MANHOOD, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE NATIONAL GUARD: ILLINOIS, 1870–1917

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One of the questions I have been asked most frequently in the course of working on this book is how I came to select the history of the militias and National Guards as the subject of my research. The answer that I have always been pleased to give is that my interest in the militias and the National Guards developed when I was a student at Kalamazoo College, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, while taking my required junior seminar as a history major. I was just back from my foreign study experience in Madrid, and the seminar that year was devoted to the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. I loved my time in Spain and decided to select the Spanish American War for my research paper. My professor, David Strauss, suggested that I check out the local depository of the archives of the state of Michigan. I found almost *four hundred* letters in their Spanish American War collection. That this remarkable collection was available to me was a twist of fate. One of the handful of National Guard regiments to make it to Cuba in time to participate in the brief period of fighting on the island was from southwestern Michigan, where my college is located.

Those letters were my first real contact with extensive primary documents, and I found them engrossing. I was completely taken in by the young men who wrote home to the sugar-beet farming fathers of Paw Paw and their shopkeeping mothers of Grand Haven, detailing their newly acquired, first-hand experiences with war. I decided to make these young men the subject of my senior paper, and I approached one of the archivists at the main state archive in East Lansing for assistance with my project. When I told him of my plans, he told me that everyone knew about the Michigan 33rd and suggested that I look into the Michigan Naval Militia.

So I did. What I discovered in the process was not only a love of primary research, but much that interested me in this particular story as well. I became fascinated that the young men of privilege (for that is who formed the Detroit companies of the Michigan Naval Militia) should devote such time and effort in peacetime to creating a naval reserve that was clearly unsought by the Navy or its supporters in Washington, DC.

Later on, the state of Michigan archivist was kind enough to remember me and my project, and he invited me to submit a proposal to the Michigan sesquicentennial military history lecture series. Late in my senior year I gave my first academic paper to an audience that consisted of two National Guard officers, my parents and siblings, and one good friend, Molly Horrigan, who hung around over spring break to hear me. Professor John Wickstrom welcomed me back to "K" many years later as a newly minted Ph.D., for which I will always be grateful.

I carried my interest in the phenomenon of the late-nineteenth century National Guards into graduate school at the University of Chicago and in time decided to make the Guards the subject of my dissertation. My advisers, Kathleen Conzen and Michael Geyer, were quick to pick up on my enthusiasm and offered invaluable advice, criticism, and encouragement, from proposal through defense and after. I owe the most profound thanks to Kathleen Conzen for her guidance and support over the course of many years. During my time at Chicago, I also received help and counsel from Neil Harris, Tom Holt, Rashid Khalildi, Ron Inden, Rachel Fulton, Bill Novak, and Leora Ausslander. George Chauncey read a few chapters-in-progress and gave me some excellent suggestions. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the participants of the various workshops of which Chicago's graduate program is justly proud. The participants and speakers from Feminist Theory Workshop that ran in the late 1980s and early 1990s shaped my thinking more than I realized at the time, and to Sheri Ortner in particular I want to say, many, many years later, that I understand now the purpose of reclaiming the hag, in a way that was impossible for someone as young as I was then. I also owe tremendous thanks to the members of the Graduate Student Reading and Writing Workshop and the Social History Workshop, whose comments much improved the chapters I submitted there, and contributed to my growth as a scholar and an historian.

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* * *

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Finally I must thank my family for all their support—emotional and otherwise—over the years. My aunt and uncle, Mary and Mike Curzan, housed and fed me more than once as I visited the national archives, and they offered excellent advice and friendship along the way. My siblings, John, Mary, and Rachel, have been excellent cheerleaders. My parents, Robert and Susan Hannah, made all of this possible—and to them I offer my deepest and most heartfelt thanks.

My husband, Drew Digby, read every page of this book so many times that he knows it as well as, if not better than, I do myself, and his loving criticism and commentary have to a large degree shaped the final product. And last, but hardly least, our sons Shaw and Bruck have given me much joy, even as their lives have been shaped by the rhythms of this book.

Introduction

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, American men of all ages, ethnicities, and economic positions seized on the antebellum tradition of the volunteer militia company as a vehicle to negotiate and act out their crucial concerns of manhood and citizenship. The resolution of the first concern depended on the definition, meanings, and behaviors assigned to the concept of manhood, a conception that was itself undergoing rapid mutation as a consequence of industrialization.[1] The resolution of the second, the issue of citizenship, was, if anything, more difficult to achieve than a secure verdict on the meaning of manhood. Where citizenship was previously clearly linked with and dependent on the definition of white manhood, in the postwar decades that coupling was fracturing under a variety of strains.[2] The scattered old-style volunteer militia companies were not necessarily the solution to either problem, but new members quickly discovered that volunteering to serve with their local militia company could supply meaning to either question, and often to both questions, of manhood and of citizenship. As the militia evolved into the National Guard over the next three decades, members grew ever more articulate about the connections they drew between their volunteer service, their citizenship, and their manhood, and the ways these connections secured their identities as men and as citizens.

Not many historians currently view the nineteenth-century state militias in the context of contemporary debates over manhood or citizenship—perhaps because the National Guards are today so clearly an integral part of the regular military, perhaps because most historians encounter the nineteenth-century National Guard only briefly as it is being dismissed as a tool of management in labor-capital disputes, if they ever encounter the militias at all. But most late nineteenth-century state militias, or as they eventually called themselves, state National Guards, did not enjoy the patronage of their state governments, or especially of the federal government, to any significant or reliable degree until *after* their members had made the case for the importance of their movement to the nation.[3] Volunteers brought the National Guards into existence before their states found a use for them, and long before their states were willing to support them generously. National Guard members gave their personal time and provided their own money to build their movement from scattered companies into an integrated and organized all-volunteer reserve army, and they did it virtually unaided by state or federal agencies or cash. Considering these points, how did this organization that is today so casually, if mistakenly, accepted as a natural part of the nineteenth-century landscape come to be? Why were so many men willing to volunteer so much of their time and effort to the creation of an unsought—and, from many points of view, unwelcome—reserve army? The short answer is obviously because the volunteers wanted to. Uncovering the complex of concerns that created that desire is the purpose of this study. In brief, the National Guard movement is best understood as one of a host of associations and organizations late nineteenth-century American men devised to help them negotiate their location and purpose in the strange new world of industrial Capitalism.

The National Guards were unique among those organizations, however, in the ways they explicitly linked manhood and citizenship through the figure of the citizen-soldier. They were also unique for the ways they linked older men and young men, middle-class men and working-class men, men from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds, and even white and African American men through their voluntary membership in the same larger organization. The Civil War served as the touchstone that created this unusually accommodating and broadly based organization. The Union Army, in particular, provided a rationale and a model for the volunteers to use as they built a new organization on top of older, antebellum militia traditions. The Civil War also emerged as one of the increasingly dominant images of male coming-of-age in the later half of the nineteenth century.[4] Many Americans came to see the war as a rite of passage, as the moment when millions of American boys, not least the newly freed slaves-cum-Union-soldiers, became men as a result of their battlefield experiences. In addition, many Americans came to perceive the war itself as a coming-of-age moment for the nation, even as a millennial moment, when a young nation reconfirmed its commitments to freedom, liberty, and equality.[5] It was also, of course, the ultimate argument for full African American citizenship.[6] A powerful blend of patriotism, nationalism, violence, and gunplay fueled these ideas and presented acute challenges to all Americans in the long postwar peace. How were young men to come of age without a battlefield testing of their own? How were men who felt most alive during the bloody war years to hold onto that image of themselves? How were African American men to retain and enlarge the gains of their service in the Union Army?

The antebellum model of volunteer militia companies provided an obvious and convenient place for all these men to look when seeking a resolution to their specific personal concerns; the companies could be at once a rite of passage, a link to the past, and an expression of citizenship. Once gathered there, the new postwar volunteers discovered that they shared enough of a language and vision of soldiering and its importance to both manhood and citizenship that they could create and sustain a larger single organization that would house and shelter them all while each pursued his own more particular agenda. Postwar militia volunteers built an organization that could allow all of these groups to prosper, not only in the sense that each saw in the institution a way to validate or claim an identity that was otherwise difficult to realize, but also in their ability to gain from the proximity to others with similar visions. They discovered a synergy that allowed and even forced them to create an entirely new sort of volunteer reserve army and then press it upon an ambivalent nation.

* * *

The history of the Illinois National Guard (ING) from 1870 to 1917 is an excellent subject for a study aimed at recovering the complexity and importance of the development of the National Guards. Because each has its own quirks, no one state militia can replicate the experiences of all of them, but for a variety of reasons, the ING contains within itself examples of nearly every kind of incident that any other state militia experienced. Thus, in one sense, the ING is quite unrepresentative. However, it also means that the ING can function as an extremely useful stand-in for the whole of the disparate state National Guard experiences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The ING of these decades contained within itself great diversity—racially, ethnically, economically, and regionally—and its members devised ways to function successfully together without cracking along ethnic or racial lines. Because of the diversity of membership, a study of the ING offers the rare opportunity to examine the ways in which both ethnicity and race functioned within a single organization. The ING is particularly interesting with regard to the persistence of its African American members. Only Ohio and Massachusetts had as long and as steady an African American presence in their state forces, and in the case of Massachusetts, African

American Guardsmen were always a tiny minority. Neither Pennsylvania nor New York, to name two states often put forward as models for understanding the whole of the National Guards in this period, can boast a similar record of African American membership.[7] The record of the Eighth Illinois United States Volunteers, composed entirely of African American men, during the Spanish American War in particular, is among the more interesting and significant African American military experiences of the entire era. Because its members were entirely African Americans, up to and including their colonel, the Eighth Illinois USV was the object of tremendous scrutiny, as it was treated as a test case for the capabilities of African American commissioned officers—as much by African Americans themselves as by any other set of observers.[8]

The ING also engaged in the full range of National Guard activities during this period, from strikes to race riots, through civic parades and social activities to wartime service, in a way that few other individual state guards did. The Massachusetts NG, for example, never served in a strike after 1877, and even the Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio NGs saw significantly less strike service than the ING.[9] As a result, ING officers and men grappled with strike service more intensely and over a longer period of time than any other state NG members. Their uniquely intensive experiences provide a deep body of evidence from which to understand how strike service shaped the development of the National Guards as a whole across the time period. This experience, nevertheless, is necessarily strongly rooted in the very local nature of strike service, and it is a story that can be fully explored only by close examination of the ways individual instances of strike service, within a single organization within a single state, built over time into a body of opinion and action.

The state of Illinois provided the ING much less financial support than either New York or Massachusetts, to pick two other prominent and well-funded state forces of the era, provided their state militia organizations, and the ING's relative impecuniousness is another area in which their distinctiveness makes them a useful source for understanding the larger National Guard movement.[10] Given the ING's lower levels of state funding, individual ING company members turned to their communities for fund-raising and supported lobbying efforts at both the state and federal levels. Their need for funds forced them to articulate often and regularly what their purpose and appeal was. A second, and related, result was the prominence of ING officers in the national-level lobbying organizations as they turned early and consistently toward the federal government, seeking support for their organization and their mission to train a reserve army for the nation. Illinois National Guard members emerged as powerful spokesmen for their organization, both at the state and the national level, in large part because of their financial needs.

Finally, a close social history of the various companies and regiments emphasizes the local nature of the Guard throughout this period, and would be lost in a study that did not focus clearly on a single, statewide organization. The local nature of the organization, and the myriad of ways that guardsmen and their companies were deeply embedded within their local communities, makes the National Guard movement important to any social history of the nineteenth-century United States. The broader histories that look at the Guard across the country necessarily lose emphasis on this strong tie, even where it is acknowledged, and this loss of emphasis has contributed, albeit unintentionally, to the popular notion of National Guardsmen of the era as faceless, corporate thugs, and not as varied and interesting men who devoted large amounts of time and money to an experience of manhood and citizenship that they valued. A close social history of the ING offers historians a vehicle for exploring the manifold concerns of American men at the turn of the last century.

The Illinois militia, functionally nonexistent in 1870, grew quickly to be among the largest in the nation by the 1880s. It appealed to men of widely different economic backgrounds, ethnicities, races, and regions around the state, successfully recruiting up to a third of its membership in any given year. As a result of the sudden and sustained growth, long-term members successfully lobbied to reshape the state laws governing the militia and to increase state, and eventually, federal budgets for the upkeep of the militia. The ING also served in more than two dozen strike interventions, allowing members to take the full measure of the consequences of this kind of service and ultimately deciding to find ways to minimize their politically untenable role in the maintenance of domestic order. Important as these lobbying and order maintenance duties were to ING members, however, the overwhelming bulk of an ING member's time was devoted to ceremonial, social, and competitive pursuits. These activities lay at the heart of their public persona within their local communities, and through them ING members created an organization that at once tested and confirmed their claims to manliness and citizenship.

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To fully appreciate the fundamental newness of the organizations created after the Civil War, the history of the Illinois militia must be situated in the broader context of the history of militias in the United States up to the 1870s. What follows is a brief overview of the legal foundations of the militia, and then a brief summary of the multiple ways that communities and states met their legal obligations with regard to militia law from the colonial period until the post-Civil War era.

The legal foundations of the modern American militia lie in the Constitution, and as with all political and military authority in the United States, control is divided. The particularly complex and ambiguous position of the militia as established by the Constitution in 1789 has plagued the system to the present day. Congress has the power to organize, arm, and discipline the militia. The states have the power to appoint the officers and train the militia, according to the discipline established by Congress. When the militia is called into federal service, the president is its commander-in-chief. However, Congress must call the militia into federal service and can do so only to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, or to repel invasion. The rest of the time, the militia is under the command of the state governors and responsive to their calls to duty under conditions determined by their respective state constitutions.[11]

After ratification of the Constitution, the militia laws could be, but seldom were, altered by legislation. In 1792 Congress passed two acts concerning the militia that would not be superseded until 1903. The first provided that all free, white, able-bodied men between 18 and 45 owed military service to state and nation, and that they should provide themselves with the wherewithal to do so.[12] This act also stipulated that the states should all have similar organization tables, if it was convenient, and report on the condition of their militia once a year to the federal government.[13] The second act delegated to the president some of Congress's authority to call the militia under certain conditions. One purpose of these acts was more explicitly to create a body that could be considered and used as a national military reserve. The states all eventually followed the lead of the national government and established their own militia acts, similar in content to the federal statutes. In subsequent years, it rapidly became clear that supporting the militia was going to require a more serious commitment on the part of both the state and the national government. In 1808 Congress appropriated $200,000 annually to be apportioned out to the states to buy arms on the basis of the returns sent by the state adjutant generals to the secretary of war. Thereafter, despite repeated calls for reform, no more laws were passed at the federal level for the rest of the century.[14] The development of the militia from then until the twentieth century lay in the hands of the state governments.[15]

After the Spanish American War (1898–99), the federal government once again began to play a crucial role in the evolution of the National Guards as Congress passed reform legislation, backed with federal money, in 1903, 1908, and 1914. The result of this flurry of activity was what is now known as the federalization of the National Guards, that is, the ever-increasing integration of what were once independent state militias into the national defense structure, until, by the late twentieth century, the National Guards had become a virtually indistinguishable arm of the U.S. Army and its reserve systems. The federalization of the state National Guards in the early twentieth century naturally led to a decrease in the importance of state legislation concerning militias and to an uneasy sharing of authority over the National Guard system. All legislative action was at the state level between 1870 and 1903, and Illinois was a relative hotbed of experimentation and development; state law regarding the militias was revised or replaced no fewer than five times.[16] The experimentation and development of legislation at the state level during these years provides yet another rationale for looking closely at a single state.

A challenge for historians of the United States in addressing the militia lies in the confusion surrounding the use of the term, despite its legal basis, caused by different applications of it over time and space. "Militia," by definition, refers to the military service owed to the state (or community) by every able-bodied man in the area—and historically this definition meant exactly that, a duty owed only by males. In the American context, "militia" also refers to all the various permutations of systems for organizing civilian military obligations to the state that have developed over time. For example, owing to the precarious existence of the early settlements in the first phases of British colonization of North America, a rigorous training schedule was initiated for the entire militia complement—that is, all able-bodied men of the locale. As time passed, settlement increased, dangers faded, and general militia training fell to a few days a year. In order to maintain some defense force in the case of emergency, younger men were sometimes required to train together on a more regular basis. They became the militia company in the region, yet they were also the nucleus for the larger militia if the need arose. This pattern repeated itself over and over as the population expanded.[17]

The next phase of militia development began once frontier dangers faded away. Groups sprang up that voluntarily trained together more frequently and with more ceremony than did the larger militia pool. The general pool came to be referred to as the "common" or, if records were kept of available men, the "enrolled" militia, whereas the more active bands were called "volunteer" militia. The Minute Men, initially established in and around Boston in the mid-seventeenth century, are an example of the latter. After the Revolution, volunteer militia companies were highly visible in public celebrations and popular with many groups.

Companies were formed by wealthy young men, ethnic or immigrant men (particularly Irish), craftsmen, or clerks. Thus, a distinction between the volunteer militia and the common militia existed almost from the beginning of the colonial period and remained significant across time.[18]

After the Civil War, some understandings of militia faded, and more terms were added to differentiate various voluntary reserve systems from one another. Enrolling had gradually disappeared from practice during the antebellum period, and by the end of the Civil War, the old common militia had ceased to function. In the late 1870s, as new men re-energized the volunteer militias, the term National Guard came into wide use. It was adopted from the French term for the national enrolled militia, but in practice in the United States it referred to the active volunteer militia bands chartered or recognized by the various state governments. By the turn of the century, most state militias had formally adopted the name "National Guard."[19] Yet in 1916, the Army succeeded in establishing, in addition, a national reserve system, separate from that of the states and under its own contro1.[20] However, all these terms—Militia, Volunteer Militia, National Guard, Active Militia, Reserves—are often used interchangeably in primary sources, in histories devoted only to the civilian reserve structure, and in wider histories of the U.S. armed forces.[21]

The names are used interchangeably because distinctions among all these groups were easily blurred. Whenever situations demanded larger numbers than one or two volunteer bands could supply—as in periods of Indian fighting or the various more formal wars of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries—the common militia was called upon to make up the difference, but not indiscriminately; a call would be issued, and volunteers, draftees, or their substitutes would join the existing bands or create a new one. The whole agglomeration was, and is, referred to as the "militia." Thus, whenever large numbers of militia converged, the ranks could be filled with members of established volunteer bands, recent volunteers, and compulsory volunteers, but rarely, if ever, the entire available complement of the common or enrolled militia. Variations on these methods of supplying the necessary men have been used in nearly all wars of the United States.[22]

In the early nineteenth century, then, the older, general state militias withered across the eastern seaboard and in the settled regions of the northwest territories, until the last remnants became an object for mockery when they assembled for their increasingly desultory (and often drunken) annual training days.[23] The popular volunteer companies correspondingly became more visible and impressive. Initially, these volunteer companies owed little to state governments, but with the passing of the general militia's effectiveness in the 1840s and 1850s, many state legislatures began to recognize and support the volunteer companies as their active state militia, usually with some form of financial assistance. In return, the volunteers could be called out for riot duty, prisoner protection, and later, returning fugitive slaves. The relationship between state governments and volunteer militias varied from region to region; in contested frontier areas, the militias were distinctly more likely to be involved in military action. In 1856, for example, the Law and Order (pro-slavery) party in Missouri and the free-state party both formed territorial militias that spent four months during the summer fighting and raiding across the territory over the question of the political future of the state.[24] Despite the events in western areas however, the volunteer companies of the eastern seaboard and settled areas of the Old Northwest chiefly devoted their time to public displays.[25]

During the Civil War, the volunteer companies and territorial militias joined the Confederate or Union armies, and what remained of the militia became both the home guard, filled with boys and older men, and the recruiting structure for the volunteers who made up the bulk of both armies. After the war, the hundreds of thousands of men who were mustered into the Union and Confederate armies via their state militia systems, but were mustered out of state service and into federal service to serve during the war, were mustered out of the federal service without re-entering the services of their respective states. At the end of the process of mustering out and demobilizing state regiments, most states were left without any officially recognized, active state troops. The history of state military forces might well have ended there in 1865–66, with state regiments empty and no new military threat in sight to re-energize citizen interest in state militias. The South was the exception; militias were created in 1865–66 and were promptly filled by Confederate army veterans, right down to the worn uniforms. Congressional reconstruction eliminated those militias and allowed for the formation of African American militias. This action provoked further racial violence, as private "rifle companies" sprang up across the South to combat the perceived threat of armed African Americans. Eventually, the defeated southern states were denied the authority to establish militias at all until their constitutions received congressional approval. Once "redeemed" or returned to white democratic control, southern state militias followed trends already established in the Northeast and the Midwest.[26] Outside the South, most state governments were uninterested in funding any military structure at all, whether universal militia or volunteer, in the decade between 1865 and 1875.[27]

And yet, in the early 1870s, volunteer militias reemerged across the northern states. Some outfits retained the name of a volunteer company established before the war, though doing so was common mostly among the long-established volunteer units of the older seaboard cities. For the most part, the volunteer companies of the 1870s and 1880s were new organizations without prewar histories. Although at first the new companies modeled themselves after antebellum volunteer militias, members quickly discarded those models in favor of new organizational forms at both the state and the national levels. By the early 1880s, the state militias, or as they were increasingly called, the National Guards, had over 80,000 members across the country and organized lobbies seeking increases in both their state and federal funds. In 1898, the National Guards were the organizational framework for the volunteer troops raised to fight the Spanish American War, and by 1914 they constituted a federally supported reserve military force prepared to face overseas engagements. In 1916, the National Guards were mobilized for service on the Mexican border, and in the fall of 1917, the National Guards formed the nucleus of the American expeditionary force sent to Europe to aid the allies in concluding the First World War.[28]

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The history of the militia in Illinois follows the national trends. After the Civil War, the antebellum frontier-state militia structure evaporated completely in Illinois. By 1870, the governor reported to the secretary of war that Illinois had no active militia at all. In 1872, seven small volunteer companies in Illinois can be identified, each with its own name in the antebellum tradition. In 1874, the adjutant general reported twenty-five companies with slightly over 1,500 members (though he expected four to be disbanded soon); each company chose its own name and also had a company and regiment number assigned by the state. In 1880, the total strength of the Illinois National Guard (ING) was 8,254 officers and men in numbered companies and regiments.[29] This dramatic growth spurred other equally dramatic changes in the organization and in the state laws that governed the militia, reflecting, and sometimes leading, the pace of development of state militias nationwide.

