

A Brief History of the National Guard and Reserves

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Many of the issues the newly-created Commission on the National Guard and Reserves will address are not new. For the Guard and Reserves, questions concerning the correct balance of control between federal and state authorities, funding issues, roles and missions, and preparedness have long been discussed and debated. The following brief history is intended to provide background on the issues to be examined.

Colonial America

In the early 17th century, English colonists left their homeland for the New World. Their reasons for taking this dangerous voyage were as varied as the colonists themselves. Some came in search of religious freedom, some in hopes of finding great wealth, and some were lured by the vast tracts of available land. Whatever the motivation, colonies were established up and down the eastern coast of America.

The National Guard dates its inception back to the earliest days of the American colonies. The Army National Guard gives 1637 as its birth date, coinciding with the colonist's first major battle, the Pequot War. Almost immediately after the first ships arrived on these shores, militias were created to protect the colonists from the unknown threat of the Native Americans. Eventually, each of the 13 colonies, with the exception of Pennsylvania, created its own militia. These were "enrolled" militia organizations, mandatory for all men unless absolved by an approved means.¹

Battling against the Native Americans, the Spanish and, eventually, the French, the colonial militias continued to evolve in order to meet the changing threat. The British soldiers, who relied on the local militias when fighting in the French and Indian War, did not view them with respect. Seen as a ragtag outfit of misfits, the militias were used by the British for menial tasks and the fighting was left to those in uniform.² A few of the militia units proved they could be a capable foe, as the British would learn later during the War for Independence.

¹ Michael Doubler, *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War -- I am the Guard: A History of the Army National Guard, 1636-2000*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 2003, p. 27-30, 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34-35.

American Revolution

In 1764, with the passage of the Sugar Act, discontent with British rule and taxation of the American colonies grew. As relations deteriorated, war became inevitable. The militia was called upon to defend the colonies against the British military threat. A group known as the Minutemen, drawn from the ranks of the Massachusetts enrolled militia, was prepared to face the British onslaught – literally within minutes. This concept, first introduced a century earlier, achieved great success. Though the Minutemen were “chosen” – essentially drafted – the fervor to fight the British ensured no shortages of willing men.³

Seafaring colonists also took part in actions against the British. Fishermen, using their own vessels, attacked a British ship in June 1775. These citizens played an important role in minimizing British naval success, and their actions are considered by the Navy to be the unofficial beginning of the Naval Reserves.⁴

With the outbreak of hostilities almost a year earlier at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, the Second Continental Congress, which convened in May 1775, decided a “regular” army would be needed to defeat the British. On June 14, 1775, they voted to raise 10 companies, thereby forming the Continental Army. George Washington was named the first Commander in Chief. On October 13, 1775, this same body voted to outfit two naval vessels and, in so doing, gave birth to the U.S. Navy. Shortly thereafter, on November 10, 1775, Congress called for the raising of two battalions of Marines to be the landing force of the Navy.⁵

The citizen soldiers and sailors, who had been responsible for the security of colonial America, were still utilized to augment these newly created “regulars” and participated in many of the key battles. The British continued to hold to their belief that

³ Ibid., p. 26, 36.

⁴ Ensign Hill Goodspeed, “Navy Reserve History,” 4 March 2005, <<http://navyreserve.navy.mil/Public/HQ/WelcomeAboard/MissionandHistory>> (16 August 2005).

⁵ “Brief History of the United States Marine Corps,” *Customs and Tradition*, January 2002, <http://hqinet001.hqmc.usmc.mil/HD/Historical/Customes_Traditions/Brief_History_USMC.htm> (5 September 2005), “July 14: The Birthday of the U.S. Army,” 3 October 2003, <<http://www.army.mil/cmhp/faq/birth.htm>> (5 September 2005), and “The Birth of the United States Navy,” *Frequently Asked Questions*, 4 October 2000, <<http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq31-1.htm>> (5 September 2005).

the colonial militias were shoddy. Despite the stigma which the British attached to them, the militias supported the Continental Army in its defeat of the British, which paved the way for the birth of the new nation.

