infantry Regiment during the Spanish-American War, and served in the Philippines).³ Regardless of the capacity, service in the First World War altered the lives of those involved in various ways, whether they were Regular Army, National Guard, or conscripted troops, but the Guard's service record was once again reflective of America's overall experience in the war. Guard veterans and volunteers from around the nation volunteered for Guard service and found themselves in infantry regiments, cavalry troops, engineering battalions, artillery batteries, and supporting units. And in keeping with trends, guardsmen came from a variety of

¹ Moses N. Thisted, *Pershing's Pioneer Infantry of World War I* (Chicago: Alphabet Printers, 1982).

² Frederic L. Paxson, *American Democracy and the World War*, vol. II *America at War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), 340-41.

³ Retirement Ceremony Program, General Matthew Tinley; 2010.18, Letters and Photographs of Matthew Tinley, Tinley Documents (Tinley Docs), World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as Retirement Program, Tinley; Tinley Docs, WWI; INGA.

backgrounds, classes, and nationalities, and represented a cross-section of American society.

Unfortunately though, many scholars have overlooked this heterogeneous aspect of the Guard's history. Most general scholarship on the war glosses over the Guard's contributions, leaving out a valuable piece of the story, or discusses the Guard in combat from the Regular Army's perspective. Historians Edward Coffman, Robert Zieger, and John S. Eisenhower mention the National Guard's preparedness in their works, but rarely distinguish the Guard from the Regular Army when discussing combat operations or mobilization efforts.⁴ In *The War to end all Wars*, Coffman discusses the National Guard's preparedness after border duty, and outlines the Guard's wartime recruitment efforts. However, while Coffman distinguishes between the Guard, Regular Army, and National Army regarding mobilization, he blends the three elements together when examining combat operations.⁵ While Coffman does not disparage the Guard's combat record, he overlooks the Guard's unique identity as citizen-soldiers, and compares the Guard to the National Army due to their "temporary soldier" status.⁶ However, the division between the Guard and National Army was important because guardsmen volunteered and signed a multi-year service contract. Robert Zieger briefly mentioned the Guard's border service prior to entering the First World War, but points out that its performance was "particularly discouraging." He goes so far to say that the Guard was

⁴ Edward M. Coffman, *The War to end all Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Robert Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000); and John S. Eisenhower with Joanne Thompson Eisenhower, *Yanks: The Epic Story of the American Army in World War I* (New York: The Free Press, 2001). These works only discuss the National Guard in passing, or imbed the National Guard into the Regular Army's wartime operations, without making any distinction between the origins or identities of the National Guard, Regular Army, or National Army.

⁵ Coffman, *The War to end all Wars*, 14-18, 27-29, 61-69, and 84.

⁶ Coffman, 61.

“a less ready reserve than a grumbling and weakly coordinated patchwork of disparate state units.”⁷ This analysis does not take into account either the Guard’s extensive border training or the Guard’s growth in competency over the previous decade.

Other historical analyses that focus primarily on the Guard during World War I paint a bleak picture of the Guard’s performance. For example, Robert Ferrell focused on the 35th Infantry Division’s performance during the Great War in *Collapse at Meuse-Argonne: The Failure of the Missouri-Kansas Division*. Though the 35th Division maintained a proud heritage and contained many notable figures such as Harry S. Truman, the division collapsed during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Ferrell admired the division as a whole, and stated that “the Thirty-Fifth did not deserve to lose, but it did,” and while *Collapse at Meuse-Argonne* offered various explanations for their combat failures, Ferrell’s reasoning ultimately centered on poor training. Ferrell argued that the Guard was less prepared for war than their Regular Army counterparts because weekly drills were little more than social gatherings and border duty did not instill a valuable military skillset.⁸

Works such as Ferrell’s tell an important story, but what about the Guard units that succeeded? Ferrell’s explanation regarding training certainly does not translate well to other Guard divisions who received the same training at the 35th, but did not “fail” in combat. Furthermore, the Guard’s border training had acclimated the soldiers to military life and centered around weapons training and battle simulations. Ultimately, the First World War became the National Guard’s first test under the National Defense Act of 1916’s provisions, and as a whole, the National Guard met and surpassed expectations.

⁷ Zieger, *America’s Great War*, 38.

⁸ Robert H. Ferrell, *Collapse at Meuse-Argonne: The Failure of the Missouri-Kansas Division* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), x, 2-3, and 128-30.

The Guard's wartime experiences directly reflected those of the Regular Army and drafted troops in two key ways: military competency and mobilization effectiveness. Throughout the war, the Guard served as a key component of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), and by war's end, the National Guard made up the majority of the AEF. Most Guard divisions performed their mission as well as their Regular Army counterparts, and two Guard divisions (the 26th and 42nd) accrued more days in combat than every other American division except the Regular Army's 1st Infantry Division. Additionally, the National Guard's mobilized as efficiently as both the Regular Army and the drafted soldiers in the National Army.

When the United States entered the First World War the National Guard had only recently returned from Mexican border service. However, the National Guard remained understrength at the conclusion of the border duty, and when the United States declared war on Germany, state governments needed to increase their Guard numbers to meet their federal quota, as the government required each state to supply specific amounts of troops based on state populations, but based on a new divisional outline. Therefore, the federal government disbanded many "non-essential" Guard units, and others required additional reorganization and training. Due to these factors, many units, such as the 35th, entered wartime service with roughly the same level of preparation as volunteers and drafted troops, so their military shortcomings should not be blamed on their Guard origins. In other cases, states sent "orphaned" units into the newly created 42nd Infantry Division, which contained Guard troops from 26 states, thus earning the nickname, the Rainbow

Division.⁹ Over the course of the war, the Rainbow Division became highly distinguished and served in every American campaign, where they performed on par with Regular Army units.¹⁰ Therefore, simply grouping the entire National Guard into a singular group who did not succeed on the battlefield fails to reveal the complexities of American service in the Great War. Just as with Regular Army units, the National Guard executed their mission successfully in many instances and failed in others.

While the Guard's wartime contribution varied based on unit, mission, and location, the Guard's greater contribution derives from their nature as a civilian military force. The same forces that drove the Guard's earlier recruitment efforts—virtue, masculinity, and civic pride—carried over into the organization's wartime mobilization. The National Guard appealed to young men who sought to enlist for overseas service (sometimes to avoid the shame related to the draft), but offered men an opportunity to serve with members from their own communities and to represent their home states. In short, the Guard represented the same ideals that drove their efforts dating back to the Gilded Age. Irving McCann noted in his published memoirs about Mexican border duty that “Since placing my manuscript in the hands of the publisher, the President has again called our regiment to the colors.” McCann went on to express his support for the American declaration of war, and declared that “a new United States will come forth from this war with higher ideals, a purer patriotism, and a greater love for all the world.”

⁹ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa: For the Biennial Period Ended June 30, 1918* (Des Moines: State of Iowa Printing Press, 1919), 38-40.

¹⁰ Douglas MacArthur, Reports on Operations in the Argonne, November 12, 1918; Box 14, Daily Operation Reports (DOP), 42nd Division, Records of Combat Divisions, 1918-1919, Record Group 120 (RG 120); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Details; DOP, RG 120; NACP.

He went on to say “We most certainly should go, and we will go.”¹¹ However, unlike previous military actions (most notably the Spanish-American War), the National Guard went to Europe as an effective and centralized military entity, the result of Progressive reform efforts dating back to the Dick Act in 1903.

Overall, the Guard’s service in the Great War reflects broader trends in America’s actions overseas. Like their Regular Army counterparts, previously trained guardsmen were among the first to arrive in France, while others remained state-side for additional training prior to their move to the front lines. And, like many drafted troops, those newly enlisted men required extensive training and familiarization with military life. However, due to the part-time nature of the Guard, state troops spent much of their time as business professionals, lawyers, teachers, and laborers. These soldiers continued to serve at an intersection between the nation’s military and civilian spheres, and their correspondence and diary entries demonstrate strong connections to their private lives. Therefore, unlike many Regular Army soldiers at the time or many conscripts, many guardsmen were well-educated and well-versed in civic affairs. Certainly, while many Guard diary entries and letters may sound like propaganda to modern ears, their perceptions reflect broad cultural ideals of the time, from both within and outside of the military structure.¹² Because of this dual role then, examining the actions and writings of Guard troops during the First World War within the larger context of the Guard’s history allows historians to bridge the gap between the individual soldier experience and broader political and military concepts.

¹¹ Irving Goff McCann, *With the National Guard on the Mexican Border: Our National Military Problem* (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Company, 1917), 14-15.

¹² Yuval N. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the making of Modern War Culture, 1450-2000* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008). Webster’s letters and diaries tie into Harari’s larger argument regarding the way culture influences soldier writings and the actual experience of combat.

The National Guard serves as an arena through which one can study the social elements of a military unit while not losing sight of the war's broader political and cultural implications. Historians can gain a great deal of understanding of the human experience of warfare against the backdrop of the war's larger context through the National Guard's experiences.

The greater contribution of soldiers such as Francis Webster, Moses Thisted, and other individuals can become blurred when studied closely. Eric T. Dean states that when examining small units, "the greater purpose and flow of the war is rarely evident; to the common soldier in all eras, war has seemed a chaotic and terrifying business."¹³ While Dean does not intend to glorify war, he notes large concepts often get lost when scholars focus on individual soldiers or companies, making all wars seem futile. The National Guard's wartime story illuminates both the small unit and the First World War's larger context. Ultimately, the National Guard reflected every major element of the nation's wartime contributions, as some guardsmen spent many months in the trenches, while others trained extensively in American camps before travelling overseas to join the fray, and others served in vital support roles. In each of these instances, the Guard represented a cross section of American society, as native-born Americans and immigrants served in the same companies where working-class and middle-class soldiers served side by side. Furthermore, the National Guard comprised two-thirds of soldiers who served in all-black regiments and brigades during the war.¹⁴ Ultimately, while the Guard represented American society as a whole, their wartime experience was the

¹³ Eric T. Dean Jr., *Shook Over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188.

¹⁴ Zieger, *America's Great War*, 103.

culmination of a nearly 40 year transitional period, and the war offered the Guard a way to prove themselves in actual combat, and justify their inclusion within the American military system under the National Defense Act of 1916 (NDA).

Recruitment and mobilization

When the United States declared war in April 1917, the nation lacked plans for mobilizing a massive army. Regarding the National Guard, the War Department had some options at their disposal. One option was to bolster the Regular Army's numbers through conscription and volunteerism and simply not include the Guard in the mobilization (an option some planners supported). Raising the Regular Army to wartime strength and creating a federally-raised volunteer force was a second option, which again would have removed the National Guard from the equation. The third option (and most viable under the National Defense Act of 1916's provisions) involved raising both the Regular Army's and National Guard's numbers to wartime strength and bolstering these numbers through conscription. The War Department ultimately chose the third option, partly because, as one officer put it, "despite many weaknesses shown during their service on the border, there was overwhelming evidence that the National Guard of this period was a very different force from the militia," and that the Guard "was made up of civilians with a natural military instinct who voluntarily gave their time and frequently their money in order to secure military training in times of peace."¹⁵ However, when the nation declared war, the National Guard was not ready for a second deployment. Border duty had delayed the National Defense Act's implementation because units stationed

¹⁵ Brigadier General Henry J. Reilly, *Americans All: The Rainbow at War, Official History of the 42nd Rainbow Division in the World War 2nd* ed. (Columbus: The F.J. Heer Printing Co., 1936), 23.

along the border did not have the opportunity to conform to the new guidelines. States began the reorganization process when their units returned home, but the process remained slow. Though some units returned to their homes stations as early as October 1916, most did not return until January or February 1917, and thousands of guardsmen remained on active duty in early April 1917.¹⁶

Additionally, a series of issues slowed the Guard's reintegration into federal service. The first related to the federal oath requirement. When President Wilson activated the National Guard for federal service, he resurrected the issue of federal oaths. As described in the last chapter, the NDA's federal oath requirement bogged down the Guard's border mobilization, and many soldiers responded to the new oath with animosity and hostility.¹⁷ Eventually the federal government allowed states to grant discharges to any soldier who refused to take the oath of service, which prompted many soldiers to leave the Guard in late 1916 and early 1917. Adding to the confusion was the fact that when the Mexican situation drew down and guardsmen returned from the border, the government mustered them out of federal service, but actually denied them the role of "active service." The War Department ruled that any guardsmen who took the federal oath of service for border duty did so under an antiquated law, and ruled that any soldier mustered into federal service needed to take a new federal oath. This new ruling took effect when President Wilson began activating Guard elements in March 1917, and many

¹⁶ Cooper, *Rise*, 167.

¹⁷ Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War to Senator Chamberlain, July 13, 1916; Analysis of the Army Reorganization Bill, Decimal Series, 005.5-012.4 (DS 005.5-012.4), Records of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107 (RG 107); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Correspondence Details; DS 005.5-012.4, RG 107; NACP; and The National Defense Act, Pub. L. 54-85, 39 Stat. 166 (1916), Sections 3 and 4. Hereafter as The National Defense Act, Section Number.

guardsmen simply did not understand the new law.¹⁸ Iowa's adjutant general reported that when the Guard mustered for federal service "many of these men had not taken their Federal oath." Most soldiers took the new oath when they arrived at their duty stations, "but an equal number refused and were ordered to their homes," and "have since been discharged." Ironically, many of the soldiers who refused the oath were eventually drafted through the Selective Service Act.¹⁹

The Guard's second mobilization problem arose when President Wilson recalled roughly 40,000 guardsmen to federal service in March 1917, furthering the confusion regarding divisional structure and the order of battle. Wilson intended these soldiers to guard stock yards, docks, railroad depots, railroad tunnels and bridges, and main rail lines in preparation for an official declaration of war, but this preparatory mobilization divided state units with little regard to the NDA's divisional structure.²⁰ During this initial deployment, some Illinois Guard travelled across the state due to anti-draft demonstrations and a series of strikes and riots in Bloomington and East St. Louis, and the government activated the First Iowa Infantry Regiment for the "purposes of 'preventing interference with postal, commercial and military channels and instrumentalities.'"²¹ A third major issue regarding the Guard's mobilization occurred when Congress applied the Dependent Relative Order on 12 April 1917, which stated that any guardsman who had "families entirely dependent upon them for support, must be

¹⁸ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*; and Harvard Law Review Association, "National Guard: The Status of the State Militia Under the Hay Bill," *Harvard Law Review* 30 (1916), 191-2. According to the article, a guardsman sued the federal government based on the new oath of service because he had enlisted under the Dick Act and not the new National Defense Act.

¹⁹ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*, 48-49.

²⁰ R. B. Pixley, *Wisconsin in the World War* (Milwaukee: The Wisconsin War History Company, 1919), 10.

²¹ *Roster of the Illinois National Guard and Illinois Naval Militia as Organized when called by the President for World War Service, 1917* (Springfield: Illinois Printing Office, 1929), viii; and *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*, 36. Hereafter cited as *Roster of the Illinois National Guard, 1917*.

dropped from the guard, whether they desire it or not.”²² Of course, such an order placed a great strain on the National Guard’s already low manpower numbers, but the federal government hoped to avoid a scenario where entire families would become the government’s public charge if a guardsman died in combat. So, when the president called the Guard into service for the First World War, the Guard was in a state of “reorganization and readjustment.”²³

Only weeks after this initial call, Congress declared war on Germany and in addition to the Regular Army and National Guard, the government estimated they would need at least 800,000 more men to meet the demands of the Western Front.²⁴ Accordingly, Woodrow Wilson and Congress decided to utilize conscription, based on British and French experiences. The Selective Service Act took effect on 18 May 1917, and created over 4,600 local draft boards composed of influential local citizens.²⁵ By doing this, the United States had implemented its first modern draft; however, training a large, conscripted force was a long and arduous process.²⁶ In late May, the War Department announced that the Army would raise its numbers to 300,000 men by the end of June, and on 15 July 1917 the government federalized the entire National Guard, and then officially “drafted” them into service in on 5 August 1917, removing the Guard from state control.²⁷ Within months of the declaration of war, the National Guard became part of the American Expeditionary Force. However, due to discharges and resignations

²² “Guard to Drop Married Men,” *New York Times*, April 12, 1917.

²³ *Roster of the Illinois National Guard, 1917*, ix.

²⁴ Eisenhower, *Yanks*, 23.

²⁵ Zieger, *America’s Great War*, 58-59.

²⁶ Arthur Bullard, *Mobilising America* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1917), 110-11.

²⁷ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*, 7; and Hill, *Minute Man*, 262-63. Although the government federalized the Guard in July 1917, the government did not officially draft the Guard into the active army until 5 August 1917 under provisions in the Selective Service Act. Guardsmen removed state affiliations from uniforms and replaced them with U.S. Army insignia, and Guard units were re-numbered from state regiments to national ones to fit into the new American Army.

regarding oaths and dependent laws, when the president activated the National Guard states needed to expedite the creation of new companies, and bring their existing ones up to full strength. In Iowa's case, for example, only 2,200 troops out of the 4,300 guardsmen who returned from the border were available for federal service when the nation declared war.²⁸

The ongoing struggle between organized labor and the National Guard added to the recruitment and mobilization problem, and although border service provided some respite from strike duty, heads of labor continued to view the Guard as an enemy. This image of the National Guard grew to such proportions that when the United States went to war, the Guard's ability to recruit the necessary number of men seemed in doubt. For example, the federal government required the Iowa National Guard to raise the numbers of each company from anywhere between 50 and 60 men to 100 in order to reach wartime strength, and the government further set Iowa's overall wartime Guard quota to roughly 10,000. But given the Guard's negative image as strikebreakers, relatively few working-class men rushed to National Guard recruiting stations. As a sign of national unity and patriotic duty, the Executive Board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor sent a circular letter to 40,000 union members, urging them to answer the call to arms. This plea noted that the Iowa National Guard was "the only organization which will carry the name of our state into the conflict," and added that "There is no good reason why union men should not answer their country's call and join the National Guard, and every reason why they should. Let all ill feeling, sentiment or opposition be swept aside in this hour of

²⁸ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*, 43. Many troops who had been stationed at the border were denied active duty status during their tour in Texas, and were required to take a third oath of service. Numerous guardsmen refused this third oath and left the guard. Those who refused to were required to enroll in the selective service and some were eventually drafted into the AEF.

our country's crisis. Trade unionists do and will stand shoulder to shoulder with other defenders of this republic's liberty, regardless of class or calling."²⁹ The Iowa state government also helped encourage recruitment by getting major employers to pledge publicly that workers who enlisted in the National Guard during the war would regain their positions when they returned home.³⁰

Overall, the National Guard's truce with organized labor during the war closely mirrored larger trends in American society, as the federal government sought similar agreements with labor unions for the nation's greater good. As early as 1914 and 1915, some military officers and railroad executives supported plans for drafting railroad workers into the Army if the nation declared war in order to impose military discipline on an important labor element. Similarly, in 1917, some labor executives even supported drafting elements of the shipyard labor force into the military to ensure discipline and make work stoppages punishable by court-martial.³¹ Ultimately, these proposals never came to fruition, and the Wilson administration favored establishing contracts with various labor unions in order to support the war effort. The United States government managed to appease organized labor by making the unions an integral part of the nation's wartime mission, thus minimizing labor opposition and work stoppages.³² Again then, the Guard's efforts in attracting unionists into the ranks and reducing tension during the war reflected the federal government's larger mission regarding labor agreements.

Furthermore, the Guard's recruitment efforts mirrored on other national trends. In order to sell the American people on entering the war less than six months after winning

²⁹ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918, 44.*

³⁰ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918, 44-5.*

³¹ David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 259-60.

³² Kennedy, *Over Here*, 260-69.

an election on the premise of keeping the nation out of the war, President Wilson utilized Progressive language. Wilson publically declared that the United States must enter the war to “make the world safe for democracy,” and other Progressives followed suit. John Dewey, the famous educator and Progressive writer, argued that this was a particularly “malleable” time in human history, and true peace and pacifism could only be achieved if the United States and its allies defeated Germany militarily, and that this war could drive home all their progressive ideas across the globe.³³ Along similar lines, the Wilson Administration created the Committee on Public Information to explain to Americans and the world “the cause that compelled America to take arms in defense of its liberties and free institutions.”³⁴ Captain McCann reflected these sentiments, and appealed to other Progressive ideals—particularly Christian-based struggles for justice and equality.

McCann declared that Jesus’s death “gave impetus to his teachings,” and “So will it be in this baptism of blood.”³⁵ Furthermore, McCann stated:

The earlier motives that may have brought on this colossal struggle, commercial and political jealousy and greed, have been entirely swallowed up in a larger issue, the liberty and freedom of mankind. It is now a war of democracy against tyranny, of right against wrong, and American must do everything in her power (which means men as well as money) to crush forever the ideas that are now held to and fought for by the Central Allies. When a world struggle is being waged for freedom and humanity, the Stars and Stripes should and must be flung to the battle’s front.”³⁶

McCann’s statements built off of larger inclinations in American society, and under this guise, states undertook massive recruitment campaigns to reach wartime strength that had a fairly high level of success. The Guard continued to appeal to a sense of duty and the

³³ Kennedy, 50.

³⁴ Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998), 169.

³⁵ McCann, *With the National Guard*, 14.

³⁶ McCann, 15.

volunteer spirit, which allowed many men to enlist in the Guard and avoid the stigma attached to conscription. Wisconsin managed to reach its wartime strength of 15,200 men by 1 August 1917, and recruiting efforts effectively increased Illinois's Guard numbers from 16,700 in June 1917 to over 18,500 by the beginning of August.³⁷

Additionally, the National Guard continued to serve as a cross-section of American society at the onset of American entry into the First World War. Just as the Guard and old militia contained members from a variety of social classes and races during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, the Guard maintained this structure at the border and as they embarked for Europe. Various immigrant groups hoped the Guard would ease the transition to full citizenship and serve as a means of assimilation into American culture without necessarily serving on active duty.³⁸ These immigrants then, upheld a tradition of using Guard service as an option to fulfill one's civic duty without living the life of a regular soldier, and further allowed the Guard to reflect broad trends in American society at the turn of the twentieth-century. Indeed, one Finnish immigrant, Johannes Anderson, served along the border and again in Europe and earned a great level of distinction, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The Guard reflected social distinctions, and remained a heterogeneous organization that drew membership from both rural and urban men, as well as from a wide array of ethnicities, races and economic circumstances.³⁹ The Guard could not avoid existing racial prejudices, though, and throughout World War I, Guard units remained racially segregated; yet, eight of the twelve black brigades who served in Europe during World War I were National Guard

³⁷ Pixley, *Wisconsin in the World War*, 13.

³⁸ Eleanor Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois 1870-1917* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007).

³⁹ Eleanor Hannah, "Soldiers under the Skin: Diversity of Race, Ethnicity, and Class in the Illinois National Guard, 1870-1916," *American Nineteenth Century History* 8:3 (2007), 1.

units.⁴⁰ One such unit was the all-black Eighth Illinois Infantry Regiment, who became the 370th US Infantry Regiment and joined the provisional 93rd Infantry Division in France.⁴¹

Even while in Europe, though, the 93rd Division faced racial segregation. Comprised of three National Guard regiments: the 370th of Illinois, the 369th of New York, and the 372nd which comprised guardsmen from the District of Columbia, Connecticut, and Maryland (as well as one conscripted regiment), this all-black division traveled to France in piecemeal fashion and never actually fought together as a single division. The New York guardsmen arrived in Brest in late December 1917, after watching white Guard units leave for France as part of either the 27th or 42nd Divisions, becoming the first American black regiment to travel to France. The Illinois troops arrived later, in April 1918. Unlike the other Divisions of the AEF, General Pershing violated his own stance on amalgamation when he ceded control of the 93rd to the French army, who in turn supplied the soldiers with helmets and arms. In early 1918, the New York troopers assisted French General Henri Gourand in his “elastic defense strategy,” and later in the year the 370th and 372nd regiments fought under Marshall Ferdinand Foch during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Additionally, the Illinois troops assisted the French during the Oise-Aisne Offensive just prior to the armistice, where they earned the French Fourragère. However, after the war, the US Army generally ignored the 93rd's contributions to the war effort because it recorded that “the 93rd Division spent zero days in training in line, zero days in sector, and zero days in battle,” despite the fact that the

⁴⁰ Kennedy, 159; and Zieger, *America's Great War*, 103. The official Officer Training Center for the small amount of black troops who gained commissions throughout the war was located at Fort Des Moines in Iowa.