The Illinois volunteer militia was both familiar and flexible to Americans of the late nineteenth century, and as an institution it appealed to men of dramatically different backgrounds living widely disparate lives from the 1870s through the turn of the century. The militia certainly continued to appeal to men of the middle and upper classes, much as it had done for decades.[30] For example, in 1874 the adjutant general of Illinois noted that "at the present time there is being organized in Chicago a regiment composed of the elite of the city, which, from indications, will become a permanent organization."[31] However, if indebtedness is one marker of less elite membership, then most companies were filled with common men. The Second Regiment, formed in Chicago by preexisting, predominately Irish companies at the end of 1875 and early 1876 (because they couldn't get into the new elite regiment), was $8,700.00 in debt by the end of 1876.[32] One early Chicago company was so poor the members couldn't afford to rent an armory space large enough for the entire group and had to break into to smaller detachments for weekly drill.[33] Most of the new companies of 1875–76 were in small towns, and they also struggled to make ends meet. For example, the Mason City Guards raised sixty dollars by hosting two balls during their first ten weeks as an active organization and considered themselves off to a rousing start.[34] African American men in Illinois created military companies whenever and wherever they could find the numerical strength and community support to do so. In 1870–71, the Hannibal Guards formed in Chicago, and in the state capital the adjutant general commissioned the African American officers of Company C in 1869, and the Springfield Zouaves sometime between 1870 and 1872.[35] In 1872 the McLean County Guards (colored), formed by residents surrounding Bloomington, Illinois, joined the state militia.[36] The Sixteenth Battalion, made up of two Chicago African American companies, joined the ING in 1878. The ethnic and racial identification of companies, native-born Americans, Irish, Bohemian, Scottish, and African American, also show how broad the appeal could be.[37] When the statewide inspecting officers made any mention of members' occupations across the regiments in their annual reports during the 1870s and 1880s, it seems that the enlisted men at least were primarily clerks, farmers, skilled tradesmen, or small merchants. Even so, inspecting officers and enlistment rosters make it clear that professionals and laborers also found a place in the militias.[38]

At the turn of the century, the picture of wide regional, ethnic, class, and racial background among Illinois militia members remained virtually unchanged. The socially prestigious First Regiment, ING, was still the home of men from relatively privileged backgrounds, particularly at the level of the commissioned officers. White-collar workers, especially in the job category "Clerk," represented almost half of the enlisted men as well. Of course, the rest of the enlisted men were primarily laborers or skilled tradesmen, so even in this most elite of regiments, a wide variety of men found a place.[39] (See appendix A.) In contrast, at the same time, Company A, Third Infantry, ING, of Dekalb, was almost entirely working-class in composition.[40] (See appendix B.) New professions also found a place in the National Guard. In 1916 the First Cavalry, ING, had so strong a component of journalists that when they served on the Mexican border that year they immediately set about publishing a weekly newspaper called *The Illinois Cavalryman* (using the presses of a local San Antonio paper), which started at eight full pages and grew to twelve by the end of their service thirteen weeks later.[41] The African American Ninth Battalion joined the ING in 1894.[42] These diverse patterns of company formation, rural and urban, rich and poor, ethnic, Anglo, and African American, continued through the call to active duty in 1917.

The benefits and rewards that kept such a large cross-section of men active in the Guard are striking because membership appears to have worked its transformation and confirmation of manhood and citizenship fairly quickly. The vast majority of enlisted men and officers stayed in the ING for three years or less.[43] In 1908, the adjutant general of Illinois estimated that over the preceding five years, the ING lost, on average, 20 percent of its almost 6,000 strong membership annually.[44] Thus, many years ING officers were successfully recruiting, on average, 1,200 new members. Their need for new recruits may also have helped contribute to their broad definition of soldiering, a definition that could attract and hold men of widely divergent backgrounds and tastes. That they were able to keep their reserve army at a steady membership while contending with rapid turnover in their troops reinforces the power of their representation of the ING as an important and meaningful experience in the lives of American men, as well as for the life of the nation. The fact that most men served only a single term of service also allowed the organizations' long-term leaders, those officers and enlisted men who served nine or more years, to shape the ING in their own vision of a reserve army.

The ING's active membership of roughly 5,000 to 8,000 men between 1876 and 1917 was supported by a combination of annual appropriations from the state treasury, appropriations that slowly increased over time, and extensive fund-raising activities in the various communities that supported individual guard companies.[45] These developments placed the ING near the top of guard organizations nationwide in terms of size and somewhat further down in terms of state funding, a position that the ING maintained through 1917.[46] (See appendix I.) Illinois had both large industrial and railroad centers—most notably, Chicago and East St. Louis—as well as a significant rural population and scores of coal mining operations located throughout the state. The ING was called to active duty during the nationwide strikes of 1877 and 1894 and also served during more than twenty coal strikes policing public order and protecting lives and property between 1877 and 1900, more than in any other state of the union.[47]

Despite the profound importance and impact of strike policing on the development of the National Guards, especially in Illinois, strike policing was not the stimulant of National Guard growth. Membership in the Illinois militia surged in the year preceding July 4, 1876, and when paired with the reports of the adjutant general and histories of company formation, clearly roots the motivation for company formation in local patriotic and personal impulses. The great strikes of August 1877 arrived only after the Illinois volunteer militia was so large and so well organized that their lobbyists had already achieved the first of many militia reforms with the 1876 Illinois militia law overhaul. Guardsmen themselves claimed in later histories of the 1870s and 1880s that they were in training to be soldiers, to serve their nation as reserve troops to be committed in wartime to augmenting the small regular army. Although some Guard historians did argue that the presence of the Guard in turn had an effect on strikes and striking workers, this development was clearly a *result*, not the cause, of company formation. The Guard historians also claimed that the members were serving their communities and their nation by the act of military training, not just as potential soldiers, but also as molders of men and exemplars of manly responsibility and centennial patriotism. They applied the lessons of soldiering—self-discipline, obedience, healthy habits, and personal initiative for both self and group improvement—to the most desirable qualities of citizens and of masculinity.[48]

To state that policing capital-labor disputes was not the central aim or function of the National Guards is not, however, to deny the powerful connections between the role of state policing assigned to the Guards and their development as an institution. The history of strike-related active duty service on the part of the Illinois National Guard is a complex and fragmented record. Guardsmen could be nonpartisan or even prolabor in attitude and still ultimately contribute to the success of management in its contest with strikers.[49] This inescapable irony frames the history of strike interventions in Illinois from the standpoint of the Illinois National Guard from 1879 onward. It shaped aspects of the ING's identity in numerous and contradictory ways. It contributed to the cycle of growth in the ING over time. It led the ING to formulate specific tactics for dealing with strike interventions and for negotiating their relationships with local governing authorities during such service. After twenty years of experience in strike interventions, the ING successfully redefined their intrastate mission from policing "disorder" into policing "disaster," preferably natural but possibly social. This redefinition released the ING from responsibility for all but the most extreme cases of urban rioting and still allowed the ING to argue they were fulfilling their domestic responsibilities as outlined by the federal and state constitutions. This rhetorical and intellectual move allowed the ING to retain their claims to the intrastate service that continued to provide them with at least some of their rationale for their increasing requests for public funds. It also allowed them to direct the bulk of their resources, time, and public relations efforts to their self-identified primary mission to serve as a reserve army for the nation.

When a county sheriff or city mayor appealed to the governor for state troops, and only they had the authority to do so, to intervene in their county (or city) to restore an order that they were unable to maintain, implicit in that request was a confession of their inability to handle the strike situation themselves. In essence, it was an admission of weakness and incompetence. That one party to the issues surrounding the strike often considered this process to have been subverted by a different party illustrates the uncertain relationships between local and state authority. The history of Illinois strike interventions is fraught with tension between the local sheriffs and the ING commanders who arrived in their jurisdictions to take over the responsibility for order maintenance. The uneasy alliances and continual bickering about legitimate and illegitimate need for state aid surrounding the policing of disputes between capital and labor highlight far more issues of governing authority and responsibility in the late nineteenth century than they do the purpose of the ING. Illinois National Guard leaders could only hope and strive to escape the political fallout as unscathed as possible. On those occasions when Illinois governors did call the ING into state service, they ordered the militia to the scene of the strike to restore a public order that local authority was temporarily unable to sustain. Upon the restoration of order and the remanding of any captured criminal elements into local police hands, state troops returned to their homes, and the local authorities were expected to carry on themselves.

As their organization grew in size, active duty assignments, and funding, members of the ING also played an important role in the professional development of the National Guard movement. The ING developed summer camp programs, competitive exams for promotion, and prizes for marksmanship during the late 1870s and the 1880s. The ING developed specialized companies of artillery and cavalry as early as 1877 and continued to follow closely professional army innovations. The ING developed signal corps, bicycle corps, and medical corps in the 1890s and even predated the US Army in the innovative use of camp cooks during training rather than requiring each enlisted man to prepare his own food. Illinois National Guard officers were also key players in national organizations attempting to modify federal policy in the early 1880s and especially at the turn of the century. The ING had a diverse membership, made up of socially prestigious units, companies with strong ethnic associations, a steady procession of African American companies, and companies based in cities like Chicago to villages like Lincoln or Mason City. The ING was an organization rocked by the crises of its time, and yet it survived to prosper and grow into the role of reserve army in training at a time when it was far from obvious that this was the natural direction for development of state militia forces. Although no study of one state guard can claim to stand for all, a study of the ING that situates the organization firmly in their local context addresses all the significant issues surrounding the flourishing National Guard movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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This book begins with a close look at the decade of the 1870s and the revival of the volunteer militia in Illinois, a movement closely linked to the centennial celebrations of 1876, examining the early development of the Illinois National Guard as volunteers struggled to articulate their purposes and roles. It was in the 1870s that Illinois volunteers began to rely on language and images of manly men and responsible citizenship to explain and define their organization. Chapter 2 documents and explores the overwhelming importance of the social and public life of ING members to their identity as manly, patriotic citizens and to the survival of their organizations. The following chapter explores the way ING leaders and members responded to the task of policing strike-related violence between 1870 and 1890, tentatively embracing their role as stalwart protectors of public order even as they learned about the dangers of local political currents and racial violence. Chapter 4 focuses on the impact of the growing professionalization of ING training practices, and the resulting switch to marksmanship rather than drill as the preferred competitive sport, as the organization changed from focusing primarily on serving their communities as models and creators of manly citizenship to a much more individually focused form of self-improvement and national duty. Chapter 5 discusses the way ING members embraced service in the Spanish American War as both the test and the validation of their claims to be both patriotic, manly citizens and reliable soldiers. Chapter 6 returns to the subject of strike duty and the reasons that the ING leadership eventually turned firmly away from this sort of mission lest they be trapped forever by policing rather than soldiering as their primary identity. The final chapter contains a discussion of the political and financial position of the Guard, with particular emphasis on their lobbying efforts at both the state and federal levels, as guardsmen grew ever more nationalized in focus and professional in their approach to soldiering. The chapter also considers the potential implications of the growing federalization and accompanying pull away from the local communities on the Guards during the first decade-and-a-half of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 1

Illinois Militia Revival in the 1870s

> Be true to yourselves, be true to your country, be true to your God, be true to that old flag, and be true to the ladies of Springfield.[1]
>
> —Governor John L. Beveridge

In 1875, Governor John L. Beveridge of Illinois challenged the members of a Springfield militia company to be true to themselves, to their country, to their God, to their flag, and to the ladies of Springfield. Beveridge left it to the company members to decide how to demonstrate that they were true men and true citizens, either to themselves or to the ladies. The members of the company might have found this a frustrating task because as the nineteenth century entered its final quarter, ideals of manly behavior and attributes of citizenship were changing rapidly. Literate Americans simultaneously held that American manhood, by which they generally meant the manhood of white, middle-class men, was increasingly under assault by their own civilization, and at the same time they were certain that the increasing power and importance of the United States was a direct result of the manliness of American men. Historians, particularly historians of women and of African Americans, have also made it abundantly clear that for all their concerns about the energy-sapping effects of modernity, white middle- and upper-class American men remained fully in charge of all they surveyed and brooked no challenges to their authority or autonomy.[2] In the midst of living through this period ripe with contradictions, paradox, and challenge, American men of all backgrounds struggled to find new ways to preserve, remake, and expand the numbers of American men who could be rated as manly.[3]

The governor's audience may have been spared some of the contemporary confusion over the content of manhood, however. Governor Beveridge was addressing a specific group of men, those who had volunteered their time and effort to their local militia company. The members of the Governor's Guard had turned voluntarily to the old American tradition of the militia in search of a way to express culturally approved manliness and responsible citizenship. The men the governor was talking to did have a rough idea of what it meant to be true. They were being true to their nation and their flag by volunteering to serve in their local militia company and training themselves to support and defend the nation at need. They showed the ladies of Springfield how true they were by donning the uniform and embracing their role as handsome and manly civic performers in parades and funerals and dances and drills. They demonstrated to themselves that they were true by making a promise to serve nation and community by volunteering for military training and responsibilities, and living out these promises in their militia membership.[4]

In the early 1870s, membership in the Illinois state militia jumped from just under 250 men in 1870 to over 1,500 members by 1874.[5] The new members, who ranged from Civil War veterans to young men just coming of age and who included both white and African American men, devoted their time and effort to the task of creating volunteer militia companies throughout the state. In doing so, they embraced a traditional way to put their manliness and their claims to citizenship on public display. Individually, the volunteers had reasons that were as diverse as the men themselves, ranging from an enthusiasm for military uniforms and weapons to Civil War memorializing. Together they found a single home in the Illinois militia, and once active companies demonstrated the rewards of militia membership to local audiences, more and more companies formed. The upcoming centennial celebrations also provided a tantalizing opportunity for a public display of responsible manhood. Men from all over Illinois seized the chance to be part of the celebrations as uniformed members of their local company.[6]

Manhood on Parade

In the early 1870s, militia volunteers paraded regularly and often as they worked to establish their claims to the history and social prestige of the elite bands of citizen-soldiers of the antebellum era. They liked parades, and parading in general, because it was such an excellent way to establish their credentials as responsible and attractive men in the eyes of their communities. As a result, volunteers pounced on those special occasions that allowed members to dramatically link themselves to the nation and its military history by participating in particularly important civic events. For example, on October 15, 1874, five Illinois militia companies marched in the procession leading U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant to the unveiling of a statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. By marching in this particular parade, company members visibly tied themselves to two U.S. presidents and to the Union general who won the war. The University Cadets, the militia company from the Industrial University at Champaign; the Sterling City Guards; the Governor's Guard, the veteran Sherman Guards; and the Springfield Zouaves were hardly alone in the parade. They joined several other military-style fraternal organizations in the two-mile–long procession, among them the national Union veteran officers' organization, the Army of the Tennessee; the Springfield Fire Department; the German Catholic Church Society; a number of bands; and many, many carriages of national, state, and city notables, all seeking to benefit by association with national heroes.[7]

The day of the parade began with rain, almost as though "nature was weeping over the memories of the past," but by midmorning the weather had cleared, and the members of the procession began gathering in the middle of the city.[8] Residents of Springfield had decorated almost every square inch of public space with flags, banners, flowers, and evergreens, and as the participants gathered, cannons set up at the cemetery began to fire at regular intervals. The procession finally headed out just after noon and wove its way through the city, up and down all the principal business streets and with a special leg that brought all past the Lincoln home, before ending up at the cemetery just outside of town. The march took about thirty minutes, but it was an hour before the entire procession was finally through the decorated gates of the cemetery. Crowds lined the parade route and filled the cemetery; by some estimates, as many as 40,000 people came to Springfield to participate in the ceremonies or watch them. So many people were pushing into the cemetery to gain a good view of the statue and the ceremonies to come that many militia members had been detailed directly to the cemetery and crowd control. The cannon continued firing even as the many bands that were part of the parade played marching music. The sounds ceased only once the last of the parade had entered the cemetery, when the cannon and the bands fell quiet, in a silence all the more imposing for the noise that preceded it. Each division of the march separated into the areas near the statue that had been set aside for them, and the speeches, anthems, and sermons began. Bishop Waymen, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, opened the ceremonies with a prayer, and they concluded with a song.[9]

The militia members who marched in the Springfield parade and participated in the ceremonies were able to draw on a long tradition to secure the most important spots, those closest to the dignitaries, in the parade honoring Grant and Lincoln.[10] In the early nineteenth century, militia companies had begun appearing in public parades celebrating the United States, its holidays, and its heroes.[11] By marching in these parades, militia members helped to define a form of American patriotic manliness marked by uniforms, weapons, and martial music. Members used the orderliness of their processions to set themselves off clearly from the much rowdier crowds of banner-waving craftsmen or firemen also commonly found in antebellum parades. In particular, militia members used military funeral parades—both real and symbolic, both types fully under their control and authority—to cement their position as chief arbiters of the most solemn and impressive forms of patriotic behavior. Antebellum militia members successfully claimed a special and unique patriotic authority through the "precision of the march to the cemetery" while wearing fancy dress uniforms and accompanied by bands, gongs, and rifle salutes at graveside.[12] Militia members in 1874 were able to draw on both traditions in their quest to establish their new companies in the hearts and minds of their communities.

By 1874 these prewar conventions were so well understood that reporters in Springfield reviewed the procession to the monument dedication against this standard. They knew that what they saw was a civic pageant with widely understood meaning and roles. Reporters noted that the residents of the city had dressed the set with care, draping their city in bunting and flags and constructing six triumphal arches around the center of the city. Each of the five divisions marching in the parade provided the music of at least one band—marching, brass, or drum corps.[13] The local reporters particularly enjoyed the band that accompanied the African American Springfield Zouaves. The local audiences also judged the militias' efforts, seeking signs of seriousness and military bearing and style in both costumes and well-drilled marching. Local reporters reflected these conventions when they admired the nearly 300-strong University Cadets and "their neat, unpretending uniform." Reporters also noted that the Sherman Guards were "one of the great features of the processions . . . made up exclusively of veteran soldiers, commanded by old officers, [they] wore the uniform of 1861–5, and the manual of arms and drill in use during the war."[14]

The parade marked the first public appearance of the Governor's Guard, re-formed out of another defunct Springfield company only a month previously. The new Governor's Guard won the honor of directly escorting (preceding) President Grant, Vice President Wilson, Secretary of War Belknap, and other VIPs to the ceremony. One local reporter wrote, "Not withstanding its youthfulness, [the Governor's Guard] made a creditable and dashing appearance, with its seventy-six men in imposing uniforms, and gaily caparisoned staff and drum corps."[15] Altogether, the reporter from the *Daily State Journal* concluded, "The procession made a most imposing appearance. The military with their fine uniforms . . . together with the other societies, went to make up a picture worthy of the pencil of an artist."[16]

The reporters of 1874 were alert to the diversity of men—Irish, German, native-born, Civil War veterans, college students, and African Americans—who were members of the militia companies and military-style clubs in 1874, and they made much of the variety of ethnicities and ages. In many antebellum cities, socially prestigious militia organizations had sought to define patriotism beyond the reach of the masses when they paraded in expensive uniforms with expensive guns. In Springfield in 1874, the much wider range of men who marched used this same form to illustrate their own claims to patriotic leadership and meaningful citizenship. These men embraced this older strategy for claiming their space in the public pageant with uniforms, guns, and orderly performances because in the postwar years this option appeared readily available to any male group that could organize itself into a military-style company and join in the march. In 1874, university students seeking a connection with the all-important manhood experience of soldiering, reenacting veterans recalling their own wartime experiences, and African American men reinforcing the link between their service in the Union Army and their citizenship, all used the authority of brand-new, state-associated militia companies to publicly claim their identities as men and as citizens.[17]

Militiamen Become Gentlemen

Militia members used their membership in a militia company to link their existing patriotic authority to a new social and cultural authority. For example, in March 1875, as a fund-raising and publicity-raising event, the Governor's Guard of Springfield staged the play *Color Guard* in the Springfield Opera House. According to the advertisement that ran in the papers, the play abounded in "thrilling situations, beautiful

Tableaux, Striking Military Scenes, Drills, Marches, Exciting Battles, &c., and is the most perfect and life-like representation of army life during the great rebellion, ever written." The advertisement went on to boast that the play would be performed by "the best amateur cast ever put on the stage in the city of Springfield."[18]

A traveling theatrical manager, W. H. Gunn, and the "Dutch Comedian," Charles Collins, assisted the Governor's Guard with the production, and at several points in the play directed the entire company, some seventy members strong, to take the stage to perform drill revolutions. The play opened to encouraging reviews and, according to the papers, improved with each performance. The high point of the run was on the fourth night, when the female lead, Miss Emma Hickox, representing the "Ladies of the city," presented a U.S. flag to the company before the curtain rose, and Governor Beveridge, in attendance to accept the gift, offered thanks on behalf of "his" company.

In speaking on behalf of the community, Emma Hickox was a new figure on the American scene and a far cry from her antebellum sisters, who had appeared in public only as mute figures, dressed as Lady Liberty but rarely granted significant speech.[19] Hickox spoke not as a vague feminine symbol, but rather as the representative of the very specific women of Springfield. Hickox also claimed patriotic authority for herself, when she declared: "In the confident assurance that I entrust [this flag] to the keeping of brave men and true; that, should the '*long roll*' ever hurry you from peaceful pursuits to form in earnest in the serried ranks of war, your record as soldiers will be as honorable as it now is as business men and citizens."[20] Having taken for herself the power to recognize respectable and honorable men and citizens, and to honor them with the gift of the flag, Hickox assured her listeners that she had made the right choice of recipients, and the flag itself was proof of her words. "In this unshaken faith and trust, in behalf of the ladies of the city of Springfield, as a testimonial of their respect for you as gentlemen, and their appreciation of your admirable proficiency and soldierly bearing as a military organization, I now have the honor and pleasure to present to you this flag."[21] With the flag, Hickox recognized and rewarded the admirable qualities and the gentlemanly status of the members of the Governor's Guard.

In his reply to Hickox, Governor Beveridge concluded his long and gracious thanks on behalf of "his" company with a warning about the seriousness of their endeavor, and an injunction to do their best with it. Drawing on his own identity as a Civil War veteran, Beveridge contrasted civilian training with the harsh realities of wartime service, "[w]hether in civil or military life; whether parading in your armory or in camp; whether marching in the streets of your city or upon the field of strife;

whether you are decked in your bright uniforms or are clothed in the nation's blue, all dirty, worn, tattered and torn; whether your bright muskets are resting in their racks, or, powder-burnt, are under your head for a pillow, as you lie down to dreams upon the battle-field, waiting for the coming of the bloody morrow." Despite the contrast between war and civilian life, Beveridge, like Hickox, assured his listeners that he fully expected them to shine under any circumstances, as long as they remembered to "be true to yourselves, be true to your country, be true to your God, be true to that old flag, and be true to the ladies of Springfield."[22]

Governor Beveridge and Miss Hickox together reiterated the antebellum linkage between gentle birth and certain types of public volunteer soldiering, but they reinterpreted it for the conditions of the 1870s. Rather than gentlemen claiming exclusive patriotic authority, as in antebellum communities, here in the Springfield of 1875, Governor Beveridge and Miss Hickox implied that patriotic military exhibition itself could establish an acceptable claim to the status of gentleman. They clearly believed that the volunteer soldier was by definition an admirable man, worthy of respect and deference.[23] Miss Hickox, representative of the ladies of Springfield, played a traditional role in placing a symbol of the nation (the flag) in the care of recognized defenders of the home and hearth. She also took it upon herself to grant all members of the troop clear manhood status and social rank as gentlemen.[24]

More interesting, Miss Hickox and Governor Beveridge also stressed the interchangeable qualities needed to perform well the roles of both soldier and citizen. Miss Hickox assured the militia members of her belief that their "record as soldiers will be as honorable as it now is as business men and citizens." She, and the ladies of Springfield, gave the flag as a testimony of "respect for you as gentlemen, and their appreciation of your admirable proficiency and soldierly bearing as a military organization." The governor urged his listeners to bring the same convictions to their soldierly activities that they would "in every circumstance in life," that they be true to their belief in themselves, their community, their faith, the nation, and "the ladies of Springfield." Miss Hickox and Governor Beveridge saw no contradiction or potential conflict in the roles of citizen and soldier. In their construction of the identity of the militiaman, they believed that citizen and soldier could coexist in harmony, each relying on the same attitudes and behaviors of self-discipline, honor, and personal integrity.[25]

The governor also used his status as an acclaimed veteran of the Civil War (he had commanded a cavalry unit at Gettysburg before being promoted to the rank of general) to speak to the younger men about the mysteries of warfare they had not as yet experienced for themselves. Even here, though, and following in the footsteps of fellow Illinoisan John Logan, the governor implied that those same values of civilian life would serve well on the battlefield.[26] The governor, the militiamen, the ladies of Springfield, and the theater crowd all drew on memories of war-torn Civil War battlegrounds as they listened to the governor's description of the dreams of the "coming of the bloody morrow." In this context, the audience and the militiamen appear to anticipate that the citizen will become the soldier in a distant geographic space, where the values of honor and personal integrity that serve him at home will also see him through the turmoil of war. The speeches, and the play itself—a Civil War drama—all served to present the community with a unified figure of the citizen soldier, honorable man at home, honorable warrior on the field. Illinois men, it turns out, could meet the governor's challenge to be true by donning the uniform and preparing, however awkwardly or theatrically, to be soldiers should the nation ever need to call on them.