The New Nation

In Congress, as arguments over the role of a land force militia raged on, the nation was dividing into two groups: those who favored strong federal government, and those who favored strong state governments. In Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, the “Militia Clauses” detailed the responsibilities for both federal and state governments as they related to the militia. It also divided and balanced the power of the President and Congress in matters pertaining to war and the raising of an army. For example, Congress could call up the militia, but the President would then act as Commander in Chief.⁶

The infant United States was unable to maintain a Navy in the post-war years, which forced the citizen sailors or early reservists to man ships and fight off threats on the high seas. Additionally, states began to organize naval militias that would eventually provide the U.S. Navy with a Reserve force.⁷

Congress, recognizing the continuing naval threat, created the Revenue Marine, the precursor to the United States Coast Guard. With 10 ships, the Revenue Marine was responsible for the protection of U.S. interests on the high seas, including the enforcement of trade laws and the prevention of smuggling and piracy. The United States Coast Guard Reserve would not be created until just before World War II.⁸

In direct response to Secretary of War Henry Knox's call for reform of the militia, Congress enacted the Militia Act of 1792.⁹ This law was in place for 111 years and

⁶ Doubler, p. 66, 82, and “Constitutional Charter of the Guard,” <<http://www.army.mil/history/constitution>> (2 August 2005).

⁷ “History of the New York Naval Militia,” 22 November 2004, <<http://www.dmna.state.ny.us/nynm/history.html>> (17 August 05).

⁸ “U.S. Coast Guard Historians Office,” <<http://www.uscg.mil/hq/g-cp/history/collect.html>> (16 August 2005).

⁹ Doubler, p. 67. Secretary Knox proposed a plan to gain tighter control of the militia and provided for better equipment and training. He required the militia, which was grouped by age, to attend training bi-annually. Additionally, there would be a group kept in reserve to be called out only in time of national

helped define the relationship between the federal government and the militia. It required “all free, able-bodied men ages of 18-45 to serve in the enrolled militia,” and to provide personal equipment as well.¹⁰ The states were given the responsibility of training, manning, and equipping the militia. It also created in each state an Adjutant General – now called the TAG, or The Adjutant General – who took orders from the governor and was responsible for reporting on topics such as unit strength and equipment issues.

That same month, the Calling Forth Act was passed. It divided the power to call up the militia among the President of the United States, governors, and Congress. These authorities had not been clarified in the Militia Act of 1792.¹¹

Throughout the end of the 18th century and into the 19th, the state militias were called upon many times to deal with growing hostilities between the colonists and Native Americans (such as the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1792) as well as insurrections (such as the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794). When Thomas Jefferson was elected President, he brought with him a staunch belief in states’ rights, which led to a state-centric policy heavily reliant on the militia. Jefferson was a strong proponent of militia reforms and pushed for them throughout his presidency.

War of 1812

Harassment on the high seas involving the seizure of vessels and cargo and the impressments of American sailors into the British Navy pushed the Americans closer to another war with England. When the *USS Chesapeake* was attacked and her crews impressed into British service, Americans were outraged and began calling for action. This attack, coupled with continuing border issues with Canada and failed diplomatic solutions, moved the U.S. to declare war on England in the summer of 1812.¹²

crisis.

¹⁰Doubler, p. 68-69, and “Constitutional Charter of the Guard,” <<http://www.arng.army.mil/history/constitution>> (2 August 2005).

¹¹ Daniel Gladman, *Total Force Policy and the Fighter Force*, Air University Press, Alabama, 1995, p. 3.

¹² “War of 1812,” *American Military History*, Chief of Military History, USA, 27 April 2001, <<http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/amh/amh-06.htm>> (13 September 2005), and “War of 1812,” *Frequently Asked Questions*, 15 July 1996, <<http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/stream/faq45-5.htm>> (13 September 2005).