⁴¹ *Roster of the Illinois National Guard, 1917*, ix-x.

division suffered over 520 soldiers killed and over 2,600 wounded throughout 1918.⁴² Indeed, the 93rd Division's combat record served as a testament to the National Guard's abilities, but reflected racial sentiments that plagued the nation during the early twentieth century.

While black guardsmen faced discrimination and segregation during their deployment, other mobilization issues emerged after the US declared war. As noted in the previous chapter, the National Guard and War Department abandoned the Army's original divisional breakdown plan during border service, but this was not an option when the nation mobilized for service in 1917. In order to streamline the process and meet wartime demands, the War Department settled on a new divisional outline, known as square divisions, which reduced the number of infantry regiments, added artillery regiments, dropped cavalry regiments, and added newly created organization such as machine gun companies, trench mortar battalions, supply trains, and military police companies.⁴³ Under this structure, Guard divisions would be broken down by region. However, the new breakdown meant that many Guard units needed to blend with other ones, were left out of the structure completely, or were converted to new specialties, much to the chagrin of Guard officers, soldiers, and state authorities.⁴⁴

Additionally, the Army dropped any state insignia or references from Guard units in August 1917 as a means of minimizing prejudice and creating a sense of unity.⁴⁵ This meant that Guard units removed the "N.G." insignia from their collars and replaced it

⁴² Frank E. Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion: Black Soldiers of the 93rd in World War* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2004).

⁴³ The National Defense Act, Sections 2-3.

⁴⁴ Cooper, 168-9.

⁴⁵ Edward M. Coffman, *The War to End all Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1968), 66.

with the universal “U.S.” pin, and state units removed any state-oriented regimental designations. For example, the Third Iowa Infantry Regiment became the 168th US Infantry Regiment, the First Illinois Field Artillery Regiment became the 149th US Field Artillery Regiment, and the First Iowa Infantry Regiment became the 133rd US Infantry Regiment, and the previously noted Eighth Illinois Infantry Regiment became the 370th US Regiment.⁴⁶ Ultimately, by removing state unit designations, the United States military permanently broke with the older state volunteer system that dominated nineteenth-century wartime mobilizations.

Furthermore, the War Department applied numerical indicators to each division, and reserved numbers one through twenty five for the Regular Army. The National Guard comprised Divisions twenty six through seventy five (though in practice these only went through forty two), and all divisions above seventy six went to the National Army (drafted soldiers). The previously discussed 93rd Provisional Division was a notable exception. Newton Baker’s War Department applied the Guard’s division numbers by region moving from east to west; therefore, the New England Guard coalesced into the 26th Infantry Division, with the New York Guard comprising the 27th Infantry Division. The Illinois National Guard made up the majority of the 33rd Infantry Division, while guardsmen from Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas served in the 34th Infantry Division.⁴⁷ Guardsmen from the Pacific Northwest became the last numeric region and they became the 41st Infantry Division.⁴⁸ These Guard divisions required varying levels of preparation

⁴⁶ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*, 40; and *Biennial Report of the Illinois Adjutant General, 1917-1918* (Springfield: State Printers, 1919).

⁴⁷ Mark R. Depue, *Lineage and Honors of the Illinois Militia and National Guard* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 2004), located in the Illinois National Guard Military Museum and Archives, Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois.

⁴⁸ General Reilly, *Americans All*, 28.

and reorganization, so many units such as the first battalion of Iowa's Field Artillery went to Fort Logan Roots near Little Rock, Arkansas and later to Camp Cody in Deming, New Mexico for training where they joined their counterparts in the 34th Division.⁴⁹ The 33rd Infantry Division travelled to Camp Logan near Houston, Texas, along with most of the 32nd Division, comprised of Wisconsin and Michigan guardsmen.⁵⁰ Many of these troops did not receive overseas orders for many months, and while this experience was similar to that of conscripted troops, it was also shared by new volunteers of the Regular Army, again making the Guard representative of the overall American wartime experience.

While the Army had an organizational structure in place by the middle of 1917, only New York's and Pennsylvania's National Guards were at divisional strength, which opened a new debate. The War Department had already decided that the first unit to travel overseas would be the Regular Army's 1st Infantry Division, but debated which Guard units would travel overseas first. Some supported simply sending the complete divisions first, but others believed that this would lead to charges of favoritism. Secretary of War Newton Baker, met with Army staff officers, particularly Major Douglas MacArthur. According to Baker, MacArthur suggested "the possibility of our being able to form a division out of the surplus units from many states, the major part of whose National Guard organizations were in multi-state divisions." The Chief of the Militia Division, William Abram Mann, agreed with MacArthur, and they decided to include

⁴⁹ *Report of the Iowa Adjutant General, 1918*, 38; and *History of Battery 'C' 126th Field Artillery*, June, 1917 (History of Battery C); Kershenski Box (Kershenski), *World War I Collection (WWI)*; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as *History of Battery C*; Kershenski, *WWI*; INGA.

⁵⁰ *Roster of the Illinois National Guard, 1917*, ix; Pixley, *Wisconsin in the World War*, 14-15; Hill, *Minute Man*, 272; and Paxson, *America at War*, 316.

Guard elements from twenty six states in this new composite division, prompting MacArthur to declare that this new division would “stretch over the whole country like a rainbow.”⁵¹

Additionally, Brigadier General Frank Rumbold, who served for many years with the Missouri National Guard and the Militia Bureau prepared a plan for the 42nd Division where each unit contained men with border service experience. Rumbold believed European soldiers would consider these guardsmen veterans because of their campaign badges.⁵² This composite division became the 42nd Infantry Division, and the War Department rushed to compile the division for overseas service, hoping that it would be among the first to arrive in France in order to represent a nationally structured Guard unit. In order to effectively mobilize their soldiers for quick overseas service in this new division, some states merged their existing units into singular regiments who then became part of the 42nd Infantry Division. For example, Iowa transferred 1,650 men from the First and Second Infantry Regiments into the Third Infantry Regiment (168th Infantry Regiment), which the Army had designated as one of the 42nd Division’s four infantry regiments, along with the 69th New York, the 4th Ohio, the 4th Alabama Infantry Regiments.⁵³ While only four states sent infantry regiments to the Rainbow Division, twenty two other states sent various combat and auxiliary units, such as the First and Second Illinois Field Artillery Regiments, renamed the 149th and 150th US Field Artillery Regiments. Unfortunately, racial prejudice reared its ugly head when the all-black 369th

⁵¹ Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War to Brigadier General Henry J. Reilly, September 12, 1935, reproduced in General Reilly, *Americans All*, 26.

⁵² General Reilly, *Americans All*, 30.

⁵³ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*, 40. Under the new designations, the 69th New York became the 165th US Infantry Regiment, the 4th Alabama became the 167th US Infantry Regiment, and the 4th Ohio became the 166th Infantry Regiment.

Infantry Regiment out of New York (mentioned earlier as part of the 93rd Provisional Division) petitioned to join the 42nd Division. Someone in the War Department informed 369th's colonel, William Hayward, that "black was not one of the colors of the rainbow."⁵⁴

The War Department placed Major General William A. Mann, a forty two-year Regular Army veteran, in command of the Rainbow Division in September 1917 and assigned then Colonel Douglas MacArthur as his chief of staff.⁵⁵ While many staff officers and even line officers, such as Hugh Thompson (who served as a platoon commander in the 168th Regiment), came from the Regular Army, regimental command generally stayed within the Guard's ranks.⁵⁶ For example, Colonel E. R. Bennett, who commanded the 168th Regiment was a long-time Iowa National Guard officer who served with the 51st Iowa in the Philippines and was an officer with the Third Iowa while at the border. Similarly, Bennett's second-in-command, Colonel Mathew Tinley had enlisted in the militia as a private in 1894 and had risen to the rank of lieutenant by 1898. Tinley likewise served in the Philippines with the 51st Iowa and went to the border as a lieutenant colonel.⁵⁷ Colonel Benson Hugh, who commanded the 166th Regiment (Ohio Guard), also began his military career as a private with the militia and rose through the National Guard's ranks. Hugh eventually became Ohio's adjutant general, but resigned so he could go to the border as a lieutenant colonel.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Arthur W. Little, *From Harlem to the Rhine: The Story of New York's Colored Volunteers* (New York: Covici – Friede, 1936), 46-47.

⁵⁵ General Reilly, *Americans All*, 34-35.

⁵⁶ Hugh S. Thompson, *Trench Knives and Mustard Gas: With the 42nd Rainbow Division in France*, ed. Robert H. Ferrell (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).

⁵⁷ General Reilly, *Americans All*, 42-43.

⁵⁸ General Reilly, 41.

Despite these officers' collective experience, combining Guard elements from twenty six states into one division with one mobilization site proved difficult, but in any event, troops began arriving at Camp Mills on Long Island, New York in October 1917. Over the course of two months the division converged on their mobilization camp, and according to one brigadier general, "every sectional, racial, religious and vocational prejudice sank far into the background before the deep bond of comradeship which being a member of the Rainbow Division came to mean and which nothing could disrupt."⁵⁹ However, a certain level of internal rivalry emerged among officers in the Rainbow Division, particularly between National Guard officers and Reserve Officers assigned to Guard regiments. Lieutenant John H. Taber remarked in his diary that "the National Guard simply doesn't speak our language," and one major in the 168th Regiment "practically told the non-coms of the First Battalion to not pay any attention to the Reserve Officers." Taber went on to note that this same Guard officer drove another Reserve lieutenant to attempt suicide while training at Camp Mills.⁶⁰ While Lt. Taber did not have a specific cause for this ongoing hostility (which carried over to service in France), but speculated that jealousy among junior Guard officers led many to resent the Reserve officers from taking positions that might have gone to senior Guard non-commissioned officers. Despite this rivalry within the junior officer ranks, the time at Camp Mills proved invaluable in encouraging unit cohesiveness, and the division finally received orders to go "over there" in December 1917.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Retirement Ceremony Program, Tinley; Tinley Docs, WWI; INGA; and General Reilly, 32.

⁶⁰ John H. Taber, *A Rainbow Division Lieutenant in France: The World War I Diary of John H. Taber* ed. Stephen H. Taber (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, INC., 2015), 13.

⁶¹ Pvt. Everett Wright, Diary, October 19, 1917; 1999.33.2, Papers of Everett Wright (Papers of E Wright), World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as Everett Wright, Diary, Date; Papers of E Wright, WWI; INGA.

The Rainbow Division in combat

Beginning in late 1917, the AEF needed to embark on a grueling journey overseas that was far from comfortable for most troops. One Iowa private in the Regular Army wrote that there was “hardly room to walk between” the bunks, and Private Harry Lehnhardt noted numerous days of sea sickness, and cramped living quarters on his transport vessel.⁶² Military planners exacerbated the discomfort as they crammed troops into small bunk areas containing rows of bunks stacked three high, and although Lehnhardt did not travel overseas until July 1918, his experiences reflect the general conditions onboard transport vessels.⁶³ During the journey, the government issued instructional booklets outlining where the soldiers could gather, when they could eat, when they could go above deck, and what to do in the event of an emergency or attack.⁶⁴ While many troops experienced less than desirable conditions, some soldiers had a much more pleasant experience on their way overseas. After a mechanical failure forced the U.S.S. *Grant* to turn back to port, the majority of the 168th Infantry waited for a second transport vessel. The short delay seemed to work in the Iowans’ favor, as they travelled to Europe on three converted British passenger liners, the R.M.S. *Celtic*, *Aurania*, and *Baltic*. This journey became “very pleasant,” and their accommodations were “much better than we expected this time.”⁶⁵ And, unlike the soldiers on other cramped ships,

⁶² Private Joe Romedahl, *An Iowa Soldier in World War I* ed. Mildred Romedahl-Steele (Boone, IA: JRS/MRS Enterprises, 1993), 34.

⁶³ Pvt. Harry Lehnhardt, Transcribed Diary, September 26, 1918 through October 17, 1919; World War I Collection, 2006. 602; INGA.

⁶⁴ U.S.S. *Leviathan* Policy Booklets: Instructions for Army Medical Officers; 2002.37.1-72, Troop Messing and Policing Troop Compartments; Documents of James E. Thomas, 168th Inf. 42nd Div., World War I Collection; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

⁶⁵ Francis Webster to Parents, December 5, 1917; 2005.107.205, Correspondence, Papers of Francis Webster (Webster Papers), World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter, Webster’s correspondence will be cited as Details, Date; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

many of the 168th stayed in small staterooms with only three other men because the three ships troop load was limited to one or two battalions, and thus, much lighter than typical transport ships, prompting one officer to boast that “the accommodations are so superior to the *Grant* that there is no comparison.”⁶⁶

Upon their arrival in Europe, many Rainbow Division regiments enjoyed a short layover in England, where they trained and paraded through Winchester and South Hampton.⁶⁷ Francis Webster [*figure 4*] of the 168th Regiment took this opportunity to describe to his parents and fiancé, the sights and sounds of the “cloudy, foggy, and rainy” English landscape.⁶⁸ Despite the foul weather, most men appreciated their brief time in England, and the troops even received a motivational letter from King George V, who offered them his support and thanks.⁶⁹ After only a few weeks though, the soldiers travelled across the English Channel and began their move toward the front lines. Life in France was a drastic shift from England, Cecil Clark described their first French rest camp as a “Hell hole.”⁷⁰ Two days after Clark penned his letter, most of the Rainbow Division began their move toward Rimaucourt, Haute-Marne, where they remained for the next two months and underwent further drilling and inspections.⁷¹ Private Everett Wright noted in his diary throughout January “we drilled and hiked in snow and mud,” and on one occasion his company “prepared for a three day hike (which we made in two

⁶⁶ Taber, *A Rainbow Division Lieutenant in France*, 3.

⁶⁷ Webster, *Diary, Timeline*; 2005.107.139, Webster *Diary*, Webster Papers, WWI; INGA. Hereafter cited as Francis Webster, *Diary, Date*; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

⁶⁸ Francis Webster to Parents, December 5, 1918; and Francis Webster to Betty, December 6, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

⁶⁹ King George to American Expeditionary Force, December, 1917; 1995.131, Box 3, Papers of August Smidt (Papers of A Smidt), World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as details; Papers of A Smidt, WWI; INGA.

⁷⁰ Cecil A. Clark, *Diary*, December 9, 1917; 2003.89.1A, *Diary of Cecil A. Clark (Diary of C Clark)*, 168th Inf., 42nd Div., World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as Cecil Clark, *Diary, Date*; *Diary of C Clark*, WWI; INGA.

⁷¹ Webster, *Diary, Timeline*, January 20 through January 28, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

days).”⁷² Throughout February, the 42nd Division remained in rear positions and found ways to entertain themselves between training sessions. On 17 February 1918, L Company (168th US Infantry) defeated M Company in a baseball game, and the next day the two companies spent the entire day at a rifle range.⁷³

What seemed like a dull interlude to the troops was a stressful time for American command. General John “Blackjack” Pershing remained locked in a heated debate with French and British commanders regarding America’s role on the front lines. The French and British amalgamation plan required the Americans to serve as replacement troops and fall under allied command. General Pershing refused to accept this idea, as he fully intended to maintain an independent command and serve alongside the French and British, not under them. Pershing believed amalgamation would weaken the American wartime position and alienate the American populace (as well as the troops themselves), who wished to fight for their own interests. Further, if the Americans did not have an independent command, General Pershing’s strategic goal of an all-out assault against the German main force by American soldiers would never come to fruition because the Americans would be spread out among European commands.⁷⁴ The American commander’s persistence paid off, and the American troops went to the front as independent units, under American commanders. In order to meet the front’s demands and appease European commanders, Pershing allowed divisions such as the 42nd to serve in French sections of the line (but under their own commanders) until the rest of the American Expeditionary Force arrived in Europe. The previously discussed 93rd Division

⁷² Everett Wright, Diary, January, n.d., 1918; Papers of E Wright, WWI; INGA.

⁷³ Everett Wright Diary, February 17 and February 18, 1918; Papers of E Wright, WWI; INGA.

⁷⁴ General John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War*, vol. I (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1931), 151-54; Donald Smythe, *Pershing: General of the Armies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); and Kennedy, *Over Here*, 172-73.

was the main exception, and they remained under French command for the duration of the war.⁷⁵

For the first half of 1918, the 42nd Division was one of only three substantial American forces in the field, and while allied commanders debated strategy and command structures, the guardsmen were about to receive a trial by fire. At the end of February, a majority of the Rainbow Division began their move toward the front, and marched from station to station and town to town before settling in along their portion of the line.⁷⁶ Over the next few weeks, American troops engaged the enemy at various points along of varying levels of intensity. During the first week of March, the 168th Regiment moved to the forward trenches near Badonviller, France, which Everett Wright described as being “nearly all in ruins.”⁷⁷ The next few days consisted of forward observation and trench maintenance, or what Francis Webster described as, “soldiering,” but this soon changed.⁷⁸ On 5 March 1918, the Iowans awoke to the sound of a heavy bombardment and gas calls.⁷⁹ The soldiers hastily donned their gas masks, scurried out of their dugouts, and took up their positions along the trench.

In some sectors, the barrage amounted to little more than harassment, but in other sections, German forces advanced against American companies, and the 168th held their ground. According to an Iowa captain, “The enemy attacked at 4:30 AM by barrage,

⁷⁵ Thomas Fleming, “Iron General,” in *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War*, ed. Robert Cowley (New York: Random House Publishing, 2003), 420-25.

⁷⁶ Everett Wright, Diary, February 28 to March 7, 1918; Papers of E Wright, WWI; INGA. Wright described his unit’s numerous movements beginning on 28 February 1918 as they moved out toward the front lines and eventually arrived at Bodonviller, France.

⁷⁷ Everett Wright, Diary, March 8, 1918; Papers of E Wright, WWI; INGA.

⁷⁸ Webster, Diary, February 21, 1918, February 23, 1918, and March 4, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

⁷⁹ Lt. Col. Tinley, Orders for Relief; Box 33, Assignment and Relief, 168th Regiment, 42nd Infantry Division (42nd Div), Records of Combat Divisions, Record Group 120 (RG 120); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Details; 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP; and Webster, Diary, March 5, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

followed by a heavy bombardment until 6:00 AM. The enemy's attack failed, only three men entering the front line trenches without capturing any of our men. The rest were driven off by our rifle and machine gun fire."⁸⁰ However, this attack did result in, "quite a few killed," as the regiment suffered 22 dead and another 19 wounded.⁸¹ Cecil Clark noted in his diary that the Germans raided two sister companies on the same day, and he further noted that Company M along with two French companies went "over the top" on 11 March. The next week was filled with German artillery barrages, and on 17 March, Clark's company made their first raid against the enemy's lines.⁸²

Sergeant Charles Kosek of D Company was also in the trenches during the first weeks of March 1918, and his diary entries noted the strains and emotions of wartime, including a perceived level of hypocrisy on the part of commanders. According to Kosek, division command awarded war crosses to a company of the 168th even though they were a mile in the rear of the trenches. Conversely, "We ran out and repulsed the Hun attack as soon as the barrage lifted; we got nothing. B Co. waited till they were sure it was all over and when they came out the Huns were in their trench and they had to run them out, result they got three medals."⁸³ Members of B Company probably remembered this event quite differently. And although Private Alfred Bowen was still training in New Mexico at the time of the 42nd Division's combat actions, his opinion that, "You really

⁸⁰ Troops Engaged and Records of Events; Casualties List, Box 33, 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP.

⁸¹ Cecil A. Clark, Diary, March 5, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

⁸² Cecil Clark, Diary, February 1 to March 30, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

⁸³ John Kosek, ed., *The Iowa Boys: A Remembrance of a Killing Contest, The Diary and Letters of Sergeant Charles Kosek Company D, 168th Iowa Infantry, 42nd Rainbow Division, American Expeditionary Force France, 1917-1918* (Las Vegas: John Kosek), 13. This is a self-published collection of diary entries and letters written by Charles Kosek during World War I, interspersed with excerpts from John Taber, *The Story of the 168th Infantry* (Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1925). Consulted in the World War I Collection at the Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

cannot believe anything you hear in the army, as you hear all kinds of conflicting rumors,” definitely held true in numerous instances.⁸⁴

Despite the “conflicting rumors” of which regiment deserved what awards, World War I served as an eye-opening experience for Guard troops, because guardsmen never saw actual combat at the border. As the nation prepared to go to war, Irving McCann stressed the importance of the United States’ future role in international affairs, and reflected Progressive propaganda as well as futuristic appeals to patriotism and virtue. McCann believed that his nation’s entry into the war would replace “a National patriotism, with its narrowness, bigotry and hatred” with a “*World patriotism*.”⁸⁵ However, the First World War altered the way many soldiers across the globe viewed warfare, and erased what many admired in retrospect as the old spirit and glory of war. Indeed, the war put Filippo Marinetti’s Futuristic call to glorify war to the test. The realities of trench warfare and modern weaponry created devastation, destruction, and pain foreign to most young troopers, but border duty lessened the learning curve, as guardsmen already held the basic skills necessary for combat. And, guardsmen were in a better position in the trenches due to a familiarity with army life learned in the American Southwest. With time, American soldiers grew accustomed to life in the trenches, which consisted of constant shelling, machine gun fire, mortar attacks, air and tank warfare, and the painful reality of gas warfare replaced pre-war ideas of heroism. As Paul Fussell noted, “Every war is ironic because every war is worse than expected.”⁸⁶ The Guard

⁸⁴ Private Alfred Bowen to Alice Woolston, July 10, 1917; 2000.48.4, Documents of Alfred Bowen, (Docs of A Bowen) 2nd IA INF, World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as Correspondence details; Docs of A Bowen, WWI; INGA.

⁸⁵ McCann, 14.

⁸⁶ Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 7.

troops, particularly those in the Rainbow Division, soon faced this reality in daily combat actions.

Over the next few months, the fighting continued for the National Guard troops, and wartime routines began to take shape. Throughout the rest of March and April, the Rainbow Division's regiments moved from the front to the rear in regular intervals, and spent most of their time "soldiering."⁸⁷ On 21 March 1918, German forces advanced against the allied front in the first of five major offensives codenamed "Operation Michael." While British and French forces felt the brunt of this offensive, American troops were not immune from raids and bombardments.⁸⁸ But once again, French and British commanders hoped to supersede General Pershing's authority. Sir Douglas Haig and Ferdinand Foch called on Pershing to reinforce allied forces with American troops. As before, Pershing refused to give up his command, and the American forces remained under his control.⁸⁹ Throughout this period, United States continued to engage with German forces, but no major American offensive took place because the majority of the American Expeditionary Force was still en route to the front, and Pershing was not yet ready to make a push.

American troopers generally supported Pershing and his persistence. Francis Webster told his parents in a letter that "Politically, we [American soldiers] all think that without doubt Pershing will be the next president."⁹⁰ However, French troops grew impatient with the seemingly slow development of American strategy due to logistical struggles. A major problem related to the United States' wartime mobilization was the

⁸⁷ Webster, *Diary*, March 12-15, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

⁸⁸ Pershing, *My Experiences*, vol. I, 352-355; and Eisenhower, *Yanks*, 106-7.

⁸⁹ Pershing, 358-60, 373-77; and 382-83.