New Companies Build on Antebellum Militia Traditions

The burst of growth in the Illinois Militia between 1870 and 1876 was dramatic and had far-reaching consequences for the Illinois militia and for the broader militia resurgence nationwide. At first, Illinois militia volunteers relied on antebellum models and practices as they rebuilt old companies or created entirely new ones. Gradually, the new militiamen discarded many of the older practices in favor of developing new forms that better suited their needs and concerns. They lived in a rapidly maturing urban and industrial society that demanded ever more sophisticated and professional structures for managing ever-larger enterprises, and they needed an organization that suited their times.

In 1870, five volunteer militia companies existed in Illinois.[27] These scattered companies represented tremendous effort and devotion on the part of their members. As companies were completely voluntary, first a man and his friends had to decide they wanted to try to form a company; then they had to canvass their community for the thirty or so members necessary for a minimum-strength organization.[28] Once gathered together, the new members chose a company name, elected their officers, located an armory, and then, if still together and if so desired by the majority, authorized their officers to apply to the state for membership in the organized militia. (Not all such companies, before or after the Civil War, desired or sought a spot in the organized militia.) "Membership" was, at best, a tenuous connection to the state in 1870. Under the Illinois state law of 1845, a company was recognized when the governor issued commissions to the officers. Noncommissioned officers and privates took no oath of office, there was no official mustering in of new companies, and only the members' own inclinations kept them active from one month to the next. As late as the early 1870s, the governor's recognition of a company could provide very little beyond the occasional loan of ordnance in the form of outdated weaponry. As a result of these conditions, the connections between state governments and military companies were so vague that in 1870, Illinois officials reported to the federal government that they currently recognized no active militia organizations, even though according to the state roster of 1874 there were at least five volunteer companies (then or later) affiliated with the state active at that time.[29]

As the 1870s progressed, an increasing number of determined citizen-soldiers braved the difficulties attendant on starting a local militia organization and maintaining state recognition. For example, in 1872, The Grand Army Zouaves, the Mulligan Zouaves, the Sheridan Guards, the Rantoul Guards, the First Battalion of Whiteside County Militia (made up of the Sterling City Guards and the Rock Falls Zouaves), the McLean County Guards (colored), and the reorganized Ellsworth Zouaves all joined the state militia.[30] These new companies represented 400 men, with an average company strength of fifty-three members. In 1875, the Chicago papers recognized the Clan-na-Gael Guards, the Alpine Hunters, the Irish Rifles, the Montgomery Light Guards, the Mulligan Zouaves, and the Hannibal Zouaves, along with six new companies in the Chicago First Regiment, for a total of twelve militia companies in Chicago alone.[31]

The popularity of Zouave companies highlights the persistence of antebellum practices common to many companies formed in the early 1870s. In 1859, Elmer Ellsworth of Chicago initiated the pre-Civil War Zouave craze with his company, the United States Zouave Cadets. He trained the Zouave Cadets in the gymnastic drill of the French-African Zouave regiments, which he had picked up from a veteran of those corps a few years earlier. Essentially, under Ellsworth's direction a Zouave unit was a drill team with an emphasis on athleticism and group precision in both marching and marksmanship. The flashy and distinctive Zouave uniform consisted of a red cap, short jacket, sash, and baggy trousers. Ellsworth drilled his company so well and was so encouraged by the result that in 1860 he took it on a successful twenty-city tour, and Zouave companies sprang up all over the country in his wake. There were many Zouave regiments during the early years of the Civil War, in both armies, but they never made headway with the professional officer corps and quickly disappeared.[32] In Illinois, however, the Zouave model retained its fascination and romance for militia volunteers even after the war.[33] The Springfield Zouaves, the African American company based in Springfield, marched in the parade honoring Presidents Grant and Lincoln in 1874. Highlighting the vagueness of "official" status until a new militia law came into effect in 1877, the Springfield papers accorded the Springfield Zouaves the same recognition as the other militia companies present that did have state-commissioned officers, even though the adjutant general listed the company as "disbanded" in 1872.[34] In Chicago as late as 1875, there were still at least two companies of Zouaves. The Zouave model remained popular long after other forms more closely tied to the U.S. Army became the norm among volunteer militia companies.[35]

Upcoming Centennial Pushes Company Formation, 1874–76

Thirty-five new companies entered into state service between October 1874 and December 1, 1875.[36] Momentum continued to steamroll through the first half of 1876, and thirty-eight more new companies were accepted into the Illinois militia and their officers commissioned between January and July.[37] The sheer size of the increase in membership, from under 900 members to more than 5,000, is remarkable, as was its wide geographical distribution throughout the state.[38] (See appendix J.) Despite the presence of new companies in thirty small towns around the state, the urban character of most guardsmen is also apparent. In 1876, twenty-one militia companies located in Chicago officially belonged to the Illinois State Guard, and several smaller cities, including Sycamore, Peoria, Pontiac, and Quincy boasted at least two active companies.[39]

The catalyst for this statewide burst of company formation was the upcoming centennial celebration.[40] Certainly the brand-new First Regiment of Chicago had high hopes for their participation in the July 1876 celebrations. "The drill of some of the companies, owing to careful handling, is really excellent, while in others it is not so good, but it is believed that the entire regiment can be so drilled between this and July, 1876, as to allow them to enter into a contest with the eastern regiments for supremacy." The best contests were far away, and therefore a "movement is . . . on boat, looking to the sending of the 1st regiment to Philadelphia, during the centennial next year. The state officials and centennial commissions have pledged to work for this end, and it is believed that some aid can be secured from the state to assist the movement." The reporter added, "[i]t is known that nearly all the states of the union will be represented by companies or regiments at Philadelphia, and the city of San Francisco has subscribed toward sending forward a regiment. It is estimated that 30,000 or 40,000 militia will be assembled in Philadelphia for a couple weeks during next year, and grounds for the purpose have been set apart."[41] To this reporter, the absence of the Chicago Regiment from these patriotic celebrations and competitions seemed a sad prospect indeed.

The leadership of the Illinois State Guard appeared to agree. In his third General Order of 1875, Brigadier General Ducat established a committee of senior officers to report any plans to participate in the National Jubilee in Philadelphia. Garrison equipment was to be furnished by the centennial commission for all military organizations visiting Philadelphia on or before July 4, 1876; but the various committees involved needed to be notified well in advance.[42]

No companies from Illinois actually made it to Philadelphia, but the Fourth of July, 1876, was the focus of their attentions nonetheless. The First Regiment, Illinois State Guard, was invited to Madison, Wisconsin, along with many other companies and regiments from the surrounding area. There they paraded through the city in the morning, and in the afternoon they performed on the drill ground, and companies competed for the drill "Championship of the Northwest" and money prizes. The Second Regiment, Illinois State Guard, which was identified as Irish and wore the uniform of the famous New York 69th (also Irish, and with great Civil War renown), had Chicago to themselves and provided a day-long schedule of activities in honor of the centennial. In the morning, they paraded in Chicago to the enthusiastic cheers of their many supporters, and in the afternoon and evening they performed drill revolutions at the Exposition building. The evening show was apparently the highlight of the day for this regiment.[43]

The celebrations of the centennial marked the peak of the 1874–76 growth of the Illinois State Guard. In his autumn 1876 inspection report on the First Regiment, H. B. Maxwell wrote, "[i]t appears to me, there is not as much interest taken in the organization as there was a year ago. The excitement about the presidential election may be the chief cause; many of the members holding position of officers in the torch light marching societies necessitates their giving much time to the latter at the sacrifice of the regiment."[44] The decline of interest in the new regiment, and the Illinois State Guard in general, after the centennial celebrations and in deference to the upcoming election is another measure of how strongly militia members felt the patriotic motivation for involvement in the local centennial celebrations in 1875 and 1876.

It is important to note that Maxwell did not link the new companies of 1875–76 to any particular political party, nor did he link the members to one or the other of the dominant parties in Illinois. The political connections of individual members or specific companies did not give the *statewide* militia a particular political identity. Chicago itself could hold the First Regiment, which self-consciously strove for social prestige; the Irish and working-class Second Regiment; and the Socialist-identified Bohemian Rifles.[45] Nonetheless, the general importance of membership in a militia company to political identity is highlighted by Maxwell's comment that many members were also leaders in active political organizations. The similarities between the methods of patriotic display adopted by militia members as they celebrated the centennial and the methods of late nineteenth-century political parties to garner and hold support also serve to illustrate a link between militia membership and the role of citizen.[46] Just as men demonstrated their political identification through party activities, they could demonstrate their patriotic and national identity through membership in a local militia company and participation in their public events.

The Creation of the First Chicago, and a New Model for Illinois Militias

In 1874 Adjutant General Higgins wrote, "the approach of our centennial anniversary is increasing the military spirit of our State. During the coming year a large number of militia companies will be organized, provided liberal provisions are made by the General Assembly . . . At the present time there is being organized in Chicago a regiment composed of the elite of the city, which, from indications, will become a permanent organization."[47] The story of this regiment's formation provides a glimpse of the individual and community effort and dedication needed to get a militia organization up and running in the early 1870s. These men's interest in militias was a response to a felt need for a new organization that would tie men to their community and their nation through the model of military service.[48]

The first organizational meeting for the proposed troop was held toward the end of August 1874. "We, the undersigned, desire to form a military organization to consist of at least 100 and not more than 1,000 persons, subject to such regulations as may hereafter be determined upon by a vote of the whole."[49] Organizers rapidly decided that there were enough interested recruits to justify organizing an entire regiment of eight to ten companies, rather than one or two companies, or even the four to six companies that would form a battalion. A prominent Chicago businessman and political figure, Guerdon S. Hubbard, Jr., made the lofts of his building on State Street available to the new regiment, free of charge.[50] On September 8, the first three companies of the new "First Regiment Illinois State Guard" were enrolled. Unlike any other companies then in the state militia, these three companies were assigned only letter designations A, B, and C, indicating the seriousness of their intentions to be a modern military organization. These companies continued the tradition of electing their officers, however, and the seniority of the three captains was determined by lot.[51] These first officers were commissioned by the state that same day.[52] When a fourth company, D, was enrolled, a "General" Frank T. Sherman was elected major by the entire battalion.[53]

According to Holdridge O. Collins, one of the founding members of this new regiment, Governor John L. Beveridge and various leading local citizens pledged to support the new regiment almost from its inception. There was some criticism in Chicago about this new regiment at the time, however, and the governor himself claimed to have looked on the early efforts of the regiment's founders with "indifference, not to say disfavor. But when he saw the young men who joined the organization persevered so untiringly, and seemed bound to make it a success, he felt his heart going out toward them and he resolved to exert his influence as an executive officer, and do his best for them."[54]

When news of potential public support and government supplies got around, several existing Chicago-based companies applied for membership in the new regiment. However, "[a]s their tenders of service were accompanied . . . with the demands that they be accepted with their individual uniform, and take rank in the Regiment according to the date of their Captain's' commissions, etc., etc., it was not thought expedient to receive any old commissioned company."[55] Class and ethnic differences also had something to do with the reluctance of the founders of the new regiment to accept existing companies, several of which had strong Irish ethnic and working-class connections. The new regiment hoped to appeal to the city's elite for support, and judging by the following 1875 reports, they succeeded. A *Harper's Weekly* correspondent wrote, "[the Regiment] is to-day as great a favorite in Chicago as the 'Seventh' is in New York, for like the last-named Regiment, it is composed of men of high standing, whose great aim is to excel."[56] A reporter from *The Chicago Times* noted that the "only thing to be regretted concerning the display [a parade] was, that it occurred at a season of the year [July] when a large number of the members of the regiment are absent from the city, on their summer vacation, causing the number participating in the parade to be much smaller than it otherwise would."[57] The reporter claimed that almost 200 members (out of some 500) were absent that day. A rough count of membership lists suggests that almost 60 percent of this regiment were clerks and bookkeepers who, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, could not afford their own uniforms. An alternative explanation was that these members were at work, and unable or unwilling to take a day's vacation for the parade.[58]

With the October 1874 addition of eighty-four new members in two companies, E and F, the regiment began to drill, and the members decided that the issue of uniforms was crucial. As the regimental leaders did not intend for its members to outfit themselves, they relied on "assurances" that sufficient funds could be raised from Chicago residents through a subscription drive and the support of the *Chicago Tribune*. The Chicago Citizens' Association, an organization of business and community leaders devoted to civic improvements and good government, was called on to review the regiment and give its recommendation for support, which it did.[59]

The Citizens' Association judged the regiment against standards that reflect the contemporary understanding about the nature and function of militia companies. First, the members of the Citizens' Association were interested in the physical size and vitality of militia members. "From our observation and inspection, and from what we can gather in reply to our inquires, we do not hesitate to report that the materiel composing the First Regiment Illinois State Guard, is excellent, both physically and morally, in the military acceptation of that word."[60] This interest in size and appearance turns up again and again in commentaries on militia companies and reflects a broader concern with the physical condition of American men.[61] Along with judging the men, or "materiel," of the regiment against current measures of physical fitness, the committee members also looked for attitude and enthusiasm. They reported "that there is an evidence of quiet, determined ambition to excel as citizen soldiers, of willingness to undergo the ordeal of drill and discipline, that cannot fail, if proper encouragement be given them, to make them into a good and serviceable Regiment, worthy of the sympathy and support of our citizens, and we cordially recommend them to your favorable consideration and that of the Community at large."[62]

Judging by the language they used in their report, the committee members seem to have been looking for taller and broader men who would avoid the classic temptations of the soldier, including alcohol and rowdiness, and who showed a willingness to accept military discipline as a personal challenge. That these were the committee members' preferred qualities suggests that for them, the first role of a militia organization was to be a successful performance and social group in the context of the local community. The members needed to be attractive, and to be responsible about learning and playing their assigned roles.

With the recommendation of the Citizens' Association in hand, the captains of the six companies formed a committee to organize the canvassing of the city—"visiting all the more prominent citizens." By late December 1874, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that there were already six organized companies of 84 men each. In an editorial supporting the new organization and seeking public donations to assist them, the paper claimed that the "personnel of the regiment is excellent . . . all young men from 20 to 30 years of age, of respectable parentage, education, and of personal good habits and character." The editorial continued, "[t]o organize a regiment of soldiers is attended with considerable expense, and more so than these young men can reasonably be expected to bear. . . . It costs, on average, to uniform these men $50 each. The young men give their time and services without pay, but the tax for uniform is more than all can stand . . . there would be no lack of men to fill all the ten companies—each 100 strong—were it not that the purchase of a uniform is beyond the reach of those who will join it."[63] The *Chicago Tribune* editorial appealed to "those of our citizens who can afford to do so to contribute of their means; let each furnish a uniform for one, two, three or ten men, and thus get the six companies already organized into uniform." The editorial writer insisted that this "is not an appeal to public charity; it is an appeal to the self-interest of property-owners as well as to public spirit and pride . . . Can property-holders afford to refuse the necessary assistance and encouragement which this military organization requires?"[64] These efforts were so successful that "[a] sufficient fund was raised by the personal solicitation of members of the Regiment to warrant the renting of a permanent Armory and to purchase the uniform." Chicago residents eventually pledged $13,468.50 toward the equipment fund, and members of the Regiment contributed $2,349 to their own maintenance.[65]

At this point, it would seem that the organization was off to an excellent start. However, following in the long American militia tradition of electing officers from the ranks, the rules members of the First Regiment adopted in September of 1874 mandated that elections for all officers were to take place annually. Accordingly, the members held new elections on December 2, and eight of twenty offices changed hands. Stability of command would not mark the early years of this regiment at any level. A variety of reasons for the revolving nature of commissions is suggested in Collins's book, but the time conflict between the demands of career and regiment was most often put forward as the reason for resigning.

At the December 1874 meeting, the regiment also voted to break its own resolution and admitted the Ellsworth Zouaves to membership. The Ellsworth Zouaves in turn agreed to become Company G and don the gray uniform selected by the regiment. There are some indications that this company was composed of better-off men, which may have made them more acceptable to the First Regiment than were other, preexisting militia companies in Chicago and, of course, that more than rank was at stake in the initial decision to reject other extant Chicago companies.[66] In March 1875 an eighth company, H, joined, and the regiment had the minimum companies to elect a colonel. The last two companies, I and K, joined later in the year.[67]

The regiment first appeared on the Chicago streets in May of 1875, escorting the Grand Army of the Republic to its annual meeting. Their first formal parade was July 28, 1875, when Governor Beveridge; Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan, United States Army; and Brigadier General Arthur C. Ducat, Illinois State Guard, reviewed the troops. The parade excited so much local attention that it was written up in *Harper's Weekly* of August 21, 1875. "At its first parade, [the First Regiment, Illinois State Guard] was enthusiastically received by the citizens and distinguished visitors from abroad, and from Gen. Sheridan and other military men received high commendation."[68] The next day's headline in *The Chicago Times* read, "PLAYING SOLDIER. The Gallant First Marched to the Field for the First Time Yesterday. By the Aid of the Railroads the Warriors Reached It Very Comfortably."[69] The headline is a little mocking, but the general tenor of the article is more positive.

In his speech after reviewing the Regiment on July 28, Governor Beveridge spoke openly about his initial apprehensions about the formation of this Regiment. However, he pronounced them quite over, owing to the dedication and superior performance displayed during the inspection and revolutions. The governor then went on to compliment the "boys of the regiment on their splendid physique, their tasty uniform, the perfect order and neatness of each individual member, their efficiency in the school of the soldier, and the care and correctness with which they performed the most difficult evolutions in the battalion drill, and the success of the organization generally."[70] The governor's (or the reporter's) ordering of the fine qualities of the regiment begins by praising the individual members, laying stress on their physical vigor and attractiveness, their good taste in uniforms, and their discipline as soldiers. The governor praised the contribution of each to the performance of the whole only after noting the vitality and personal appearance of each member.

This ranking offers another reading on the popular conception of the personal rewards and benefits for a man, young or old, contemplating joining a militia organization. First, the body is improved. The reporter began by recognizing each individual for seizing the opportunity to attain a "splendid physique," which in the image of the day meant visibly muscular. This emphasis on physical vitality and strength was emerging as one of the most important aspects of what it meant to be a man in these years. During these decades of intense industrialization and urbanization, commentators and the public alike became consumed by worries that American men were losing their manhood. In response to that worry, in fits and starts, more and more men turned to shaping their outer bodies as a reflection of the man within. The militia proved to be one more place where men could acquire and display these outward signs of strength and vitality that were increasingly being connected to a healthy and strong manhood. The *Chicago Times* reporter (and the governor) next noted the neatness of the presentation and the "tasty uniforms," again an issue that was frequently addressed in advice books of the age when advice givers sought ways to encourage men, young and old, to present themselves as men before a skeptical world.[71] The militia, to these observers, was an excellent vehicle for demonstrating these visually desirable characteristics of manhood.

The physical skills of the soldiers, especially with regard to marching in complicated patterns and as part of a unified whole, attracted the reporter's praise. In this regard, the militia performance bears a close resemblance to the rise of team sports, both professional sports and the vast numbers of amateur leagues, in these years. In the case of the militia, alone or in competition against other companies, the whole "team" also served the community as a model for vigorous, manly comportment and loyal patriotic duty. All aspects of the military performance were graded and judged by an audience well aware of the categories and the standards for achievement. The linkage of manly vigor and patriotic authority certainly had its roots in the antebellum model, but it was in many ways ideal for the new concerns of a new era, including fears of failing physical vitality in an urban and sedentary environment, the lost sense of possibility for individual independence for every man, and at the same time the fears of social anarchy set loose by the anonymity of the city.[72]

Class, Ethnic, and Racial Diversity

Not every new organization had it so comparatively easy. Prokop Hudek was commissioned captain of the Bohemian Rifles, located in Chicago, on August 9, 1875. The story of this company is quite different from that of the First Regiment, which was comparatively wealthy and "appealed to prestige-seeking property-holders."[73] The adjutant general issued the company eighty Enfield rifles for drill purposes, but their available drill space was so small that they had been forced to break up into two detachments, headquartered in different buildings, for weekly drilling purposes. Company members had put great effort into these spaces, however, and built locked gun racks to hold state property. As the company was already fifty dollars in debt for the purchase of fatigue uniforms for the men (the cheapest blouse and cap combination) and rent for the armory spaces, these racks represented a considerable investment of time and care. In 1876, ING inspection officer Maxwell noted, "A monthly assessment of 25 cents is levied on each member of the company for the purpose of paying rent of armories, &c., but the assessment is too small for the purpose . . . The members are poor, and cannot stand a larger assessment than 25 cents per month. I am informed it is very difficult for many of the members to pay even this sum."[74]

At the time of the first general inspection of the Illinois militia in the fall of 1876, Captain Hudek informed the inspecting officer that the company had only lately re-formed. Presumably, the company collapsed between August 1875 and June 1876 owing to the difficulties attendant on maintaining an organization under such trying circumstances. The inspector was nevertheless pleased by the "good sized" men and their soldierly bearing, and wrote of the officers, "I was much pleased with [their] appearance . . . They are justly entitled to great credit for accomplishing so much in so short a time and without aid or assistance from any quarter." Without much else to praise in this impecunious company, Maxwell placed his emphasis on the size, appearance, and attentiveness of the men as qualities valued by the militia. Inspector Maxwell concluded his report on the company on an upbeat note. "I would respectfully state that I was agreeably disappointed at the condition in which I found [the company], and I would earnestly recommend that the organization be fostered and encouraged in every possible way." Maxwell went on to offer that, if "new uniforms could be provided for its members and small sum of money raised from some source to pay the rent of a proper armory, I am assured that the company could be quickly recruited to its maximum strength, and I believe that in a short time it would compare favorably in drill and discipline with any other in the city."[75] For Maxwell, at least, neither the poverty nor the ethnicity of this company stood between them and admirable service.

In the early 1870s, along with native-born men and recent immigrants, African American men created state militia companies. In histories of these companies, later members of Illinois African American regiments explained that African Americans created companies in the

1870s because a militia company was a tangible demonstration of independence and self-reliance.[76] As Eric Foner has argued, one freedom African Americans sought after the Civil War was the freedom to do the same kinds of things white people could.[77] And one thing white Illinois men were doing in the early 1870s was raising and sustaining militia companies.[78] By doing the same thing, African Americans demonstrated their belief that equality of military service could carry with it equal citizenship. With equal citizenship would come many rights, among them equal access to the public space. In public spaces, namely city streets, African American militiamen could perform in one common act of responsible citizenship and disciplined manhood—the formal military parade. African Americans actively serving in militia companies also provided a forceful reminder to Illinois residents, both black and white, of the importance of the role that African American troops played in the Civil War. Not only did African American troops tip the balance toward victory for the Union Army, but as Frederick Douglass put it, "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on earth that can deny he has earned the right of citizenship."[79] Even if many whites remained skeptical of this argument, many African Americans put their faith in it. The connection that Douglass drew between the uniform, weapons, and citizenship highlights the importance of a recognized militia company for African American men in the 1870s.

The idea of citizenship itself was under great stress in the late nineteenth century. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments shattered the previous linkage of whiteness and citizenship. The continuing pressure of the women's movement challenged the necessary maleness of citizenship. Militia volunteers across Illinois saw their organizations as intimately involved with the issue of redefining citizenship in this new era, repeatedly stressing the ability of the militia to recognize, foster, and even create model citizens and manly men. Like Governor Beveridge, they believed that the role of the citizen-soldier in civic pageantry, especially parades, and the responsibilities of the citizen-soldier for national defense and maintaining order placed the militia squarely in the midst of the general debates about who was a citizen, what responsible citizenship was, and how a citizen might be made. By parading publicly as members of the state militia, African Americans secured their own place in the larger public dialogue about who was a representative, responsible citizen.