Because the New England economy relied on trade with England, many of the governors opposed the war. In protest, some of them refused to send their militia to support the President's declaration of war. Other governors refused to allow their troops to cross the Canadian border, thereby crippling the military commander's ability to act decisively.¹³

The War of 1812 provided the justification needed to rebuild the Navy. It also provided the militias additional funding and training. Shortfalls in the capabilities of the militias during the war fueled discussions regarding state versus federal responsibilities for defense.¹⁴ The War of 1812 proved that, with the limited size of the nation's military, reliance on citizen soldiers and sailors was vital. Even the Navy "reservists" were involved in both offensive and defensive operations.¹⁵

By 1819, these problems forced Secretary of War John C. Calhoun to propose sweeping changes to the Regular Army and militia organizations. Calhoun felt the militias were too heavily relied upon considering their shortfalls. Congress disagreed with him; it responded by making deep cuts in the Regular Army.¹⁶ The issue was raised again in 1826 by Secretary of War James Barbour who called for a review of the militias; the "Barbour Board's" recommendations were never acted upon. Another reform proposed in 1840 would have required the militias to do annual training for longer periods each year; it was also rejected by Congress. Deemed unreasonable due to cost constraints and lack of federal support, the enrolled militias slowly began to die out.¹⁷ As they faded away, they were replaced by volunteer militia organizations.

Volunteer militias were not new. In fact, there were 19 volunteer militia organizations prior to 1792 (with service continuing until 1903). A nation changed by the Industrial Revolution, a flood of immigrants, and urban population growth produced a fertile environment for these volunteer militias. These organizations prepared for the eventuality of being called to fight with regular training sessions that focused on tactics,

¹³ Doubler, p. 79, 82, and Gladman, p. 3.

¹⁴ Doubler, p. 79.

¹⁵ Ensign Hill Goodspeed, "Navy Reserve History," 4 March 2005, <<http://navyreserve.navy.mil/Public/HQ/WelcomeAboard/MissionandHistory>> (16 August 2005).

¹⁶ Doubler, p. 83.

¹⁷ Ibid., 84-85.

physical training, professional development, and marksmanship. This training was supplemented with “real world” experience as they were utilized as policing forces in support of the existing law enforcement entities. Militia units provided support in insurrections such as the Nat Turner Revolt in 1831.¹⁸ (During the Black Hawk War, Abraham Lincoln fought with the Illinois Militia.¹⁹)

The first use of the title “National Guard” occurred during this turbulent period for the state militias. In 1824, the Marquis de Lafayette, who distinguished himself during the American Revolution, visited New York. An honor guard for a ceremony attended by Lafayette renamed its unit the “Battalion of National Guards” in honor of Lafayette’s militia unit, the *Garde Nationale*.²⁰

Mexican War

A few decades later, a rising phenomenon, coined “Manifest Destiny” by John L. O’Sullivan, had Americans looking at westward expansion. Relations with Mexico became increasingly strained as more American pioneers poured into the territory now known as Texas. Texas soon declared its independence, but it was not recognized by Mexico. The U.S. annexed Texas in 1845. The U.S. and Mexico had differing opinions as to the official border between the two countries and, by 1846, the countries were at war.

During the Mexican War, the vast majority of the fighting units were federal volunteer regiments. These were essentially militia units created by the states to be used as federal forces. In spite of the Polk administration’s hesitation to use militias, based on concerns stemming from disputes with governors during the War of 1812, they played a key role.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid 86-88, 91.

¹⁹ James Lewis, “Blackhawk War of 1832,” 2000, <<http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/Blackhawk/page2d.html>> (5 September 2005).

²⁰ Doubler, p. 90.

²¹ Doubler, p. 79-83 and Gladman, p. 3.

Civil War

The 19th century became an increasingly volatile period. Though many attempts were made to bridge the enormous divide that had opened between the northern and southern states, war between these states was declared in 1861. Other southern states, strong proponents of states' rights and less federal control over their affairs, followed South Carolina's secession from the Union. This snowball effect produced a war that lasted for four bloody years.