⁹⁰ Francis Webster to Parents, April 9, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

lack of shipping, and though President Wilson placed Charles M. Schwab (the accomplished steel magnate and business organizer) in charge of ship building, the process remained slow, and the French soldiers voiced their irritation.⁹¹ According to Webster, “The French soldiers with whom I’ve talked are very unreasonably impatient because we have not already got several millions of men in the field. We try to make them realize the difficulties which our country is facing. From what I read, the ship problem is the biggest, and so I hope they give Schwab a free hand.” Furthermore, Webster wrote, “I think President Wilson has done a fine thing in putting Schwab at the head of the ship building. That is, if he lets Schwab have any real power. I think that the war cabinet bill would have helped the U.S. a lot if they could have commanded the services of a few men like Schwab to manage the work part of the war. Just at present we need men, munitions, food and supplies here in France more than finely phrased ‘policies.’”⁹² Indeed, Webster’s correspondence demonstrated the general Guard understanding of larger US policies and wartime actions, and even though the Rainbow Division had been in the trenches for over a month by the time of Webster’s letter, the bulk of the American Expeditionary Force remained in the United States.

Throughout May 1918, the Rainbow Division remained in the trenches opposite the German army, and over the course of twenty two days, the division took an average of 450 rounds of enemy fire per day. In retribution, the 42nd Division fired an average of 800 rounds per day across no-man’s land into the German lines, and this constant enemy engagement drained many of the troops. Sometimes this bombardment had unforeseen and devastating consequences. Private Everett Wright described an instance where

⁹¹ Kennedy, *Over Here*, 300-305.

⁹² Francis Webster to Parents, April 22, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

American artillery fell short and “exploded in our own trench,” and the next day “Sergeant Hobbs of Red Oak [Iowa] and two others were killed by our own guns.”⁹³ Cecil Clark noted that he had his first bath in over seven weeks at the beginning of May, and spent the next two weeks in the trenches, where he struggled to find his company’s dugout in the night.⁹⁴ Clark did receive a two day reprieve from trench-life though on 15 May 1918 when military officials arrested him “at noon for not having my blouse on,” and Clark did not seem to complain when he wrote that “I slept in a guard house all night.”⁹⁵ Near the end of May, the division launched nine nighttime patrols, bombarded enemy positions, and threw over 1,000 propaganda tracts into the German lines by means of rifle grenades.⁹⁶ Of course, the enemy retaliated in kind. On 26 May 1918, “Dutch” soldiers “threw over gas all night” at Cecil Clark’s position, and three days later the troops faced a night-long artillery barrage, complete with gas and a “liquid fire attack.” Through all this though, the Iowa guardsmen captured three prisoners and killed eleven Germans.⁹⁷

For Cecil Clark, Everett Wright, Francis Webster, Charles Kosek, the 168th, and the rest of the Rainbow Division, combat actions, attacks, and counter attacks continued throughout June and into July, with both sides exchanging artillery shells and small arms fire. In the middle of July though, the German infantry launched a series of assaults against the Division’s positions, and once again, the 42nd Division held firm.⁹⁸ According

⁹³ Everett Wright, Diary, May 14 and May 15, 1918; Papers of E Wright, WWI; INGA.

⁹⁴ Cecil Clark, Diary, May 2, May 3, May 6, and May 14, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

⁹⁵ Cecil Clark, Diary, May 15 and May 16, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

⁹⁶ Daily Operation Reports, May 1-22, 1918; Box 15, Summary of Operations, 42nd Division (42nd Div), Records of Combat Divisions, 1917-1919, Record Group 120 (RG 120); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Details; 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP.

⁹⁷ Cecil Clark, Diary, May 26 and May 29, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

⁹⁸ Daily Operation Reports, June 1-July 16, 1918; Box 15, 42nd Division, RG 120; NACP.

to official reports, when German forces did penetrate the American lines, the division's soldiers "counterattacked and restored position with great loss to the enemy," and during a 15 July attack, which Cecil Clark described as "a big offensive," the guardsmen captured twenty seven Germans along with machine guns, and the division "lost no prisoners and have none missing." Additionally, "the conduct of the division has been the subject of congratulations by both [the] French Corps and the French Army commander."⁹⁹ In the immediate days after the two-day assault, the Rainbow Division received numerous replacement troops, and German soldiers retaliated with a series of nighttime artillery bombardments, and when some of the 168th counter-attacked, they pushed the Germans four miles back, but retreated when they moved too far out of their own artillery support range.¹⁰⁰

On 27 July 1918, the Rainbow Division took over a section of the line previously held by the French Army.¹⁰¹ Shortly after this move to the French sector, the 42nd Division received orders to attack the German line, "under the cover of darkness" with French army divisions on their right and left for support. Following "a violent artillery preparation," the 168th Regiment and the 167th Regiment (Alabama Guard troops) led this attack "in the nature of a surprise and, consequently, troops in the attack will not fire during the assault but will confine themselves to the bayonet."¹⁰² The Iowans and Alabamans faced the Fourth Prussian Guards, and once again, the guardsmen performed

⁹⁹ Cecil Clark, Diary, July 15, 1918; WWI; INGA; and Daily Operation Reports, July 15- 16, 1918; 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP.

¹⁰⁰ Cecil Clark, Diary, July 18, July 26, and July 27, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

¹⁰¹ Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur, Memorandum to Accompany General Order 51, July 27, 1918; Box 15, 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP.

¹⁰² General Order No. 51, July 27, 1918; Box 15, 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP.

admirably and by the next day, the Americans captured their objective.¹⁰³ As July gave way to August, the division continued to advance, but moved very slowly. Early in August, the division received new uniforms just in time for some official visits by a few state representatives and senators.¹⁰⁴ Throughout these months, troopers continued to move from the front to the rear in regular intervals, but life behind the lines was not a safety guarantee. Cecil Clark took his opportunity in the rear to “sterilize his uniform” by swimming in the Marne River, and a couple days later his friend, Bruce, also went for a swim. Unfortunately, “Bruce drowned in the Marne.”¹⁰⁵

Throughout this period, regular combat actions took their tolls on the soldiers. Constant artillery barrages meant that even a relatively “fine day” could result in death in the trenches, and soldiers constantly worried about deadly potential of conventional artillery and harassing small arms fire.¹⁰⁶ But, of all the weaponry associated with the Great War, troops feared poisonous gas more than any other. Soldiers had some protection, including gas masks, which they tested in specially designed chambers to the rear of the trenches.¹⁰⁷ Yet, sometimes these masks hindered a trooper’s abilities, and on at least one occasion enemy troops took advantage of gas’s effects without actually using any of the deadly weapon. Two days after a continued attack, German forces sounded a false gas alarm near the American lines, provoking many troops to don their masks as the German infantry advanced across no-man’s land. Private Glen Shepherd realized this mistake as he ran across the trench warning his fellow soldiers to remove their masks and

¹⁰³ Daily Operation Reports, July 28, 1918; Box 15, 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP; and Cecil Clark, Diary, July 28 and July 29, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

¹⁰⁴ Cecil Clark, Diary, August 6 and August 8, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

¹⁰⁵ Cecil Clark, Diary, August 15 and August 17, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

¹⁰⁶ Webster, Diary, April 12, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA. Here, Webster described the deaths of two men due to enemy sniper fire, on a day with little movement or action.

¹⁰⁷ Cecil Clark, Diary, May 22, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

meet the oncoming attack, but he did not reach everyone in time. Just prior to Shepherd's arrival, a young private climbed out of his position with his rifle in an attempt to get a better target. The private managed to kill two enemy soldiers, but his bulky mask hindered his movements, and he died before getting back into cover.¹⁰⁸

The bulkiness of the masks was only one obstacle. Time proved itself the biggest factor in a mask's effectiveness. During one attack, Iowa Captain Lloyd Ross called out "gas, gas!" as a warning to those around him, but he was unable to put his own mask on quickly enough, and the result was excruciating, "I could feel the gas burning my throat and lungs and then I knew that I didn't get my mask on in time and that I was gassed. I stood my post for a few minutes and then I began to get dizzy and couldn't stand up anymore. Corporal Kelly took me to my bunk and tole [*sic*] me not to move around. The next morning I was taken to the hospital where I found several of my pals who were gassed the same night."¹⁰⁹ Similarly, Francis Webster felt the effects of a gas attack. Two weeks after his twenty-second birthday, Webster's machine gun company advanced across a wheat field in front of the American infantry against the German lines, and his gun crew set up in an artillery crater and repulsed two German attacks with heavy fire. The American advance followed, but the Germans held their ground. The following day, German artillery unleashed a heavy bombardment of the American lines. While they hunkered down, an artillery shell exploded near Webster's team, killing his sergeant-in-charge, and severing the leg of a private sitting directly beside him. Shortly after, mustard gas debilitated another sergeant, and Corporal Webster became acting sergeant.

¹⁰⁸ Lloyd D. Ross, "Fifty Germans and How They Fared," 1; 1999.113, Papers of General Lloyd D. Ross (Ross Papers), WWI; INGA. "Fifty Germans and How They Fared" was Ross's detailed account of a raid on 29 May 1918, where he ultimately captured fifty German prisoners and earned a combat citation. Hereafter cited as Ross, "Fifty Germans," page number; Ross Papers, WWI; INGA.

¹⁰⁹ Ross, "Fifty Germans," 3; Ross Papers, WWI; INGA.

The next day, Webster's commander placed him in charge of the guard, but unfortunately for Corporal Webster, another gas barrage followed, and he failed to reach his mask in time. He left for the hospital on 27 July with nine others, while the rest of his regiment moved to a French sector of the line.¹¹⁰

While the general narrative of the Great War includes trench warfare, gas, suicidal charges across no-man's land, and artillery bombardment, hospital life often plays a role in the overall story. Erich Remarque dedicated an entire chapter to hospital life in his famous novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Remarque's fictionalized first person account discussed the Red Cross volunteers and nuns who were "pleasant, but often unskilled. They frequently give us pain when re-making our beds, and then are so frightened they hurt us still more."¹¹¹ The account continued with tales of poor conditions and surgery gone wrong.¹¹² The novel's main character, Paul, discussed the gruesome wounds incurred by soldiers, and the broken bodies in hospital wards, and he finally declared, "A hospital alone shows what war is."¹¹³ However, Francis Webster's experience with hospital life seemed quite different. Webster wrote to a friend that, "The Red Cross is certainly a splendid organization."¹¹⁴ Of course, Webster could have been trying to ease his family's and friends' worries by putting a good face on hospital life in his letters, and letters with a negative message may not have made it past the army's censors. But Webster could certainly have spoken the truth in his journal, which contained a detailed account of his stays in recovery hospitals, and offered a generally

¹¹⁰ Webster, Diary, July 28, 29, and 30, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

¹¹¹ Erich Maria Remarque, *Im Westen nichts Neues*, Germany: Propyläen Verlag, 1929. Translated by A.W. Wheen as *All Quiet on the Western Front* 1st Ballantine Books Edition (New York: Ballantine Books, 1982), 256.

¹¹² Remarque, *All Quiet*, 256-59.

¹¹³ Remarque, 263.

¹¹⁴ Francis Webster to Mr. Jarnigan, June 2, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

bright view of convalescent life. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) provided free movies for wounded soldiers, and those well enough to move around took in occasional baseball games between hospital staffs.¹¹⁵

Another Iowa trooper, Private L.O. Stewart, discussed hospital conditions in his 1923 memoir, *Rainbow Bright*. Much of Stewart's account aligned with Webster's, as troopers enjoyed ice cream, chocolate bars, leisure time for writing, and fine cigarettes, but the hospitals contained "hopeless cripples, men whose memories would never be the same again—the German had left his indelible mark."¹¹⁶ Certainly, World War I hospitals were places of contradiction. On the one hand, nurses worked intensely to make hospital stays comfortable for convalescent troops, but on the other, those soldiers suffered from painful and gruesome injuries. One such trooper had a taste of those "fine cigarettes" found in Private Stewart's book, but he could only smoke them by "means of lighting contrivances suspended above his head by ropes" because the man lost both of his arms. He did wear an asbestos bib for his own safety.¹¹⁷ For soldiers such as Webster, who were not wounded severely, hospital stays could be comfortable and fairly pleasant. For others, such as the soldiers described by Erich Remarque and L.O Stewart, hospitals served as windows into the horrors of modern warfare.

As September dawned, the guardsmen in the 42nd Division continued to hold their positions, but were now part of a much larger American force poised for a massive assault. Indeed, by the middle of the year, General Pershing had his army in place, as

¹¹⁵ Francis Webster to Parents, August 8, 1918; and Webster, Diary, August 6-August 8, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

¹¹⁶ L.O. Stewart, *Rainbow Bright* (Philadelphia: Dorrance Publishers, 1923). Consulted in 2002.37.73, Box 2, Documents of J.E. Thomas, World War I Collection; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

¹¹⁷ Stewart, *Rainbow Bright*, 144.

well as his chance to put his strategy into action. As the AEF prepared for a grand assault, many guardsmen were already accustomed to life in the trenches. Ultimately, the Rainbow Division's combat experience reflects the First World War's broad narrative (at least in relation to the Western Front). Therefore, much of the 42nd Division's wartime account is similar to typical stories found in Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Earnst Junger's *Storm of Steel*, and comprehensive war scholarship.¹¹⁸ Ultimately, this is an important concept, as the National Guard served as a central piece of the United States' wartime plan, and experienced the same realities as other soldiers on the Western Front. Yet, the Guard's overall role during the war came in many forms, and soldiers shared varied experiences.

Other National Guard combat divisions

While the Guard troops of the 42nd Division saw extensive combat in Europe, much of the National Guard did not share this experience because most guardsmen involved in combat operations did not arrive in France until the middle of 1918; yet, seven of the eleven divisions poised for an American advance in August were Guard divisions.¹¹⁹ Other Guard divisions, such as the 34th Infantry Division did not go directly to the front, but did see some combat as reserve organizations.¹²⁰ These Guard units began their mobilization process in the middle of 1917 and reorganized in order to fit into

¹¹⁸ Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front*; Earnst Junger, *In Stahlgewittern* Germany: J.G. Cotta;sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger GmbH, Stuttgart, 1920. Translated by Michael Hofman as *Storm of Steel* (New York, Penguin Books, 2003). For historical scholarship examples, see Coffman, *The War to end all Wars*; and John Keegan, *The First World War* (London, UK: Hutchinson Press, 1998).

¹¹⁹ Paxson, *America at War*, 341.

¹²⁰ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1918*, 33-4. Some of the troops from Camp Cody did eventually see line duty after being transferred out of their original units to supplement other National Guard and Army units already in the trenches.

the Army's divisional structure. Guardsmen arrived at muster camps, underwent medical examinations, and prepared to move to mobilization camps.¹²¹ While many Guard divisions did eventually advance against enemy troops, their buildup to the war consisted of a great deal of military drills and monotony, very similar to border duty a year earlier. The monotony of camp life is apparent in the official history of the 126th Field Artillery (formerly the First Iowa Field Artillery), who arrived at Fort Logan Root, Arkansas early in July 1917 and left for Camp Cody, New Mexico in October 1917, where months on end consisted of "usual camp duties."¹²² In July 1918, the 126th traveled to Fort Sill, Oklahoma for three months, and did not arrive in France until October 18, 1918 where they once again "took up usual camp duties."¹²³ Similarly, Corporal Alfred Bowen of the Second Iowa Infantry Regiment (133rd US Infantry Regiment), simply wrote, "Hikes and drills" on numerous days in his diary between August 1917 and August 1918 (when his company left Camp Cody).¹²⁴

Many guardsmen who continued serving after their return to the border—who served in these mobilizing units—provided valuable guidance for new recruits. For instance, Rudolph Dubbert who served at the border with the First Iowa Infantry Regiment (the 133rd US Infantry Regiment) received a promotion to sergeant and traveled to Camp Cody in Deming, New Mexico as part of the 34th Infantry Division.¹²⁵ Dubbert, along with numerous other non-commissioned officers worked with officers to train and

¹²¹ Alfred Bowen to Alice Woolston, July 10, 1917; Docs of A Bowen, WWI; INGA.

¹²² History of Battery C, 1; Kershenski, WWI; INGA.

¹²³ History of Battery C, 1-2; Kershenski, WWI; INGA.

¹²⁴ Alfred Bowen, Memorandum Book, numerous entries between August 27, 1917 and August 25, 1918; Docs of A Bowen, WWI; INGA.

¹²⁵ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Mother, December 29, 1917; 2011.75.3-4, Letters of Rudolph A. Dubbert (Letters of RA Dubbert), Mexican Border and WWI (MB and WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as Rudolph A. Dubbert to Recipient, Date; Letters of RA Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

give advice to the fresh troops.¹²⁶ While camp life may have seemed dull to many soldiers, these divisions earned valuable experience at the state-side camps. Much of this training centered on military affairs, but sometimes related to more mundane activities. One French officer informed soldiers in the 34th Division that “an alcohol stove is the best thing a man can have in the trenches,” and he “hoped that every man would go back to his command and encourage the men to get them [the stoves] for themselves.”¹²⁷

This type of advice and experience became invaluable for soldiers ready to deploy. As the Army rearranged guardsmen to fit their divisional plans and deployment tables, they transferred many soldiers to units ready to move to the front lines. While the AEF needed to provide as many troops as possible to the front lines, experience and knowledge became indispensable. Divisional command exempted NCOs such as Dubbert from such transfers though. In June 1918, while still in New Mexico, Dubbert remarked that “the boys that leave are pretty lucky and they all know it. A lot of the NCO’s around camp got busted [demoted] just in order to go.” Commanders apparently got wind of this approach and ordered that “no NCO that had just been reduced would go,” and “as a result, there are a lot of privates that were sergeants and corporals that are now privates and won’t go across anyway.”¹²⁸ Furthermore, as the majority of the Guard prepared to go overseas, political tensions and internal struggles influenced deployment timetables.

As already noted, the War Department worked hard to fit the National Guard into a new divisional structure. As a result of unit mergers and troop transfers, many field

¹²⁶ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Mother, December 29, 1917; Letters of RA Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA. This letter describes a French captain who provided advice and training to the new Iowa recruits.

¹²⁷ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Mother, December 29, 1917; Letters of RA Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹²⁸ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Mother, June 1, 1918; Letters of RA Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

grade Guard officers lost their commands and others found themselves in command of units outside of their military specialty. This practice created a sense of resentment within the Guard, as it broke down the regional and provincial perspective that was historically central to the Guard's identity. Soldiers and officers reacted with hostility, but their complaints often fell on deaf ears. The Regular Army officers who oversaw the Guard's transition rarely sympathized with the "amateur soldiers," and mobilization continued.¹²⁹ In many ways, this reorganization became yet another step in the Guard's overall transformation from the old militia system. By dividing the Guard regiments to fit the Army's organizational breakdown, the federal government removed any state control from the Guard's mobilization process.

A series of telegrams and letters between Iowa Governor William Harding and U.S. Senator Albert B. Cummins (Iowa), reflected the federal government's usurpation of the Guard's deployment process. Governor Harding and Senator Cummins expressed anger when the military decided to break up Iowa units stationed at Camp Cody, New Mexico. In order to keep the camp at its strength of 5,500 men, some Iowa guardsmen went overseas with other units, while their officers remained in New Mexico to train new arrivals.¹³⁰ This separation of units angered many guardsmen and state authorities because the Guard generally resented military policies which broke down local and unit connections, which the Guard used as a valuable recruitment tool.¹³¹ Sergeant Dubbert described to his mother a situation where numerous soldiers had prepared to go overseas, but then "the Governors of the various states that are to be broken up here registered a

¹²⁹ Cooper, *Rise*, 169-70.

¹³⁰ Senator Albert B. Cummins to Governor Harding, May 29, 1918; and Telegram from Governor Harding to Senator Cummins, May 30, 1918; Box 27, General Correspondence, Governor Harding Papers; State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹³¹ Paxson, *America at War*, 313-14.

fuss and it was around that the boys wouldn't leave at all.”¹³² Eventually the Army went ahead with plans to send troops across the Atlantic, despite many governors' disapproval.

Organizational distractions also played a role in the Guard's overall mobilization. In October 1917, the 33rd Infantry Division (mostly Illinois guardsmen) and the 32nd Infantry Division (Wisconsin and Michigan guardsmen) travelled to Camp Logan and Camp MacArthur, Texas respectively. As the two divisions began preparing for combat operations, shakedowns and inspections proved that the Wisconsin and Michigan were at a higher state of readiness than the Illinois men (though this was mostly due to the fact that the Illinois troops recently received a large contingent of “unfit draftees” who transferred over from the National Army).¹³³ Ultimately, the War Department decided to postpone the 33rd's deployment and forced the Illinois units to provide their ordinance and various wartime supplies to the 32nd Division. Not surprisingly, the Illinois officers objected to this transfer, but to no avail. The first soldiers from the 32nd Division left Texas for New Jersey in early January 1918, and began arriving in England and France throughout January and February. By May 1918, the 32nd Division had moved to the front lines and had begun combat operations.¹³⁴ Conversely, the loss of ordinance and training needs delayed the 33rd's deployment. The Illinoisans did not begin arriving in France until April 1918, and did not begin combat operations until July.¹³⁵

¹³² Rudolph A. Dubbert to Mother, June 1, 1918; Letters of RA Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹³³ Hill, *Minute Man*, 276-77.

¹³⁴ The 32D 'Red Arrow' Veteran Association, “The 32D 'Red Arrow' Division in World War I, from the 'Iron Jaw Division' to 'Les Terribles,’” accessed January 9, 2016, <http://www.32nd-division.org/history/ww1/32-ww1.html>.

¹³⁵ *33rd Division, AEF, From its Arrival in France until the Armistice with Germany, November 11, 1918*, accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.33rdinfantrydivision.org/documents/33rd_aef.pdf; and Paxson, *America at War*, 316.

These examples demonstrate the ongoing tension between the Regular Army and the National Guard, one that dated back to the nineteenth century, as well as demands for quick and efficient mobilization protocols. However, the Guard struggled to establish political control over the Regular Army, particularly due to earlier disagreements over the Guard's role in the American military structure. Eventually, the sheer volume of complaints prompted Secretary Baker to advise Army officers commanding Guard Divisions to make every possible effort to preserve Guard identity. Army Chief of Staff Tasker Bliss directed the War College Division to prepare public statements regarding the reorganization as a means of swaying public opinion and assuaging some Guard dissatisfaction, but his efforts did not fully succeed in changing the minds of soldiers who recently witnessed their beloved regiments and companies either merged or disbanded altogether.¹³⁶ Again, despite Guard complaints, the mobilization continued. As outlined in the previous chapters, many prominent regular officers and politicians hoped the Guard would serve as little more than a reserve force for the Regular Army, and a 1919 report noted that the National Guard "fulfilled, during the Worlds War, the expectations that it would accomplish what was claimed for it, i.e. that with the Regular Army it would furnish sufficient first line troops to successfully engage the enemy until any larger force necessary could be reached and trained."¹³⁷ However, the Guard's official role under the NDA's structure was to serve as an integral piece of the American military system, and many guardsmen resented their perceived role as second class soldiers behind the Regular Army.

¹³⁶ Cooper, *Rise*, 170-1.

¹³⁷ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Iowa, for the Biennial Period Ended December 1, 1920* (Des Moines, State of Iowa Printing Office, 1921), 1.

Other social elements and stresses were also on display in the mobilization camps. Near the end of May 1918, Sergeant Dubbert snuck a detailed letter through the Army's censors by having his wife (who was serving as a laundress in his camp) address and mail his letter. Dubbert discussed a few mobilization details but also described how draftees from Colorado, Nebraska, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico all arrived in camp at once, and "the boys out at the Contact Camp are having their hands full trying to handle them." Further complicating the issue were "a bunch of I.W.W.s [International Workers of the World members] in the draft," who authorities "junked" into a single company. Dubbert noted that their company commander was a "hardboiled" captain, "but that won't be enough."¹³⁸ Ultimately, Dubbert's opinions reflected long-lasting social tensions between the National Guard and organized labor. These tensions did not easily dissuade, and they remained prevalent during the First World War, and guardsmen remained entangled in the ongoing struggle. Though the Guard and organized labor came to a truce during the war, personal animosity did not simply vanish.