In 1870 and 1871, African Americans formed the Hannibal Guards in Chicago, though like many local companies in these early years their formal tie to the state militia forces remains ambiguous.[80] In the state capital, the adjutant general commissioned officers for the African American Springfield Zouaves sometime between 1870 and 1872. This company may have evolved from Company C, an African American company recognized by Governor Palmer in July of 1869.[81] In 1872, the McLean County Guards (colored), formed by residents surrounding Bloomington, joined the state militia.[82] On October 15, 1874, the Springfield Zouaves were among the five companies more or less associated with the state that marched in the procession leading U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant to the unveiling of the statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Oak Ridge Cemetery, in Springfield. The Springfield Zouaves were listed as disbanded by the state in 1872, but the company must have re-formed sometime before this occasion, though without seeking new commissions for its officers. Regardless, the Springfield papers accorded it the same recognition as the other companies with state-commissioned officers.[83]

In late February 1875, there were "riotous demonstrations . . . directed more especially against the treasury and building of the Relief and Aid Society" in Chicago.[84] Militia companies mobilized all across Chicago to protect the Relief and Aid Society from attacks by putative "communists." Among the militia companies were the Hannibal Zouaves, which were very likely the same as or a version of the Chicago-based Hannibal Guards.[85] In time the Hannibal Guards (or Zouaves) became known as the Cadets.[86] Like the Hannibal Guards, the Cadets never formally belonged to the state militia, though the newspaper reports do not make this distinction.

The brief, flickering existence of these ethnic and African American companies offers a testament to the interest and willingness on the part of their members to serve, and on the part of the state militia to accept their service. These brief histories also highlight the importance of money to the continuing existence of any state militia company.

Paying for an Expensive Hobby

The myriad needs of the average militia company—armories, uniforms, weapons, supplies, and special activities, like the 1875 Springfield play—had to be paid for. As the state had no funds to offer, the money could only come from the members' own pockets or from those of their neighbors. To raise the money to pay for their activities, militia members had to present a compelling case to their communities and, in time, to the state legislature, and they had to devote significant time and energy to these nearly constant fund-raising activities. They began with themselves. In 1874, Illinois companies required members to pay annual dues, ranging from a dollar twenty to twelve dollars. However, the amounts raised this way never came close to providing for a company's total expenses, which varied widely among the several militia companies recognized by the state. In 1874, expenses per company ranged from $285 to $2,075, depending on the size of the company, the cost of the uniforms, and the amount needed to rent the armory space. Each company selected its own uniforms, resulting in huge variations in taste and expense. For some, the uniform of the private was as simple as a blouse and a cap, which could be had for as little as five dollars per man. For one Chicago company, a *private's* uniform cost forty dollars in 1874,[87] and the First Regiment assumed a cost of fifty dollars per man.

The state provided no funds for its troops during these early years. Under the operative 1845 militia code with 1874 amendments, the annual military outlay was barely sufficient to cover the salary and expenses of the office of the adjutant general. The position of adjutant general, or AG, was that of chief administrator of the state military department. The AG's duties included overseeing the militia and forwarding all pension or disability requests from resident veterans of national service to the War Department in Washington, DC.[88] The only support the state offered to the individual companies was the loan of guns and a limited supply of ammunition. Many guns owned and loaned by the state were so obsolete that the adjutant generals regularly proposed selling them off at a public auction just to get them out of the way.[89] Even these small measures were unreliable, dependent as they were on Illinois' share of the annual federal militia appropriation of $200,000, established in 1808.

However, in the 1870s Illinois was receiving no money from the federal government. War Department accountants charged $163,674.40 to Illinois' portion of the annual distribution for supplies issued to state troops in 1863, 1864, and early 1865. From the 1860s through the 1870s, the $200,000 annual federal appropriation was apportioned based on the number of congressional representatives, and in 1872 Illinois was receiving only an $8,760.58 annual credit against its overdrawn account.[90] Because of this debt, Illinois was receiving no guns or other ordnance supplies from the federal government in the early 1870s. Between 1872 and 1874 the efforts of AGs Dilgar and Higgins were rewarded by the subtraction of $65,000 as "improperly charged," and AG Higgins claimed that with a further search in the records, the remaining $41,125.20 could also be removed, giving the state a positive balance of $60,000.[91] His calculations are difficult to follow and, in any case, were never performed. In 1878 Illinois was still listed as $98,674.40 overdrawn.[92] As a result of these problems, the companies of the state militia had to supply themselves with armories, uniforms, and weapons from their own pocket and/or raise the money required from the local community.

Financial issues were paramount to a company's success in these early years, and financial concerns drove a large portion of any company's daily and weekly calendars. The imperative to earn money for its own support, and to get whatever money it could from state and federal coffers, far more than any other single concern, affected the health of any company.[93] If the company could not pay its bills, it could not stay alive as an organization. As a result, the success of any individual company was entirely dependent on the enthusiasm of the members and the skill and leadership provided by their elected officers.[94] It should not come as a surprise that the half-life of most companies was little more than a year. In 1874, of the twenty-four companies listed on the rolls, four were disbanded; four more failed to report, leading the adjutant general to suspect they were disbanded in actuality if not formally; and one company had failed to complete organization, fizzling out before it ever got going. The oldest active company dated to 1869, and the most recent had been in existence barely two months. Adjutant General Higgins suspected that the state militia included only about 850 active volunteers.[95] Of those volunteers, Higgins remarked, "It would be difficult to find an equal number of men in the service of the State willing to donate their services without compensation, at a cost of over twenty dollars per man. The cause of four companies disbanding and four failing to report this year is plainly to be seen from this report."[96]

Most of the new companies of 1875 and 1876 were located in small towns, and some were created by ethnic groups—Irish, Bohemian, and African American. The militia was a sufficiently flexible institution that its appeal spoke to men of different backgrounds and living disparate lives. The militia connection between the individual and the state, both Illinois and the Union, carried across class and ethnic background the opportunity to participate in representative citizenship in highly personal and evocative ways. The inspector general reports filed during 1876 indicate a broad range of background and economic standing of the militia as a whole. Almost all rural companies had poor attendance at weekly drills. But they reported they had no trouble with attendance for parades or state occasions. As always during this time, inspectors noted the men's physical size and the general appearance of the uniforms and the men whenever they could. Where any indication is made of the members' occupations, it seems to be primarily as clerks, skilled tradesmen, or small merchants.[97] If indebtedness is one marker of less elite membership, then most companies were made up of common men. Many companies, especially those located in rural towns, had difficulty paying for all they felt they needed, from uniforms to armories. At the end of 1876, the new Second Regiment, formed in Chicago by primarily Irish ethnic companies at the end of 1875 and early 1876, was $8,700.00 in debt for uniforms and rent.[98]

A Larger Militia Leads to a New Militia Structure

By 1875, the Illinois militia was quickly growing beyond the ability of the governor and the adjutant general to oversee it on top of all their other duties. In 1874, an addition to the old militia code (1845) was approved, giving the governor power to appoint an unlimited number of major and brigadier generals. This new power had serious implications for patronage offices, but because the sitting governor was a cautiously serious supporter of the militia, in 1875 he chose to appoint only one brigadier general and delegated to him the authority to organize the rapidly growing state forces.[99] On June 8, 1875, Governor Beveridge commissioned Arthur C. Ducat brigadier general of the Illinois State Militia. Ducat, who achieved the rank of inspector general of the Army of the Cumberland during the Civil War, was an able officer and organizer. In August he issued his first general order to the state militia, creating one brigade and appointing his staff officers. By December the militia had grown from 895 members when Ducat took office to more than two thousand.[100] In December, General Order 4 reorganized and consolidated the then greatly expanded state forces. General Ducat also established the office of Inspector General of Illinois, and he received the first ever inspection reports of the ING in 1876. He announced that the regulation drill would be that of the U.S. Army, eliminating the Zouave drill from formal, but not informal, use by any recognized ING company. Governor Beveridge, who had publicly claimed a deep personal interest in the success of the state militia forces, also appointed a new adjutant general in 1875, Hiram Hilliard. Hilliard, like Ducat and Beveridge, was a Civil War veteran. The efforts of Generals Ducat and Hilliard represented the first implementation of any sort of organizational plan in Illinois that included not only rank charts and organizational tables, but actual systems of staff officers to track and teach the new companies and maintain and improve the old. This introduction of a new ethic of military professionalism learned during the Civil War marks a significant turning point in the development of the Illinois militia, away from the older antebellum volunteerism and toward the new forms of civic engagement emerging with a maturing industrial capitalism.[101]

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Between 1870 and 1876 a new generation of men entered the Illinois Militia, slowly at first and then with gathering steam as the centennial drew nearer. This rush of new members gave the larger organization the clout it needed to seek out changes in current militia law, and to begin to organize their forces in new, modern ways. The pattern of growth in Illinois, clearly preceding the centennial celebrations of 1876, suggests that the dramatic growth of state militias in other midwestern states may have also been spurred by the centennial and not by the strikes of 1877 as has been long argued.[102]

The new Illinois militia members first replicated the small, antebellum militia companies, but they quickly began to dream of bigger, more organized, and more dynamic militias that would capture the imagination and the financial support of larger communities. Toward that end, these new militiamen crafted elaborate public performances to engage and teach their audiences that these new members embodied a national patriotism and manly attributes. The roots of the militia resurgence in Illinois in the 1870s are to be found in individuals who flocked to the revived militia and the communities that came to the support of their local companies.

Notes

Notes to Introduction

1. Manhood and masculinity have come under increasing historical scrutiny in the last twenty years, yielding an outpouring of recent work that uses manhood and gender as one important element in understanding why men behaved the way the did at various times and places. One of the best early works is J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987). Two other important older studies are Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), and Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood Class, Gender and Fraternalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), both focusing on discussions of nineteenth-century American fraternalism. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), and Michael Kimmell, *Manhood in America, A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), remain the most thorough surveys of the ways manhood was understood and expressed in the American past. More recently, scholars such as 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); Kim Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996); Judy Hilkey, *Character Is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Amy S. Greenberg, *Cause for Alarm; The Volunteer Fire Department and the Nineteenth-Century City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); and Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), among others, have explored ways that the ideas and ideals of manhood were debated and framed during the chaotic times at the turn of the nineteenth century.

2. Some works that provide an overview of these issues are Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: The

Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990; reprint, Johns Hopkins Paperbacks edition, 1992); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Michael Schudson, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998). For the antebellum guard see Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775–1865* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968).

3. Jerry Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard, the Evolution of the American Militia, 1865–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). Michael D. Doubler, *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), picks up on William Riker, *Soldiers of the States: The Role of the National Guard in American Democracy* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1957; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1979), 21–40 (page citations are to the reprint edition), to argue that there is a strong connection between strike duty and the resurgence of the National Guards in the late nineteenth century.

4. Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan, Inc., 1987); Gerald F. Linderman, *The Mirror of War: American Society and the Spanish American War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974). The classic expression of this in the 1890s is Stephen Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895).

5. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion. The Civil War in American Memory* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001).

6. Ira Berlin et al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990).

7. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 70–72.

8. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 104; Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898–1903* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1975).

9. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 47–49. Between 1870 and 1899 the Pennsylvania militia served in nine strike situations, and between 1877 and 1899 the Ohio NG eight, and the New York NG, just six—in comparison to the ING's fifteen incidents of strike service.

10. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 49.

11. U.S. Const, Art 1, §8.

12. Militia Act of 1792, Second Congress, Session I. Chapter XXVIII, Passed May 2, 1792, providing for the authority of the President to call out the Militia.

13. Organization tables are the paper structure of company, regiment, division. That is the number of men and officers in each and their relation to each other.

14. U.S. Serial Set: House of Representatives 763 (46–2) 1936, 2–6.

15. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard.*

16. See *Revised Statutes—Illinois 1874* (Springfield: Hurd, 1874), 1007–8; *Revised Statutes—Illinois 1882* (Springfield: Hurd, 1882), 1043–51; *Revised*

Statutes—Illinois 1889, (Springfield: Hurd, 1889), 1299–1307; *Revised Statutes—Illinois 1897* (Springfield: Hurd, 1897), 1525–1536; *Revised Statutes—Illinois 1899* (Springfield: Hurd, 1899), 1632–45; *Revised Statutes—Illinois 1905* (Springfield: Hurd,1905), 1918–42.

17. See Russell Weigley, *The History of the American Army* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967); Riker; John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard* (New York: The Free Press, 1983); John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence,* Revised ed. (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, University of Michigan Press, 1990).

18. Mahon, 18. See also Weigley, ch. 1; Cunliffe; Riker.

19. Mahon, 110.

20. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 153–56.

21. Mahon uses "militia" until the 1870s and then uses the phrase "militia/national guard." Jim Dan Hill equates George Washington and other Revolutionary War generals with modern National Guard officers being inducted into national service. Hill also identifies the earliest volunteer companies, for example, New England's Minutemen with today's National Guard. See Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard* (Harrisburg, PA: The Stackpole Company, 1964), 5, 11. Cooper uses "militia" until the post–Civil War period when he adopts "National Guard."

22. Weigley discusses recruitment and personnel supply throughout his volume on the American Army. See also Allan R. Millett and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America,* Revised and Expanded ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1994).

23. Cunliffe, ch. 6.

24. Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 146.

25. Doubler, ch. 2; Cunliffe, chs. 6, 7; Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power, Street Theater in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), ch. 3 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

26. Hill, 99–121; Mahon, 108–11; Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 34. See also Charles Johnson, *African American Soldiers in the National Guard: Recruitment and Deployment during Peacetime and War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992).

27. The two notable exceptions were New York and Connecticut, both of which had begun to rationalize their large state militia systems before the Civil War and continued development, albeit slowly, even during this period of slacking interest and enthusiasm. See Mahon, ch. 8; Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 103–4.

28. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* ch. 8; Doubler, ch. 4.

29. *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, IL: 1872); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, Transmitted to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. For 1873 and 1874* (Springfield, IL: 1874); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the*

Governor and Commander in Chief, 1879 and 1880 (Springfield, IL: Philips Bros, State Printers, 1880).

30. See Cunliffe and Davis.

31. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874* (Springfield, IL: 1874), 32.

32. *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, Transmitted to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. For 1875 and 1876* (Springfield: D. W. Lusk, State Printer and Binder, 1877), 29–33.

33. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 33–34.

34. Minute Book: Co. "I" 7th Inf., ING, Record Group 301.106, Illinois State Archives, 28.

35. W. T. Goode, *The Eighth Illinois* (Chicago: The Blakely Printing Company, 1899), 5.

36. *Fourth Annual Report . . . December 1872* (Springfield, IL: 1872), 1–2.

37. *The Chicago Tribune*, Monday 26 September 1881, 1. *The Chicago Tribune*, Tuesday, 27 September 1881, 9.

38. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 23–43.

39. Descriptive List, Illinois National Guard, First Infantry, 1880–1904, Miscellaneous, RS 301.96, Illinois State Archives. (See appendix A.)

40. The majority of the membership were laborers, factory workers, or skilled tradesmen. A breakdown of all 463 members of Company A over the years between 1898 and 1916 demonstrates that at least in Dekalb, the soldier-citizen model continued to exert a strong hold on men across a range of working-class backgrounds. (See appendix B).

41. See twelve-issue run of *The Illinois Cavalryman*.

42. *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois Transmitted to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. For 1877 and 1878* (Springfield: Weber, Magie & Co., State Printers, 1878), 51–52. The Sixteenth Battalion included Companies A and B in Chicago, as well as the Clark County Guards of Marshall, and in October gained the Cumberland County Guards of Greenup. Evidence suggests these last two companies were not African American, as they are listed as "Independent," though under the Sixteenth Battalion's officers and staff, and in 1880 they are assigned with letter designations to the Seventeenth Battalion. There is no evidence to corroborate this one way or another, but based on the organization charts it appears that for technical purposes these two white, independent companies were subject to the orders of the black major of the Sixteenth Battalion, though it is extremely unlikely that attempt was made to place them under his command. See also Goode, ch. 1.

43. In 1892 most officers in all grades had served for three years or less in the current position. These patterns appear consistent over time; in 1882 the number of Captains with three, six, or nine years of service in the ING almost exactly matches the 1892 figures.

44. Thomas W. Scott, Adjutant General of Illinois, to Lieutenant Colonel E. M. Weaver, Chief, Division of Militia Affairs, Washington, DC, April 1, 1908, Document #111 April 3 1908, filed with Document #91, Box 45, Record Group 168.7, National Archives. Illinois actually had a low annual percentage of enlisted discharges (20 percent) and officer discharges (15 percent) relative to the rest of the State National Guard organizations: 23 out of

50 states reporting lost over 33 percent of their enlisted personnel each year. See the chart "Data Relative to Length of Service and Instruction of the Militia," Nov. 30, 1908, Document #91, Box 45, Division of Militia Affairs, Record Group 168.7, National Archives.

45. Mahon, 108–24.

46. See *Fourth Annual Report, 1872; Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876; Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880; Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. For 1881 and 1882* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1883); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1887 and 1888* (Springfield: Springfield Printing Co., State Printers, 1889); *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); *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); *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); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1895 and 1896* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1897); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1897–1898* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1899); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1899–1900* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1900); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1901–1902* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1903); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1903–1904* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., State Printers, 1904); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1905–1906* (Springfield: Phillips Bros., State Printers, 1907); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1907–1908* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., State Printers, 1909); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1909–1910* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., State Printers, 1914); *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. 1911–1912* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., State Printers, 1914); the reports on the *Militia Force of the United States* by the Adjutant General United States Army submitted to Congress and published in the Senate and House Executive Documents, Serial Sets; *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention. Interstate National Guard Association. Held at Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, December 7–8, 1897* (St. Louis, Missouri: 1897), Appendix; "Allotment of Balance of unallotted funds ($84,451.00)," June 2, 1908, Document #25382, Box 140, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.7, National Archives; "Expenditures from the appropriation under section 1661, R.S., and from the $700,000.00 appropriation in Act approved June 12, 1906, for the participation of the Militia in Army Camps of Instruction, July to September, 1906," 1908, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.7, National Archives; "Data Relative to Length of Service and Instruction

of the Militia," Nov. 30, 1908, Document #91, Box 45, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.7, National Archives; "Tabulation Showing the Authorized Strength of the Organized Militia of the several States and Territories on January 21, 1903, and also the actual strength of the Same as Determined by the recent Special Inspections, the dates of completion of which range from the first of May to the last of June 1903," Oct. 17, 1903, Card # 506151, Box 27, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.4, National Archives; "untitled," July 24, 1909, Document #8801, Box 83, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.7, National Archives; "Balances, June 1, 1911, prior to allotment of unexpended balance," June 6, 1911, Document #25382, Box 140, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.7, National Archives; "List of Appropriations made by Various States and Territories for the Support of the Organized Militia," 1899[?], Near the back, with 1899 material, Box 23, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.2, National Archives; "Expenditures from the appropriation under section 1661, revised statutes, and from the appropriation: encampment and Maneuvers, Organized Militia, in connection with the joint maneuvers of Mobile troops during the calendar year 1908," 1908, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.7, National Archives.

47. *Fourth Annual Report, 1872; Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876; Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880; Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882; Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896; Biennial Report . . . 1897–1898; Biennial Report . . . 1899–1900.*

48. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 1–12; *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882*, 4–5; *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888*, 3; *Proceedings of the Convention . . . 1879*, 8–11; *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the National Guard Association of the United States, held at Philadelphia, March 7 and 8, 1881*, 3–7 (Copy bound with the proceedings of the first convention, in the possession of the NGAUS Library); *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention. Interstate National Guard Association. Held at Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, December 7–8, 1897*, 10 (Bound typewritten copy of the minutes, bound in Vol. II [*sic*], held in the NGAUS Library, Washington, DC). See also the comments by Brigadier-General Milton Moore, "The National Guard as Part of the Military Forces of the United States," in *Proceedings, First, Fifth, and Sixth Conventions* (1898), 121; and Colonel E. R. Bliss, "Address of Welcome," in *Souvenir of the Banquet to the Interstate National Guard Association by the Illinois National Guard* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1899), 14.

49. See the following for examples of articles on strike interventions in which the neutrality of the guard is the central thesis: Andrew Birtle, "Governor George Hoadly's use of the Ohio National Guard in the Hocking Valley Coal Strike of 1884," *Ohio History* 91 (1982): 37–57; and Brian M. Linn, "Pretty Scaly Times: The Ohio National Guard and the Railroad Strike of 1877," *Ohio History* 94 (1984): 171–81. See also Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, ch. 3.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. *State Register,* 13 March 1875; *Daily State Journal,* 13 March 1875

2. See, for example, Bederman; Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City, Gender, Space and Power in Boston, 1870–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Rebecca Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860–1870* (New York: Cambridge, 1996); Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

3. The literature on manhood was once limited to a discussion of literate, nineteenth-century men, these men having been responsible for producing the bulk of the writing on the issue, but recently scholars have tackled manhood in a variety of environments. See Greenberg; Madelon Powers, *Faces along the Bar; Lore and Order in the Workingmen's Saloon, 1870–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also, E. F. Parsons (2000), "Risky Business: The Uncertain Boundaries of Manhood in the Midwestern Saloon," *Journal of Social History* 34(2): 283–307; Paul Michael Taillon, "'What We Want is Good, Sober Men:' Masculinity, Respectability, and Temperance in the Railroad Brotherhoods, c. 1870–1910," *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 2 (2002): 319–38; Julia Grant, "A 'Real Boy' and not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood and Masculinity, 1890–1940," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 4 (2004): 829–51; and Mike O'Brien, "Manhood and the Militia Myth: Masculinity, Class and Militarism in Ontario, 1902–1914," *Labour/Le Travail* 42, Fall 1998 (1998): 115–41; Matthew Conner, "Minstrel-Soldiers: The Construction of African-American Identity in the Union Army," *Prospects* 26 (2001): 109–36.

4. In *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), R. Claire Snyder examines the theoretical and performative aspects of the identity of citizen-soldiers and the construction of "armed masculinity."

5. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 29–30. The number of new members is actually greater than 1200, as between 1870 and 1874 at least four companies, representing about 200 men in total, disbanded, and so the 1874 figure includes the men who replaced those who left.

6. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 2–6.

7. *Chicago Times*, 15 October 1874. A vote taken during the general convention of the Army of the Tennessee defeated a resolution to allow soldiers as well as officers into the society. *Daily State Journal*, 16 October 1874, *Illinois State Register,* 15 October 1874. The private military-styled companies of the fraternal organizations are examples of the types of private organization that did not seek affiliation with the state.

8. *Daily State Journal*, 16 October 1874, *Illinois State Register,* 15 October 1874.

9. *Daily State Journal*, 16 October 1874, *Illinois State Register,* 15 October 1874.

10. For antebellum militias, see Cunliffe, ch. 11; Davis, 66–72; and Ryan, *Women in Public*.

11. Jerry Cooper, *Rise of the National* Guard, ch. 2; Doubler, chs. 2, 3.

12. Davis, 66–72.

13. *Daily State Journal*, 16 October 1874.

14. *Illinois State Register*, 15 October 1874.

15. Chas. T. Headenburg, ed., *Souvenir History. Governor's Guard. Company C, Fifth Infantry, Illinois National Guard, 1866–1902* (Springfield: Journal Company, Printers, 1902), 15, 19.

16. *Daily State Journal*, 16 October 1874.

17. This expansion of the types of groups that were able to use the parade to seize or claim public and therefore political space is one of the main contentions of Ryan, *Women in Public*, 53–54.

18. *State Register*, 9–13 March 1875; *Daily State Journal*, 10–13 March 1875.