The militias, which continued to transform from mandatory to volunteer organizations, continued to face criticism from the regular Army. Critics of the state militias were quick to point out that these units were not prepared for war prior to the outbreak of hostilities. In fact, only 15 of the nearly 1,800 regiments that comprised the Union's militia fighting force were in existence before 1861.²²

Initially, President Lincoln, using the powers granted him by the Calling Forth Act of 1792, called for 75,000 militia members to serve for a 90-day period in order to put down the "insurrection." With the realization that this would not be a short fight but, rather, a protracted war, President Lincoln sought 500,000 volunteers to join for three years. Some of those who were called up to fulfill the 75,000-man requirement became members of the new volunteer units. By 1863, as casualties mounted, the Federal Enrollment Act was passed. This authorized the conscription of men of fighting age – unless they were able to purchase a substitute. This loophole in the law angered the low income population, resulting in protest riots in New York City.

Regardless of how the militias were viewed, they were heavily involved in the war. In fact, the first troops to move into Washington, D.C. to provide security for the Capitol were militia units.²³ It is also important to note that during the Civil War, the National Guard name, or the initials NG, first appeared on uniforms and equipment. The first official use of the name in reference to militia units was by the State of Connecticut

²² Doubler, p. 77, 101, Gladman, p. 3, and Charles Heller, *Total Force: Federal Reserves and State National Guards*, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, 1994), p. 14.

²³ Doubler, p. 96.

in 1861. There were other firsts for the National Guard during the Civil War, such as the Militia Act of 1862, which allowed for National Guard conscription.²⁴

Reconstruction and Beyond

Relations between the North and South were anything but amicable in the years following the Civil War. Mired in rancorous distrust and lingering acrimony, both sides progressed slowly through the rebuilding of America. Four years of bitter and bloody war had soured many men on the idea of remaining in the military, and its ranks were quickly reduced. For those who chose to stay, an ever-expanding western frontier provided a new military focus.

Men of the state militias were no different than their brothers in the regular services. They, too, were tired of military service and had no desire to continue their ties to it. Post-war records highlight the fact that, when the fighting ended, fewer than one-third of the states had any viable militias. It took a decade to rebuild and create a militia organization that resembled its former self.²⁵

During the Reconstruction years, federal troops were used to maintain order in the former Confederate states. Concurrently, federal troops in western territories were sometimes employed as law enforcement entities. As this trend continued, concerns arose over the use of the military in law enforcement. These concerns led to the passage of legislation which ensured that federal troops were available only for their primary mission of protecting the U.S. from foreign aggressors.²⁶

The Posse Comitatus Act, designed to prohibit federal troops from being assigned law enforcement duties, was passed on June 18, 1878. It continues to be discussed today in the context of the nation's homeland security/homeland defense and disaster assistance needs. This Act pertained only to federal troops and their Reserve counterparts; it did not extend to the Coast Guard and the National Guard when they were called upon by state

²⁴ Ibid., 100.

²⁵ Ibid., 101-103.

²⁶ Ibid., 102-104 and Baker, Bonnie, "Origins of Posse Comitatus," *Air & Space Power Chronicles – Chronicles Online Journal*, 1 November 1999, <<http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/cc/baker1.html>> (15 August 2005).

authorities.²⁷ Essentially, this Act made the National Guard responsible for providing support to the states in times of crisis.

A provision included in the legislation allowed Congress to use federal troops when they deemed it absolutely necessary. This was exercised as the Reconstruction years came to a close, when National Guard units were called upon to control striking laborers during the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. Fifteen states called out their militias to quell the violence that had erupted, but federal troops had to be brought in when the militias were unable to stop the violence – a problem compounded by the defection of militiamen to the side of the strikers. Still, over the course of the next year, militias continued to be utilized to extinguish labor disputes.