Regardless of mobilization tensions, many of these guardsmen eventually travelled overseas. While some divisions like the 32nd travelled to France much earlier than others, all of these divisions experienced similar conditions to their counterparts in the 42nd Division, the Regular Army, and draftees in the National Army.¹³⁹ As noted earlier, Private Harry Lehnhardt recounted numerous days of seasickness while he journeyed across the Atlantic, and when the soldiers arrived, they enjoyed a brief layover in England before travelling to their stations in France. August Smidt of the 34th Infantry Division (who also suffered from days of seasickness), remarked in a letter to his

¹³⁸ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Mother, May 27, 1918; Letters of RA Dubbert, MB and WWI; INGA.

¹³⁹ General Reilly, *Americans All*.

girlfriend, Agnes, that his stay was in a “very good place, also good mess, but I think we will be leaving here before very long, but this is sure a beautiful country.”¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Smidt was correct in assuming their stay in England would be brief, and shortly after the move to France, he wrote a letter telling Agnes that he found it difficult to write home because he was “constantly on the move,” and confirmed that he found it difficult to sit down for long enough to pen a letter, though he did finish his letter by ensuring her that he lost a bit of weight and in fact, grew a mustache.¹⁴¹

During this mobilization process some officers dismissed the Guard’s performance, but Pershing generally praised the Guard as well as the rest of his field army that manned the American lines prior to the AEF’s concentrated assault. On 28 August, General Pershing commended the Army’s actions, and by that point, four National Guard divisions saw some action against the Germans. Pershing said, “It fills me with pride to record in General Orders tribute to the service and achievements of the First and Third Corps, comprising the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 26th, 28th, 32nd, and 42nd Divisions of the American Expeditionary Forces.” Pershing went on to discuss how on 15 July 1918, the “most formidable army in the world [the Germans], with four years’ experience attacked the allied line,” and “three days later, in conjunction with our allies, you [the American forces] counter-attacked. The allied armies gained a brilliant victory that marks the turning point of the war.”¹⁴² By the time of the general’s declaration though,

¹⁴⁰ August Smidt to Agnes, October 1918; 1995.131, Box 4, Correspondence, Papers of August Smidt (Papers of A Smidt), October-December, World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as Correspondence Details, Date; Papers of A Smidt, WWI; INGA.

¹⁴¹ August Smidt to Agnes, December 7, 1918; Papers of A Smidt, WWI; INGA.

¹⁴² General Order 143, August 28, 1918; Box 2, Roderick Mason Military Papers (Military Papers), Mason Family Correspondence and Papers (Mason Family C and P); Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, Illinois (ALPLM). Hereafter as Details; Military Papers, Mason Family C and P; ALPLM.

most of the AEF had arrived in France, allowing General Pershing to finally implement his Open Warfare strategy.¹⁴³

Pershing's overall concept called for numerous medium and large scale advances across open ground with heavy artillery support. Rather than simply moving between trenches, the Americans hoped to abandon the trench and move swiftly into and through enemy territory. Pershing utilized a simple concept when he devised his campaign objectives. Rather than bleeding the enemy through attrition, the American plan called for a grand attack at an isolated position intended to overwhelm German forces and bring the war to a quick end, and the general believed that the American soldier's natural abilities as a marksman and bayonet fighter would shock the German army and force both sides out of the trenches.¹⁴⁴ This concept was directly related to Pershing's post-Civil War education at West Point, which taught the successes of Generals Ulysses Grant and William Sherman, combined with a general disdain for defensive tactics. Pershing held to the notion that a mass, concentrated attack of fresh American troops would breach the German positions and deliver a final knock-out blow.¹⁴⁵

Pershing's strategy offered some opportunity, but certainly had some disadvantages. Francis Webster declared, "The open warfare is much more exciting, but there are many advantages to being in the trenches. It is hard to get food and water up to the front lines in open fighting, and the men have less protection."¹⁴⁶ Indeed, the lack of protection and limitations of artillery ranges were the factors that led European

¹⁴³ Paxson, *America at War*, 341.

¹⁴⁴ Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of the United States Military Strategy and Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), xxi-xxii; and Thomas Fleming, "Iron General," in *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War* ed. Robert Cowley (New York: Random House, 2004), 417.

¹⁴⁵ Pershing, *My Experiences*, vol. I, 153-154; and Kennedy, *Over Here*, 173-74.

¹⁴⁶ Francis Webster to Parents, September 26, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

commanders to abandon similar tactics much earlier in the war.¹⁴⁷ However, while the trench provided protection and a stable source of supplies, Webster believed “if we stayed in the ditch the war might last for twenty years longer without decisive result.”¹⁴⁸ While the American soldiers believed in Pershing’s plan, the results were indecisive. The doctrine of open warfare proved effective when hardened regular troops advanced against smaller armies across open plains, but it was less successful against well entrenched German veterans.¹⁴⁹ Despite heavy American losses during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, Pershing continued his strategy. Francis Webster noted that he was always on the move, and he spent his nights in a pup tent with one other soldier, rather than in a trench.¹⁵⁰ Once again, the Guard’s actions closely aligned with the overall experience of the rest of the American army, and this reality was reflected in guardsmen’s letters and journals.

For the men behind the line, discipline seemed to be a slight problem though. On 29 August 1918, Major Arthur L. Hart issued a memorandum to the 33rd Infantry Division officers that outlined codes of conduct for soldiers “in order to minimize arrests, and to avoid controversies with military police.” These codes included all warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and men to be in their billets by 9:30 nightly, and that only officers could use lights more than one hour after sunset for official business, only if “a light is necessary and if completely shaded from outside observation.”

¹⁴⁷ John Mosier, *The Myth of the Great War: A New Military History of World War I* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001).

¹⁴⁸ Francis Webster to Parents, September 26, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

¹⁴⁹ Brian McAllister Linn, *The Echo of Battle: The Army’s Way of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 115.

¹⁵⁰ Francis Webster to Parents, October 10, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

Additionally, only officers on official business could leave the division area.¹⁵¹ The headquarters company of the 131st Infantry Regiment (Illinois Guard) in the 33rd Division issued special instructions to the division's soldiers stating, "The practice of men washing themselves at the horses watering troughs must be stopped at once as this practice leads to disease among the horses."¹⁵² Despite some discipline issues, when Guard divisions arrived in France, they took up positions along the front and prepared for an all-out assault.

On 30 May 1918, the 33rd Division began traveling from town to town and station to station until the end of August when they took up positions in the reserve trenches in Jacques, France. And even though the division was not in the front lines in their first few months in France, there were constant hazards. First Sergeant Johannes Sigfrid Anderson, a Finnish immigrant of the 132nd US Infantry Regiment (formerly the Second Illinois), wrote on 27 July 1918 (the same day the 42nd Division prepped for an advance against German lines) that there was "rain and mud up to our ankles," and "he [the German army] is sending us Trench mortars a plenty to day and a few shells."¹⁵³ Eventually, the 131st moved to the front lines, and throughout the end of September through early October, the unit advanced as part of General Pershing's main operation and ended up in Hannonville, France at the Armistice.¹⁵⁴ Like the rest of the AEF's

¹⁵¹ General Orders, 33rd Division; Box 2, Military Papers, Mason Family C and P; ALPLM.

¹⁵² Special Orders to Battalion Commanders and Co. Commanders, September 7, 1918; Box 17, Front Line Instructions, 33rd Division (33rd Div), Records of Combat Divisions, 1917-1919, Record Group 120 (RG 120); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as Details; 33rd Div, RG 120; NACP.

¹⁵³ Johannes Sigfrid Anderson, Diary, July 27, 1918; Johannes Anderson Collection (Anderson Collection), Medal of Honor Recipients (MOH Recipients); Illinois National Guard Military Museum and Archives, Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois. Hereafter cited as Johannes S. Anderson, Diary, Date; Anderson Collection, MOH Recipients; INGMMA.

¹⁵⁴ Daily Operations Records and Orders; Box 17, Dispositions and Locations, 131st Regiment, 33rd Div, RG 120; NACP.

combat divisions, the 33rd and other National Guard divisions saw extensive action during the American offensive. Johannes Anderson's regiment participated in the Bois de Forges attack on 26 September, and charged the German lines along with the Seventeenth French Army Corps at Bois de Craume throughout October.¹⁵⁵ During this assault, on 8 October, while First Sergeant Anderson's company was held down by intense machine gun fire, Anderson left his position alone and moved to the rear of the German machine gun nest. From his new position, Anderson captured the gun position and brought back twenty three prisoners. Congress awarded First Sergeant Anderson the Medal of Honor for his actions.¹⁵⁶

In the waning months of the war, Iowa Captain Lloyd Ross, who had also served in the Philippine Theater as a corporal with the 51st Iowa and along the border, wrote an informative letter home. Ross wrote, "Everything looks favorable over here we are driving the Huns back every day. And taking all kinds of prisoners, guns, and ammunition. Bulgaria has laid down her arms and it is rumored that Austria has done the same." Captain Ross went on to describe how ashamed of himself he was because he did not write home more often, but somewhat justified his actions by saying he was "fairly busy driving the Dutch back," and that "in fact, I believe I am about the busiest man in the army."¹⁵⁷ While Ross was probably not the busiest man in the army, he had gained a

¹⁵⁵ Johannes S. Anderson, Diary, September 27, 1918 and October 20, 1918; Anderson Collection, MOH Recipients; INGMMA; and Daily Operations Records and Orders; Box 17, Dispositions and Locations, 132nd Regiment, 33rd Div, RG 120; NACP.

¹⁵⁶ Medal of Honor Citation; Anderson Collection, MOH Recipients; INGMMA.

¹⁵⁷ Captain Lloyd Ross to Mother and All, October 6, 1918; 1999.113.96, Letters from Lloyd D. Ross in France During World War I, Ross Papers, WWI; INGA.

high level of recognition earlier in the war, when he led his company “over the top,” and captured a German position as well as fifty prisoners.¹⁵⁸

Ross’s belief that the end was near came to fruition, but wartime hazards still took their toll even as the war drew to a close. One potentially disastrous incident involved the 42nd Division during the final days of the war. When General Pershing decided the US Army would capture Sedan from the Germans, he ignored Ferdinand Foch’s boundary that firmly placed Sedan within the French Fourth Army’s zone. Pershing directed the I Corps, spearheaded by the 42nd Division, to make the main thrust, “assisted on their right by the V Corps.” But Pershing’s order was so vague that the V Corps’ commander marched the Regular Army’s 1st Division across the front of the 42nd so they might reach their objective first. This caused a great deal of confusion, and the 1st Division actually captured Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur, after they confused him for a German. Somehow, the two divisions avoided shooting each other to pieces.¹⁵⁹

On 11 November 1918, the warring sides signed the Armistice that ended the fighting. Celebrations ensued for soldiers and civilians alike. Cecil Clark, not surprisingly, made a special note of the Armistice in his diary, and described elation within the ranks.¹⁶⁰ August Smidt’s girlfriend penned an open letter one day after the armistice where she declared, “War is Over, lover! I mean until you get home, but there won’t be any fighting or anything like that, it will be a different kind of war, it will be a ‘loving war,’ Sweetheart.” She went on to say that “Waterloo [Iowa] certainly done

¹⁵⁸ Ross, “Fifty Germans;” Ross Papers, WWI; INGA; and Lloyd D. Ross to Mr. Knight; Box 33, G-1 Memos, 168th Regiment, 42nd Div, RG 120; NACP.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Fleming, “Iron General,” 431.

¹⁶⁰ Cecil Clark, Diary, November 11, 1918; Diary of C Clark, WWI; INGA.

some celebrating” when news broke of the war’s end.¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, thousands of other soldiers, such as Francis Webster, did not live to see the end of the war. A piece of shrapnel struck Webster in the chest while his machine gun team set up their position on a small hill with a good line-of-sight in order to provide cover for the infantry during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, and German artillery spotted the Americans, and began shelling their position. Webster’s friend, Private U.M. Kelso, Jr., remembered “we had been there but a short time when the German artillery located us, and harassed the hill with their fire. We immediately went out of action and jumped into any little hole for a little protection.”¹⁶² As any good non-commissioned officer would do, Corporal Webster refused to take cover until all his men were dug in, and that delay cost him his life.

When the war ended, military authorities naturally reviewed each division’s combat performance. While the National Guard generally performed well in combat, some divisions did not fare so well. As mentioned earlier, the 35th Infantry Division completely fell apart during the American’s final push of the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Shortly after the armistice, one of the 35th’s colonels, Carl Ristine, outlined a series of problems that influenced his divisions collapse. Again, demonstrating a high level of tactical, strategical, and political understanding, Colonel Ristine blamed training regimens, poor officer schooling, attack orders, operational security, poor operations against machine guns, daytime operations, too frequent movement, ammunition rationing, and retreats for his division’s failures.¹⁶³ Throughout the war, these issues certainly plagued the National Guard and limited their combat effectiveness, but these issues were not limited to the Guard. While the colonel was speaking of his own

¹⁶¹ Agnes Brennan to August Smidt, November 12, 1918; Papers of A Smidt, WWI; INGA.

¹⁶² U.M. Kelso Jr. to Mr. and Mrs. Webster, October 18, 1918; Webster Papers, WWI; INGA.

¹⁶³ Ferrell, *Collapse at Meuse-Argonne*, 131-39.

division, his analysis could also be applied to other failures of the AEF as a whole, and not specific to the National Guard, again making the Guard representative of the whole, not on the periphery.

Home guards

Regardless of the Guard's successes or failures, the war left individual states without a military force. And while a truce existed between organized labor and the US government for the sake of national unity, state governments remained uneasy. As a means of maintaining order in the potential event of unrest, states created "home guards" or public safety departments which carried out the Guard's traditional role at home.¹⁶⁴ One historian, Barry Stentiford, noted that these state militia forces "remained outside of the National Guard, yet at the same time their history has been intimately intertwined with that of the National Guard."¹⁶⁵ For example, Iowa created one regiment of infantry for state duty, which carried out the Guard's pre-war role related to labor strikes, riot duty, and disaster recovery efforts.¹⁶⁶ But the wartime shortage of supplies plagued even this temporary unit. In July 1918, a company from Sioux City, Iowa aided in disaster relief after the collapse of the Oscar Ruff Building, even though the government had not yet supplied rifles to the men. Locals worried that the lack of supplies might limit the

¹⁶⁴ Barry Stentiford, *The American Home Guard: The State Militia in the Twentieth Century* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁵ Stentiford, *The American Home Guard*, 4.

¹⁶⁶ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1920*, 1. Of this new state regiment, the first company was eventually called into federal service.

home guard's ability to maintain order, especially during the fall, when a large "floating population" passed through Sioux City to harvest the fields.¹⁶⁷

Similarly, due to the lack of a potential home defense force, the Illinois Volunteer Training Corps, part of the new State Council of Defense, sent out a circular letter calling on at least 80 men to volunteer for companies, prior to officer selection. The State Council of Defense further hoped these units would reach a strength of 100 men.¹⁶⁸ Eventually some of these Volunteer Training Corps units became part of the Illinois Reserve Militia, which fell under the control of the Adjutant General instead of the State Council of Defense.¹⁶⁹ But, seemingly, raising volunteers was not the only issue related to the Guard's overseas deployment. In September 1917, Angus S. Hubbard wrote to Illinois's acting governor Richard Oglesby regarding an ordinance request he made to John H. Winterbotham at the National Council of Defense. He declared, "In speaking of the prevailing shortage of rifles, he [Winterbotham] stated that he had been told the Canadian government had on hand a large number of arms which were not now used abroad, and it was believed if applied for by the United States Government for us of training home guards they would be furnished."¹⁷⁰ Oglesby replied a day later and said that this was a matter for the US government to settle, not the Illinois Council of Defense, but would be "glad if Mr. Winterbotham could prevail upon the Government to get guns

¹⁶⁷ J.W. Porterfield, Iowa Treasury Secretary, to Governor Harding, July 5, 1918; Box 27, General Correspondence, Governor Harding Papers; State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹⁶⁸ State Council of Defense Circular Letter, September 1917; Box 38, State Council of Defense Records (SCD Records), Richard Oglesby Papers (Oglesby Papers); Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM). Hereafter as Details; SCD Records, Oglesby Papers; ALPLM.

¹⁶⁹ Richard Oglesby, Illinois Lt. Governor, to Mr. W.F. Hogaboorn, November 17, 1917; SCD Records, Oglesby Papers; ALPLM

¹⁷⁰ Angus S. Hubbard, Vice-Chairman of the Cook County Military Affairs Committee, to Richard Oglesby, Lt. Governor, Acting Illinois Governor, September 27, 1917; SCD Records, Oglesby Papers; ALPLM.

from the Canadian Government for the Home Defense Guards.”¹⁷¹ Indeed, these home guard’s served a valuable purpose in the National Guard’s absence, but certainly suffered from wartime shortages, and the lack of federal support.

Furthermore, these home guard units added to the general confusion about the National Guard’s role during wartime. During the First World War many citizens witnessed these “guard” units in action as they provided security to valuable state installations, and responded during natural disasters and strikes. Therefore, people associated this wartime service with the National Guard, and many families spoke of their deployed relatives as serving with the “Army,” not the “Guard.” New York’s adjutant general summed up this concept when he described the “New York Guard’s” role. General Charles Berry stated, “This force [the New York Guard] took the place of the New York National Guard which was drafted into the service of the United States on August 5, 1917, and thereby discharged from the militia.” The adjutant general went on to describe how “It was necessarily composed, however, largely of men who were not eligible for active service.”¹⁷² Ultimately, many former guardsmen who were either too old or medically unfit for service enlisted in these state defense forces making the association between the two organizations indistinguishable to many citizens. Therefore, despite years of Congressional reorganization and Guard solidification, many Americans believed the National Guard was a home defense force rather than a part of the federal military structure.¹⁷³ Indeed, this was not the case, and the National Guard served as a

¹⁷¹ Richard Oglesby, Illinois Lt. Governor, to Angus S. Hubbard, September 28, 1917; SCD Records, Oglesby Papers; ALPLM.

¹⁷² *State of New York, Annual Report of the Adjutant General, for the year 1919* (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1921), 3.

¹⁷³ Stentiford, *The American Home Guard*, 30-51.

complement to the Regular Army since the organization's official creation at the turn of the twentieth-century.

The service of the National Guard during World War I came in many forms. Some guardsmen spent nearly ten months in the front lines as part of the Rainbow Division, while others spent most of the war drilling on the home front before advancing against the Germans during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Still others filled important support roles both at home and in rear positions behind the main lines. Furthermore, some men served in home guard units while the National Guard remained in federal service. Despite these variances, though, the Guard played an important role in the war effort as a whole, as each piece of the Guard aided in the Army's mission execution. Many guardsmen such as Moses Thisted, Irving McCann, and Cecil Clark, put skills learned at the border to good use in the trenches, and veterans of the Spanish-American War, such as Mathew Tinley and Lloyd Ross, drew on over two decades of experience when they commanded guardsmen on the front lines. Young men like Francis Webster and Everett Wright who enlisted after Wilson's declaration of war, found themselves alongside Guard veterans on the front lines. Other border veterans like Rudolph Dubbert and Finnish immigrant, Johannes Anderson, trained raw recruits such as Alfred Bowen at home stations before going "over there." Indeed, such service variety reflected the complex nature of the pre-, intra-, and post-war Guard, and mirrored the complexities of the larger American experience.

The Guard's deployment during the First World War served as the culmination of a series of organizational transformations that began with the Militia Act of 1903, and

over the next decade, the United States government repeatedly reassessed the Guard's potential. The National Defense Act of 1916 completely altered the existing American military structure World War I and tensions between the United States and Mexico. Throughout this period, American political leaders and National Guard advocates actively sought to reform the existing National Guard into a more effective fighting force, but the National Defense Act essentially severed many of the National Guard's state ties and regional identities. When the National Guard mobilized for war in 1917, a new divisional structure forced the Guard to reorganize to meet new federal guidelines. Under this structure, some officers lost their commands, soldiers and officers needed to learn new specialties, and the War Department merged or divided existing units. Many "orphaned" regiments, batteries, and companies found themselves in the Rainbow Division, which was among the first American divisions to arrive in France. Other guardsmen from around the nation found themselves in regionally-oriented divisions at various levels of readiness. These units (which often contained large amounts of raw recruits) trained at American camps until government officials deemed them ready to join the American Expeditionary Force, and when General Pershing launched his massive offensive in 1918, the National Guard comprised nearly two-thirds of his force.

During the war, the National Guard generally met or exceeded expectations. Many Regular Army officers held long-standing prejudices regarding the Guard's civilian soldiers, and doubted their abilities. Numerous Guard divisions performed on par with the Regular Army, and the Guard generally earned praise from many high ranking officers such as Pershing and MacArthur. However, the Guard's role in the Great War became the new organization's first military test under the new military structure. The

National Guard that fought in the trenches fell completely under the War Department's control, and state governments had very little say in how or where their soldiers served. Although the peace-time Guard returned to state authority, the National Defense Act ensured that any wartime mobilization would occur without state sanction. Indeed, the Guard's performance during the First World War demonstrated the organization's ability not only to provide a valuable reserve force, but also to supplement the Regular Army on the front lines adequately.

Importantly, the Guard's wartime service came at a time when the Guard's long-term role remained in doubt. The National Defense Act of 1916 had solidified the organization's place in the American military system, but discharge issues and legal oversights again threatened the Guard's survival after the war. Additionally, while the majority of the Guard performed as well as their Regular Army counterparts, some Guard units like the 35th Infantry Division collapsed during combat operations, prompting a few civilian officials to once again call for Guard replacement proposals. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the overall success of the National Guard during the war led many prominent military officers and politicians to double-down on their organizational support, and the United States Congress again took steps to refine the Guard's role in the twentieth-century American military structure. Perhaps more importantly, though, the Guard's ongoing connection to civilian society ensured that the organization would continue to represent a cross-section of the American populace. Furthermore, social values and attitudes would continue to shape the Guard's development in the immediate years following the First World War. And once again, the Midwestern Guard units

served as a window into the Guard's larger contributions to the war effort, and indeed to the Guard's larger role as an indicator of American society.

CHAPTER 6 – THE GUARD AFTER THE WAR

As the First World War drew to a close, the United States entered a year of upheaval. The Spanish Flu decimated communities across the nation, race tensions were heightened (especially in Northern cities and urban areas), and Americans feared the possibility of a socialist uprising amidst organized labor's renewed ongoing push for increased workplace regulations.¹ In August 1919, various unions within the newly formed International Association of Machinists, Local 314 out of Waterloo, Iowa had been on strike for a week when Agnes Brennan wrote to her boyfriend, August Smidt (who was still in France), that "All the large shape and some of the small men are out on strike. [I] think it is only a question of time till they all go out."² The Waterloo strikes were part of a larger trend in the United States throughout 1919 where workers (who entered an informal truce with the federal government during the war) took to the streets to secure higher wages, safer working conditions, an eight-hour workday, and collective bargaining rights.³ Unlike in the previous decades though, the majority of Iowa's National Guard remained in France with the 34th Infantry Division, and the state held only one full infantry regiment (organized during the war as a federally-recognized home guard regiment) at their disposal in 1919. While many states across the nation responded to increased tension by using the National Guard to restore order, the organization faced a new challenge when the Army's judge advocate general, Enoch Crowder, ruled that

¹ Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998), 177-185

² Agnes Brennan to August Smidt, August 3, 1919; 1995.131, Box 5, Correspondence, Papers of August Smidt (Papers of A Smidt), World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter, cited as correspondence detail, date; Papers of A Smidt, WWI; INGA.