19. Ryan, *Women in Public*, 30–37.

20. *State Register*, 13 March 1875; *Daily State Journal*, 13 March 1875

21. *State Register*, 13 March 1875; *Daily State Journal*, 13 March 1875

22. *State Register*, 13 March 1875; *Daily State Journal*, 13 March 1875

23. This is not meant to discount the very real possibilities that the "Governor's Guard" might have been mostly made up of sons of "good" families. However, the speeches of both Emma Hickox and Governor Beveridge assume a common significance for militia membership that does not seem specific to this single company; rather, this company is a sterling example of a general principle.

24. Cunliffe, 230–35; Davis, 47; and Ryan, 31–35.

25. *State Register*, 13 March 1875; *Daily State Journal*, 13 March 1875.

26. John Alexander Logan. *The Volunteer Soldier of America. By John A. Logan. With Memoir of the author and Military reminiscences from General Logan's private journal* (Chicago and New York: R. S. Peale & Company, 1887).

27. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874* (Springfield: D.W. Lusk, State Printer and Binder, 1875), 28.

28. Cunliffe, 218–30.

29. Adjutant General of the United States Army, *Militia Force of the United States*, 43rd Congress, 1st sess., 1874, S. Exdoc. 41, Serial 1580, 2. *Biennial Report. . . . 1873 and 1874*, 28. Why Illinois officials failed to report these companies to Washington remains a mystery whose only solution seems to be that the Governor and his staff simply didn't think they were significant. Also, some companies never chose to seek affiliation with the state, preferring to remain purely private social organizations, albeit with military-styled uniforms, drills, and parades. See Henry Barrett Chamberlin, "A Sketch of the Oakland Rifles," in *Historical Sketch of the Oakland Rifles and* Company *"C," 4th Infantry I.N.G* (1889).

30. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 28; *Fourth Annual Report . . . 1872*, 1–2.

31. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 25 February 1875, 3–4.

32. Cunliffe, 241–47. Also, recall the Zouaves from Atlanta in *Gone with*

the Wind by Margaret Mitchell. The year 1860 was also the year that Ellsworth came to the attention of Abraham Lincoln, accompanying him to Washington as a bodyguard and receiving a 2nd Lieutenant's commission in the professional army. Ellsworth was shot and killed just after the firing on Fort Sumter while attempting to remove a Confederate flag from a Washington, DC, hotel and was briefly immortalized as the Union's "First Martyr."

33. That the Zouave Cadets were remembered is in no doubt: "Chicago once sent out an independent company which beat the world. . . ." (*The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875), 5.

34. *Fourth Annual Report . . . 1872*, 3–4.

35. R. S. Bunzey, *History of Companies I and E, Sixth Regt., Illinois Volunteer Infantry from Whiteside County* (Morrison, IL: 1901), 22–23.

36. Holdridge O. Collins, *History of the Illinois National Guard, From the Organization of the First Regiment in September, 1874, to the Enactment of the Military Code in May, 1879* (Chicago: Black & Beach, 1884), 27–28.

37. Collins, 28; *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*.

38. Membership in the Illinois militia had fallen by the end of 1874 to around 850 men, but then this number more than doubled to over 2,000 during 1875 alone.

39. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 12–20.

40. Critics insisted that the First Regiment was formed to oppose socialist demonstrations in Chicago and that the Bohemian Rifles were formed to oppose the First Regiment. This is both a Chicago-centric view and one that insists that militias served only overt class and political interests; it does not place these Chicago organizations within a broader statewide or national context. Richard Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics, Class Conflict and the Origins of Modern Liberalism in Chicago, 1864–97* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 59.

41. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875, 5.

42. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, General Order #3, 1875.

43. *The Chicago Times*, 5 July 1876.

44. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 8–12, 28–35. Maxwell did feel that interest in the regiment would revive after the elections.

45. Schneirov, 59.

46. Schudson, 155–68.

47. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 32.

48. This desire on the part of many men to tie themselves visibly to their communities can be viewed negatively as well as positively. Certainly in 1874 and 1875 members of the People's Party and other socialist groups in Chicago viewed the new First Regiment as little more than a creature of the Chicago Citizen's Association, calling it "the Businessmen's Militia." Schneirov, 59.

49. Henry L. Turner, *Souvenir Album and Sketch Book, First Infantry I.N.G. of Chicago* (Chicago: Knight & Leonard Company, 1890), 7.

50. Hubbard's father, Guerdon S. Hubbard, Sr., was one of the first traders to make a fortune during the early years of Chicago's history. See Guerdon Stonstall Hubbard, *The Autobiography of Guerdon Stonstall Hubbard. Pa-Pa-Ma-Ta-Be "The Swift Walker." With an Introduction by Caroline M. McIlvanie* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1911).

51. Collins, 1–9.

52. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 12.

53. It is not clear where or when Sherman picked up his nominal rank of "General." He may be Francis T. Sherman, Major in the 12th IL USV Cavalry, and later Colonel of the 88th IL USV Infantry during the Civil War. There was also a Frank Sherman who was asked to lead a volunteer company gathered in the aftermath of the Chicago Fire in 1871. http://www.sos.state.il.us/departments/archives/databases.html. Accessed 3/21/05.

54. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875, 5.

55. Collins, 1–9.

56. *Harper's Weekly*, 21 August 1875, quoted in Collins, 19.

57. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875, 5.

58. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 59.

59. The Citizen's Association was specifically intended to oppose "the baser sort" and put "the best men" in power. See Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 58; and Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief. The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 109.

60. Report of the Committee of the Chicago Citizens Association, quoted in Collins, 12.

61. Kimmel, ch. 4. See also Rotundo, ch. 10, and Elliot J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Reprint edition, 1989), ch. 3. See also Putney.

62. Report of the Committee of the Chicago Citizens Association, quoted in Collins, 12.

63. "Our Volunteer Troops," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 December 1874, 8.

64. "Our Volunteer Troops," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 December 1874, 8.

65. Collins, 18. These figures were presented to the regiment 29 May 1875.

66. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 28. The Ellsworth Zouaves charged $12.00 in annual dues in 1874, more than double any other company, which implies reasonably high resources on the part of the members.

67. Collins, 16–19.

68. Collins, 16–19; *Harper's Weekly*, 21 August 1875, quoted in Collins, 19.

69. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875, 5.

70. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875, 5.

71. Kimmel, ch. 4.

72. Cunliffe, chs. 7, 8; Kimmel, 81–89; Rotundo, 251–55; and Gorn, 138–49.

73. According to Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 59, the Bohemian Rifles were formed in response to the First Regiment because the German socialists believed that the First Regiment had been formed for the sole purpose of intimidating their constituency. Whether or not this was their intent, the Bohemian Rifles were accepted into the state militia and, formally at least, were given the same support and encouragement as all the other new companies that entered the state militia in 1875 and 1876.

74. *Biennial Report. . . . 1875 and 1876*, 33–34.

75. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 33–34.

76. Goode, Harry Stanton McCard, *History of the eighth Illinois United States Volunteers* (Chicago: E.F. Harman & Co., Publishers, 1899).

77. For a brief survey of the failures of Reconstruction and the consequent limitation of the rights of African Americans, see Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990). For Illinois specifically, see Roberta Senechal, *The Sociogenesis of a Race Riot: Springfield Illinois, in 1908* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Felix L. Armfield, "Fire on the Prairies: The 1895 Spring Valley Race Riot," *Journal of Illinois History*, 2000, 3(3): 185–200; Caroline A. Waldron, "'Lynch Law Must Go!' Race, Citizenship and the Other in an American Coal Mining Town," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 2000, 20(1): 50–77; Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, "'A Warlike Demonstration': Legalism, Violent Self-Help, and Electoral Politics in Decatur, Illinois, 1894–1898," *Journal of Urban History*, 2000, 26(5): 591–629; Shirley J. Portwood, "'We Lifted Our Voices in Thunder Tones': African American Race Men and Race Women and Community Agency in Southern Illinois, 1895–1910," *Journal of Urban History*, 2000, 26(6): 740–58; Dennis B. Downey, "'A Many-Headed Monster': The 1903 Lynching of David Wyatt," *Journal of Illinois History*, 1999, 2(1): 2–16; Christopher K. Hays, "The African American Struggle for Equality and Justice in Cairo, Illinois, 1865–1900," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 1997, 90(4): 265–84; Anna R. Paddon and Sally Turner, "African Americans and the World's Colombian Exposition," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 1995, 88(1): 19–36.

78. In 1870 the state reported to the federal government that there was no active militia. By 1880 there were over 8,000 active members of the state militia—and thousands more had passed through in the intervening decade—the average member spending slightly less than three years in a militia company. *Fourth Annual Report; Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880.*

79. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, Oxford History of the United States, Vol. 6 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 564. See Berlin et al. for ways in which Freedmen viewed their military service as a vital aspect of winning citizenship rights; also see Saville.

80. Goode, 5.

81. "Arms Furnished to a Colored Military Company," *The Chicago Tribune*, 24 July, 1869.

82. *Fourth Annual Report . . . 1872*, 1–2.

83. *Illinois State Register*, 15 Ocotber 1874.

84. Collins, 17. The Relief and Aid Society had a longstanding commitment toward the prevention of a creation of a welfare class, which resulted in a number of policies designed to judge those most fit to receive aid and deny it to any who did not meet their standards for being only temporarily distressed. For further information on the Relief and Aid Society see Karen Sawislak, "Smoldering City," *Chicago History* 17, nos. 3 and 4 (1988–89): 70.

85. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 25 February 1875, 3–4. The last company, the Hannibal Zouaves, was very likely the same as the Hannibal Guards, one of the first African American companies in Chicago. The only reason for saying this is the use of the name Hannibal, but this name was a very popular one for African American companies because of the famous North African

General Hannibal who challenged the Roman Empire. Also, because it was used in Chicago for an African American company, it is difficult to believe that any white company would have attempted to co-opt the name. The confusion would have been greater than any community would have sought to bear. This remains, of course, only speculation, and there is no conclusive evidence one way or another.

86. Goode, 5–6.

87. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 28; *The Chicago Tribune*, 20 December 1874.

88. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 35.

89. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 10; *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 8; *Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880*, 4–6; *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882*, 7; *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888*, 5.

90. U.S. Serial Set, H.misdoc. 191 (42–2) 1526, Statement from the Ordnance Department, dated 4/15/1872.

91. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 25–27.

92. U.S. Serial Set, S.exdoc. 22 pt 2 (45–2) 1780, 11. It is unclear what happened to the annual distributions which by 1878 were around $10,000 for Illinois; presumably the debt should have been closer to $45,000. There is a hint later on that instead of retiring the debt, from 1875 forward the Governor chose to request rifles for the rapidly growing state forces and leave off "paying" on the charges; see *The Chicago Times*, Thursday 29 July 1875, 5: "he [the Governor] secured for the regiment the newest and best arms known to modern warfare." The only place Governor Beveridge could have gotten the rifles was from the U.S. government, as he had no budget for a purchase of such magnitude for the militia.

93. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, chs. 2, 3, 4.

94. See Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard;* and Jerry Cooper with Glen Smith, *Citizens as Soldiers: A History of the North Dakota National Guard* (Fargo: The North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota State University, 1986), in which he demonstrates that this was true across the nation.

95. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 28, 31.

96. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874*, 31.

97. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 23–43.

98. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 29–33.

99. Collins, 30.

100. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 2–6.

101. William Barney, *The Passage of the Republic: An Interdisciplinary History of Nineteenth-Century America* (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1987), ch. 8.

102. Cooper, 28–29.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, iv.

2. Turner, 5.

3. See Descriptive List, Illinois National Guard, First Infantry, 1880–1904, Miscellaneous, RS 301.96, Illinois State Archives. See appendix A.

4. "The Citizen Soldiery," *National Guardsman: A Journal Devoted to the Interests of the National Guard of the U.S.*, 1, no. 1 (August 1, 1877): 1.

5. Turner, 5.

6. Greenberg, 163–65.

7. Quoted in Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 76.

8. Minute Book: Company "I" 7th Inf., ING, Record Group 301.106, Illinois State Archives, 22–23.

9. Minute Book, Company "I," 26.

10. Minute Book, Company "I," 28.

11. Minute Book, Company "I," 29–30.

12. Minute Book, Company "I," 30–34.

13. Minute Book, Company "I," 36–41. The "masked ball" did not earn any money for the company, probably as a result of the rental fee for the masks—"from the lady in Peoria."

14. Minute Book, Company "I," 39.

15. Minute Book, Company "I," 40–47.

16. Minute Book, Company "I."

17. Bunzey, 29.

18. *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888*; see Orders and Circulars.

19. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 39.

20. Bunzey, 13, 355–56.

21. Minute Book, Company "I," 50.

22. Minute Book, Company "I," 51.

23. Minute Book, Company "I," 51–55.

24. Minute Book, Company "I," 55–56.

25. Minute Book, Company "I," 55–57.

26. Minute Book, Company "I," 57–58.

27. Minute Book, Company "I," 66–68.

28. Minute Book, Company "I," 69.

29. Minute Book, Company "I," 83.

30. See Minute Book, Company "I." The minute book is not clear on this point, but it is an obvious explanation for the rise and fall of this company.

31. *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882,* 28. The ING was radically downsized in 1882, but Company I, seemingly going well until the cancellation of "True Blue," left the ING in 1881. Again the loss of the first Captain is probably the best explanation.

32. For example, see "Militia Notes" column in *The Chicago Tribune*, 5 July 1880, 8; Newspaper photo, header "When Cavalry officers gave tea for Mrs. Tanner and Friends at Camp Lincoln" in "the Family Album," clipping in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library, 325 South 7th Street, Springfield, IL; Newspaper photo, header "Sunday Visitors at Old Camp Lincoln, about 1901,"clipping in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection; Newspaper clipping dated "1896" (and headlining Governor Altgeld) from a scrapbook in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection; newspaper clipping dated "around 1901" (and headlining Sunday Visitors) from a scrapbook in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection.

33. Headenburg, 27.

34. Headenburg, 27.

35. Turner, 73.

36. Turner, 60.

37. Horace W. Bolton, *History of the Second Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry from Organization to Muster Out* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1899), 22.

38. *Inter Ocean*, 7 July 1875.

39. See Minute Book: Company "I," 39–48, April and May 1877 entries.

40. *Inter Ocean*, 20 May 1879.

41. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 February 1884; 21 October 1892.

42. Chamberlin, 19.

43. Minute Book, Company "D" 7th Infantry, ING ("The Washington Guards"), RG 301.105, Illinois State Archives, minutes of 5 June 1877.

44. Minute Book, Company "D," minutes of 31 July 1877.

45. Minute Book, Company "D," minutes of 21 May 1879.

46. "Military Ball," *The Chicago Tribune*, 15 February 1884, 8.

47. "A Swell Affair," *Aurora Evening Post*, 7 March 1894, 1; "It Was a Gala Night," *Aurora Daily Beacon*, 7 March 1894, 1.

48. Chamberlin, 23.

49. Chamberlin, 23.

50. Chamberlin, 23.

51. Turner, 155.

52. Turner, 157

53. Chamberlin, 19.

54. Turner, 66.

55. Chamberlin, 23.

56. Turner, 66. It turned out that the company took in $165.00 at the ball but spent $875.00.

57. "To Soldier Guests," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 October 1892, 1.

58. *New York Times*, 21 October 1892.

59. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 October 1892, 2.

60. *Illinois State Journal*, 17 July 1898.

61. Chamberlin, 29; Headenburg, 35.

62. Headenburg, 35.

63. Headenburg, 35.

64. *Chicago Defender*, 17 October 1914

65. *Chicago Defender*, 26 December 1914

66. John R. Skinner, *History of the Fourth Illinois Volunteers in their relation to the Spanish-American War for the Liberation of Cuba and other Island Possessions of Spain* (Logansport, IN: Press of Wilson, Humphreys & Co., 1899), 378–79.

67. Skinner, 380–81.

68. Skinner, 384.

69. Davis, 66–72. Davis argued that volunteer military companies filled with men of "good families" marching in antebellum Philadelphia parades of the 1820s and 1830s defined an elite form of patriotism and patriotic display and simultaneously constituted themselves as patriotism's chief interpreters. Davis also argues that militia company performances at ceremonial tasks were

their most significant activity. While this may have been true for antebellum Philadelphia volunteer companies, it is not the contention of this chapter.

70. Davis, 66–72.

71. Davis offers a scale to evaluate parades from "respectable" to "rowdy"—generally meaning "organized" to "spontaneous," though of course in practice there was much bleeding from one end to the other and most parades ended up somewhere in between. Also, both Davis and Ryan, *Women in Public,* note the connection between the creation of new public ceremonial moments, both unique and those destined to become traditional, and the commemoration or identification of historic moments in the history of the young republic. Davis, 19; Ryan, ch. 1. See also Schudson, 155–68.

72. Cunliffe, ch. 7. Ryan, *Women in Public,* ch. 1.

73. *The Chicago Tribune,* Tuesday 27 September 1881, 9. Roy Turnbaugh, "Ethnicity, Civic Pride, and Commitment: The Evolution of the Chicago Militia," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 72, no. 2 (1979): 111–27.

74. Ryan, *Women in Public,* ch. 1; see also Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in *The New Cultural History,* ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 131–53.

75. See Ryan, ch. 5; Cunliffe, ch. 7.

76. *The Chicago Tribune,* Monday, 5 July 1880, 8.

77. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Wednesday, 5 July 1882, 1–2.

78. *The Chicago Tribune,* Thursday, 5 July 1883, 2.

79. Bunzey, 42, 44.

80. *Grand Rapids Daily Democrat,* 5 July 1885, quoted in Headenburg, 27.

81. John F. Kutlowski and Kathleen Smith Kutlowski, "Commissions and Canvasses: The Militia and Politics in Western New York, 1800–1845," *New York History* 63, Spring (1982): 5–38.

82. See John Whiteclay Chambers II and G. Kurt Piehler, *Major Problems in American Military History* (Houghton Mifflin, 1999), ch. 5. For example, a "General Frank T. Sherman" was involved with the First Infantry in Illinois, but the only Frank T. Sherman from Illinois who served in the Civil War finished out his service in the rank of Colonel. http://www.sos.state.il.us/departments/archives/databases.html. Accessed 3/21/05.

83. Turner, 8.

84. Charles Diehl to Fred W. Bleike, Nov. 3, 1927, Folder 1, Charles Diehl Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

85. Turner, 8; Collins, 18–19.

86. Collins, 16–19; *Harper's Weekly* 21 August 1875, quoted in Collins, 19.

87. Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

88. Headenburg, 15, 19.

89. Headenburg, 19, 23, 27.

90. Headenburg, 23; *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878,* 111. According to the report of E. N. Bates, Brig. Gen. Commanding Second Brigade, ING, the Springfield companies were in service only five days, July 27–July 31, in East St. Louis.

91. McCard, 82.

92. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 51–52.

93. *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892*, 24, 35. It is difficult to completely track developments. Major Scott of the Sixteenth resigned September 23, 1881, but no company of the Sixteenth is on the disbanded list, and the officers are not otherwise listed as resigning. However, the commissioning of Alexander Brown of the Chicago Light Infantry (Colored) which took place on July 12, 1882, is not mentioned in the 1881–82 report either. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*, 95.

94. "The Sixteenth Battalion," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 14 November 1881, 9; "The Colored Militia," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 25 April 1882, 8; 1 May 1882, 10; 4 May 1882, 2, 8.

95. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*, 95.

96. *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. For 1883 and 1884* (Springfield: H.W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder, 1884), 55. It is unclear why it did not make the 1882 or July 1883 rosters, because the company officers' commissions date from July 1882.

97. Goode, 6. It is not known when or why the McLean County organization folded or the Springfield Company lost steam. However, the records of all companies in the state forces suggest that African American companies must have suffered from the same difficulties of financing, enthusiasm, and membership problems that plagued most companies across the state.

98. The state always had long lists of companies seeking a place in the ING, and they were granted places whenever an older company was mustered out of an existing regiment—something that happened quite frequently. Obviously the state military authorities had no intention of similarly substituting a black company into the ranks, though such a case did exist in Massachusetts. Johnson, 31. Company L of the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry was African American, though the rest of the regiment was white. The regiment was mobilized with Company L in 1898. Company L joined the 6th in 1878.

99. "Ninth Battalion Mustered In," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 August 1890, 3.

100. *The Guardsman* seems to have been a locally published journal for National Guard members in Illinois. No extant issues have been located. Chamberlin appears to have been white, as was George W. Bristol, later a Captain with the 1st Infantry ING, who succeeded him as an instructor and teacher with the 9th Battalion. Goode, 13–17. The 1st Regiment was the wealthiest and most socially prestigious regiment in Chicago and, perhaps, in the ING. Their support for the African American guard organization, while probably not crucial, set the tone for how other whites, within and without the ING, would view the efforts of the 9th Battalion to enter the ING.

101. Goode, 25.

102. "Colored Men Get into the I.N.G.," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 September 1895.

103. Goode, 7, 13–17.

104. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896*, 155–56.

105. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896*, 139.

106. Under Illinois state law, no groups beyond the state militia could march publicly in uniform with weapons unless they had specific permission to do so granted by the Governor.

107. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis; a Study of Negro Life in a Northern City,* 1962 ed., vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers), 8, 46–57. For population figures see *The Statistics of the Population of the United States . . . Compiled, from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1872), 24; *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1883), 3; *Report of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, DC: GPO 1895), xcviii; *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900: Population* (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1901), cxv.

108. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19 July 1896; 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, July 1897.

109. See "Report of Captain Eben Swift, U.S. Army to the War Department, Washington, D.C., A Statement of the Condition of the Illinois National Guard in 1897," in *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 47–63; and the "Statement of Governor John R. Tanner concerning the Court Martial Report of Major John C. Buckner, 9 November 1897," in *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 762.

110. "Photograph, Random set of men from the First Division of Illinois National Guard; Chicago (Ill.), " ca. 1895, Photographer—D. H. Spencer, ICHi-26577, Chicago Historical Society, Prints & Photographs Department, 1601 N. Clark Street, Chicago, IL.

111. Goode, 13.

112. For example, the Chicago papers referred to African Americans, in association with their ING organizations, as "ladies and gentlemen." *Inter Ocean,* 20 May 1879.

113. Ryan, *Women in Public,* 64–68; Ryan, "The American Parade," 131–53.

114. See Berlin, 230–33; Saville, 172.

115. "Their Night to Celebrate," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 31 March 1887; "Thirty Years of Freedom Program," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 26 April 1896.

116. Davis, 66–72.

117. *The New York Times,* Saturday, 24 September 1881, 1.

118. *The New York Times,* Monday, 26 September 1881, 1.

119. *The Chicago Tribune,* Monday, 26 September 1881, 1.

120. *The New York Times,* Sunday, 25 September 1881, 1.

121. *The New York Times,* Thursday, 22 September 1881, 5.

122. *The Chicago Tribune,* Tuesday, 27 September 1881, 9.

123. *The Chicago Tribune,* Tuesday, 27 September 1881, 9.

124. *The Chicago Tribune,* Tuesday, 27 September 1881, 9. If the reporter's guess was correct, between 600 and 800 veterans marched beside the militia. As President Garfield had been a Mason, in Chicago the Masons were given the honor of escorting the catafalque, or funeral car. The other four divisions of the Chicago procession consisted of the Odd-Fellows (the 3rd); the Knights of Pythias (the 4th); city officials, including companies of police, firemen, and post office employees (the 5th); and various civil and ethnic societies, totaling some 9,100 (the 6th).

125. *The Chicago Tribune*, Tuesday, 27 September 1881, 4, 9.

126. *The Chicago Tribune*, Tuesday, 27 September 1881, 4. The boosterism, while pardonable, hardly gives credit to the nine divisions that marched in the funeral cortege in Cleveland. See *The Chicago Tribune*, Monday, 26 September 1881, 1.