In 1889, Admiral J.G. Walker pushed for a dialogue regarding a Naval Reserve. Though a federal Reserve naval force was not approved, naval militias were gaining momentum, with the first naval militias being organized in New York and Massachusetts.²⁸ Though not provided for until the Naval Appropriation Act of 1892, some of the colonies had adopted naval militias during the Revolutionary War. These militias furnished the Navy with a Reserve force until the creation of the Naval Reserve. Control over the naval militias would not be officially given to the Navy until 1914. “Marine” detachments were included in the naval militias as early as 1892, though they had no official affiliation with the Marine Corps until July 1915.²⁹

²⁷ Trebilcock, Craig, “The Myth of Posse Comitatus,” October 2000, <<http://www.homelandsecurity.org/journal/articles/Trebilcock.htm>> (15 August 2005) and Larson, Eric and John Peters, “Overview of the Posse Comitatus Act,” *Preparing the U.S. Army for Homeland Security*, 2001, <<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1251/MR1251.AppD.pdf>> (15 August 2005), and Baker, Bonnie, “Origins of Posse Comitatus,” *Air & Space Power Chronicles – Chronicles Online Journal*, 1 November 1999, <<http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/cc/baker1.html>> (15 August 2005).

²⁸ “History of the New York Naval Militia,” 22 November 2004, <<http://www.dmna.state.ny.us/nynm/history.html>> (17 August 05) and Deneger, Mark J. “The Genesis of the Naval Reserve,” *California Naval History*, 20 August 2005, <<http://www.militarymuseum.org/NavRes.html>> (31 August 2005). There are Naval Militias still in existence today, for example, the New York Naval Militia.

²⁹ Reserve Officers of Public Affairs Unit 4-1, *The Marine Corps Reserve: A History* (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2003), p. 1-4 and Navas, William, “Integration of the Active and Reserve Navy: A Case for Transformational Change,” *Naval Reserve Association, May 2004, Vol 51, Pg 5*, <<http://www.hq.navy.mil/mra/NavalReserveAssociationArticle.pdf>> (31 August 2005).

Much like their National Guard counterparts, naval militias responded to local crises but were also utilized when the country went to war. For example, the New York Naval Militia was mustered into service on June 23, 1891, as the First Battalion, Naval Reserve Artillery. This unit not only protected New York interests during a cholera outbreak in 1892, but later proved pivotal in the Spanish American War, both here and abroad.³⁰

Disputes regarding the Guard's reliability and capability as a Reserve force continued between the Regular Army and the Guard. As the new century dawned, changes were made in state funding in an effort to make Guard units equal to their regular counterparts by providing standardized uniforms and consistent training. Even with these changes, there continued to be outspoken critics of the militias.

Emory Upton, a noted Civil War general who made a name for himself at the battle of Mule Shoe, was one of the most virulent critics. He had seen the militias fight during the Civil War and felt that they were completely devoid of usefulness in battle and should be relegated to supporting state authorities only. He thought the ancillary support for federal troops should come from a federal Reserve force.³¹

Spanish American War

Late in the 19th century, strained relations with Spain over its policies in Cuba once again brought the United States to the brink of war. The news media fueled the flames of American sentiment with stories of Spanish barbarism. When the *USS Maine* mysteriously blew up on February 15, 1898, cries for retribution were immediately heard. Though evidence would later exonerate Spain, the American public, convinced of Spain's guilt, demanded war.

President William McKinley, following precedent set by Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, asked the states to provide volunteers, and they were taken from the ranks of the militias.³² Members of the militias were alongside the famous Rough Riders as

³⁰ "History of the New York Naval Militia," 22 November 2004, <<http://www.dmna.state.ny.us/nynm/history.html>> (17 August 05).

³¹ Doubler, p. 124-127.

³² Ibid., p. 116-117.

they attacked up Kettle Hill and were alongside the U.S. Marines in the taking of the Philippines, another Spanish colony. Additionally, the new naval militias that were established after the Civil War provided coastal defense and support to naval vessels fighting in Cuba.

When the fighting ended, a Presidential Commission was called to examine allegations of a disastrous mobilization process. With 50 percent of the militia members unable to pass the Army physical exam and 40 percent having never fired a weapon, questions regarding the training and readiness of the citizen soldiers arose once again.³³ These shortfalls, many of which were verified, were found to be the result of leadership failures coupled with problems in the system in place to mobilize and prepare units.