³ Leslie Stegh, "The Waterloo Strikes of 1919," *The Annals of Iowa* 72:4 (Fall 2013), 321-352.

guardsmen became exempt from all military obligations—including state ones—when they returned from France.

The First World War was over, but some battles were just beginning for the National Guard. In 1919, General Pershing faced a congressional committee who questioned him about the United States' actions in France during the war as well as the best approach to strengthen the American military going forward. Some Members of Congress pressed Pershing to denounce the National Guard as the weak link in America's force structure in the hopes that they could finally replace the Guard with the alternate forces they supported. These Guard opponents hoped that failures such as the 35th Division's collapse during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive would be enough to force Pershing and other top commanders to admit that the National Guard failed to support the Regular Army adequately. However, these congressmen were greatly disappointed. Instead of denouncing the Guard, Pershing praised the Guard's abilities not only to support the Regular Army but also as a stand-alone force. Pershing even declared that the National Guard never received full support from the federal government during the war, and that some of the Guard's failures in combat related to the lack of federal support at home.⁴ Other officers who worked closely with the Guard (such as Douglas MacArthur who served as a staff officer with the Rainbow Division) provided similar reports.⁵

⁴ U.S. Congress, *National Defense: Hearings Before the United States House Committee on Military Affairs, Sixty-Ninth Congress, Second Session, on Mar. 3, 1927, Part 1* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1927). This volume contains reproductions of the Congressional Hearings in 1919 as well as documents pertaining to National Defense reorganization from 1903 to 1920.

⁵ Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard* (New York: Stackpole Company, 1964), 291-95.

Following these testimonies, Guard supporters in Congress managed to press for amendments to the National Defense Act of 1916 that would “remedy certain defects which four years of operation under the said national defense act had developed.”⁶ Though the National Guard performed their duties throughout the First World War, a series of unforeseen circumstances related to mass discharges threatened the ongoing survival of the organization. Enoch Crowder—a longtime Guard opponent—declared that all guardsmen who earned a discharge from the federal army were subsequently discharged from all other military obligations. This ruling left the National Guard in shambles, and Congress again faced the question of how to retain state forces. However, unlike in previous decades, some states opposed the reorganization of the National Guard in light of increased federal oversight. Many state governments believed the federal government usurped power related to the National Guard with the National Defense Act of 1916, and hoped to increase their own authority over their state forces—particularly the home guard units which more closely resembled the old militia than the new National Guard. And, just as prior to the war, Guard opponents renewed their efforts to replace the Guard with either some form of universal military training (UMT) or remove the organization altogether.

However, a group of senators led by J.W. Wadsworth and George Chamberlain, and a group of representatives led by Julius Kahn and John McKenzie continued to support the Guard and proposed a series of laws to solidify the Guard’s place in the military system. While these proposed laws ultimately failed, these Guard advocates worked with the Militia Bureau and the National Guard Association (NGA) to amend the existing National Defense Act in 1920 as a means of strengthening the Guard and

⁶ H.R. Rep. No. 66-1000, at 2 (1920) (Conf. Rep.).

solidifying many military protocols. Not surprisingly, just as in 1916, many of these reforms took place amidst larger military reorganization. Congress simultaneously reexamined the Army's force structure and the Navy's fleet size. In 1919 the Wilson Administration proposed expanding the US Navy to meet new international demands, because, as one scholar noted, "by 1919 we [the US] had become a part of the world system of military rivalry."⁷ Ultimately, the naval expansion plan never came to fruition, but the National Defense Act's 1920 amendments effectively outlined the Army's force structure—which included the National Guard. General Henry Reilly eventually described the National Defense Act of 1920 as "the first military policy the United States has ever had."⁸ Indeed, though the Guard entered into a renewed struggle to rebuild its manpower, their actions at the border and in France convinced enough congressional leaders and military officials to support strengthening the Guard's position in the American military. Ultimately, the Guard's nature as a Progressive Era political and military organization—focused on centralization and efficiency—combined with its military successes during the First World War led to its long-term survival and continued inclusion in the American military system.

The National Defense Act of 1916 and the ensuing border service allowed the National Guard to carry out its mission in the Great War under a highly centralized structure. Unlike in previous conflicts, state governments maintained very little control over how the federal government utilized their forces. By 1917, the National Guard had become a centralized military force with established protocols for promotion and federal

⁷ Lillian Ruth Nelson, "The Naval Policy of the United States, 1919-1931" (master's thesis, Loyola University, 1941), 10, http://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1293&context=luc_theses.

⁸ Brigadier General Henry J. Reilly, *Americans All: The Rainbow at War, Official History of the 42nd Rainbow Division in the World War 2nd* ed. (Columbus: The F.J. Heer Printing Co., 1936), 18.

allocations. American progressives reoriented the National Guard in the same ways that they oriented American businesses and professional organizations around concepts of scientific management and expert rule. Jerry Cooper points out in *The Rise of the National Guard*, that by 1920, state soldiers could no longer use political connections or their state's manpower contributions to win general officer commissions, and volunteers recruited by the states would no longer form the wartime army. Cooper also notes that the National Guard would no longer provide the skeleton of an expansible army, as it had in 1898.⁹ Ultimately, Cooper's assessment of the National Guard's development as a truly nationalized force outlines the Guard's general trend following the Civil War, and his brief discussion of the National Defense Act of 1920 notes that the new legislation strengthened the National Guard.¹⁰ However, Cooper's overall description of the National Guard's growth avoids placing the National Guard within the Progressive Era's societal framework. By overlooking the Progressive Era's centrality in the Guard's evolution from a state-centric force to a federally-sanctioned one, Cooper and other Guard historians have kept the National Guard in its own military realm.

By placing the Guard's development within a larger political and social context, the organization's importance as a lens through which to view American society during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era becomes apparent. As noted earlier, the Guard's growth illustrated the emerging class consciousness among the new middle-class, and political leaders used the Guard's performance during the First World War as justification for solidifying the organization within the US Army's force structure. The War Department reorganized the National Guard to fit a new divisional structure based on

⁹ Jerry Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard: The Evolution of the American Militia, 1865-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 172.

¹⁰ Cooper, *Rise*, 173-4.

overall needs rather than regional identity or affiliation, and these provisions reshaped the National Guard into a hybrid of the old militia and a federally-structured reserve force. Some states responded to this new reality with hostility and animosity, and campaigned for increased local control. By 1920, just as the Republican presidential nominee called for a “return to normalcy,” Congress assessed whether the National Guard would also return to an earlier version of itself. Ultimately, the opposite occurred, and the federal government kept the National Guard on its general trajectory toward heightened centralized authority. However, before guardsmen would face these possibilities, they needed to return home. As the First World War came to a close, many National Guard units remained in France through the first few months of 1919 alongside their Regular Army counterparts.

The Guard returns home

When the war ended in November 1918, American soldiers returned to civilian life rapidly. By the end of January 1919, the Army issued discharges to over 818,500 men of its wartime strength of over 3.7 million, and by the end of June 1919, more than 2.7 million soldiers received their discharge papers (along with a \$60 bonus, a coat, a uniform, and a pair of shoes). Any soldier who served overseas could also retain a helmet and a gas mask as wartime mementos.¹¹ However, demobilization took place in piecemeal fashion, and many combat veterans of the Regular Army, National Guard, and National Army remained overseas throughout the first eight months of 1919. Many guardsmen remained with their divisions, much to the dismay of both officers and men.

¹¹ Edward M. Coffman, *The War to End All Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 357-8.

Although the Army began sending soldiers home at an average of 300,000 per month in 1919, the process was slow, and some Guard units such as the 33rd Infantry Division (Illinois National Guard) remained in France in some capacity until June 1919. Much of their duties ultimately resembled those of regular camp life.¹² As soldiers found themselves in occupation zones with little to do, discipline and morale began to break down. One private, Harry Lehnhardt, fell into some trouble when the military police arrested him for selling cigarettes to French citizens and soldiers. Lehnhardt received three months of hard labor and half pay for defrauding the US government, but did receive an honorable discharge in August 1919.¹³

Soldiers such as Rudolph Dubbert responded to the monotony of their post-war role with hostility. After hearing a series of rumors regarding a potential conflict with the new Soviet Union, and the possibility of some divisions responding to trouble, Dubbert wrote, "I'm rarin [*sic*] to get home, we'll let someone else do the volunteering from now on."¹⁴ While these rumors never came to pass, American soldiers found themselves without a mission. The Army instituted a drilling policy to keep the soldiers busy, but the image of American veterans marching up and down muddy roads with little motivation, and firing at imaginary targets across deserted battlefields did little to improve morale.

Eventually, the Army set up a series of athletic competitions and schools, but the troops

¹² Dispositions and Locations (D and L), 33rd Infantry Division, December 1918-June 1919; Daily Operation Reports (DOR), 33rd Division (33rd Div), Records of Combat Divisions, 1918-1919, Record Group 120 (RG 120); National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as D and L, 33rd Infantry Division, December 1918-June 1919; DOR, 33rd DIV, RG 120; NACP.

¹³ Pvt. Harry Lehnhardt, Transcribed Diary, December 23, 1919, December 30, 1919, and August 16, 1919; 2006. 602, Diary of Harry Lehnhardt (Diary of HL), World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter cited as Lehnhardt, Diary, dates; Diary of HL, WWI; INGA.

¹⁴ Rodolph Dubbert to Father, February 6, 1919; 2011.75.3-4, Letters of Rudolph A. Dubbert (Letters of RA Dubbert), Mexican Border and WWI (Border and WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as Rudolph A. Dubbert to Recipient, date; Letters of RA Dubbert, Border and WWI; INGA.

simply wanted to go home.¹⁵ August Smidt lamented to his girlfriend in Iowa that “You seem to be banking on my early return according to the papers, but I know nothing definite about this now. So don’t be too sure, it may be a long time yet.”¹⁶

In an effort to keep the soldiers busy and out of trouble, the Army instituted a drilling program for each unit, and guardsmen continued moving from station to station, trained with their weapons, and practiced drill and ceremony. Rudolph Dubbert spent the first few days of January trying to collect his mail because the post office struggled to keep up with constant troop movements amidst the abundance of Christmas and New Year’s letters and packages.¹⁷ While the mail issue created some anxiety, the guardsmen also experienced a level of hostility to continued overseas service after the war’s end. Dubbert applied for a transfer back to the US, but his division command rejected his application. Frustrated, Dubbert complained to his parents, “How they expect to keep us here and get any service out of us the way we are getting treated is more than I know.” Morale in Dubbert’s regiment continued declining and some tension developed between the soldiers and officers, especially after one well-liked sergeant earned a demotion for “busting a corporal in the jaw.” Dubbert’s frustrations grew to such a level that he hoped he would meet some of his officers after he got out of the army and was not bound by military conventions, and he remarked that “we all are dissatisfied” with the current situation.¹⁸

Soldier animosity grew to such proportions that some began losing faith in their commander. Iowa guardsmen Francis Webster had once declared that “we all think that

¹⁵ Coffman, *The War to End All Wars*, 358-9.

¹⁶ August Smidt to Agnes, February 22, 1919; Papers of A Smidt, WWI; INGA.

¹⁷ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, January 3, 1919; Letters of RA Dubbert, Border and WWI; INGA.

¹⁸ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, January 3, 1919; Letters of RA Dubbert, Border and WWI; INGA.

without doubt Pershing will be the next president,” that sentiment waned in light of continued service.¹⁹ In February 1919, Rudolph Dubbert reported to his parents that “if you want to know who the next president will be look up Leonard Wood’s history and you’ll find the man that outsells even [William Jennings] Bryan. He’s the best bet.” Conversely, Dubbert claimed that “If anyone around there thinks Pershing is going to be the bird [*sic*], just remind them that there are over 1,500,000 AEF votes to be cast against him.”²⁰ While Dubbert’s prediction regarding Leonard Wood did not come true, his sentiments demonstrated a heightened tension growing within the AEF’s ranks. And while the Army hoped to limit boredom and monotony, the everyday routine continued, and Sergeant Dubbert remarked “Things have been going about the same except there is less work to do so I have to invent ways to kill time.”²¹ Eventually though, the soldiers returned home.

The 1st Infantry Division, who were the first to arrive in France, became the last American combat division to embark for the United States in late August 1919. John J. Pershing followed shortly after and left France on 1 September 1919.²² Oftentimes, their voyages mirrored their journeys during the previous year, but with a very different destination. Alfred Bowen recounted three days of sea sickness during his return to the United States while onboard the U.S.S. *Santa Clara*.²³ Of course, Bowen’s elation soon

¹⁹ Francis Webster to Parents, April 9, 1918; 2005. 107. 205, Papers of Francis Webster, World War I Collection; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

²⁰ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, February 6, 1919; Letters of RA Dubbert, Border and WWI; INGA.

²¹ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, February 9, 1919; Letters of RA Dubbert, Border and WWI; INGA.

²² Coffman, 359.

²³ Alfred Bowen, Memorandum Book/Diary, April 13, 1919; 2000.48.2, Documents of Alfred Bowen (Docs of A Bowen), 2nd IA INF, World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as Bowen, Diary, date; Docs of A Bowen, WWI; INGA.

replaced Bowen's health issues, as he received his discharge on 14 May 1919, and simply wrote "Finni Le Guerre!" in his memorandum booklet.²⁴

While the AEF's wartime role officially came to an end, the National Guard faced a series of new challenges, as troopers readjusted to civilian life and the organization entered a new struggle for its long-term survival. Not surprisingly, guardsmen hoped to return to their pre-war professions and continue on their career trajectories when they returned to their civilian lives. Guardsmen such as Moses Thisted, Lloyd Ross, Mathew Tinley, Frank O. Lowden, and Rudolph Dubbert shared a middle-class identity, and their post-war careers continued to reflect the middle-class's professional orientation. Thisted, Ross, and Tinley became prominent figures in both their social and military professions. Lowden left the National Guard, but eventually won election as Governor of Illinois. Dubbert never achieved the personal or political success of the others, but his life too, paralleled broader societal trends. These men's personal lives demonstrated how the National Guard closely mirrored civilian attitudes, and illustrated the emerging class consciousness among the new middle-class.

Moses Thisted had taught high school while he served on the Mexican border and in France, and he continued his education after he returned home. Thisted married in 1924 and moved to Indiana where he worked as a university professor.²⁵ By 1940, Thisted, his wife, and his daughter had relocated to Macomb, Illinois, where he served as a dean at Western Illinois State Teachers College (currently Western Illinois University).²⁶ Thisted continued to embody the middle-class professionalization that

²⁴ Bowen, Diary, May 14, 1919; Docs of A Bowen, WWI; INGA.

²⁵ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930 (National Archives Microfilm Publication T626, Roll 630); Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

²⁶ "1940 United States Federal Census" (online database) accessed January 2016, <https://ancestry.com>.

dominated the National Guard's officer composition prior to and after the First World War. Unlike many of his fellow soldiers though, Thisted remained in the military for many years, and retired from the Army National Guard in 1956 as a lieutenant colonel.²⁷ Eventually, Thisted relocated to California and continued to maintain a strong connection to his National Guard roots, as he served as the Historian for Mexican Border Veterans, Incorporated until his death in 1984.²⁸

Similarly, Captain Lloyd Ross remained in the National Guard after he returned home from serving with the 168th Infantry Regiment in France, and he continued to serve as a link between the professional military and civilian realms. After receiving the Distinguished Service Cross for displaying "notable gallantry in leading a command of untried men in company with French troops in a successful raid on enemy trenches," Ross rose in the Guard's ranks.²⁹ When the Iowa National Guard reorganized to conform to the National Defense Act of 1920 (discussed later in the chapter), Ross earned a promotion to lieutenant-colonel, and became the second-in-command of the Iowa's infantry regiment. Additionally, Iowa's adjutant general placed Ross in command of his state's new officer training school at Camp Dodge.³⁰ By 1920, Ross served as Iowa's Assistant Secretary of State, and eventually reached the rank of brigadier general in the

²⁷ "U.S., Select Military Registers, 1862-1985, Moses Thisted, 1956" (online database) accessed January 2016, <https://ancestry.com>.

²⁸ "These Rotarians," *The Rotarian: Official Publication of Rotary International* 138:5 (1981), 45; and "State of California. California Death Index, 1940-1997" (online database) accessed January 2016 <https://ancestry.com>.

²⁹ Distinguished Service Cross Citation; 1999.113, Papers of General Lloyd D. Ross (Papers of LD Ross), World War I Collection (WWI); Iowa National Guard Archives, Camp Dodge, Iowa (INGA). Hereafter as Details; Papers of LD Ross, WWI; INGA.

³⁰ *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, for the Biennial Period Ended June 30, 1920* (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1920), 13, and 16.

Iowa National Guard.³¹ Prior to the war, Ross had worked as a mail carrier and had then been a partner in a meat packing business in Red Oak, Iowa; however, his father worked as a farmer.³² Therefore, Ross came from a fairly typical background, but by the time the United States entered the First World War, Ross established himself as a middle-class professional and remained in this status after the war. And, like other prominent Guard officers, Ross entered the political sphere and bridged the gap between the military and civilian worlds.

Frank Orren Lowden was another former militia and guard officer who grew from obscurity to prominence in the years following the First World War. Lowden spent his childhood in rural Iowa where he lived in general poverty and only attended school when he could put aside duties on his family's farm. However, by 1876, at only fifteen years of age, he managed to garner enough knowledge to teach at a small school in Hubbard, Iowa and he saved enough money to attend the University of Iowa, where he graduated in 1881. Lowden continued his education and eventually earned a law degree from Northwestern University and became a prominent member of Chicago's social elite by the turn of the twentieth century. And though Lowden did not serve during the First World War, he did briefly hold a commission as a lieutenant colonel with the First Illinois Infantry Regiment between 1898 and 1903, and Irving Goff McCann made special note of Lowden's brief service with the Illinois National Guard (militia) in his

³¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 (National Archives Microfilm Publication T625, roll 2076); Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.; and Promotion Orders; Orders and Promotions, Papers of LD Ross, WWI; INGA.

³² Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 (National Archives Microfilm Publication T623, Roll 1850); and Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (National Archives Microfilm Publication T624, Roll 1160); Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

border service memoir.³³ Eventually, Lowden won the 1916 Illinois gubernatorial election and remained in office until 1921. And though never successfully, Lowden ran for the Republican presidential nomination twice, in 1920 and 1928. While Lowden's service in the militia and National Guard was brief (and he did not serve in the Guard after its official creation), he too represented the intersection the Guard played between civil government and military affairs, and he oversaw the implementation of state soldiers in his state's highest office. On one occasion, Lowden refused to use troops to suppress a 1919 steel workers strike.³⁴ Indeed, Lowden was another example of Progressive Era political leaders who had close ties to the state militia and National Guard, and who directly influenced both military and civic affairs at either the state or federal level, both prior to and after the First World War.

Similarly, Mathew A. Tinley embodied the Guard's Progressive nature and became a highly influential member of society [figure 5]. Tinley was born in Council Bluffs, Iowa in 1876 to an Irish immigrant family on a small farm, and each of his four brothers and three sisters achieved success in their adult lives. His eldest brother became a bank president, and two of his other brothers became successful lawyers, and Emmett Tinley became president of the Iowa Bar Association. Tinley's youngest sister became a local teacher, and another sister became a nurse and married a member of the New York Stock Exchange. Mathew Tinley embarked on a career in medicine and became a prominent physician along with his eldest sister. In 1894, Tinley joined the Third Iowa Infantry Regiment as a private, and by the onset of the Spanish-American War, had

³³ Irving Goff McCann, *With the National Guard on the Mexican Border: Our National Military Problem* (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Company, 1917), 4.

³⁴ The above information can be found in the "Biographical Note," Guide to the Frank O. Lowden Papers circa 1870-1943; The University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center, Online Finding Aids, <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.LOWDENF>.

reached the rank of second lieutenant. Tinley travelled to the Philippines with the rest of his regiment, and by the time he returned, he was a first lieutenant. Tinley continued to serve in the National Guard as he finished his education, went to work in his sister's medical practice, and began a family of his own. Tinley served along the Mexican border as a lieutenant colonel, where he oversaw the training of his troopers, and he served in France as commander of the 168th Infantry Regiment in the 42nd Infantry Division.³⁵

After the war, Tinley returned to Iowa and continued both his medical practice and his military career. In 1921, he earned a promotion to the rank of brigadier general, and in 1924, Tinley became commander of the 34th Infantry Division (which consisted of the Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota National Guard), and he held that position until he retired as a lieutenant general in 1940.³⁶ During the Second World War, Tinley briefly came out of retirement to serve as the commander at Camp Dodge, Iowa.³⁷ In the meantime, Tinley became the first commander of the Iowa Department of the American Legion in 1920, and he served as vice-president of the NGA in 1932, and president in 1933. Politically, Tinley was a staunch Democrat in a highly Republican state, but enjoyed bipartisan support in his military, social, and political endeavors. In 1920, Tinley's political friends suggested that he run for governor of Iowa, but he refused, and in 1924, delegates to the Democratic National Convention suggested Tinley as vice-presidential candidate, but he again refused the honor.

³⁵ Thomas John Sandell, "The Campaign of Major General Mathew A. Tinley for the Democratic Vice-Presidential Nomination in 1932 (master's thesis, Drake University, 1963), 5-12, <http://escholarshare.drake.edu/bitstream/handle/2092/1580/Untitled.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

³⁶ Sandell, "The Campaign of Major General Mathew A. Tinley," 12-14.

³⁷ General Orders, Camp Dodge, Iowa, General Mathew A. Tinley, January 1942; 2010. 18. 10, Documents, Letters, and Photographs of Mathew Tinley, WWII Collection; Iowa National Guard Archives, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

By 1932 however, Tinley came to believe that the Herbert Hoover Administration had not done enough to support veterans and farmers, and he specifically sought the Democratic vice-presidential nomination (with no presidential aspirations), but his campaign ultimately failed.³⁸ Ultimately, Tinley's civilian, military, and political trajectories reflected Progressive Era trends. As a physician, Tinley represented the growing middle-class professional ranks, and actively sought to use his skills to relieve individual suffering. Tinley carried this philosophy over into both the military and political arenas, and when he could not help American citizens through his medical practice, he used his military and political influence to press for social reforms and ease economic hardship.

Other guardsmen embodied the middle-class identity that shaped the organization throughout the Gilded Age and Progressive Eras in other ways. Rudolph Dubbert enlisted in the First Iowa Infantry Regiment in 1915 and served at the Mexican border.³⁹ Dubbert's father had immigrated to the United States in 1877 and eventually married and settled in Cedar Falls, Iowa. Both Dubbert's father and mother worked as self-employed music teachers.⁴⁰ During the First World War, Rudolph Dubbert served as a training non-commissioned officer and eventually as his adjutant's orderly as part of the 131st US Infantry Regiment in the 34th Infantry Division. At one point, Dubbert had an opportunity to attend officer training school to earn a commission, but he was too low on

³⁸ Sandell, 14-15.

³⁹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, for the Biennial Period Ended November 30, 1916* (Des Moines: State Printing Office, 1917).

⁴⁰ "1910 United States Federal Census," (online database), accessed February 2016, <https://ancestry.com>.

the list.⁴¹ Along with the majority of his division, Dubbert spent a long period of time at Camp Cody, New Mexico where he oversaw training exercises and prepared to fight in France. However, when Dubbert arrived in France, the war was all but over, and most of his time in Europe centered on guard duty and mundane tasks. After the war, Rudolph Dubbert returned to Iowa and opened a sporting goods store with his wife (whom he married in the months between his return from the border and wartime mobilization).⁴² Like many other Americans, life and economic hardships took their toll. Dubbert divorced his first wife and remarried in 1928, though by 1930, Dubbert was once again divorced and had moved to Illinois to take up a job as a day laborer on a farm.⁴³ By 1940, Dubbert returned to Iowa, married for a third time, and began selling sporting goods again.⁴⁴ He died in 1943 at the age of 45.⁴⁵

These guardsmen's stories were by no means uniform. Guardsmen came from various racial and social backgrounds, and their peacetime (and wartime) lives reflected the American experience's complexity. Ultimately, the National Guard represented a cross-section of American citizens, and embodied overall trends associated with Progressive Era reform movements. Indeed, the Guard continued to mirror social trends in the United States throughout the twentieth century. While guardsmen hoped to get back to their lives after the war, though, the National Guard entered into another fight for its organizational survival. Under the provisions in the National Defense Act of 1916,

⁴¹ Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, June 1, 1918; and Rudolph A. Dubbert to Parents, July 22, 1918; Letters of RA Dubbert, Border and WWI; INGA. Various other letters between June and July from Dubbert to his parents and sister detail his routine while at Camp Cody.