127. Ryan, *Women in Public*, 53–54.

128. For other organizations with a wide range of members, see Carnes; Clawson; Taillon.

129. Memorial Day was initially the product of southern women who took a day in the spring when the local flower season was at its peak to decorate the graves of the men who died in the Civil War. In the north the idea was taken up by the various veteran associations as they honored fallen comrades. Matthew Dennis, *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days: An American Calendar* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), ch. 5.

130. *The Chicago Tribune*, Thursday, May 31, 1883.

131. "Flowers for Heroes," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 27 May 1894, 7; "In a Memorial Pageant," Chicago Daily Tribune, 1 June 1897, 7.

132. Headenburg, 31.

133. Chamberlin, 11–25. The Oakland Rifles were an unaffiliated, private military company that worked as a feeder group to Company C, Fourth Infantry, providing them a pool of potential members and a large supply of active supporters.

134. Headenburg, 23

135. See Ryan, *Women in Public*, 42–43. See also John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); and David Waldestreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

136. See chapter 7 of this book for a detailed history of the struggles for public funding by the ING.

137. The literature on these subjects is vast; however, there are good general synthesis works. See, for example, Ava Baron, *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977); T. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981); David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (Cambridge University Press, 1987); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Trachtenberg; Wiebe.

138. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 59.

139. Bunzey, 39–41.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Bunzey, 357.

2. Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard,* 44; Doubler, 95–96.

3. Montgomery.

4. Cooper, 49.

5. Riker; Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics,* 59, reaches a similar conclusion but via a different route, noting the rise of a "business man's militia" in Chicago just before the push to write a new militia bill and assuming causation from the coincidence of timing.

6. One example can be found in William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1993), 58. "It was here that the greatest midwestern department stores bestrided the city's center and that Marshall Field periodically called out the National Guard to crush the unions." Marshall Field was indeed a powerful figure in Chicago, and one who supported the wealthy and fashionable First Regiment—though apparently neither of the other two regiments in town nor the African American companies. But he never "called out" the ING because he had no authority to do so. Only the governor at the request of the Mayor of Chicago or the Sheriff of Cook County could call out the ING for any purpose in Illinois, and the bulk of ING strike service actually took place far outside of Cook County anyway, in places where Marshall Field had little or no authority. Also, the ING was never once ordered to "crush the unions"; nor were any unions crushed. While Leach's hyperbole about the powers of Marshall Field is a little over the top, similar sentiments about the nature of the National Guards as an organization totally responsive to elite control are fairly widely held. See also Smith, Philip S. Foner, *The Great Labor Uprising of 1877* (New York: Monad Press, 1977), conclusion; Riker, ch. 4; Trachtenberg, ch. 3; Eugene E. Leach, "The Literature of Riot Duty: Managing Class Conflict In the Streets," *Radical History Review* 56 (1993): 23–50.

7. For histories of the militias see Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard;* Doubler; Martha Derthick, *The National Guard in Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Mahon; Hill. Many labor historians have alluded to the rise of militias and National Guards in the late nineteenth century, but few have focused on it, taking the connection between strikes and the formation of National Guard units as a given rather than a debatable proposition. See, for example, Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics,* and Schneirov et al. Older books that assume a direct relationship between industry and the National Guards include Bruce; Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972); Philip Foner; and Samuel Yellen, *American Labor Struggles* (New York: S. A. Russell, 1956).

8. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894,* Section VI.

9. Disagreements could, of course, reach further than state v. county or city. In 1894 President Cleveland intervened and sent federal troops into Chicago, a move that infuriated both the mayor of the city and Governor John P. Altgeld, neither of whom felt that the situation warranted the presence of state troops, let alone the U.S. Army. See *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894,* xl–xliv.

10. David Montgomery, “Strikes in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Social Science History* 4, no. 1 (1980): 81–104; Robert Rienders, “Militia and Public Order in Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Studies (Great Britain)* 11, no. 1 (1977): 81–101.

11. The classic example of pro-corporate behavior by the National Guards is during the Colorado mine strike in 1914. Colorado National Guard troops fired into a tent city constructed by striking miners and killed at least two women and eleven children. The Colorado National Guard troops had a history of close support for mine owners and operators, and they were condemned by National Guardsmen in other states for their actions. There is also strong evidence to suggest that these particular Colorado National Guardsmen were one and the same men hired by the mine operators as private guards, reformed into a CNG regiment in order to shift the cost onto the shoulders of Colorado taxpayers. See articles in the *National Guard Magazine* for May, June, and July 1914. See also Cooper, 149–50. In Montgomery, *Fall of the House of Labor,* 343–47, this is the only episode in his entire book in which he mentions the National Guards at all; otherwise they are entirely absent from his story—leaving the impression that this was a representative rather than an aberrant National Guard.

12. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 59; Smith, 104–5.

13. The Relief and Aid Society had a longstanding commitment to the prevention of a creation of a welfare class, which resulted in a number of policies designed to judge those most fit to receive aid and deny it to any who did not meet their standards for being only temporarily distressed. See Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics;* and Smith, 104. For further information on the Relief and Aid Society see Karen Sawislak, *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871–1874* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

14. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 25 February 1875, 3–4.

15. Collins, 17.

16. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 59; Collins, 17.

17. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 25 February 1875, 3–4; Collins, 17.

18. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 25 February 1875, 3–4.

19. *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875, 5.

20. Collins, 17; *The Chicago Times*, Thursday, 29 July 1875, 5. Notice that Collins fails to suggest that any credit should belong equally to all the companies that mobilized for action.

21. For more recent studies of the 1877 strikes see Brian P. Luskey, “Riot and Respectability”; David O. Stowell, *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). For material specifically on Chicago in 1877 see Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, and Smith. Montgomery, *Fall of the House of Labor,* does not discuss the 1877 strikes in particular but does give some general reference material for national conditions for labor and capital in the 1870s and 1880s relevant for situating the events of 1877.

22. Railroad strikers were generally very careful to keep passenger trains running as long as they could, as they did not want to jeopardize their generally favorable public support on the issue of the family wage. See Bruce; Montgomery; Philip Foner.

23. Bruce, chs. 7, 8.

24. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 69–76; Smith, 106–11. See also Bruce, chs. 7–11. Brecher, ch. 1.

25. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 69–76; Smith, 106–11. See also Bruce, ch. 12. Bruce indicated his opinion about the changing tenor of the labor movements as the strikes spread across the country and from railroad line to railroad line by titling his chapter on the events in Chicago and St. Louis "Marxists and the Mob."

26. Collins, 64.

27. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 69–76; Smith, 106–11. See also Bruce, ch. 12.

28. Collins, 64.

29. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 69–76; Smith, 106–11; Bruce, 191–93.

30. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago. Vol. III, The Rise of a Modern City, 1871–1893* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1957), 346, 351. Pierce reflects a relentlessly pro-Republican view onto the political history of Chicago and regards Heath as one of the best progressive mayors.

31. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 103.

32. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 104.

33. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 103. The companies were later disbanded and mustered out of state service.

34. Bruce, 242; Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 69–76; Smith, 106–11.

35. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 69–76; Smith, 106–11. See also Bruce, ch. 12.

36. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 106

37. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 105–7.

38. Bruce, 251; Collins, 69; Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 69–76; Smith, 106–11. General Ducat's report does not mention the volleys fired by the Second Regiment. The historian of the Second Regiment, Horace Bolton, recorded only that it "was called out to aid in repressing 'The Railroad Riots,' when their dash and coolness in dispersing the armed and desperate crowds which terrorized the city, fully established its reputation as an efficient and valuable organization." Bolton, 14.

39. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 108.

40. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 111, Report of General Bates, Brig. General Commanding Second Brigade, I.N.G. to General Ducat, dated August 10, 1877.

41. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 111–12.

42. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 108.

43. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 109.

44. Mark A. Lause, "'The Cruel Striker War': Rail Labor & the Broken Symmetry of Galesburg Civic Culture 1877–1888," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 91, no. 3 (1998): 81–112, 92.

45. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 108–13.

46. "The Colored Troops," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 August 1877.

47. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 February 1879.

48. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 114–15.

49. It is not entirely clear why these sorts of confrontations didn't take place during coal-mine strike-policing expeditions in Illinois. The best hypothesis is that the locations of the strikes, one center city and the other outside the city limits, affected the nature and composition of the crowds, with a primary difference being that the crowds that formed during coal strikes seemed not to have contained workers from other industries or shops, a pattern more typical of large rail strikes.

50. See active duty reports in *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894;* and *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*.

51. See reports on active duty in *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898; Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900;* and *Biennial Report . . . 1903 and 1904*. See also "J. H. Barkley, Colonel Commanding the Fifth Regiment, ING, to Brigadier General J.N. Reece, Commanding the Second Brigade, ING. Springfield, IL, 6 June 1883," 1883, 1883 Strike File, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, J. H. Barkley, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives.

52. Birtle, 37–57, argues that the National Guard could take a "non-partisan" stance in regard to the disputing parties while policing strike-related situations and nevertheless end up with the public impression that their presence had ultimately served the ends of management when the strikes collapsed without securing their aims.

53. Michael Biggs, "Strikes as Sequences of Interaction, The American Strike Wave of 1886," *Social Science History* 2002 26(3): 583–617. See also *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*.

54. For example, there was no state-supported summer camp training in 1890 due to budget shortfalls. *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*, 5. See also Illinois' Writers Project, "Camp Lincoln," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 34, no. 3 (1941): 281–302.

55. *The Chicago Tribune*, 25 May 1883, 26 May 1883, 27 May 1883, 29 May 1883, 30 May 1883, 1 June 1883. *The Chicago Tribune* has a long reputation as an "anti-labor" newspaper, but the chronology of the strike they reported matches the chronology Colonel Barkley reported to Adjutant General Reece. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883.

56. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883.

57. In the traditional mines, after the shaft was dug and the lifts installed, it was up to each miner to work his own section of coal as assigned by the mine foreman, either a "room," or along a "long wall." In Illinois most mines were some variation of the "room" arrangement. Once the miner had a "room," it was up to him to make the cuts at the base of the coal seam (this was the part of the job known as mining), bore holes, lay in blasting powder, set off the explosion, gather up the fallen coal, load it into the car, and haul it to the opening to his "room" for the car drivers to pick up to take to the surface. The individual miner was also responsible for his own safety, including not only the results of his actual "work" but for the general area surrounding him as well. Miners ensured the structural stability of their "room" through timbering and

laid the track into the "room" that the coal cars ran along. Most of the work was done with the miner's personal tools and supplies, including powder and blasting caps. For this work, miners were paid by the weight of the raised coal, excluding any shale or slate and pieces too small to make the grade. In "machine mines" a cutting machine developed in the early 1870s was used to make cuts under the coal seam, after which the miner continued to work in the usual way. The introduction of the cutting machine changed work relationships throughout the mines in which they were introduced through a slow and heavily contested process of de-skilling. Piece rates continued after the introduction of machine cutters, however, and productivity remained roughly equal overall for machine and traditional pick mines. The price and productivity of an individual mine were, however, dependent on the quality and type of coal in the region, and so there were regional variations in price and productivity between machine and traditional mines. See general studies of coal mining practices, for example, Keith Dix, *Work Relations in the Coal Industry: The Hand-Loading Era, 1880–1930* (West Virginia: Institute for Labor Studies, 1977); Price V. Fishback, *Soft Coal, Hard Choices: The Economic Welfare of Bituminous Coal Miners, 1890–1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). For work more specific to Illinois, see John H. M. Laslett, *Nature's Noblemen: The Fortunes of the Independent Collier in Scotland and the American Midwest, 1855–1889* (Los Angles: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1983).

58. Report by the Governor of Illinois to the 33rd General Assembly, Concerning the Use of the State Militia in Support of the Civil Authorities, in Madison and St. Clair Counties, in May, 1883. "J. D. Miner, Caseyville to Governor Hamilton of Illinois, 31 May, 1883," 1883, May 23–31, 1883, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, J. D. Miner, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives.

59. Nationally the unit of measurement was generally one ton, but in Illinois the standard piece unit was one bushel. Shale and slate are two of the most common types of coal with too many impurities to be used effectively as a fuel source.

60. J. D. Miner to Governor Hamilton, 31 May 1883. Disagreements over the weighing process were endemic to coal mining because the miners were perennially suspicious that they were being shortchanged by the mine operators. See Fishback, ch. 5. There were also some complaints about the stiff penalties for loading "dirty" coal (coal with too many impurities), but these again were perennial labor-management conflicts in the coal mining industry.

61. "Telegram from B. Lowman, Sec'y, Belleville, Illinois to Governor Hamilton, 3 May 1883," 1883, 1883 Strike File, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, B. Lowman, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives. "We the miners have held a meeting & are fully determined to stand by our resolutions that were passed by us, by advice of our attorneys R.A. Halbert and Ed B——s."

62. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 7.

63. "Governor Hamilton, Springfield to E. J. Crandall, Collinsville, Illinois 26 May 1883," 1883, Strike File 1883, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, Governor Hamilton, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives. The Governor sent this message via telegraph, collect.

64. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 7.

65. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 7–9.

66. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 10.

67. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 10.

68. "Powder and Ball," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 29 May 1883.

69. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 10.

70. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 11–14. Certainly the militia officers, including Colonel Barkley, felt satisfied that they had made themselves perfectly clear to the engineer and that he had quite deliberately ignored their requests and then instructions and even the repeated remonstrations of the ING officer riding in the engine with him as they approached the mine. *The Chicago Tribune*, 29 May 1883, 30 May 1883.

71. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 11–14.

72. *The Chicago Tribune*, 29 May 1883, 30 May 1883, 1 June 1883

73. "Geo. W. Parker, President and General Manager of the St. Louis, Alton & Terre Haute Rail Road, to E. F. Leonard, Secretary, Springfield, IL, 24 May 1883," 1883, Strike File 1883, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, Geo. W. Parker, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives. Parker recounts a tale of an attempted sabotage of a railroad trestle, which he blames on the strikers.

74. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 1–2.

75. On his arrival, Barkley had presented himself with a letter of introduction to a Dr. Wadsworth, who in turn introduced Barkley to J. M. Pearson, a Justice of the Peace. Both Wadsworth and Pearson signed the telegraph to Governor Hamilton requesting state intervention in Madison County. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883.

76. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, VI.

77. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883. Telegram quoted on 2–3.

78. "Labor Troubles," in *The Chicago Tribune*, 27 May 1883, 3. Earlier reports published in the *Tribune* assumed that Sheriff Hotz was the individual who requested state aid. See *The Chicago Tribune*, 25 May 1883.

79. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 4.

80. In 1922, the company town was much less common in Illinois than in some other coal mining regions (more than 90 percent of Illinois coal miners lived in independent towns), and it seems that this was the case from the beginning of the exploitation of the coalfields. This may account for the relative freedom of county officials to implicitly oppose the mine operators. See Fishback, 164.

81. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 4.

82. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 4.

83. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 4.

84. See active duty reports in *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . . 1899 and 1900*.

85. See active duty reports in *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*.

86. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*, 20–33.

87. Lause, 81–112.

88. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, XV–XVII; *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*, 21.

89. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*, 27–28.

90. "J. D. Miner, Caseyville to Governor Hamilton of Illinois, 31 May 1883," 1883, May 23–31, 1883, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, J. D. Miner, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives.

91. Miner to Hamilton, 31 May 1883.

92. Jas. K Magie, *Plain Talk*, 73.

93. *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*, 154–75; *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 103–36.

94. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883.

95. Miner to Hamilton, 31 May 1883.

96. "News Clipping included in the letter, Joseph J. Reifgraby Chairman of the Mass=and Indignation=Meeting of St. Louis Citizens to Governor Hamilton of Illinois, 9 June 1883," 1883, File June 10–15, 1883, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, Joseph J. Reifgraby, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives.

97. All but one recent study of the history of the militia/national guards nationwide generally assume a direct link between the rise in national and statewide strikes and the growth of the state national guards in these decades. See Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, for the one that does not. See Doubler; Derthick; Mahon; Riker. Hill also rejects a connection between strike duty and militia resurgence.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Address of Lieut. J. H. Parker, *Souvenir of the Banquet*, 45.

2. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, ch. 4.

3. Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard*, 44–45. Nineteen of forty-four state militias had no record of strike duty at all in this period.

4. Rotundo; Kimmell; Bederman; Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Schudson; Glenn; Warren Goldstein and Elliot J. Gorn, *A Brief History of American Sports* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

5. Major William Gilham, *Manual of Instruction for the Volunteers and Militia of the United States. By William Gilham* (Philadelphia: C. Desilver, 1861).

6. See a collection of drill cards printed in 1882 by the New Hampshire National Guard, National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 168.2, "Pre-Federal Correspondence," Box 21.

7. *Fourth Annual Report; Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876; Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880; Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882; Biennial Report . . . 1883 and 1884; Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886; Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896; Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898; Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900; Biennial Report . . . 1901 and 1902; Biennial Report . . . 1903 and 1904.*

8. Bunzey, 13; Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, ch. 4.

9. William R. King, "The Military Necessities of the United States, and the best Provisions for Meeting Them," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 5, no. 20 (1884): 355–91; Otho E. Michaelis, "The Military Necessities of the United States, and the Best Provisions for Meeting Them," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 5, no. 24 (1885): 272–91; George R. Price, "The Necessity for Closer Relations Between the Army and the People, and the Best Method to Accomplish the Result," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 6, no. 24 (1885): 303–30; General William T. Sherman, "The Militia," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 6, no. 21 (1885): 1–26; Arthur L. Wagner, "The Military Necessities of the United States, and the Best Provisions for Meeting Them," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 5, no. 24 (1884): 237–71; Alexander S. Webb, "The Military Service Institution: What it is doing; What it may do; Its relations to the National Guard," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 5, no. 27 (1884): 1–28; Walter Merriam Pratt, *Tin Soldiers, The Organized Militia and What it Really Is* (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1912), 164.

10. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 23–42; *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 56–72; *Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880*, 50–91, *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882*, Inspector General's Report.

11. See Kutlowski and Kutlowski, 5–38, for a discussion of militia service records and elective offices. The Kutlowskis suggest that among other factors, the impression of military service conferred on retired militia officers who carried their rank with them out of the National Guard was a significant advantage to men attempting to climb the ladder of political influence.

12. Only a small number of National Guard officers ever advocated a role for the militias specifically giving priority to strike interventions or even considered introducing tactics or training for the militias as a riot control force. Even when any consideration was given to the issue, theorists of riot control generally envisioned a *military* response. The theorists described the crowds which militia companies would face as "the enemy," and they gave thought to the most efficient ways of killing large numbers of the "mob" at once and imposing martial law on the affected cities. See Eugene Leach, 23–50, for a discussion of the work of a small group of National Guard officers who saw in riot control a serious mission for the state militias and advocated training and preparation for such duties. Even here, however, curious distinctions arose. Most of the riot control literature that Leach writes about is focused on the strike in the large urban environment. At least in the Midwest, most strike intervention took place in largely rural settings with much smaller crowds of people and smaller bodies of militia than anticipated in the literature Leach surveys. The doctrine that the regulars articulated for dealing with labor-related civil disorder also assumed a military-style response as opposed to a police-style approach to maintaining order. The militias followed the regulars, up to and including adopting what consideration the professional army gave to the business of riot control. As a result of this dichotomy, Leach's thesis that this literature speaks as much to certain middle-class fears as any actual strike intervention practices is all the more persuasive.

13. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, chs. 6, 7.

14. See "Comment by General Fry" in General William T. Sherman, "The Militia," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 6, no. 21 (1885): 1–26. General Fry runs down a list of the various attempts to change the 1792 federal militia law in only the first twenty-five years of its existence, and their failure, beginning in 1803 and then in 1806, 1809, 1810, 1816, 1817, 1819, 1822, 1826, and 1829. Fry offers his list as proof that the defects of the 1792 law were obvious from the beginning and that the defects had never induced Congress to take any action to improve matters for the organization and disciplining of the militias.

15. The few state militia organizations that survived the aftermath of the Civil War, in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts primarily, were explicitly modeled on the Union Army in organization and drill. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 25–26.

16. Turner, 12; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 December 1874.

17. Collins, 14.

18. *Biennial . . . 1875 and 1876*, 2–6. State militias, including the Illinois militia, tended to award staff and senior line positions higher rank than the regulars, thus establishing the happy position of being able to create far more majors, colonels, and generals than they otherwise could have supported on their relatively small enlisted bases. As a result, when states came to consider active duty pay, they found that if they created "equivalency" charts—state militia ranks equal the rank in the regulars corresponding to similar job responsibilities—they could then use regular army pay standards much more economically.

19. Collins.

20. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 81–83.

21. *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888*, 40–41; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 28 January 1888.

22. Minute Book: Company "I" 7th Inf. Several entries discuss target shooting and target shooting matches; the strong implication is that they are practicing somewhere locally.

23. See Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard;* Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish American War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), ch. 1; Doubler, 112. See also Riker, ch. 4; and Derthick, ch. 2, for more information on the general development of the militias during these decades.

24. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*, 727.

25. *Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876; Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880; Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882; Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890.*

26. Emory Upton's famous critique of the state militias was developed in the 1870s and 1880s. Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912).

27. See Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 89–91. The first federal inspections of the Illinois National Guard took place in 1885 and 1886. "Report of Inspection of 2nd Brigade, Illinois National Guard, 1885," September 10, 1885, Document #ACP 5844, AGO 7840, Box 23, Theo. Schwan, RG 168.2,

National Archives; "Capt. Gains Lawson, 25th Infantry, Fort Snelling, Minn, to the Adjutant General US Army, Washington, DC; August 12, 1886," 1886, filed as "Miss[issippi] 1886," Box 23, Capt. Gains Lawson, RG 168.2, National Archives. See also Derthick and Mahon for information about developments in training in the 1890s and early part of the twentieth century.

28. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 89.

29. *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention.*

30. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 89–90.

31. Theo. Schwan to The Adjutant General, U.S. Army, September 10, 1885, Box 23, RG 168.2 5844 ACP 1885, 7840 AGO 1885, National Archives and Records Administration; Gaius Lawson to The Adjutant General, U.S. Army, August 12, 1886, Box 23, RG 168.2 "Misc 1886."

32. See the 1908 Act, but in brief the new Militia Bureau in the War Department was responsible for overseeing the disbursement of federal funds to the various state organizations.

33. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886,* Report of U.S. Army on Encampments.

34. Theo. Schwan, Col. 7th Inf., "Report of the condition and recent course of instruction of the 1st brigade of the Illinois National Guard." National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 168.2, "Pre-Federal Period, Correspondence," 1885–1886, Box 22.

35. See Cooper, *The Rise of the National Guard;* Doubler. See also Millett and Maslowski, chs. 8, 10.

36. Report of Charles Fitzsimons, Brigadier General, First Brigade, I.N.G. to Brigadier General J. N. Reece, Adjutant General. October 29, 1895, published in *Biennial Report . . . 1891–1892,* 129.

37. *The Chicago Tribune,* Friday, 21 October 1892.

38. *The New York Times,* 20 October 1892.

39. *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892,* 130.

40. *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892,* 130–31.

41. *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892,* 130–32.

42. *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892,* 133.

43. Bunzey, 42; *The Chicago Tribune,* 19, 21, 22 October 1892.

44. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894,* iv.

45. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894,* xlvi.

46. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894,* iv.

47. Cary Ray Papers, "The First Infantry Illinois National Guard "The Dandy First" As military escort to the Chicago and Southern States Association, to the Southern Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1895"; Blight, 272.

48. See Record Group 168, National Guard Bureau, National Archives and Records Administration, covering federal returns and correspondence from 1885 until 1916.