In order to make the necessary changes to the system, the President named Elihu Root Secretary of War. Root established a series of reforms that benefited both the Regular Army and the Guard. These reforms included better educational and professional development, expanded unit strength, and restructured leadership. Root was a fan of Emory Upton and was responsible for publishing his work. Though he felt Upton lacked a total understanding of the way the government worked, he saw a great deal of merit in Upton's writings and implemented some of his reforms. Root was a proponent of a federal Reserve to supplant the militia as the main reserve force for the Regular Army. Of course, state militia leadership was opposed to Root's plan and aggressively fought it. The result was the Militia Act of 1903.³⁴

The new legislation replaced the Militia Act of 1792 and provided the nation with a National Guard that was better funded and trained – both to federal standards. The funding increase helped fledgling states build new armories and procure better weapons and training facilities to meet new federal guidelines. Also included was joint training with the Regular Army – an effort to bolster readiness. Service on active duty was limited to nine months maximum and was confined to the continental United States. The Regular Army continued to doubt that the militias were a viable force-in-readiness. While members of the militias attended training and military academies with their

³³ Doubler, p. 122, and Gladman, p. 3-4.

³⁴ Doubler, p. 122-127 and Gladman, p. 4-5.

Regular Army counterparts, they continued to be viewed as lacking the educational background of the regular component.³⁵

Senator Charles Dick, advocate of the Militia Act of 1903, again pushed for Guard revisions. The result was the Militia Act of 1908, which gave the President the power to call up the Guard for national emergencies and removed restrictions on limited service locations. Under the new Act, the Guard would be called up prior to calling for volunteers.³⁶ There were continued discussions, however, concerning the legitimacy of the use of the National Guard outside the borders of the United States.

That same year, the Division of Militia Affairs was created; it was later named the National Guard Bureau. This division was responsible for overseeing all the administrative requirements related to ensuring the training and equipping of the Guard. By 1911, the billet for the Chief of the DMA was elevated to general officer, which brought expanded powers and influence.

In 1908, aviation was introduced into the Guard by the First Aero Company, Signal Corps of the New York National Guard. Initially built around hot air balloons, the unit soon added airplanes to its capabilities.³⁷ This same year, the Army created a reserve medical corps in order to overcome the shortage of medical officers within its ranks. This was the first federal Reserve unit to be placed under the control of the Regular Army.³⁸

A growing divide within the National Guard Association, a military lobbying group created in 1877, was bridged under the leadership of Charles Dick. This resulted in the emergence of the National Guard Association of the United States, or NGAUS, which was given the responsibility for securing the best policies and legislation for the Guard. Through the decades which followed, this organization would prove to be a

³⁵ Gladman, p. 4 and Heller, p. 12-14.

³⁶ Doubler, p. 134 and Gladman, p. 4.

³⁷ Gladman, p. 5.

³⁸ Doubler, p. 137.

powerful advocate, working to ensure that the roles and missions of the Guard were not pushed aside or cut by those opposed to them.³⁹

With the passage of the Naval Militia Act of 1914, Congress placed the naval militias under the control of the Navy.⁴⁰ In March 1915, Congress created a federal Naval Reserve force. The following year, it authorized a federal Marine Corps Reserve force which emulated the naval Reserve structure.⁴¹

In response to the restructuring plan, Congress then passed the National Defense Act of 1916, which included the official formation of a federal Reserve force. It also officially gave all state militias a National Guard designation. Additionally, it provided for the creation of the Reserve Officers Training Corps and required that all guardsmen take an oath to the United States as well as to their state.⁴² The new Reserve force of the Army was divided into the Officer Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps.⁴³

Shortly after the National Defense Act was passed, Pancho Villa's murder of American citizens on the border with Mexico left the military scrambling to respond. A Presidential call-up of the National Guard came in response to border state governors' concerns over Mexican reprisals in response to the movement of General John J. Pershing's troops into Mexico. New technology and reforms resulted in expedited logistics and personnel responses to this threat. And although there were improvements, many of the same issues involving mobilization, structure, and unprepared troops were still present.⁴⁴

³⁹ Ibid., p. 138.