⁴² "1920 United States Federal Census," (online database), accessed February 2016, <https://ancestry.com>.

⁴³ Iowa Department of Public Health. Iowa Marriage Records, 1880–1922. Textual Records. State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa; and "1930 Federal Census," accessed February 2016, <https://ancestry.com>.

⁴⁴ "1940 United States Federal Census," accessed February 2016, <https://ancestry.com>.

⁴⁵ "Rudolph August Dubbert," Find a Grave Index, accessed February 2016, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi>.

when guardsmen swore their second oath entering federal service, they took on all the Regular Army's benefits and requirements. When the war ended, Enoch Crowder, the Army's judge advocate general, declared that guardsmen who had taken a federal oath of service and were subsequently discharged from federal service were also discharged from any previous commitment or enlistment, both to the federal government and their home states.⁴⁶ Crowder had served as the judge advocate general since 1911, and had previously argued that Congress committed an error by allowing the Guard to mobilize for overseas service. Crowder was also a longtime Guard opponent, and in 1912 argued that the National Guard was little more than the militia under a new name and could not therefore serve as a legal substitute for a volunteer army.⁴⁷ Instead, Crowder supported the Selective Service Act and encouraged the implementation of some form of UMT—voluntary or conscripted, and his ruling effectively discharged all guardsmen who had entered federal service during the First World War from both active service and their National Guard obligations. These men became free to reenter civilian life without any continued military requirement. This sudden hollowing out of the National Guard dramatically reduced the organization's strength and threatened its ability to reorganize.

The Guard's post-war struggles

Some states particularly suffered when guardsmen exited the Guard after Crowder's ruling. When the judge advocate general made his ruling, the majority of the National Guard was still overseas and preparing to return home, prompting many states to

⁴⁶ *Iowa Adjutant General Report, 1920, 1.*

⁴⁷ Crowder's Opinion, reprinted in the *Department of Military Affairs Annual Report, 1912*, December 29, 1911; Entry 5, Memoranda and Reports, Records of the War Department General and Record Staff, Record Group 165; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

seek federal recognition for their existing home guards. In order to maintain order, the New York and New Jersey legislatures authorized their governors to establish emergency forces until their state soldiers could meet the National Defense Act's requirements. In New York's case, the state raised roughly 22,000 men to serve in their Home Defense Reserve Guard, but the majority of these were unfit for active service. New York's adjutant general noted that "At the close of the war its membership consisted almost entirely of those not subject to the Selective Service Law—boys under the age of 18 years, men over the age of 45, men whose business or family relations were such that their presence was required in their home communities and men with physical defects which barred them from active service, but which were not sufficient to prevent them from performing duty in the New York Guard at their home stations." Furthermore, the adjutant general doubted that even 5,000 of the state's existing National Guard could muster for either a statewide or national emergency.⁴⁸

Under existing provisions, the federal government could not offer any funding for units not prescribed in the National Defense Act; therefore, each state's Guard units needed to meet manpower quotas and proficiency standards to earn federal recognition. As the Guard troops from around the nation returned home throughout 1919, the majority of the soldiers sought discharges and left the National Guard. Against the backdrop of growing social discord, states needed to replace their guardsmen. Massachusetts maintained their home guard during 1919 as a means of maintaining an emergency force, and in December 1919 began disbanding their state guards in exchange for a reorganized,

⁴⁸ *State of New York, Annual Report of the Adjutant General, for the year 1919, 3-4.*

federally-recognized National Guard.⁴⁹ New York took a similar approach, and discontinued enlistments in the New York Guard on 29 December 1919. The New York Adjutant General's Office, with approval from the War Department, ordered that any future enlistment in the National Guard would be in federally-recognized units. Furthermore, any member of the home guard who transferred to the National Guard would receive credit for time served.⁵⁰

Some states such as New York and Massachusetts actively encouraged their Guard units to meet federal demands, and by the end of 1919 had reestablished federally-sanctioned companies and regiments.⁵¹ Other states though, like Pennsylvania, believed they did not need to replenish their federally-recognized Guard units.⁵² Instead, these states hoped they could raise state-based Guard units to serve in a role similar to the nineteenth-century militia. Due to general discharges and conflicting opinions regarding Guard provisions and federal oversight, the Guard's overall numbers diminished. The Guard's situation deteriorated so drastically that by the middle of 1920 fourteen states maintained no federally-recognized National Guard units. Militia Bureau Chief, General Jesse Carter, publically announced that states across the country, including Illinois, Indiana, and Nebraska, suffered from general public antipathy toward the Guard, and that the entire National Guard's strength was at only 56,000 officers and enlisted soldiers.⁵³

Although the official National Guard's numbers dramatically decreased after the war, pre-war racial and social tensions reemerged. As outlined in earlier chapters, the

⁴⁹ *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Annual Report of the Adjutant General, for the Year Ending December 31, 1920* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing, Co., State Printers, 1921), 4-5.

⁵⁰ *State of New York, Adjutant General Report, 1919*, 20.

⁵¹ *State of New York, Adjutant General Report, 1919*, 9-19.

⁵² "Allow New Units in National Guard," *New York Times*, April 24, 1919.

⁵³ "No National Guard in Fourteen States," *New York Times*, November 28, 1920.

National Guard had been involved in racial and class issues for generations. As the United States prepared to enter the Great War, back-to-back riots in East St. Louis, Illinois illustrated the prominent social and racial tensions throughout the nation. In May and July 1917, a massive worker and race riot erupted in East St. Louis. A Congressional report noted that initial reports blamed organized labor for the riot, “but the overwhelming weight of testimony, to which is added the convictions of the committee, ascribes the mob spirit and its murderous manifestations to the bitter race feeling that had grown up between the whites and blacks.”⁵⁴ Eventually the Illinois National Guard moved in to restore order, but quickly became embroiled in the racial tension. While Illinois’ assistant adjutant general, S.O. Tripp, took command in East St. Louis and at one point reportedly saved a black man from a lynch mob, Congress noted that they were unable to “find any evidence to confirm this valiant deed of the redoubtable colonel,” and “it is the unanimous opinion of every witness who saw Col. Tripp on that fateful day that he was a hindrance instead of a help to the troops; that he was ignorant of his duties, blind to his responsibilities, and deaf to every intelligent appeal that was made to him.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, the colonel never donned his uniform, and wore his civilian clothes during the strife.

When the riot in East St. Louis grew out of control, the mayor petitioned the governor for more troops, but Colonel Tripp assured the mayor that he had the situation under control. While Congress placed much of the blame for the ensuing disaster at the colonel’s feet, the official report noted that “the conduct of the soldiers who were sent to East St. Louis to protect life and property puts a blot on that part of the Illinois militia

⁵⁴ Special Comm. on the East St. Louis Riots, H.R. Doc. No. 65-1231, at 1-2 (1918). Hereafter as H.R. Doc. No. 65-1231, at page number (1918).

⁵⁵ H.R. Doc. No. 65-1231, at 20-21 (1918).

that served under Col. Tripp.”⁵⁶ Unlike in other instances where the National Guard served with distinction, in this case, the soldiers acted with “the same spirit of indifference or cowardice that marked the conduct of the police force.”⁵⁷ According to the official Congressional report, “a number of soldiers openly stated that ‘they didn’t like niggers,’” and on one occasion three guardsmen and two police officers killed two black citizens who stood outside a saloon “although neither had committed any offense.”⁵⁸ This same group of soldiers and police officers shot off the arm of a young black servant girl, and on another occasion guardsmen shot down two black men who were running from a fire. Other soldiers reportedly fired into a house where seven black men had taken shelter, and one Illinois guardsmen had boasted “that he had fired his gun 17 times during the riot and every time at a ‘black target.’” Congress noted that during the riot, the federal government had not yet activated the National Guard and the Illinois governor and authorities had the responsibility of charging and convicting the soldiers in question, but by the middle of 1918 had not made any such progress.⁵⁹

Although the riot in East St. Louis occurred just as the nation entered the First World War, it served as a prelude to many issues that would reemerge throughout the country as the war ended. The First World War became a Progressive crusade for many Americans amidst the Woodrow Wilson’s call to “make the world safe for democracy,” and various sub-sections of society hoped the war would usher in a new era of freedom. Organized labor leaders and civil rights activists believed the working class and minority citizens would finally enjoy the liberties they had sought for decades. However, many of

⁵⁶ H.R. Doc. No. 65-1231, at 21 (1918).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

these hopes faded in the war's immediate aftermath. The Wilson Administration and American commanders denied Black soldiers who answered the nation's call the right to march in US victory parades in France, and denied some (such as the 93rd Provisional Division) recognition of their military exploits. Unionists found that their conditions improved little during the war, despite their promise to accept wage controls and support the war effort.⁶⁰ Amidst these social struggles, hundreds of thousands of Americans were recovering from the Spanish Flu pandemic that swept across the nation (and the world). The flu epidemic grew to such proportions that state governments converted military camps (such as Camp Dodge, Iowa), into flu wards [*figure 6*].⁶¹

In January 1919, shipyard workers in Seattle went on strike seeking wage increases, and unions around the nation followed suit. Additionally, a series of mail bombs delivered to wealthy citizens and prominent officials set off a wave of fear across the nation related to a potential socialist uprising.⁶² Amidst this backdrop, in April, 1919, Iowa placed their small National Guard contingent on alert in anticipation of potential trouble at the International Workers of the World convention held in Des Moines.⁶³ Over the course of the next three months, strikes around the state and the nation demonstrated the need for a reorganized National Guard force. Throughout the year, over four million workers (one-fifth of the total industrial workforce) went on strike, and the general trend culminated in the Great Steel Strike of 1919, which lasted from September 1919 through January 1920. Because the National Guard remained in a general state of reorganization,

⁶⁰ Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 173-85.

⁶¹ Iowa Flu Ward, Photograph, Camp Dodge, Iowa, N.D.; Library, Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

⁶² Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 177-9.

⁶³ Sheriff W.H. Jones to Governor Harding, April 19, 1919; Military and Militia, General Correspondence, Governor Harding Collection, Box 19; State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

many states suffered from low numbers and inefficient equipment.⁶⁴ However, some Guard units clashed with strikers during the steel strike, most notably in Ohio, where some clashes became violent and deadly.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, racial tensions reached a boiling point. The Great Migration had altered racial dynamics in many Northern cities, as thousands of black citizens settled in cities alongside other ethnic neighborhoods. Violence broke out as the result of ongoing prejudice and workplace competition. The most notorious riot occurred in Chicago between 27 July and 3 August 1919. The riot began after Irish citizens drowned a black teenager in Lake Michigan after the teen swam over to the “Irish side” of the lake. The *New York Times* reported that two black citizens died during the riot’s first day, and the violence resulted in at least fifty injuries. According to the news report, “So great was the confusion throughout the district that the acting Chief of Police, [John] Alcock, was unable late tonight to estimate the total number of injured.”⁶⁶ Over the next week, constant clashes resulted in the eventual deaths of 23 blacks and 15 whites (with an additional 500 injured). Police were unable to quell the riot, so Chicago’s mayor eventually asked for militia support. However, Illinois maintained no federally-recognized Guard units during the riot. Many Illinois guardsmen had only recently returned from overseas and left the guard, and those who eventually responded to the riot were members of state-sanctioned home guard units.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Numerous adjutant general’s reports, such as those of Iowa, Illinois, New York, and Massachusetts for 1919 and 1920 express dismay at the lack of provisions and equipment for their state units during the reorganization process.

⁶⁵ *Annual Report of the Adjutant General to the Governor of the State of Ohio, for the Year Ending November 15, 1920* (Columbus: F.J. Herr Printing Company, 1921), 6-7.

⁶⁶ “2 Killed, 50 Hurt in Furious Race Riots in Chicago,” *New York Times*, July 28, 1919.

⁶⁷ Unit Orders; and Strength Report; Folder 17, Box 1, Civil Disturbances and Disasters, Chicago Race Riot, 1919-07-28 to 1919-08-10; Illinois National Guard Archives, Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois.

As the Chicago Race Riot of 1919 drew to a close, state soldiers found themselves embroiled in both racial and labor tensions. On 3 August 1919, a captain in the 4th Illinois Reserve Infantry Regiment became the focus of an assassination attempt after an assailant stabbed him multiple times with a knife after a hidden sniper fired several shots at the officer, but failed to hit his target. This assassination attempt coincided with a series of fires set by white laborers in an apparent attempt to keep black workers from returning to work as the riot drew down. Illinois's governor (and former guardsmen), Frank O. Lowden, believed the fires and attacks on militia officers were the result of labor troubles rather than racial ones.⁶⁸ Lowden issued a public statement on 2 August 1919 (the final full day of the race riot), that "The most serious menace to the future peace of the country is the constant increase in the cost of living," and until the federal government took steps to check the increase, "there will be no permanent industrial peace."⁶⁹ Interestingly, just two days after the riot ended, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* mirrored the governor's claims, and warned that a general railroad strike may be on the horizon after Bert Mark Jewell (president of the railway union) informed President Wilson that a proposed rail workers' wage increase would not be satisfactory due to increased costs of living.⁷⁰ These issues demonstrated that the First World War had not erased the ongoing social problems associated with the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

Just as in previous decades, the Guard's presence during strikes and riots usually eased tensions. In the summer and fall of 1919, Wisconsin's State Guard responded to a series of riots and strikes. Wisconsin's legislature established the State Guard during the First World War, and the Wisconsin adjutant general declared that his office placed the

⁶⁸ "Rioters in Chicago Knife Militia Captain," *New York Times*, August 3, 1919.

⁶⁹ "Lowden Calls for Action," *New York Times*, August 3, 1919.

⁷⁰ "Warn Wilson of Rail Strike Nationwide," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 5, 1919.

home guard “under the same system of discipline and training which governed the National Guard.”⁷¹ While official reports noted that “the occasions which necessitated the call of Guard detachments to active service [during the war] were remarkably few and minor in extent and importance,” the state guard did increase their activities in the year following the war. On 19 August 1919, a riot broke out in Cudahy, Wisconsin, and four provisional state guard units responded. According to the adjutant general, their “prompt arrival” and “their firm and disciplined conduct prevented and discouraged outbreak or threat of further violence.” A similar incident occurred on 10 September 1919 in Two Rivers, Wisconsin, but the situation cooled before another four companies arrived on the scene.⁷² Similarly, in October 1919, twelve companies of Indiana’s Reserve Militia (their wartime home-defense force) rushed to Gary, Indiana during a worker strike. Over 500 angry workers took to the streets and attempted to rush two steel plant’s gates. The crowd fired on local policemen and injured at least 50 citizens in the course of a few hours. Within a day, the existence of the militia and an increased police presence ended the strike, but the rioters renewed their efforts after nightfall.⁷³ While the local troops and police managed to put down the strike, these types of incidents demonstrated the continued need for the Guard’s presence.

As tensions intensified in 1919, the pre-war negative image of the National Guard as anti-labor strikebreakers placed Guard recruitment in serious jeopardy, and limited the Guard’s ability to reorganize. Even the Guard’s extensive service during World War I did not automatically erase all the earlier tension with the working-class. And, as many

⁷¹ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Wisconsin, For the Two Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1920* (Madison: The Homestead Company, 1922), 3.

⁷² *Biennial Report, Wisconsin Adjutant General, 1920*, 16.

⁷³ “New Riots Begin in Gary at Night,” *New York Times*, October 6, 1919.

had prior to the war, guardsmen who hoped to remain in military service grew frustrated. The Militia Bureau wrote in 1919 that the Guard's mission should not be "for the purpose of aiding capital in its issues with labor but with a view to enforcing the law of the land and of preserving local communities from a reputation for lawlessness." The Bureau worried that members' "dislike of strike duty" and the "hostility of labor unions toward the National Guard" had contributed to low morale among Guard members and kept numbers low.⁷⁴

New calls for replacement

Due to ongoing turmoil and the Guard's falling numbers, calls for replacing the National Guard reemerged. Some argued that the selective service law established a legal way of creating a universal military force in the United States and could easily replace the Guard. Secretary of War Newton Baker continued to support the National Guard. While the law specified that guardsmen could leave their units without reprisal when they received discharges from active duty, Baker noted that there was nothing to prevent these men from rejoining their old Guard units. Baker also indicated that he would like to see as many former guardsmen as possible reenlist in their old units to replenish the Guard's ranks. When questioned about a speech he delivered earlier, Baker clarified his statements and said that he did not support replacing the Guard with a UMT force and that "the National Guard had done excellent service on the border and abroad, and that the volunteer principle would undoubtedly always be necessary to maintain a peace-time regular military establishment." Baker believed that the Selective Service Act was

⁷⁴ General Order No. 14, in *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, 1920*, 189.

necessary to serve the public interest during wartime, but did not suggest that it would serve as a means of replacing the National Guard.⁷⁵

Some critics of the National Guard system went so far as to argue that the First World War actually demonstrated that the Guard was unnecessary. According to former Senate Military Affairs Chairman, Louis Cuvillier, “the time has passed when each State can depend exclusively on its own State militia for the preservation of law and order, without the assistance of the Federal Government. That was thoroughly demonstrated in the present war.” Cuvillier went on to describe how UMT was not in fact universal conscription, but was a way to “teach physically and mentally, in time of peace, citizens the art of war and self-defense.”⁷⁶ The former senator called for the revival of a UMT force in the face of the NGA’s calls to replace the Chamberlain-Kahn Act of 1918 that revised how the government dispersed funding to the states based on public health issues at the expense of existing Guard allocations.⁷⁷ Somewhat ironically, the unofficial Guard units created during wartime became ammunition in the fight against reestablishing the official Guard during peacetime. Essentially, Guard opponents pointed out that these non-federally sanctioned units performed adequately during the war in preserving local peace, and demonstrated the lack of necessity related to the official National Guard. Similarly, many state governments believed that by maintaining home guards they could exempt themselves from federal oversight.

In early 1919, Dr. Charles Eliot, Harvard University’s President Emeritus, published an editorial in the *New York Times*, where he advocated for building a “future

⁷⁵ “Baker Would Keep Old National Guard,” *New York Times*, May 14, 1919.

⁷⁶ “Cuvillier Assails Guard Association,” *New York Times*, August 10, 1919.

⁷⁷ An Act Making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 10, 1919, Pub. L. No. 65-2, 40 Stat. 845 (1918).

army” based on universal service. Eliot noted that while American soldiers were returning from France, that the war was not yet over, and that “the United States will soon have no army to speak of.” The United States faced a precarious situation regarding the size and scope of the military after the First World War, and in light of debates over the League of Nations, Eliot noted that America should take a leading role in establishing a modern, democratic military force. According to the editorial, this future American army “should clearly be a national force like the recently enlisted National Army [drafted troops].” Eliot continued to lay out his ideal force, and argued that the National Guard “was originally not only a state force, but largely a class force; that is, it was recruited from clerks, young professional men, and small shopkeepers and farmers.” According to Eliot, “The large class of manual laborers, skilled and unskilled, was only feebly represented in it; and it was therefore an object of distrust and dislike in that class.”⁷⁸ While Eliot under stressed the working-class contribution to the pre-war National Guard, he correctly pointed to ongoing class tensions within the organization, and used that as justification to replace the existing system with a “democratic” form of universal service.

Eliot’s editorial outlined how his ideal form of universal military training would look. He argued that there were two provisions in the Swiss military constitution that “every other nation, and especially the British and American commonwealths,” should follow. First, Eliot argued that the federal government should establish physical training protocols that all schools should follow. Secondly, he hoped the federal government would cultivate “as a national sport of shooting at a mark through voluntary organization aided by the government.”⁷⁹ Under this proposal, instilling military skills and structure

⁷⁸ Dr. Charles W. Eliot, “Our Future Army,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1919, 30.

⁷⁹ Eliot, “Our Future Army,” 30.

in the entire American male population would directly lead to an increase in voluntary enlistments in the military, and that this new force would be large enough to meet the challenges of the post-World War I international environment. This proposal, and numerous others, came before the US Congress within weeks of the armistice, and called for again re-designing the American military structure.

While UMT advocates blamed the Guard's structure for its problems, others blamed the Guard's poor post-war status on other factors. Colonel Fitzhugh Lee Minnigerode believed that "The failure is a consequence of the backwash that follows in the wake of every war. Men of military age have played a part in a tremendous show—the World War—and they are pretty well fed up on the game." In an editorial piece, Minnigerode outlined a brief National Guard history, where he was very critical of the early Guard system, but argued that the National Defense Act of 1916 and "the subsequent amendments to it have all been important factors in the prospective development of the State forces as a reliable second line," and he declared that "the National Guard proved its mettle on the battlefields of France." Minnigerode further noted that the Guard's performance eroded earlier levels of distrust and distance between the Regular Army and the Guard and that replacing the Guard with another military organization would be counterproductive. According to the editorial, if competent officers—not politicians—took up the reins of rebuilding the Guard and recruited from a pool of young men "those new coming of military age," then the organization would continue to serve as a valuable piece of the American military system.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Colonel Fitzhugh Lee Minnigerode, "Our National Guard on Paper and in Fact," *New York Times*, November 21, 1920, 52.

Reorganization proposals

Once the Guard's struggles became apparent, Congress and the NGA outlined tentative plans to reorganize the National Guard along its prewar structure. The federal government revised some existing protocols to allow 389 officers and 1,000 non-commissioned officers to train new enlistees and administer the Guard's reestablishment.⁸¹ Not surprisingly, General John Heavey, the acting Chief of the Militia Bureau, "urged that the National Guard be maintained in the same form as it was before the United States entered the war and that the increases in its strength authorized by the act of June 3, 1916, be carried out."⁸² Additionally, the NGA hoped to solidify the Guard's position in the post-war system by allowing for easier enlistments and by building off earlier efforts to increase federal oversight into the state organizations. Although the government took steps to reorganize and strengthen the National Guard, the process trudged along slowly. In a special edition of the *New York Times*, the paper reported that the National Guard's strength in July 1920 was 50,700 officers and enlisted men. This number was still roughly 128,000 men short of their 1920 quota. The Times reported that the "guard is increasing at a rate of about 8,000 men monthly, and at this rate it will be fourteen months before it is recruited to full peace strength."⁸³ At the time of the report, New York's and Texas's Guards had the largest numbers, with Wisconsin and Minnesota close behind.⁸⁴ Some states, though, like North Carolina, only had about

⁸¹ "For New National Guard," *New York Times*, April 3, 1919.

⁸² "Praises National Guard," *New York Times*, January 24, 1919.

⁸³ "National Guard 128,000 Men Short," *New York Times*, July 28, 1920.