49. Cooper, 38–39.

50. Beginning in the 1880s, some ING regiments began experimenting with signal corps, bicycle corps, and hospital corps. Bolton, 21.

51. Bunzey, 20–21.

52. "Camp Lincoln," 281–302. Summer camp could be postponed during

years of heavy active duty, for policing strike-affected regions, or for national service, or for lack of funds. For example, there was no summer camp in 1898 or 1915, two summers when the entirety of the ING was called into federal service, and in 1890 when there was no money. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898, Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890.* Capt. Gains Lawson, 25th Infantry, Fort Snelling, Minn, to the Adjutant General U.S. Army, Washington, DC; August 12, 1886, 1886, filed as "Miss[issippi] 1886," Box 23, Capt. Gains Lawson, RG 168.2, National Archives, 1.

53. *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888,* 84; *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892,* 78, 109–10; *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896,* 19; *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900,* 98.

54. "Report of Captain J.B. Babacock, 5th U.S. Cavalry, On the Encampment of the Illinois National Guard in 1892," in *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892,* 59.

55. "Report of Major Jacob Kline, Captain, 18th U.S. Infantry, on the Encampments, 1887," *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888,* 104. See also encampment inspection reports in all *Biennial Reports* and the report of Capt. Gains Lawson, 25th Infantry, Fort Snelling, Minn, to the Adjutant General U.S. Army, Washington, DC.

56. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896,* 19; *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900,* 98.

57. See Capt. Lewis Green to Chief, Division of Militia Affairs, 10 September 1909, Document 8237-B, Box 78, RG 168.7, NARA; A.L. Miles to Chief, Division of Militia Affairs, 8 May 1913, Document 39615, Box 181, RG 168.7, NARA.

58. M. C. Kerth to Illinois Adjutant General, 21 April 1909, Document 5950–2,3, Box 67, RG 168.7, NARA.

59. Extracts from Capt. Eben Swift's Report, in *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896,* 108.

60. Bolton, 22.

61. Newspaper photo, header "When Cavalry officers gave tea for Mrs. Tanner and Friends at Camp Lincoln" in "the Family Album," clipping in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library, 325 South 7th Street, Springfield, IL.

62. Newspaper photo, header "Sunday Visitors at Old Camp Lincoln, about 1901," clipping in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection. Original in Guy Mathis Collection, ALPML.

63. Newspaper clipping dated "1896" (and headlining Governor Altgeld) from a scrapbook in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection.

64. "Camp Lincoln," 281; newspaper clipping dated "around 1901" (and headlining Sunday Visitors) from a scrapbook in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection.

65. See Bunzey, 39–41; Headenburg, 35.

66. Bunzey, 39.

67. "Camp Lincoln," 297–98.

68. Guy Mathis Collection, Militia pictures, ALPML.

69. "Life in Camp Lincoln," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 19 July 1896, 18

70. Bunzey, 21.

71. Cary T. Ray Papers, "Resume of Service."

72. ING Photographs, Chicago Historical Society; Guy Mathis Collection, Militia pictures, ALPML; photographs in the Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection.

73. Bunzey, 21.

74. Guy Mathis Collection, ALPML.

75. For example, in 1890 Senator W. D. Washburn of Minnesota donated a trophy to be awarded to the winner of a marksmanship competition between teams representing Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois. If one team won the trophy three times in a row, the trophy became theirs permanently. Illinois won the competitions in 1891 and 1892. The third competition was held in 1903; the Illinois State Rifle team won that meet as well, and the trophy became theirs permanently. See *Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892*, 5; *Biennial Report . . . 1903 and 1904*, 7.

76. Goldstein and Gorn, 140.

77. Minute Book: Company "I" 7th Inf., ING, Record Group 301.106, Illinois State Archives, 39–48, April and May 1877 entries.

78. Minute Book: Company "I" 7th Inf., ING, Record Group 301.106, Illinois State Archives, 39–48, April and May 1877 entries. Turner.

79. Minute Book: Company "I" 7th Inf., ING, Record Group 301.106, Illinois State Archives, 39–48, April and May 1877 entries; Turner; see individual company histories.

80. *The Chicago Tribune*, Friday, May 14, 1875.

81. *The Chicago Tribune*, Friday, May 14, 1875.

82. Bunzey, 22.

83. See Bunzey; Bolton; Headenburg; and Turner.

84. *The Chicago Tribune*, Friday, May 14, 1875.

85. Headenburg, 27; Bunzey, 22.

86. See the individual company histories in Turner, *Souvenir Album and Sketch Book*.

87. See 4/24/1878 entry in Minute Book: Company "I," 39.

88. *The Chicago Tribune*, 5 July 1883, 2.

89. Turner, 66. *The Chicago Tribune*, July 5, 1878.

90. Turner, 60.

91. Bunzey, 22. See the individual company histories in Turner, *Souvenir Album and Sketch Book*.

92. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 80.

93. For more on the technological advancements and the changes in practice they demanded, see James L. Abrahamson, *America Arms for A New Century: The Making of a Great Military Power* (New York: The Free Press—A Division of Macmillan Publishing, Inc, 1981); Thomas C. Leonard, *Above the Battle: War Making in America from Appomattox to Versailles* (1978); Millett and Maslowski; James Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865–1877* (Greenwood Press Reprint, 1980); Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars;* Weigley, *The History of the American Army;* Russell F. Weigley, *Towards an American Army; Military Thought from Washington to Marshall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962); Paul Wellman, *Indian Wars of the West* (Dorset House Publishing Co. Inc., 1954).

94. See the Adjutant General reports in *Fourth Annual Report; Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876; Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880; Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882; Biennial Report . . . 1883 and 1884; Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886; Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896; Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898; Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900; Biennial Report . . . 1901 and 1902; Biennial Report . . . 1903 and 1904; Biennial Report . . . 1905 and 1906; Biennial Report . . . 1907 and 1908; Biennial Report . . . 1909 and 1910; Biennial Report . . . 1911 and 1912*; for the general history of the slow growth of state rifle ranges, replacement of old weapons with new, accounting practices for ammunition expended and saved, etc., and, most important, the ever-expanding office of the Inspector General of Rifle Practice.

95. "What the Militia Needs," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 June 1887.

96. Bunzey, 13.

97. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*, 18.

98. Address of Lieut. J. H. Parker, *Souvenir of the Banquet*, 45.

99. See reports on Rifle Practice in *Fourth Annual Report; Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876; Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880; Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882; Biennial Report . . . 1883 and 1884; Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886; Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896; Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898; Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900; Biennial Report . . . 1901 . . . 1902; Biennial Report . . . 1903 and 1904; Biennial Report . . . 1905 and 1906; Biennial Report . . . 1907 and 1908; Biennial Report . . . 1909 and 1910; Biennial Report . . . 1911 and 1912*.

100. Bolton; Bunzey; Chamberlin; Collins; Headenburg; Turner.

101. Colonel E. R. Bliss, "Address of Welcome," in Turner, 14.

102. *The Chicago Tribune*, 3 July 1880.

103. "President Wants Real, Not Parade Soldiers," *New York Times*, 23 January 1906, 4.

104. See "Letter Book Company 'G' 4th Inf., ING, " RG 301.101, Illinois State Archives; "Letter Book Company 'M' 6th Inf., Illinois National Guard, " RG 301.102, Illinois State Archives.

105. Walter Merriam Pratt, *Tin Soldiers, The Organized Militia and What it Really Is* (Boston, The Gorham Press, 1912), 165.

106. Pratt, 165–66.

107. Jas. K. Magie, *Plain Talk about Politics and Politicians of Illinois: with Facts and Figures Concerning the State Expenditures* (Chicago: J. Sampson & Company, Printers and Binders, 1882), 73. See also Cunliffe.

108. A. L. Mills, Chief of the Division of Militia Affairs, to Adjutant General of Illinois, 2 February 1914, Document 43398, Box 189, RG 168.7, NARA.

109. Address of Lieut. J. H. Parker, *Souvenir of the Banquet*, 45.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. *Souvenir of the Banquet*, preface, 5. The quotations acknowledge the Rudyard Kipping poem “The White Man’s Burden,” written in 1899 as a response to the American takeover of the Philippines after the Spanish American War.

2. Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish American War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 133–36, argues that National Guard officers and their supporters in Congress were directly responsible for the large calls for volunteer troops—200,000 strong and to be recruited by the states— and that the army did not need and could not adequately provide for under their existing logistical practices. Millett and Maslowski, 289, repeat the same assertion.

3. Eleanor Hannah, “A Place in the Parade: Citizenship, Manhood, and African American Men in the Illinois National Guard, 1870–1917,” *Journal of Illinois History*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer 2002: 82–108.

4. Under the provisions of the Volunteer Law of April 22, 1898, Congress authorized 3,000 volunteers to be recruited, organized, and officered directly by the federal government (separately from the 120,000 men to be drawn from the states, via the state National Guards, into the United States Volunteers). The famous First United States Volunteer Cavalry, or the “Rough Riders,” were raised under provisions of this law. On May 10, when the war objectives changed again, Congress authorized another 10,000 federal volunteers as the United States Volunteer Infantry, under the direct control of the regular army—i.e., no recourse to state Governors or Congressmen. The federal volunteers were supposed to be raised from men theoretically “immune” to tropical disease, thus the nickname “Immunes.” The regiments were given recruiting areas largely in the South with this end in view. Four of the federal infantry regiments raised as part of the 10,000 federal volunteers were filled by African American men, officered largely by white regular army officers. The Ninth Infantry USV, or “Immunes,” were part of this group. See Cosmas, 133–36; Millett and Maslowski, ch. 9.

5. For general sources on the Spanish American War see Cosmas; G. J. A. O’Toole, *The Spanish War: An American Epic, 1898* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984); David F. Trask, *The War with Spain in 1898* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1981). For information relating to the regular army prior to the war see Abrahamson; Millett and Maslowski.

6. Linderman, *Mirror of War.*

7. Hoganson.

8. Millet and Maslowski, 290. In all, over 200,000 men volunteered to serve in the Spanish American War.

9. Paper read before Annual Association National Guard Missouri, Adjutant-General’s Office, Jan. 1, 1898. Brigadier-General Milton Moore, “The National Guard as Part of the Military Forces of the United States,” in *Proceedings, First, Fifth, and Sixth Conventions* (1898), 121. In possession of the NGAUS Library.

10. Millett and Maslowski, 280. Observers accepted, often grudgingly, the idea of state militias as they developed in the 1870s and 1880s in the position

of reserve army because they believed that it would be virtually impossible to significantly alter the status quo. Alterations in the reserve system were believed impossible because (1) the people of the United States would never accept a large standing army, (2) there were no serious military threats to the security of the national boundaries to worry the population and so Congress, (3) the public was totally uninterested in military matters, (4) any changes were perceived to be a threat to the power and authority of state governors and to certain prerogatives of the state governments, and finally (5) the growing political power of the activist officers in the emerging National Guards. For secondary commentary see Abrahamson; Coffman; Cosmas; O'Toole; Trask; Russell F. Weigley, *Towards and American Army: Military Thought from Washington to Marshall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962). See the following late nineteenth-century journal articles for views of the Guards: King, "The Military Necessities of the United States"; Michaelis, "The Military Necessities of the United States"; Price, "The Necessity for Closer Relations Between the Army and the People"; Sherman, "The Militia"; Wagner, "The Military Necessities of the United States, and the Best Provisions for Meeting Them"; Webb, "The Military Service Institution: What it is doing; What it may do." In particular, see also Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*, for a contemporary, and hostile, view of the guards from the professional officer ranks.

11. "Strength of the National Guard," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 January 1892.

12. See Charles H. Brown, *The Correspondent's War: Journalists in the Spanish-American War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967).

13. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*, 21–22. Message of John R. Tanner, Governor to the House of Representatives, Springfield, Feb. 17, 1898.

14. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*, 21.

15. See Brown.

16. *The Daily Inter-Ocean*, 18, 20 February 1898.

17. See Cosmas; O'Toole. The American report merely concluded that the *Maine* sank as a result of an external explosion. The Spanish report concluded that the *Maine* sank as the result of an internal explosion, a conclusion shared by U.S. naval damage-control experts under Admiral Rickover who reexamined all the available data in 1976 and concluded that the *Maine* sank as the result of a spontaneous combustion of some coal with particular impurities that was stored in lockers next to the boiler room, and once the fire burned down the wall between the storage chamber and the boiler, the steam engine exploded, sinking the ship.

18. Millett and Maslowski, 289.

19. Cosmas, particularly chs. 1, 3, 4. Cosmas offers some evidence of influential individual National Guardsmen on Capitol Hill in 1898, but he overstates the case for the "powerful National Guard lobby." He is, after all, referring to the same group who had been completely unable to secure any significant new legislation on their own behalf beyond a small increase in their federal budget in almost twenty years of agitation on the issue, and they got the increase in 1887—eleven years before the war. See Doubler, 113–15, and Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 91–93.

20. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 98–105.

21. “Telegram from the Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger to the Governor of Illinois, 25 April 1898,” *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 22.

22. Cosmas, 12–3, chs. 4, 5, 6; Trask, ch. 7.

23. O’Toole, 195. Seventy-seven percent of the volunteers were rejected on physical grounds, and 90 percent of those seeking commissions in the volunteer forces were rejected as well.

24. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 24.

25. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 32.

26. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 28.

27. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 25.

28. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 28. See also Cosmas and Trask for their discussions of the difficulties of supplying the troops in the first weeks of the war. The limited supplies on the market only exacerbated the problems because the Army itself was not in the habit of stockpiling even such less perishable items as tents, clothing, and munitions.

29. Troops were also being mustered for an expedition for the Philippines, but those troops were drawn from the western states and gathered in San Francisco.

30. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 27.

31. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 37.

32. *Illinois State Journal,* 15, 28, 29, July 1898.

33. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 38.

34. Bunzey; Cosmas, 230–36.

35. *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900,* 8–9.

36. *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900,* 4.

37. Cosmas, 251–52; Doubler, 131.

38. “1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, Morning Reports,” bound book, RG 94, National Archives.

39. Cosmas, 251.

40. Cosmas, 251–52.

41. “1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, Morning Reports,” bound book, RG 94, National Archives; and Thomas Miller Meldrum, *The Cuban Campaign of the First Infantry Illinois Volunteers, April 25–September 9 1898* (Chicago: T.M. Meldrum, 1899).

42. Kendrick to Scriven, Kendrick Collection, manuscripts division, CHS.

43. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 39–40; McCard, 87.

44. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 39; McCard, 87.

45. Cary T. Ray to Charles Belt, 17 November 1898, Memoirs, Folder 2, Ray Collection.

46. See Johnson for a state-by-state breakdown of African American troops in state militias and National Guards from 1870 through WWII.

47. “Negroes Wish to Go,” *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 22 May 1898, 2.

48. McCard, 83.

49. Goode, 65–69.

50. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 39.

51. Goode, 36–47; McCard, 83–85; *Biennial Report . . . 1897and 1898,* 39.

52. *Biennial Report . . . 1897and 1898,* 39.

53. McCard, 85.

54. "John C. Bruckner Is Striving to Get a Command," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 27 May 1898.

55. *Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1898.

56. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*, 39–40; McCard, 87.

57. "1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, Morning Reports."

58. Goode, 44–45. The editors of the *Illinois Record* protested this belief earlier, after the 10th Cavalry was ordered to Cuba, 9 April 1898.

59. According to the following: *Adjutant General's Office, Statistical Exhibit of Strength of Volunteer Forces Called into Service during the War with Spain, with Losses from All Causes* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899). Reproduced on the U.S. Army Center of Military History, Historical Resources Branch Web Page, http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/spanam/spanhtm.htm, and *Adjutant General's Office, Statistical Exhibit of Strength of Volunteer Forces Called Into Service During the War With Spain, with Losses From All Causes* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899). Reproduced on the U.S. Army Center of Military History, Historical Resources Branch Web Page, http://www.army.mil/CMH-PG/documents/spanam/ws-stat.htm, accessed on 3/21/05. Only sixteen men of the Eighth Illinois died of disease, fewer than any other Illinois regiment that saw service outside of the United States.

60. Gatewood, "An Experiment in Color," 307–8.

61. The *New York Times* carried a brief notice of adjustment problems for the Eighth in San Luis on August 20, but there were no later national reports of trouble for the Eighth.

62. McCard, 90–96; Goode, chs. 7, 8, 9.

63. McCard, 88–91.

64. Goode, 212–14.

65. McCard, 95. It was fairly common for some officers' wives to join their husbands' regiments during garrison duty in Cuba and Puerto Rico. For example, several wives of the senior officers of the 2nd Illinois USV Infantry spent time in Cuba. See H. W. Bolton, ed., *History of the Second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry from Organization to Muster-Out* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1899).

66. "Excerpt from a letter by Dr. Curtis, 1st Lt, 8th Ill. USV," reprinted in Goode, 233–34.

67. McCard, 91–92; *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain . . . from April 15, 1898, to July 30, 1902* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office 1902), 246.

68. McCard, 91–92.

69. McCard, 92.

70. Goode, 171. Goode includes a quote that the soldiers of the 8th believed to have been uttered by General Leonard Wood: "The soldiers of the Eighth were made up of the scums and slums of Chicago, or the state of Illinois." Unfortunately for the 8th in this case, Wood was successfully maneuvering to be made the governor-general of all of occupied Cuba. Goode responded to the insult with "They were the scums of Chicago because they had Negro officers, we infer. Many thanks to General Wood."

71. Goode, 238.

72. Goode, 238.

73. Goode, 238.

74. Goode, 237.

75. Goode, 278; McCard, 95.

76. McCard, 92, 95.

77. Bolton, 23.

78. Skinner, 286.

79. See the photographs reproduced in Meldrum, *The Cuban Campaign*.

80. John F. Kendrick to Margaret Scriven, 28 September 1958, John Kendrick Collection, Chicago Historical Society. Other memoirs of members of the First Regiment and their service in Cuba held at the Chicago Historical Society include those of Cary T. Ray, Horace Mellum, and Nicholas Budinger.

81. Address of Lieut. J. H. Parker, *Souvenir of the Banquet,* 45.

82. Skinner, 386

83. Bunzey, 37.

84. Bolton, 433.

85. Bunzey, 352.

86. Goode, 5.

87. McCard, 5.

88. McCard, 81.

89. *Souvenir of the Banquet,* 27.

90. In lieu of their first goal of obtaining a completely federalized reserve army, members of the regular army often proposed a system for reorganizing the National Guards to make them more efficient and useful by their standards. In the 1880s a favorite organizing strategy was to have one regiment per congressional district and to legislate a three-party payer system—federal, state, and local—to carry the significant cost increases that reformers felt would be necessary to properly outfit, supply, and train the new "reserves." For example, see "Comment by General Fry" in Sherman. Fry refused to accept the viability of the militias and reiterated a commitment to the establishment of an entirely federalized reserve under the authority of Congress to raise an army, and he rejected the notion that the militia could ever be a useful or efficient body of reserve troop training. See also Price and Wagner. National Guard leadership also advocated different missions for the militias. Guardsmen along the Eastern Seaboard tended to be content with the idea of the militias as coastal defense alone, whereas Guardsmen from the interior states, like Illinois, tended to advocate a much more aggressive role for the Guard at home and also abroad as a reserve army. See Derthick, chs. 1, 2. However, very few Guardsmen advocated a primary role for the Guards as state strike police.

91. Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*.

92. The federal appropriation for the militias doubled in 1887 from $200,000 to $400,000 as a response to National Guard Association (est. 1879) lobbying. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* ch. 3.

93. Upton. See also Magie, 73.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. "Report of C.C. Craig, Capt, Artillery Battalion, Btty B, ING," in *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*, 160.

2. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 January 1892.

3 See Montegomery; Schnierov et al., Introduction.

4. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 49. The ING intervened in fifteen strikes (nine in the coalfields) between 1878 and 1899, the Ohio National Guard in eight, and the New York National Guard in six; the Pennsylvania National Guard troops intervened in only four strikes after 1877.

5. See "J. H. Barkley, Colonel Commanding the Fifth Regiment, ING, to Brigadier General J.N. Reece, Commanding the Second Brigade, ING. Springfield, IL, 6 June 1883, " 1883, 1883 Strike File, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, J. H. Barkley, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives.

6. Brackett, William S., *The Rising Menace Against the Peace of American Society*, delivered December 8, 1892.

7. Brackett, 16.

8. Brackett, 19.

9. Smith, ch. 10.

10. *The Chicago Tribune*, 30 May 1883.

11. Bolton, 17.

12. Bolton, 19.

13. Cary T. Ray Papers, "Resume of Service" File 1, Collection of the Chicago Historical Society.

14. "Report of C.C. Craig," *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*, 157–60.

15. Ray Papers, "Resume of Service."

16. Bolton, 20.

17. Bunzey, 24.

18. Bunzey, 24

19. Ray Papers, "Resume of Service."

20. Caroline Waldron Merithew and James R. Barrett, "'We Are All Brothers in the Face of Starvation': Forging an Interethnic Working Class Movement in the 1894 Bituminous Coal Strike," *Mid-America* 83, no. 2 (2001): 121–54, 133. See also Montgomery, "Strikes in Nineteenth-Century America."

21. Merithew and Barrett, 138–39; "Occasions on which the Organized Militia has been called out in aid of Civil Authorities," Report Prepared by the Bureau of National Guards for the War 1908, Document #3135, Box 57, Bureau of Militia Affairs, RG 168.7, NARA.

22. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, XIV–XXVIII.

23. Merithew and Barrett, 142.

24. Merithew and Barrett, 148.

25. "Occasions on which the Organized Militia has been called out in aid of Civil Authorities," 1908.

26. Schneirov et al., 9.

27. For a basic overview of the issues and the events of the strike intervention in Chicago, see the following in *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894:* Report of the Adjutant General, XIV–XXVIII; Altgeld's Protests and the

President's Replies, XL–XLIV; Reports by various officers about the Chicago strike intervention, 103–38. For a detailed analysis of the U.S. Army involvement see Jerry M. Cooper, *The Army and Civil Disorder: Federal Military Intervention in Labor Disputes, 1872–1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Robert W. Coakley, "The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders," ed. D. F. Trask, *Army Historical Series* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988); Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor;* Schneirov et al.

28. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, XL–XLIV. See also Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard;* Cooper, *The Army and Civil Disorder;* Coakley; and Schneirov et al.

29. Ray Papers, "Resume of Service."

30. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, XV–XVI.

31. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, XVI.

32. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, XVII. "Moving the Trains" generally consisted of guarding, with however many men were necessary, each train as it left the train yards and proceeded out of town far enough to pick up speed sufficient to prevent any sensible person or persons from personally blocking the tracks. "Guarding" was when the engine and cars were surrounded by ING troops facing outward toward the crowds. The guards moved with the train, keeping it surrounded and forcing individuals who might be blocking the tracks to clear them until open track was reached. In his article "'Honest Men and Law-Abiding Citizens': The 1894 Railroad Strike in Decatur," Sampson claims that Altgeld "over-reacted" to the strike and that militia intervention in Decatur was not necessary.

33. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 100. Report of Frank P. Wells, Lt. Col. 5th Inf, Decatur, July 30, 1894.

34. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 92–98. Report of J.S. Culver, Colonel 5th Inf, Springfield, October 5, 1894.

35. Montgomery; Schneirov et al.

36. See "Governor Altgeld's Protests Against the use of Federal Troops in Illinois During the Late Strikes and the President's Replies," in *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, XL–XLIV.

37. Robert D. Sampson, "'Honest Men and Law-Abiding Citizens': The 1894 Railroad Strike in Decatur," *Illinois Historical Journal* 1992 85(2): 74–88.

38. Merithew and Barrett, 142.

39. Merithew and Barrett, 142; Smith; Ray Papers, "Resume of Service."

40. "Report of Adjutant General H. Hilliard to Governor Cullom, 9/30/1878, in *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 1.