⁴⁰ Navas, William, "Integration of the Active and Reserve Navy: A Case for Transformational Change," *Naval Reserve Association, May 2004, Vol 51, Pg 5*,
<<http://www.hq.navy.mil/mra/NavalReserveAssociationArticle.pdf>> (31 August 2005).

⁴¹ Reserve Officers, p. 4.

⁴² Gladman, p. 5-6.

⁴³ Heller, p. 13-15.

⁴⁴ Doubler, p. 141-145.

World War I

Assiduous efforts to remain neutral notwithstanding, the United States declared war on Germany and joined the fight that raged in Europe. With the passage of the Selective Service Act of 1917, the President had a new method of raising an army during wartime.⁴⁵ When the President declared war on Germany, there were still tens of thousands of active duty Guardsmen remaining from the force that confronted Poncho Villa.⁴⁶

A total of 18 National Guard divisions saw action in World War I. Overall, they represented approximately 15.5 percent of the total Army force.⁴⁷ The exact number of Marine Reservists to fight in this war is disputed. The Marine Corps recruited a number of individuals to be called up for the “duration” of the war, and these recruits were considered reservists by some.⁴⁸

The bad relations that existed between the National Guard and the Regular Army were further stirred when Guard leaders were replaced by Regular Army officers. The Army was concerned about the National Guard General’s ability to command due to his lack of tactical proficiency. Guardsmen thought regular officers replaced their commanding officers in order to secure more opportunities for recognition and promotion.⁴⁹

Further fueling the animosity, General Order No. 73, issued by the Army in July 1918, stated that the United States had one Army. This meant that no unit serving in Europe could maintain a separate identity through distinguishing patches, insignia, etc.⁵⁰ With this, all state insignia were removed by soldiers and replaced with Regular Army insignia.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 149-150.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 152.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 157, 161.

⁴⁸ Reserve Officers, p. 9-10.

⁴⁹ Doubler, p. 160 and Gladman, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Doubler, p. 159.

Inter-War Years

Questions regarding size and structure of the military were further debated following the end of the war. Opinions varied as to the regular-reserve mix: Some wanted military strength in a large standing army while others saw a larger Reserve force as the key.⁵¹ Following a series of proposals, Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1920. This established the National Guard as the reserve force for the Army and created a federal Reserve force as additional back-up. This force consisted of the Army Reserve, Navy Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve. Additionally, the Act gave the Division of Militia Affairs, now the Militia Bureau, greater power by increasing its size.⁵²

The establishment of the Army Nurses Corps in 1901 and the Navy Nurses Corps in 1908 brought women into the military for the first time. With both the Navy and Marine Corps wanting to “free up” men who were in administrative rolls so that they could fight, women were needed. Nearly 40,000 women would serve during World War I. In 1920, women were afforded officer ranks; though equal to the men's ranks, the women's ranks did not carry the same pay or privileges.⁵³

In 1925, the Navy and Marine Corps Reserves' pay, benefits, and powers were expanded. This same legislation provided for a Navy ROTC program. Though many of the Marine reservists did not receive pay, due either to their classification or the failing of the government, their ranks continued to grow.⁵⁴

The Great Depression had both positive and negative effects on the Guard and Reserve. Budget cuts reduced the number of paid drills that each Guardsman or reservist could attend annually. Even with the reduction, however, the drills continued to provide

⁵¹ Gladman, p. 6-7.

⁵² Doubler, p. 166-167 and “Constitutional Charter of the Guard,”
<<http://www.arng.army.mil/history/constitution>> (2 August 2005).

⁵³ “Highlights in the History of Military Women,”
<<http://www.womensmemorial.org/Education/timeline.html>> (31 August 2005), “Questions and Answers,”
History and Collections,
<<http://www.womensmemorial.org/historyandcollections/history/learnmoreques.htm>> (31 August 2005),
and Reserve Officers, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Reserve Officers, p. 23-25, 35, 40 and Ensign Hill Goodspeed, “Navy Reserve History,” 4 March 2005,
<<http://navyreserve.navy.mil/Public/HQ/WelcomeAboard/MissionandHistory>> (16 August 2005).

many Americans with a source of income, and manpower within the Reserve ranks increased steadily.