⁸⁴ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Minnesota, covering the Thirty-First Biennial Period, Ending December 31, 1920* vol. I (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1920), 4; *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Texas, from January 1, 1919 to December 31, 1920* (Austin: Knappe Printing Co., 1921),

100 men in their ranks in the middle of 1920. North Carolina increased that number to roughly 30 officers and 630 enlisted men by the end of the year.⁸⁵

More than a year prior to the *New York Times*'s report, in January 1919, the Committee on Military Affairs held a series of hearings to "re-organize and increase the efficiency of the Regular Army," and through expansion, the National Guard.⁸⁶ The majority of the hearings centered on the debate regarding the means through which the government could establish a 500,000 person standing army. The chairman of the committee questioned how the government could establish such a force without creating universally trained force. Secretary Baker noted that "I have several [UMT] plans on my desk which have been suggested as the results of studies by the General Staff." When asked if he would approve any of these proposals, Baker responded, "not at present," and went on to discuss how he would not even consider any new plans until the conclusion of the ensuing peace conference.⁸⁷ As the committee and secretary continued to square off, Baker encouraged Congress to expand the existing reserve and National Guard structures to establish a large peacetime force.⁸⁸ Secretary Baker further clarified that "having a National Guard and having a Regular Army has never been regarded as antagonistic," and that he was "in favor of the Government doing its part in the support and upbuilding

3-5; and *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Wisconsin, for the Two Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1920* (Madison: The Homestead Co., 1922), 4-15.

⁸⁵ *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1919-1920* (Raleigh: Commercial Printing Company, State Printers, 1923), 3.

⁸⁶ *Army Reorganization, Hearings on H.R. 14560, before the House Committee on Military Affairs, 65th Cong.*, at 3 (1919).

⁸⁷ *Army Reorganization, Hearings on H.R. 14560, before the House Committee on Military Affairs, 65th Cong.*, at 25-26 (1919) (Statement of Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 27-35.

of the National Guard.” Baker specifically noted though that he did not favor the government taking the Guard as “a substitute for the Regular Army.”⁸⁹

Following Secretary Baker’s testimony, the committee proceeded to question General Peyton March, the Army Chief of Staff. When questioned about appropriation bills, General March noted that all Guard funding was on hold until the army and federal government could reach some agreement regarding the Guard’s restructuring. March noted that in all but eight states, the “National Guard has gone out of existence,” and that the Guard will need to “build up again from the ground up.”⁹⁰ Over the next year, many states worked to reorganize their official Guard units, by as noted earlier, by the middle of 1920, fourteen states had not yet met federal standards. Elements of the National Defense Act of 1916 related to federal funding and Guard recognition further complicated the issue because state governments only needed to make provisions for their National Guard units to comply with federal law. In order for a state government to receive federal appropriations, their Guard units needed to pass federal inspections and “conform to the act.” Essentially, states could establish militia units outside of the National Defense Act (as many had done during the war), and structure them as they saw fit. Some state governments preferred to establish their own units and simply forego the federal appropriation in order to expand their state authority. March assured the House committee that if states organized Guard units as outlined in the National Defense Act they could request arms and equipment from the War Department. These units would

⁸⁹ Ibid., 38.

⁹⁰ *Army Reorganization, Hearings on H.R. 14560, before the House Committee on Military Affairs, 65th Cong., at 58 (1919) (Statement of General Peyton C. March, Army Chief of Staff).*

then “be regarded as appropriate under that bill for distribution to that National Guard organization.”⁹¹

Ultimately, the War Department had the means and will to strengthen the National Guard, but the states needed to reestablish Guard units that met federal standards first. On 17 July 1919, Secretary Baker approved plans to reorganize the National Guard into a sixteen-division structure which mirrored the Guard’s arrangement during federalization. These guidelines allowed the Guard to reach a potential strength of over 440,000 soldiers, but the number would be capped at just over 106,000 through 1920 due to funding limitations in the 1920 federal budget.⁹² These provisions outlined a potential plan to reestablish the National Guard to its prewar numbers and actually allow for the Guard’s expansion. Unfortunately though, these protocols developed simultaneously with the Judge Advocate General’s ruling regarding Guard discharges. Additionally, the Guard’s thinning out led to increased calls for the Guard’s replacement despite Congress’s and Baker’s efforts.

In April 1920, the Committee on Military Affairs proposed an amendment to the National Defense Act designed to re-strengthen the National Guard. Senator Wadsworth noted that this amendment would alter the existing provision which “provides that enlistments in the National Guard shall be for a period of six years, three in active service and three in the National Guard Reserve, and that reenlistments shall be for the same period.” The committee believed that amending this provision to permit one-year reenlistments and one-year enlistments for soldiers who served in the Regular Army for at least six months. Wadsworth noted that “it is believed that in this way that many men

⁹¹ Ibid., 59.

⁹² “National Guard to have 440,000 Men,” *New York Times*, July 17, 1919.

who have had valuable experience in the recent war can be enlisted in the guard and their experience be made use of in training the guard.”⁹³ The senator hoped that allowing guardsmen who exited the guard after the judge advocate’s ruling would potentially reenlist if the government set service terms at one year instead of three. However, other factors—particularly post-war malaise—also played a factor in limiting the National Guard’s overall numbers.

In the War Department’s 1920 annual report, the Chief of the Militia Bureau noted that “the strength of the National Guard, June 30, 1920 should have been 106,300.” Unfortunately for the organization though, numbers at the end of the 1919 fiscal year had the National Guard at only about 38,000 officers and men. According to the Militia Bureau, “The reorganization of this force has been very seriously retarded from numerous causes,” which related to uncertainty about future legislation, discontent with “tales of unfair treatment,” general war malaise, state desires to avoid federal oversight, and “the usual antagonism of labor unions.”⁹⁴ In the report, the Militia Bureau quickly put down claims of unjust treatment, particularly among officers, and even declared that, “There is conclusive proof that National Guard officers were not, as a class, discriminated against by Regular Officers.”⁹⁵ Generally these complaints subsided by 1920, but when combined with other long-lasting issues, hindered the Guard’s reorganization efforts. Furthermore, the Militia Bureau believed that National Guard reorganization needed to build off of organizational lessons learned during the First World War. The Bureau admitted that the war demonstrated that “the strength of our

⁹³ Committee on Military Affairs, National Guard Enlistments, S. Rep. No. 66-501 (1920).

⁹⁴ Report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau, War Department Annual Reports, 1920, Volume I, H.R. Rep. No 66-863, at 1301 (1920).

⁹⁵ Report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau, 1920, at 1301-02.

combatant units under the old organization was inadequate,” and that future fighting would center around the platoon, not the battalion or regiment, and that “the draft law to provide untrained men for an army was practicable and efficient.”⁹⁶

The National Defense Act of 1920

In 1919 and 1920, Congress proposed a series of bills that had bearing on the existing Guard’s structure. In the US Senate, Republicans, James Walcott Wadsworth (who succeeded Elihu Root as New York’s senator), and Joseph Frelinghuysen (New Jersey) proposed bills to reorganize or replace the National Guard. The “Frelinghuysen Bill” called for the War Department to establish a National Guard Council, and Wadsworth’s proposal completely reorganized the United States Army. In the US House of Representatives, Julius Kahn (California) proposed a comprehensive law which stressed the importance of military education in American schools. The National Guard Association openly announced their opposition to the “Kahn Law” due to a section in the proposal that “conscripts our citizens for service in the Regular Army in time of peace.” The NGA was “absolutely opposed to such conscription.” Interestingly, the NGA eased back their opposition to universal military training, but proposed that “the universal principle” should be “developed in conjunction with the National Guard of the country.”⁹⁷ During the National Guard Association Convention in May 1918, the delegates declared that their current struggle was related to the fact that the National Defense Act contained no provision for the reorganization of the National Guard after a period of federal service, and that “when the National Defense Act [of 1916] was

⁹⁶ Report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau, 1920, at 1303.

⁹⁷ “Guard Plans Fight on Service Bill,” *New York Times*, August 8, 1919.

enacted, it contemplated an existing organization, which organization, under the interpretation of the act by the Judge Advocate General's Department of the army, was wiped out of existence by being drafted into federal service."⁹⁸

Although Judge Advocate General Crowder effectively dismantled the National Guard, the NGA prepared once again to fight for the National Guard's existence, and they once again found congressional and military allies willing to take up the cause. The Army's wartime chief of staff, Peyton March, presented a mobilization plan to Congress based on Emory Upton's late-nineteenth century military vision. Conversely, John M. Palmer, who had previously penned *An Army of the People*, which called for a universally trained, conscripted force, now championed the idea of a "democratic army" comprised of citizen-soldiers in the National Guard and Reserves. While the War Department diluted some of Palmer's ideas in its proposal to Congress, both Palmer and the "Uptonians" pursued the same goal: creating a peacetime army capable of quick mobilization for a large-scale war.⁹⁹ Regarding the proposals, the US Senate struck down the UMT elements of the proposals, and Congress ultimately blended the three plans (Wadsworth, Kahn, and Frelinghuysen) together into one comprehensive piece of legislation: the Amendments to the National Defense Act, also known as the National Defense Act of 1920, or the Kahn Act.¹⁰⁰ Enjoying majorities in both the House and Senate, the Republicans passed the amendments, and the Kahn Act took effect in June 1920.

⁹⁸ The *New York Times* reprinted portions of the meeting minutes from the NGA Convention on page 23 of their August, 8 1919 edition.

⁹⁹ Russel F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1973), 221-2.

¹⁰⁰ Report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau, War Department Annual Reports, 1920, Volume I, H.R. Rep. No 66-863, at 1327-28 (1920).

Both the Militia Bureau and John J. Pershing (who became Army Chief of Staff after the war) supported the new law, and believed amendments to the National Defense Act would ease existing tensions and resurrect the faltering National Guard. The Militia Bureau noted that states reported difficulty in reorganizing their Guard regiments “due to jealousy aroused because State forces organized during the war in many cases wish to continue as National Guard troops and to retain possession of state armories.” Furthermore, “the National Guard returning from overseas feel that they were unjustly excluded from joining their old commands, as their numbers had been assumed by State organizations during their absence.”¹⁰¹ Provisions in the National Defense Act’s proposed 1920 amendments seemingly addressed these issues and that “the causes which retarded the reorganization of the National Guard immediately after the armistice are gradually disappearing.”¹⁰² Ultimately then, the National Defense Act of 1920 received praise from elements of both the civilian and military spheres, and ushered in a general era of legal stability which lasted through the Second World War.

This new legislative push also occurred during another period of general military reform. Congressional and military leaders and military reassessed the nation’s response during the First World War and hoped to avoid some of the confusion regarding the Army’s mobilization. Army planners such as John M. Palmer, John J. Pershing, and Douglass MacArthur stressed the need for a modern army capable of a massive mobilization for a potential conflict overseas (preferably in a single theater, where the size and scope of the US forces could overwhelm the enemy).¹⁰³ The National Defense Act of 1920 required the Army to conduct studies and planning for future mobilizations.

¹⁰¹ Report of the Chief of the Militia Bureau, 1920, at 1304-05.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 1305.

¹⁰³ Weigley, *American Way of War*, 223.

This move toward contingency planning coincided with similar moves in the US Navy which occurred decades prior, particularly regarding a possible war in the Pacific.¹⁰⁴ The National Defense Act of 1920 altered the military's contract procurement process, and increased cooperation between military and industrial sectors.¹⁰⁵ Congress took steps to solidify the Reserve Officer Training Corps as well as the Army's ready reserve in 1920, but many of the 1920 amendments dealt with the National Guard's position in the army structure.

The National Defense Act of 1920 specifically included provisions designed to restructure and reestablish the National Guard as a permanent piece of the American military system. Under the 1920 amendments, "When in service of the United States the National Guard is part of the Army of the United States (not merely attached thereto)," and the peace-time army establishment "includes the Regular Army, National Guard, the Organized Reserves, and such other organizations as are necessary for the national defense."¹⁰⁶ Additionally, in order to establish solidarity and singularity, the "names, numbers, flags, and records of the divisions and subordinate units that served in the World War shall be preserved as far as practicable."¹⁰⁷ Therefore, the US government officially removed Guard titles along state lines, such as the prewar "Third Iowa Infantry Regiment." The 1920 Amendments also allowed National Guard officers to serve on the War Department General Staff and any Guard officers who wished to do so could be

¹⁰⁴ Edward S. Miller, *War Plan Orange: The U.S. Strategy to Defeat Japan, 1897-1945* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2013).

¹⁰⁵ S. Rep. No. 67-238, at 2-3 (1921).

¹⁰⁶ The National Defense Act, As Amended June 4, 1920, Pub. L. 66-242, 41 Stat. 166 (1920), Section 1 and 3. Hereafter as The National Defense Act of 1920, Section Number.

¹⁰⁷ The National Defense Act of 1920, Section 3.

appointed as a reserve officer in his present rank or any lower grade.¹⁰⁸ Additionally, “enlisted men in the National Guard shall receive one day’s pay of his grade for each full participation and drills duty ordered,” and “the National Guard is subject to draft into United states service in time of war. While in United States service all such soldiers become part of the Army.”¹⁰⁹ However, as a means of avoiding the Guard’s massive discharge witnessed after the First World War, upon “termination of the emergency such men shall be discharged from the Army and revert to the status of militia, and if State laws so provide resume an active status in the National Guard until expiration of their enlistment.”¹¹⁰

The National Defense Act of 1920 also influenced force structure and officer pay. The legislation required that each National Guard company maintain a minimum of 50 men and a maintenance strength of 65 men to earn federal recognition. Along similar lines, the 1920 amendments solidified a general army force structure based on a corps breakdown rather than a divisional one. Under this new structure, each corps contained a series of divisions generally based along regional dimensions, and the National Guard became bound to the Army’s general structure. Congress ensured that the president could assign the National Guard to various divisions, brigades, and “other tactical units” for training purposes, and any Guard or Regular Army officer could command such units. However, the federal government could not displace a Guard officer whose entire unit was held within a single state.¹¹¹ Pursuant to the new guidelines, captains and company commanders would receive pay increases, provided they maintained efficient

¹⁰⁸ The National Defense Act of 1920, Section 5 and 24.

¹⁰⁹ The National Defense Act of 1920, Section 3 and 58.

¹¹⁰ The National Defense Act of 1920, Section 62.

¹¹¹ The National Defense Act of 1920, Section 60 and 64.

organizations. Officers could additionally purchase uniforms and equipment through the US Army Quartermaster's Department, under the same regulations that directed Regular Army officers. Any commissioned Guard officer who held a commission during the war could receive a federal commission without the need for additional examinations (except a physical), and, as a means of encouraging former guardsmen to reenter the organization, any soldier who served in France during the First World War could reenlist in the National Guard for one-year periods, and established that any new enlistment would be for a three-year term.¹¹² Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1920 in June, and the amendments took effect over the course of the next year.

Congress's actions in 1920 took necessary steps to strengthen the existing Guard system; however, some prominent officials remained skeptical. A 1921 Congressional report concerning the amendments to the National Defense Act stated that the bill would "benefit the National Guard and bring about even closer relationships between it and the Regular Army," but might not do enough to solidify the Guard system in the long run.¹¹³ According to the report as well as the War Department, the original set of amendments in 1920 "are not in complete harmony or are inadequate to permit of the most efficient and economical maintenance and development of the land forces available for national defense," with most problems connected to the National Guard because "the basic law is more specific in the case of this component [the Guard] than in the Regular Army and Organized Reserves."¹¹⁴ Secretary of War John Weeks, outlined seven proposed

¹¹² *Iowa Adjutant General Report, 1920, 6-7.*

¹¹³ The Committee of Military Affairs, Amendments to the National Defense Act, S. Rep. No. 67-238 (1921).

¹¹⁴ John W. Weeks, Secretary of War, to Senator Wadsworth, Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs, July 25, 1921; Decimal Series 700-720 (DS 700-720), National Guard Affairs (NG Affairs), Records of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107 (RG 107); National Archives at College Park, College Park,

amendments that would more easily allow National Guard officers to receive compensation for time served on active duty, simplify the procedure for Guard officers to attend army leadership courses, solidify enlisted pay for guardsmen who served on active duty, and standardized federal fund dispersal to the individual states.¹¹⁵

Over the course of the next two years, Congress examined the War Department's proposals and eventually issued a few new amendments to the National Defense Act of 1920 as a means of fixing oversights. The most notable of these amendments took effect in June 1921 (one year after implementation of the National Defense Act of 1920), and dealt with Regular Army enlistment periods and Army appropriations. Effectively, the Army Appropriation Act of 1921 repealed some provisions in the National Defense Act related to enlistment allowances and bonuses.¹¹⁶ Regardless of a few minor amendments in 1921, the National Defense Act of 1920 ultimately became, as Henry Reilly described, "the first and only military policy ever possessed by the United States of America."

While Reilly's statement was certainly an overstatement, he argued that the actions of the Rainbow Division and "other National Guard Divisions on the battlefields of France showed this decision to be justified."¹¹⁷ By 1921 then, the National Guard had become enmeshed in the US Army's official legal structure. The National Defense Act of 1920 became the basis of the Army's organization over the course of the next two and a half decades, and sustained the American military during the Second World War. While Congress made a few alterations to the National Defense Act during the 1920s, the law

Maryland (NACP). Hereafter as John Weeks to Senator Wadsworth, July 25, 1921; DS 700-720, NG Affairs, RG 107; NACP. The letter was also reproduced in The Committee of Military Affairs, Amendments to the National Defense Act, S. Rep. No. 67-238 (1921).

¹¹⁵ John Weeks to Senator Wadsworth, July 25, 1921; DS 700-720, NG Affairs, RG 107; NACP.

¹¹⁶ The National Defense Act, As Amended June 21, 1921 (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1921), 21.

¹¹⁷ Reilly, *Americans All*, 24.

remained largely intact until 1947 when Congress replaced it with the National Security Act. Ultimately, then, 1920 marked the end of the National Guard's evolution from a loosely defined state force to a federally-sanctioned piece of the US Army. Indeed, Progressive political and military leaders guided this transformation, and the Guard's actions at the border and on the battlefield justified Congressional support.

When the First World War came to an end, the National Guard found itself in a precarious situation. While the Guard generally met expectations during the war, their absence forced states to create localized home guards to maintain peace, protect public property, and aid in national disasters. In 1919, as guardsmen began returning home with the rest of the American Expeditionary Force, the Army Judge Advocate General ruled that when guardsmen received a discharge from federal service they became exempt from every other military obligation. Therefore, any soldier who served with the AEF effectively exited the Guard when they returned home from Europe. This left many states with no effective military force, and states scrambled to reorganize their National Guard units. However, in order to effectively reestablish their state forces, any newly organized unit needed to meet the federal standards outlined in the National Defense Act of 1916. This task proved difficult, as many men who served in home guards were generally unfit for active service—either due to age or physical limitations. In this context, the NGA and Congressional leaders initiated protocols to strengthen the National Guard and encourage recruitment efforts.

Though many influential leaders pressed to reestablish the National Guard to their prewar status, others reinitiated calls to replace the Guard with some other form of

universal military training. These opponents believed that the First World War demonstrated that the federally-oriented National Guard was unnecessary during peacetime because home guards performed their duty admirably in the Guard's wartime absence. Some states even supported this line of thinking because they wished to return their state soldiers to an older power dynamic with less federal oversight. In 1919 and 1920 then, Congress conducted a series of hearings regarding the National Guard's future, and many influential figures, including John J. Pershing, Douglas MacArthur, and Secretary Baker testified on the Guard's behalf. They argued that the National Guard performed their duty on the battlefields of France and that reestablishing the Guard would benefit the nation as a whole because conscription only sufficed during national emergencies.

While Congress debated the Guard's future, old tensions resurfaced. The federal government and organize labor established an unofficial truce during the war under the guise of Progressive mutualism. In the wake of the war though, labor unionists pressed for increased wages, shorter work hours, and safer conditions—the same concepts President Wilson argued would naturally develop after the nation's wartime victory. Simultaneously, racial hostilities boiled over in cities throughout the nation as black and white workers clashed over neighborhood boundaries and access to work. Strikes, race riots, and a general sense of fear related to a general socialist uprising throughout 1919 demonstrated the need to maintain the National Guard as a potential peacekeeping force. Some states utilized their home guards during these strikes and riots as a means of restoring order, but other states quickly embarked on plans to reorganize their federally-sanctioned National Guards. States began the process of recruiting new soldiers to fill

the ranks, and encouraged former guardsmen to reenlist—assuming they still met federal standards.

Unfortunately for the National Guard, general post-war military malaise and antipathy toward strike duty hindered recruitment efforts. In 1920, Congress responded to the Guard's struggles (as well as the nation's post-war military needs) and passed a series of amendments to the National Defense Act. These new policies—designated as the National Defense Act of 1920—altered Guard enlistment periods to encourage reentry, and ensured that the Guard would not disintegrate when massive deployments ended, while also creating a peacetime reorganization of the Guard as a whole. The army replaced the World War I divisional system with a corps structure, with the National Guard providing eighteen regionally-structured infantry divisions and two cavalry divisions for the new Army Corps. Their quota stipulated that each state provide a certain number of troops based on population and force structure. For example, the government expected Iowa to provide 10,200 men to meet their goal, and the National Guards of Iowa, Minnesota, North, and South Dakota would compose the 34th Infantry Division.¹¹⁸ Illinois's National Guard needed to furnish 18,000 men who would make up the majority of the 33rd Infantry Division.¹¹⁹

This reorganization gave the National Guard a clear, permanent place within the Army system. The 1920 legislation defined a new clear role for the National Guard; providing that Guard units met federal standards, they would remain under state control a majority of the time. Ultimately though, the federal government permanently established a basis of control, where the federal government could disband units who failed to meet

¹¹⁸ *Iowa Adjutant General Report, 1920, 8-9.*

¹¹⁹ *Illinois Adjutant General Report, 1920, 10.*

defined standards. The National Defense Act of 1920 also established protocols on how and when the federal government could activate the National Guard, and this new arrangement resolved doubts and ended debate over the Guard's immediate future. The National Defense Act allowed the National Guard to maintain the traditions of the state militia system, while benefitting from a modern military system.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

Colonel George C. Richards became Chief of the Militia Bureau in early 1921. President Woodrow Wilson (or someone within his administration following his debilitating stroke) appointed Richards over a handful of other worthy candidates, including Kansas's adjutant general Charles Martin, Brigadier General Perry Harrison of Minnesota, and New York's General John F. O'Ryan (who removed himself from consideration). Each National Guard officer had exemplary military records, and O'Ryan was the only guardsman who commanded an entire division during the First World War (the 26th Division). General Harrison managed to recruit Minnesota's National Guard almost to full strength by the end of 1920, despite the fact that the overall Guard's numbers still sat at less than 70,000. Furthermore, many governors (particularly in the West) supported Charles Martin for the post, and one governor, Henry J. Allen of Kansas, even charged that the president "ignored the law which provides that the Chief of the Militia Bureau was to be chosen upon recommendation of the Governors of the States."¹

However, Governor Allen ignored an important element of the National Defense Act of 1920, where Section 81 specifically stated that the president could appoint any former or current National Guard officer who had at least ten years of service as an officer with at least five years as a line officer. Under the law, the president could choose the candidate upon recommendation of the governors, but was not beholden to their desires.² The Wilson Administration, Congress, and the War Department agreed that Colonel Richards's forty-three years of service as commander of Pennsylvania's 16th Regiment during the Spanish-American War and along the border, as well as his service

¹ "The New Militia Bureau Chief," *New York Times*, January 1, 1921.

² The National Defense Act, As Amended June 4, 1920, Pub. L. 66-242, 41 Stat. 166 (1920), Section 81.

record as commander of the 56th Brigade of the 28th Infantry Division were enough to earn his new position. General John J. Pershing even cited Richards for distinguished service during the Great War. Additionally, outgoing Chief of the Militia Bureau, the Regular Army's General Jesse M. Carter applauded Richard's career and recommend him as his replacement.³ Ultimately, this appointment demonstrated a series of shifts in the National Guard's collective history, and served as a capstone in the Guard's development. For the first time in the nation's history, federal law required the Militia Bureau Chief (eventually the National Guard Bureau) to come from the National Guard's ranks, and the federal government—not state governors—held the ultimate say in who would hold that position. This appointment then, symbolized the National Guard's development between 1898 and 1920 where the federal government effectively altered the Guard's identity from a state-centric military force to part of the United States' permanent military structure.