41. "Report of Adjutant General Thomas Scott to Governor Denenn, 10/1/1906," *Biennial Report . . . 1903 and 1904*.

42. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, ch. 3.

43. This observation comes from reading the coverage of several strikes in *The Chicago Tribune* and the *Illinois State Journal*, including editorials, front page articles, wire service notes, and back page follow-up pieces. See, for example, *The Chicago Tribune*, frequent coverage daily between 28 May–6 June, 1883, on Collinsville and Belleville; and 30 September–20 October, 1898, on Virden and Pana.

44. Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, 8.

45. "Governor Hamilton, Springfield to Fred Ropiequet, Sheriff, Belleville, Illinois, 27 May 1883," 1883, Strike File 1883, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, Governor Hamilton, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives.

46. "Governor Hamilton, Springfield to E. J. Crandall, Collinsville, Illinois 26 May 1883," 1883, Strike File 1883, Governor Hamilton's Correspondence, Governor Hamilton, RG 100.19, Illinois State Archives. The Governor sent this message via telegraph, collect.

47. "Report of Adjutant General Alfred Orendorff to Governor Altgeld, October 1, 1894," in *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, VII–VIII.

48. "Report of Adjutant General Alfred Orendorff to Governor Altgeld, October 1, 1894," in *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, VIII.

49. Notwithstanding General Order No. 8, the commander of the strike intervention in La Salle encamped his men on mine-owned property, though apparently well away from the actual mine and mine buildings. See "Report of Col. Fred Bennitt, 3rd Inf, ING to Adjutant General Orendorff, 1 June 1894," *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 42; *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*, 154–75.

50. *Illinois State Journal*, 30 September 1898.

51. "L.E. Bennitt, Col. 4th Inf, ING to Brig. Gen'l J. N. Reece, Carterville, 11 July 1899," *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*.

52. Josiah Fletcher, "Letter to the Editor II; The Army and the People," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States (JMSI)* 7, no. 25 (1886): 103; William R. King, "The Military Necessities of the United States, and the Best Provisions for Meeting Them *JMSI* 5, no. 20 (1884): 355–91; Otho E. Michaelis, "The Military Necessities of the United States, and the Best Provisions for Meeting Them," *JMSI* 5, no. 24 (1885): 272–91; General E. L. Molineux, "Riots in Cities and their Suppression," *JMSI* 4, no. 16 (1883): 335–70; Elwell S. Otis, "The Army in Connection with the Labor Riots of 1877," *JMSI* 5, no. 24 (1885): 292–323; George R. Price, "The Necessity for Closer Relations Between the Army and the People, and the Best Method to Accomplish the Result," *JMSI* 6, no. 24 (1885): 303–30; General William T. Sherman, "The Militia," *JMSI* 6, no. 21 (1885): 1–26; Arthur L. Wagner, "The Military Necessities of the United States, and the Best Provisions for Meeting Them," *JMSI* 5, no. 24 (1884): 237–71; Alexander S. Webb, "The Military Service Institution: What it is doing; What it may do; Its relations to the National Guard," *JMSI* 5, no. 27 (1884): 1–28; R. W. Young, "Legal and Tactical Considerations Affecting the Employment of the military in the Suppression of Mobs; Chapter Three. Martial law," *JMSI* 9, no. 33 (1888): 95–116

53. *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 103–38; *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*, 154–75. Merithew and Barrett, 142; Ray Papers, "Resume of Service."

54. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898; Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*.

55. "Report of J.S. Culver, Colonel 5th Inf, ING to Adjutant General Orendorff, 5 October 1894," in *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 95.

56. Strikers and bystanders were killed and wounded by ING rifle fire in 1883 (one killed and one wounded) and 1894 (at least six killed and many

more wounded). *Biennial Report . . . 1883 and 1884*; *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 95.

57. "Report of A. Ducat, Major General, Commanding ING," in *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*.

58. *Chicago Tribune*, 30 May 1883.

59. *Biennial Report . . . 1883 and 1884*; *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 95.

60. *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*, 154–75; *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*, 103–36.

61. *Illinois State Journal*, 2 October 1898.

62. *Illinois State Journal*, 2 July 1898, 17 July 1898.

63. *Illinois State Journal*, 27 July 1898.

64. *Illinois State Journal*, 13, 14, 15, August 1898.

65. *Illinois State Journal*, 15 September 1898.

66. *Illinois State Journal*, 18 September 1898.

67. *Illinois State Journal*, 29, 30 September, 1 October 1898.

68. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*, 41–42; Thomas Scott, Illinois Adjutant General to Chief of Division of Militia Affairs, January 25, 1909, NARA, RG 168.7, Box 57, Document 4369-A.

69. *Illinois State Journal*, 8 October 1898; Pana/Virden strike photographs, ALPML; *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*.

70. *Illinois State Journal*, 23 September 1898.

71. For studies of the role of African American strikebreakers and the reactions to them, see Ronald L. Lewis, "Job control and Race Relations in the Coal Fields, 1870–1920," *The Journal of Ethnic History* 12, no. 4: 35–64; Mark A. Lause, "'The Cruel Striker War' Rail Labor & the Broken Symmetry of Galesburg Civic Culture 1877–1888," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 91, no. 3 (1998): 81–112; and Merithew and Barrett, 142–52.

72. *Illinois State Journal*, 23, 24, 26, 27 September 1898.

73. *Illinois State Journal*, 10 October 1898.

74. "Report of C.C. Craig, Capt, Artillery Battalion, Btty B, ING," in *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*, 157–60. See also Lewis, "Job Control and Race Relations."

75. "C.C. Craig, Capt. Artillery Btty B, ING to AG Reece, Galesburg, 9 November 1898," in *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*, 160.

76. *The Chicago Tribune*, 13 October 1898.

77. *The Chicago Tribune*, 15 October 1898; see also *The Chicago Tribune*, 26 October 1898.

78. *The Chicago Tribune*, 13 October 1898.

79. Lewis, "Job Control and Race Relations."

80. *The Chicago Tribune*, 15 October 1898; see also *The Chicago Tribune*, 26 October 1898.

81. *Illinois State Journal*, 24, 28, 30 November 1904.

82. *Illinois State Journal*, 3 December 1904.

83. *Illinois State Journal*, 21 December 1904.

84. *Biennial Report . . . 1905 and 1906*, 5.

85. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*, 20–33.

86. Schneirov et al., 1–14.

87. *The Chicago Tribune*, 15 October 1898; see also *The Chicago Tribune*, 26 October 1898.

88. The mine operators did so anyway and were promptly rewarded with the riots that all had predicted. When the militia was sent to intervene, they pointedly refused to guard African American strikebreakers or arrest strikers. *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*, 154–75. *Illinois State Journal*, 10 October, 1898.

89. *Illinois State Journal*, 2 October 1898.

90. Eric Arnesen, "Specter of the Black Strikebreaker: Race, Employment, and Labor Activism in the Industrial Era," *Labor History* 44, no. 3 (2003): 319–35.

91. *Illinois State Journal*, 8 October 1898.

92. This practice changed over time, and in 1898 and 1899 Illinois militia spent months occupying strike-torn regions. See appendix H.

93. See Lause, "Cruel Striker War."

94. *Illinois State Journal*, 15 September 1898, 1 December 1904.

95. *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*, 154–75.

96. *Illinois State Journal*, 2 October 1898.

97. *Illinois State Journal*, 2, 4 October 1898.

98. *Illinois State Journal*, 4 October 1898.

99. *Illinois State Journal*, 3 December 1904.

100. Anthony Roland DeStefanis, *Guarding capital: Soldier Strikebreakers on the long road to the Ludlow Massacre*, PhD Dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 2004.

101. Cosmas, Millett, and Maslowski.

102. See sections of the AGs' introductory reports titled "In Aid of the Civil Authorities," in *Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894*; and *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*. According to Merithew and Barrett, coal strikes did get more violent beginning in 1894.

103. See the several reports of strike duty beginning on page 154 in *Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890*.

104. "Report of Adjutant General J. N. Reece to the Governor, Oct. 1, 1900," in *Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900*, 7. AG Reece went on to note that the militia accounts were overdrawn by $128,000 because of strike service in 1898 and 1899.

105. Alfred Orrendorf to T.B. Needles, Chairman House Committee Appropriations, 14 February 1895, copy in Governor's Correspondence, Illinois State Archives.

106. See Barkley to Reece, 6 June 1883, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 29 May 1883. See also Eugene E. Leach, "Literature of Riot Duty."

Notes to Chapter 7

1. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Interstate National Guard Association*, 163–64.

2. This process is very similar to the processes of state building described in Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social*

Policy in the United States (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

3. Collins, 17.

4. Collins, 18.

5. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 30.

6. Collins, 46–57; Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 59, suggests that this bill represented a "stunning triumph of Chicago's top citizens in creating new state administrative apparatus and centralizing political power." This view is quite Chicago-centric and overlooks how relatively little Ducat received in light of what he requested.

7. Collins, 46–47, Circular of Oct., 15, 1876 reprinted in full; 38–47 for information on the proposed bill.

8. Collins, 38–39.

9. Collins, 39–40.

10. "State Affairs," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 30 March 1877.

11. Collins, 46–57.

12. Collins, 46–57.

13. *Revised Statutes. Illinois 1874* (Springfield: Hurd, 1874), 1007.

14. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 15–17.

15. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878*, 10.

16. Collins, 57.

17. *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882*, 5–7. Then–Adjutant General I. H. Elliot used his opening statement in the Biennial Report to explain that this appropriation (The Military Code of Illinois, Article 10, provided for a 0.01 mil property tax to supply militia funds—see *Revised Statutes. Illinois, 1882*) was at least $20,000 short of meeting the obligations imposed by the 1879 Military Code. *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888*, 13.

18. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896*, 7–8.

19. *Biennial Report . . . 1911 and 1912*, 144. And this was long after the federal outlay for the National Guards had moved in the millions annually.

20. See Adjutant General's reports at the front of each of the biennial reports issued between 1874 and 1912.

21. For more on late-nineteenth-century attitudes against state government spending, see Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 42–43; Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 329–35.

22. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 6 June 1883, 13 March 1887.

23. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 3 July 1889.

24. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 7.

25. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876*, 7.

26. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics*, 59. Schneirov argues that the "Businessmen's Militia"—his name for the First Illinois—was formed solely in response to these events. Schneirov ignores militia companies elsewhere in the city and around the state and so does not read the First Illinois as part of a larger militia phenomenon. In 1874 Chicago was home to another regiment's worth of companies—most were gathered together the following year into the Second Regiment—and to scattered and small African American companies as well. There were also a steadily growing number of companies scattered throughout the state. See appendix J.

27. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876,* 7.

28. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876,* 8.

29. *Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876,* 8–9. There was great controversy at the time over the role that Hilliard would play in pushing for the 1879 legislation, with some observers feeling that he did all but scuttle the bill over a disagreement about the size and type of responsibilities that would be given the Adjutant General. See Collins.

30. *Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878,* 1–12. Hilliard did not get anywhere near so princely a sum as $200,000 annually, but he did get an annual appropriation in the next militia act.

31. *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882,* 4–5.

32. *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882,* 5. Elliot's opening line of his argument is almost as interesting: "It is not my province to discuss in this report the necessity of what is known as a National Guard in the United States, but . . ."; he then goes on to do a bit of that anyway, which is why his other sentence is more interesting.

33. *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882,* 5–6.

34. *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882,* 3.

35. *Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882,* 3.

36. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896,* 3–18.

37. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 15.

38. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 15.

39. In 1908 the Adjutant General of Illinois estimated that over the preceding five years the ING lost on average 20 percent of its almost 6,000 strong membership annually. That meant that every year ING officers needed to recruit on average 1,200 new members. Thomas W. Scott, Adjutant General of Illinois to Lieutenant Colonel E. M. Weaver, Chief, Division of Militia Affairs, Washington DC, April 1, 1908, Record Group 168.7, Box 45, #111 April 3, 1908, Filled with #91, National Archives and Records Administration.

40. See Kutlowski and Kutlowski, 5–38, for a discussion of militia service records and elective offices. The Kutlowskis suggest that among other factors the impression of military service conferred on retired militia officers who carried their rank with them out of the National Guard was a significant contribution to men attempting to climb the ladder of political influence. See also Cunliffe; Douglass; Ryan; Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics;* Hannah, "A Place in the Parade," 82–108.

41. Schneirov, *Labor and Urban Politics;* Schneirov et al.

42. *Journal of the Senate, 1879,* 1003–4.

43. For information on Torrence, see *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 29 January 1882; 31 January 1882.

44. *Chicago Inter Ocean,* 28 March 1893.

45. *The Chicago Tribune,* 15 September 1895.

46. Roger D. Bridges, "Equality Deferred: Civil Rights for Illinois Blacks, 1865–1885." Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society 1981 74(2): 82–108.

47. Willard Gatewood Jr., "An Experiment in Color. The Eighth Illinois Volunteers, 1898–1899," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 1972 65(3): 293–312.

48. "General Orders No. 22, November 9, 1897," in *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 755–62; Johnson, 56–57. *Illinois Record,* 13 November 1897, 19 March 1898.

49. "General Orders No. 22," in *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898,* 755–62. *The Illinois Record,* 13 November 1897, 19 March 1898. See Also Gatewood, "An Experiment in Color."

50. Gatewood, "An Experiment in Color," 296–98.

51. "Buckner on the Carpet," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 27 July 1897.

52. *Illinois Record,* 19 March 1898.

53. *Illinois Record,* 19 March 1898, 9 July 1898. Goode, 36–47.

54. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 27 May 1898.

55. All of the relevant correspondence is reprinted in Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire"* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1971) 179–235. It is worth noting that skin color played at least a part in some of the controversy as John Marshall was very light-skinned and had blue eyes, fair enough some said to pass for white if he wanted to. The complaints of the men in Cuba focused on food, being kept in camp, the heat, tropical illnesses, and Marshall's extremely exacting standards for behavior, which resulted in some 200 courts-martial for disciplinary infractions while the unit was stationed in San Luis.

56. *Illinois Record* 26 November 1898, 4 February 1899.

57. Gatewood, "An Experiment in Color," 312. In 1913 Marshall was charged with filing a time card for his game warden duties the same week he also filed to receive pay for attending ING summer camp, and he had to resign from the Eighth in some disgrace.

58. See, for example, Captain Lewis D. Greene to The Chief, Division of Militia Affairs, War Department, Washington, DC, 10 September 1909, NARA RG 168.7 Box 78 #8237-B filed with #8071, BR 1906, Inspection reports, BR 1908 inspection reports, Report of 12 Sept 1910, NARA RG 168.7 box 103 #14286-D.

59. *Biennial Report . . . 1907 and 1908,* 263–93. See also Roberta Senechal, *The Sociogenesis of a Race Riot. Springfield, Illinois, in 1908* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

60. *Biennial Report . . . 1907 and 1908,* 270.

61. "Confidential sheet to accompany Field Inspection Report of 8th Illinois Infantry, in camp at Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois, Aug. 31st to Sept. 6th, 1913." RG 168.7 Box 189, #43389, filed with #41592, National Records Administration, Washington, DC.

62. "Confidential sheet to accompany Field Inspection Report of 8th Illinois Infantry, in camp at Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois, Aug. 31st to Sept. 6th, 1913." RG 168.7 Box 189, #43389, filed with #41592, National Records Administration, Washington, DC.

63. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 8 February 1879; Gatewood, "An Experiment in Color."

64. See *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 1 August 1881, for a call for ING officers to create just such a body to see to their concerns.

65. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 7 December 1887.

66. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 8 December 1887. The amendments that year

were bent toward increasing the abilities of officers to enforce discipline among the enlisted personnel.

67. Editorial, *The National Guardsman* Vol. 6, No. 2, June 1893, 1.

68. The laws also included a clause that prohibited any but recognized militia companies from parading with weapons unless they had a special license from the Governor. Militia Law of 1879 in *Revised Statues. Illinois 1882.*

69. *Illinois Statutes.* The Militia Law was rewritten or substantially amended in 1874, 1876, 1879, 1885, 1897, 1899, and 1903. See the General Orders published in the complete run of the biennial reports.

70. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886;* Illinois' Writers Project, "Camp Lincoln."

71. See General Orders and Circulars in *Biennial Report . . . 1883 and 1884; Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886.*

72. *Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886*, 4; *Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888*, 4.

73. See Collins; Turner; Headenburg; *Fourth Annual Report; Biennial Report . . . 1873 and 1874; Biennial Report . . . 1875 and 1876; Biennial Report . . . 1877 and 1878; Biennial Report . . . 1879 and 1880; Biennial Report . . . 1881 and 1882; Biennial Report . . . 1883 and 1884; Biennial Report . . . 1885 and 1886; Biennial Report . . . 1887 and 1888; Biennial Report . . . 1889 and 1890; Biennial Report . . . 1891 and 1892; Biennial Report . . . 1893 and 1894; Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896; Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898; Biennial Report . . . 1899 and 1900; Biennial Report . . . 1901 and 1902; Biennial Report . . . 1903 and 1904; Biennial Report . . . 1905 and 1906; Biennial Report . . . 1907 and 1908; Biennial Report . . . 1909 and 1910; Biennial Report . . . 1911 and 1912.* See also Roy Turnbaugh, "Ethnicity, Civic Pride, and Commitment: The Evolution of the Chicago Militia," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 72, no. 2 (1979): 111–27.

74. Turner, Collins, Headenburg, Chamberlin, Goode, Minute Book Company "I." Turner, Headenburg, Goode, and Chamberlin are all examples of fund-raising materials. See also Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard*, 60.

75. Robert M. Fogelson, *America's Armories: Architecture, Society, and Public Order* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

76. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896*, 8. Some regiments owned or leased their own specialized armories, but these were privately constructed.

77. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896*, 8–9.

78. *Biennial Report . . . 1897 and 1898*, 19.

79. *Biennial Report . . . 1905 and 1906*, 6.

80. *Biennial Report . . . 1905 and 1906*, 5–6. Scott was unfortunately prescient. The state arsenal building burned down completely in the early 1930s.

81. *Biennial Report . . . 1907 and 1908*, 9.

82. *Biennial Report . . . 1907 and 1908*, 9.

83. Collection G1986:097, Prints and Photographs Division, Chicago Historical Society. The report emphasizes the terrible conditions the cavalry put up with. The armory was really just the offices in front of and over an old stable complex, with ladder stairs between levels, low Jerry-rigged hallways hung above the riding arena to provide access to company quarters in an old hay loft and storage areas, and poor stable conditions for the horses themselves—in short a giant fire-trap.

84. *Biennial Report . . . 1910 and 1911*, 3.

85. "*The Chicago Defender*, 17 October 1914," File 6, Notes . . . 1914–1915, Box 20, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library, Carter Woodson Branch. There was some disgruntlement in the black community over the eight-month lag between promised completion and actual opening of the new armory.

86. *Biennial Report . . . 1895 and 1896*, 8.

87. Bunzey, 13.

88. Headenburg, 31.

89. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22 May, 1881.

90. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 April 1881.

91. Turner, 23–24. There is an extensive biographical essay on a major donor, Mr. Marshall Field, in the souvenir, who purchased the land and then gave the First Regiment a very generous 99-year lease on the property and the building they erected on it.

92. *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 25 April 1893

93. *Biennial Report . . . 1901 and 1902*, 17–19. See also Turner.

94. Bunzey, 355.

95. Bunzey 355–56.

96. *Biennial Report . . . 1901 and 1902*, 17.

97. Fogelson.

98. Fogelson, ch. 5.

99. *Historical and Pictorial Review—1940. National Guard and Naval Militia, State of Illinois* (Baton Rouge, LA: Army and Navy Publishing Company, Inc. 1940). Taken from typewritten copy held in the records of the Illinois National Guard files.

100. 8th Regiment Armory, Douglass Community Area, 1915, DN-0064686, Chicago Historical Society, Prints and Photographs Division.

101. Millett and Maslowski, ch 5.

102. "Springfield Girls Guests at Camp Lincoln in 1907"; "Mansion Tallyho Party Bound for Camp Lincoln," Camp Lincoln Vertical File, Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library, Springfield, Illinois.

103. "The Volunteers of America. Proceedings of the Convention of National Guards, St. Louis, October 1, 1879," in *The Volunteers of America. Proceedings of the Convention of National Guards, St. Louis, October 1, 1879*,1–2; *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the National Guard Association of the United States, held at Philadelphia, March 7 and 8, 1881*. Even though the printed title reads "Third Annual Convention," the opening remarks of General Wingate of New York read, "I have much pleasure in informing you that since the last convention of this association met in St. Louis in, in October, 1879 . . . ," 3.

104. *The Volunteers of America*. The proposed militia bill indicates a close relationship with the regular army via regulation and boards of inspection and training made up of representatives of both the National Guards and the regular army. This proposed bill also mandated an organizational plan that assigned to each congressional representative a minimum of 700 uniformed militia as the basis for receiving federal aid. Seven hundred men would be either a minimum strength regiment or a maximum strength battalion organization.

105. *The Volunteers of America,* 1–2.

106. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention,* 14.

107. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention,* 24–26.

108. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention,* 3–7.

109. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention,* 5.

110. *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention. Interstate National Guard Association. Held at Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, December 7–8, 1897.* Initially there was much debate over how much to ask for—$1 million, $2 million, $5 million—but the convention members settled on $1 million as the most feasible project.

111. *Proceedings 1897,* 10. Derthick comments on the "vague" notions that INGA and the NGAUS held about their goals and their future, but I think these statements, twenty years apart, are far more notable for their singleness of purpose and the clarity, if not the feasibility, of the vision.

112. *The Volunteers of America,* 1–3.

113. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Interstate National Guard Association of the United States, held on Tuesday and Wednesday, Jan. 23–24, 1900, in the House of Representative, at Indianapolis, Ind. Gen. J. N. Reece, of Illinois, presiding; Col. C.E. Bleyer, of Illinois, Secretary* (Indianapolis, IN: 1900), 164.

114. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Interstate National Guard Association,* 163–64.

115. *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Interstate National Guard Association of the United States, held at Washington D.C., January 20, 21, 22, 1902,* 209–10.

116. For discussions of the Federalization, or Nationalization, of the Guard over the first quarter of the twentieth century see Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* chs. 5, 6; Derthick; Doubler; Hill; Mahon; Riker.

117. For extended analysis of these bills see Louis Cantor, "Elihu Root and the National Guard: Friend or Foe?," *Military Affairs* 33 (1969): 361–73; Elbridge Colby, "Elihu Root and the National Guard," *Military Affairs* 23 (1959): 28–34; Russell F. Weigley, "The Elihu Root Reforms and the Progressive Era," in *Command and Commanders in Modern Warfare,* ed. William Geffen (Washington, DC: Office of Air Force History, 1971), 11–27. See also Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* Riker, Mahon, Derthick, and Hill.

118. Cooper, chs. 5, 6; *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Interstate National Guard Association,* 163–64; *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Interstate National Guard Association of the United States, held at Washington D.C., January 20, 21, 22, 1902* (Washington, DC: 1902), 209–10.

119. See Proceedings INGA for 1897, 1898, 1900.

120. Cooper, *Rise of the National Guard,* 111–27.

121. "Memories," Folder 2, Ray Collection.

122. A. L. Mills, Chief of the Division of Militia Affairs, to Adjutant General of Illinois, 2 February 1914, Document 43398, Box 189, RG 168.7, NARA.

123. *American Military History* (U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1988), 354–57.

124. See front page editorial cartoon in the *Illinois Cavalryman*, 5 August 1916. The cartoon features a wounded soldier from the fighting in Europe, front and center, and on the distant edge of the picture is a small line of tents marked “Mexican Border.”

125. *Illinois Cavalryman*, 12 August 1916.

126. See complete run (twelve issues) of the *Illinois Cavalryman*.

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