The Guard's creation and legal structure

The National Guard's development had its roots in the old militia's decline. While the militia had its origins in the colonial era, by the Civil War's onset, the militia was a shadow of what it once was, and most state militia organizations were privately funded and were not part of the "organized militia," but were instead volunteer regiments. The Civil War revitalized the militia spirit across the nation (which included Reconstruction militias), but by the late 1870s the lack of a military mission allowed the organized militia to devolve into a social institution based on pageantry and intemperance. In an effort to revive the militia's public perception, many states adopted

³ "The New Militia Bureau Chief," *New York Times*, January 1, 1921.

the term “national guard” by 1877 and stressed the importance of maintaining high levels of military proficiency. During the Gilded Age, as social tensions arose between organized labor and big business, governors increasingly utilized the militia to maintain or restore order during labor strikes and race riots. During these sometimes violent clashes, the militia’s inefficiencies became apparent to the public and to governmental bodies.

In 1879, amidst larger professionalization efforts in society and the military, militia officers formed the National Guard Association (NGA) as a lobbying and advocacy body. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the NGA worked with Congress to increase federal funding for the state militia and pressed for increased military proficiency within the organization. The federal government attached Regular Army officers and non-commissioned officers to militia units, and these Army contingents oversaw training programs and worked to turn the militia into a cohesive fighting force.⁴ Rifle training and target practice became a staple of militia duty, and troopers trained with their weapons during regular drill weekends and annual summer encampments. Additionally, militiamen in strike-prone areas practiced military movements and close order drills as a means of increasing efficiency and effectiveness during labor strife.⁵ Generally, these training efforts paid off, and by the Spanish-American War’s onset the militia was better trained than at perhaps any previous time in the organization’s history.

⁴ House Committee on Military Affairs, Detail of Army Officers for Service with the Militia, Letter Transmitted from the War Department, Ex. Doc. No. 53-224 (1893).

⁵ *Report of William L. Alexander, Adjutant General of Iowa, to Buren R. Sherman, Governor of Iowa, October 1st, 1883* (Des Moines: F.M. Mills, State Printer, 1884), 4; *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander in Chief, 1883 and 1884* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1884), 9; “The Rifle,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, January 2, 1880; and Russell S. Gilmore, “Crackshots and Patriots: The National Rifle Association and America’s Military-Sporting Tradition, 1871-1929” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974), 40-54.

However, antiquated laws and a disastrous military mobilization proved that the existing structure would not suffice if the United States ever faced a strong, modern military force.

During the Spanish-American war, the United States struggled to organize its military elements. Because the nation had no official conscription protocol, the government relied on the volunteer ethic much as it had in earlier American wars. And while numerous militiamen enthusiastically volunteered for service, the government required all state soldiers to leave their militia units and volunteer for Army service. This process became confusing, as each state needed to meet quota requirements based on population, but received little federal guidance or support.⁶ In the end, this slow and inefficient mobilization greatly hindered the US military's overall effectiveness, and the federal government took steps to ensure that future mobilizations would move more smoothly.

In the early twentieth century, Congress took steps to reform and reshape the militia. Calls to reform the militia were certainly not new, and indeed, many political and civil leaders made various proposals throughout the Gilded Age, often to no avail. However, reform-minded Progressives began reassessing the nation's military structure in the aftermath of the war with Spain and ensuing Filipino Insurrection. Led by Congressman Charles Dick (who also served in the Ohio National Guard), these reformers gained the NGA's support and took steps to reshape the militia into a more

⁶ Volunteers Asked for in Second Call," *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, 1898; Documents, Spanish-American War Era, Iowa National Guard Archives, Camp Dodge, Iowa. Hereafter cited as "Title," *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, year; *Report of the Adjutant General to the Governor of the State of Iowa, For Biennial Period Ending November 30, 1899*, 8-9; and Brigadier General J.N. Reece, *Roster of Illinois Volunteers in the American-Spanish War, 1898-1899* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1900), 350-51, consulted in General Collection, Illinois National Guard Military Museum and Archives, Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois; and "Lack of Necessary Authority," *Fort Dodge Daily Chronicle*, 1898.

centralized force. The Militia Act of 1903, or the Dick Act, officially created the National Guard and replaced the militia with this more nationalized force. While the Dick Act was only the first step in an ongoing process, the federal government established federal guidelines for each National Guard unit and established a process for federalization during national emergencies that did not require individual state sanction.⁷ Amendments to the Dick Act in 1908 and 1910 further solidified federal authority over the National Guard and increased federal oversight regarding training and funding.

As the First World War erupted in Europe, the US government again assessed whether or not the nation was prepared to enter into an armed conflict against a European force. Increased tensions with the Mexican government between 1910 and 1915 only increased calls for military preparedness despite America's neutrality. In 1915, Secretary of War Lindley Garrison proposed that Congress make serious alterations to the existing military structure and effectively transform the National Guard into a universally conscripted and trained military force similar to the Swiss model. Some Congressmen and Senators made similar restructuring proposals, and Congress blended the proposals into the National Defense Act of 1916 (NDA), or the Hay-Chamberlain Law, rejecting Garrison's proposal for a universal military force. The NDA officially established the National Guard as a key element of the US Army's force structure, and allowed the president to mobilize the Guard for any national emergency either at home or abroad. The NDA further outlined a new divisional structure which included the National Guard, and established that the Guard would receive full federal recognition and monetary

⁷ Militia Act of 1903: An Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, and for Other Purposes, Pub. L. No. 57-33, 775 Stat. (1903); and To Amend the Act to Promote the Efficiency of the Militia, H.R. 14783, 60 Cong. (1908).

compensation when on active service.⁸ In many ways, the National Defense Act of 1916 served as the final major step in transferring ultimate Guard authority away from the states to the federal government. By the time the United States entered the First World War, the National Guard was a centralized supplement to the Regular Army, not a collection of individual state military units.

Only weeks after Congress passed the National Defense Act, the National Guard found itself on active duty as a defensive force along the Mexican border. Woodrow Wilson activated the National Guard in light of a series of raids Francisco “Pancho” Villa made into US territory and after John J. Pershing failed to capture Villa with his punitive expedition into Mexico. Many guardsmen welcomed this opportunity to carry their state and national colors into battle, but became disillusioned when war became increasingly unlikely. Some guardsmen questioned the legality of a second oath of service to the federal government under the NDA and refused to take the oath, claiming that they enlisted under the Dick Act’s structure. Many of these soldiers backed down when the War Department threatened a court-martial, but the issue rearose when the soldiers returned home from the border. Overall, though, border duty became a prolonged training exercise that had many positive long-term benefits for the Guard related to military effectiveness. While the federal government disregarded the NDA’s new divisional structure at the border in exchange for speedy transportation to border sites, this military exercise became the first test the new National Guard faced. Though the border duty exposed many shortcomings of the Guard system, when the National Guard

⁸ The National Defense Act, Pub. L. 54-85, 39 Stat. 166 (1916).

returned from active duty they were well-trained and prepared for wartime service.⁹ And importantly, because the War Department eventually granted discharges to any guardsmen who refused the federal oath, the post-border Guard became the foundation for the Guard's continued service under the NDA of 1916.

The National Guard's second military test under the new structure came within weeks of the border duty's conclusion, when the United States declared war on Germany in 1917. When the US went to war, the National Guard became an important element in the nation's force structure, despite low numbers following a series of discharges regarding border service. The federal government reorganized the National Guard to fit yet another new divisional structure, with a regional element, and officially removed the Guard from state control (complete with new numeric unit designators). Most of these new divisions required extensive recruitment efforts and training, and proceeded to state-side training sites, along with their Regular Army and drafted counterparts. Other Guard units, such as the 26th Infantry Division (New York Guard) began their move overseas near the end of 1917 along with the 1st Infantry Division (Regular Army). Additionally, the War Department combined elements from 26 states into the newly designated 42nd Infantry Division (Rainbow Division), which held some of the first American soldiers to reach the front lines. By war's end, the National Guard comprised nearly two-thirds of the American Expeditionary Force, and the 42nd Division and 26th Division witnessed

⁹ Irving Goff McCann, *With the National Guard on the Border: Our National Military Problem* (St. Louis: C.V. Mosby Co., 1917); Moses Thisted, *With the Wisconsin National Guard on the Mexican Border, 1916-1917* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Journal Publishing Co., 1917); Matthew Margis, "Ensuring Survival: How Mexican Border Service and World War I was Vital for the Survival of the National Guard System" (master's thesis, Iowa State University, 2012); and Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler, *The Great Call-Up: The Guard, the Border, and the Mexican Revolution* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

more days of consecutive combat than any other division except the 1st.¹⁰ While some Guard units failed militarily—most notably the 35th Infantry Division—most performed their duty on par with the Regular Army, and many high ranking Army officers, such as John Pershing and Douglas MacArthur, praised the Guard's efforts.¹¹

Despite the Guard's wartime successes, the National Guard faced an ongoing struggle upon its return. During the Gilded Age and Progressive Eras, militia and Guard opponents made repeated replacement proposals, often related to some form of universal military training. These Guard opponents stressed the militia's and Guard's inability to supplement the Regular Army adequately in combat due to competing state interests and levels of readiness. Additionally, those who supported universal training often pointed to internal Guard strife and tensions with organized labor as evidence of the Guard's inability to recruit the required numbers and maintain a high level of military proficiency. Some influential figures, such as Emory Upton in the nineteenth century and Enoch Crowder in the twentieth pressed for the militia's and Guard's replacement.¹² However, the NGA remained a powerful force and maintained relationships with many Congressional officials who retained and ultimately strengthened the National Guard. However, even the Guard's wartime performance did not ensure the organization would survive after the first two decades of the twentieth century.

As the National Guard began returning from France in 1919, Enoch Crowder, the Army's judge advocate general, ruled that any guardsmen who served on active duty and

¹⁰ Brigadier General Henry J. Reilly, *Americans All: The Rainbow at War, Official History of the 42nd Rainbow Division in the World War 2nd* ed. (Columbus: The F.J. Heer Printing Co., 1936).

¹¹ U.S. Congress, *National Defense: Hearings Before the United States House Committee on Military Affairs, Sixty-Ninth Congress, Second Session, on Mar. 3, 1927, Part 1* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1927).

¹² *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa, for the Biennial Period Ended November 30, 1916* (Des Moines: State Printing Office, 1917).

received a subsequent discharge would be exempt from any and all other military obligations—including state service. This ruling effectively dismantled the existing National Guard, leaving states with only small forces. This hollowing out of the entire National Guard dismayed many state governors, as well as the NGA and other Guard advocates. Congress responded by establishing a series of amendments to the National Defense Act in 1920. These new legislative elements allowed the National Guard to reenlist those with prior service for a shorter period, and also provided new recruitment incentives to both the states and soldiers. Additionally, the NDA of 1920 solidified the Army's new divisional structure and ensured that following a war or other national emergency, the National Guard would not dissolve. By 1921, then, the National Guard was cemented as a major piece of the US Army's force structure, and the Guard had become a truly national force, with a state service obligation during peacetime.

The Guard and society

As the National Guard evolved into a centralized force, the old militia and new National Guard reflected American societal and cultural developments. Since the nation's founding, citizen-soldiers comprised the organized militia, and the state forces relied on an element of the martial spirit for their survival. During the Gilded Age, the militia drew from a cross section of American society, and while many of the militia's practices (such as officer elections) remained outdated, Americans from all walks of life served in state units. This meant that the militia contained soldiers from various ethnic backgrounds, racial identities, and social classes. While the militia (and National Guard) remained segregated throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

working-class militiamen served alongside upper-class soldiers and officers. And importantly, throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, an emerging middle-class took on an active role in driving both social and militia reforms.

The middle-class's emergence in the United States sparked a series of reform movements geared toward professionalization and increased efficiency, and coincided with general trends in the development of modern statehood. During the Gilded Age and into the Progressive Era, this developing middle-class consisted of two main groups in the United States. Lawyers, doctors, teachers, and other professionals comprised the first group who regularly formed professional organizations such as the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association to support their cause and establish their professional identity.¹³ Not surprisingly, middle-class officers in the militia formed the National Guard Association during the same timeframe, and the NGA stressed the same form of professional development, but within a military context. The middle-class's second group consisted of an emerging group of middle managers in an incorporated business world. This management class stressed efficient and centralized business models, which paralleled similar movements within the militia.¹⁴ The combination of these middle-class oriented reform movements became the Progressive Era's platform, and served a vital role in shaping the basis of what became the National Guard in 1903.

Though the National Guard's development stemmed from Progressive Era trends, the Guard maintained the same internal social structure as the late-nineteenth century militia. Therefore, Guard soldiers from various social classes served alongside one

¹³ Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

¹⁴ Wiebe, *Search for Order*, 111-23.

another in individual companies and regiments, and men from various ethnic backgrounds (particularly immigrants) used the National Guard as a means of cultural assimilation. African American soldiers also looked to the Guard to demonstrate their civic virtue, and while these black soldiers served in segregated units, the National Guard reflected larger social and racial dynamics in the United States. Due to this demographic makeup, ongoing social and racial tensions often played out within the National Guard, and the National Guard regularly became involved in social and racial uprisings. State governors continued to utilize the National Guard during labor strikes and riots to restore order or prevent further violence.

In most cases, the National Guard carried out its mission during strike or riot duty with little incident, and often managed to quell the violence. However, in isolated instances, the National Guard (like the militia before) failed to end the uprising peacefully, and sometimes actually exacerbated an already volatile situation. For example, when the Illinois National Guard responded to a race riot in East St. Louis in 1917, many guardsmen showed a racial hostility and often targeted and sometimes shot or killed terrified civilians with little regard for orders or a sense of civility.¹⁵ Cases such as this were the exception, though, and not the rule. Unfortunately for the Guard, public perception played a role in organizational reform proposals, and this type of negative publicity dated back to the militia's struggles during the Railroad Strike of 1877. Additionally, despite these rare occurrences of breakdowns during strike or riot duty, organized labor organizations came to view the militia and then the National Guard as an enemy. Forty years of such tensions took their toll on the National Guard, and many working-class soldiers struggled to balance their Guard duty with their working class

¹⁵ Special Comm. on the East St. Louis Riots, H.R. Doc. No. 65-1231, at 1-2 (1918).

identity. Internal strife related to strike duty hindered the National Guard's ability to carry out its mission, and many guardsmen responded to strike or riot duty with a sense of hostility.

Although the National Guard struggled with hostility related to strike and riot duty, the Guard continued to appeal to men from various backgrounds who hoped to demonstrate their patriotism and masculinity. Because the Guard appealed to a traditional sense of civic virtue related to civilian military service, many middle-class citizens enlisted in the Guard to fulfill their civic duty without needing to live the life of a soldier in the Regular Army. Furthermore, the National Guard appealed to a futuristic drive among young men who hoped to use military service as a means of attaining glory and purpose.¹⁶ In a similar vein, working-class men who lost a sense of masculine identity as machines replaced manual labor in the workplace, could maintain such an identity through Guard service. The National Guard provided an arena where men could demonstrate their masculinity through marksmanship drills and inter-squad competition.¹⁷ For these reasons then, the National Guard continued to recruit from a wide demographic, and managed to stabilize their manpower numbers despite labor union hostility.

The National Guard transformed from an ineffective state-based militia force into a competent centralized military force during the Progressive Era. This transition was not always smooth, and the Guard faced many challenges from universal military training advocates to organized labor. Ultimately though, the National Guard met these

¹⁶ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism," *Poesia*, April, 1909. Originally published as "Manifeste du futurism," *Le Figaro* (Paris), February 20, 1909.

¹⁷ Eleanor Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois, 1870-1917* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007).

challenges and demonstrated their military effectiveness during the First World War. The National Guard met—and often exceeded—expectations in the trenches in France, and National Guard advocates solidified the Guard’s role in the American military structure in 1920. In the ensuing decades, the National Guard continued to reflect broader trends in the United States’ social development, and the National Guard remained an avenue through which American men and women of all races and backgrounds could fulfill a sense of civic virtue and patriotism. During the Second World War, the National Guard again found itself federalized under the NDA’s divisional structure, and again met military expectations. While the Guard served a minimal wartime role during the Vietnam War, the Guard reemerged as a key piece of the US’s combat force in the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, the National Guard faces a series of new challenges in today’s military environment. Some of these new struggles have their roots in the Guard’s Progressive Era origins. Federally-mandated Army training requirements have increased exponentially in recent years, and the National Guard struggles to meet these requirements during their drill weekends and annual training sessions. Due to time constraints, officers in both the Regular Army and National Guard regularly find themselves exaggerating training reports to meet federal mandates.¹⁹ While some of these issues are related to an expanded bureaucracy, they grew out of the federal

¹⁸ “The National Guard’s Legacy,” accessed June 2014 <http://www.nationalguard.com/legacy>; and Major General Timothy Lowenberg, “The Role of the National Guard in National Defense and Homeland Security,” accessed February 2016, <http://www.ngaus.org/sites/default/files/pdf/primer%20fin.pdf>.

¹⁹ Leonard Wong and Stephen J. Gerras, *Lying to Ourselves: Dishonesty in the Army Profession* (Carlisle Barracks: United States Army War College, 2015); and “Report: Army Officers Admit to (and Defend) their Lying,” *The Army Times*, February 19, 2015, accessed December 2015 <http://www.armytimes.com/story/military/careers/army/2015/02/19/-army-lying-distrust-ethics/23678429/>.

government's increased control over the National Guard beginning with the Dick Act of 1903. Although the National Guard maintains its heritage in the old militia system, the national nature of the organization was a Progressive Era creation, and that idealism drove the Guard's development after 1903. Ultimately, the National Guard has remained central to the United States' force structure throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and can trace their current origins to the military reforms of the early twentieth century.

FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Congressman Charles Dick, ca 1903. Public Domain.

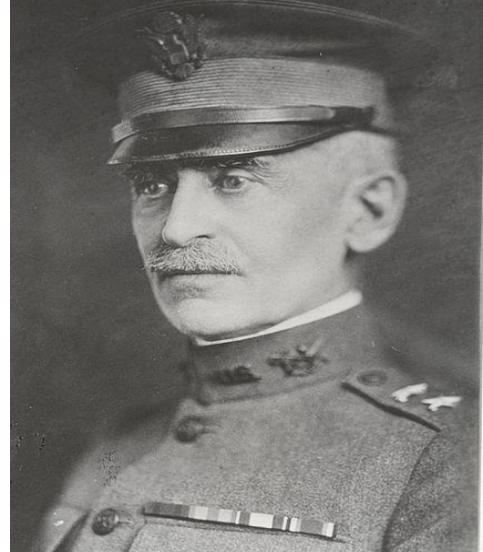


Figure 2. Major General Enoch Crowder, ca 1918. Public Domain

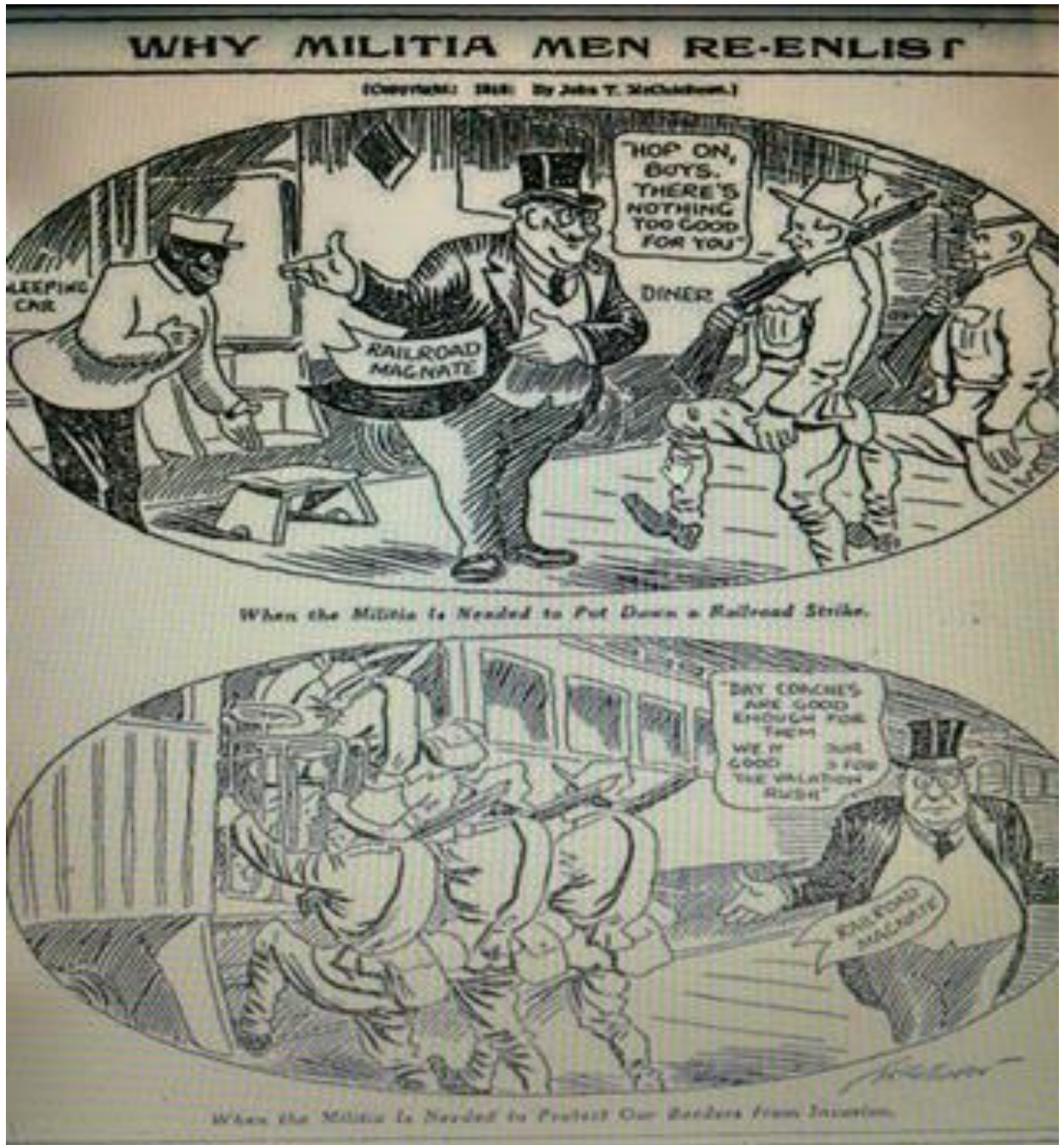


Figure 3. "Why Men Re-Enlist," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1916.



Figure 4. Francis Webster,
ca 1917, Gold Star Military
Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa

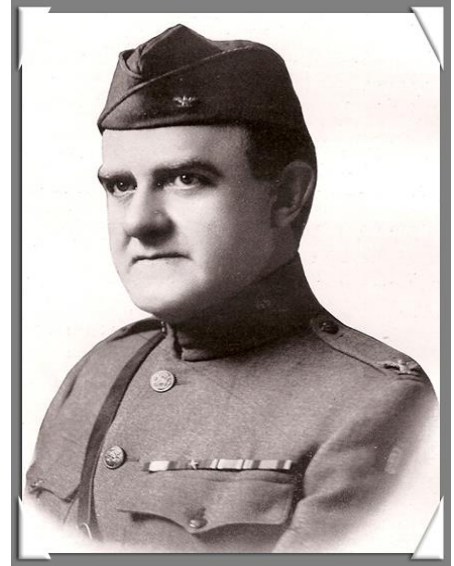


Figure 5. Mathew A. Tinley,
ca 1919, W. E. Robb, 1919
American Lithography and
Printing Company, Des
Moines, Iowa



Figure 6. Camp Dodge Flu Ward, ca 1919. Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa

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Letters of Rudolph A. Dubbert

Miscellaneous Documents

World War I Collection

Diary of Cecil A. Clark

Documents of Alfred Bowen

Letters of Rudolph A. Dubbert

Miscellaneous Documents

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Papers of August Smidt

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