In 1933, amendments to the National Defense Act of 1916 were passed in an attempt to clarify the dual federal and state roles of the National Guard. The Militia Bureau was officially changed to the National Guard Bureau. The new bureau would eventually function through the Secretaries of the Air Force and Army, when their positions were created a decade later.⁵⁵

The Marine Corps maintained active duty continuity in its Reserves through the Instructor and Inspector Staff, which was established in 1933. Training remained a top priority for the reservists. Correspondence courses became available and Professional Military Education became part of the overall training priority. The Marine Corps furnished its reservists with very little gear, so the men purchased it themselves. Even in the middle of the Depression, this didn't affect recruiting, although it did result in high turnover.⁵⁶ Another reorganization of the Navy Reserves and Marine Corps Reserves took place in 1938 with the Naval Reserve Act of 1938. In addition to the reorganization, the Act provided an increase in pay and benefits.⁵⁷

World War II

The rise of Adolf Hitler and the growing concern over rhetoric coming out of Germany pushed President Roosevelt to order the Army and National Guard to expand their ranks exponentially and request additional funding for equipment and training. By mid-1940, as the situation in Europe grew more uncertain, calls for a draft and mobilization of the Guard were heard. A peacetime draft as well as Guard and Reserve mobilizations were authorized, although Congress limited troops to 12 months of active duty within the Western Hemisphere.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Doubler, p. 170-171, Heller, p. 13 and Bennie Wilson, *The Guard and Reserve in the Total Force*, National Defense University Press, Washington, 1985, p. 268.

⁵⁶ Reserve Officers, p. 40.

⁵⁷ Reserve Officers, 45-48 and Navas, William, "Integration of the Active and Reserve Navy: A Case for Transformational Change," *Naval Reserve Association, May 2004, Vol 51, Pg 5*, <<http://www.hq.navy.mil/mra/NavalReserveAssociationArticle.pdf>> (31 August 2005).

⁵⁸ Doubler, p. 173-176.

The National Guard was mobilized in 25 increments over a period of 13 months. The Marine Corps Reserves mobilized a total of 23 battalions. This mobilized status, due to last until the winter of 1941, was extended to April 1942 after the start of OPERATION BARBAROSSA, the German assault on Russia.⁵⁹ This large-scale call-up of Guard and Reserve forces highlighted deficiencies in their training and equipping for full-scale war.⁶⁰ Deficiencies in the Marine Corps mobilization process were also present, forcing many adjustments to be made. Each problem was solved as it was identified and, as Marines were activated, they were integrated into the Regular Marine Corps.⁶¹

Guard and Reserve units saw action in both theaters of World War II. With the vast majority of the wartime military made up of these “citizen soldiers,” their contributions to the overall war effort were immeasurable. For example, by the end of the war, three-quarters of all Navy personnel on active duty were reservists.⁶² Marine Corps reservists made up 68 percent of the total Marine force.⁶³ The requirement to get men to the front forced innovations and “out-of-the-box” thinking thought by some to be a success and by others to be a failure. Regardless, it highlighted the innovations used to fill Reserve ranks during the conflict.

One example of innovative thinking was the Navy V-12 Program. An increasing need for replacement officers caused the Navy, along with the Marine Corps, to adopt this program which allowed college students to join the Reserves as enlisted men and await the date on which they would leave for training. This allowed many of them – too young to accept a commission – to continue their education while they waited to start boot camp.⁶⁴

Modeled on the Navy Reserve, Congress established a Coast Guard Reserve to serve on active duty for the duration of World War II. Additionally, a Coast Guard

⁵⁹ Ibid., 174-177 and Reserve Officers, p. 59.

⁶⁰ Gladman, p. 7-9.

⁶¹ Reserve Officers, p. 96-97.

⁶² Navas, William, “Integration of the Active and Reserve Navy: A Case for Transformational Change,” *Naval Reserve Association, May 2004, Vol 51, Pg 5*, <<http://www.hq.navy.mil/mra/NavalReserveAssociationArticle.pdf>> (31 August 2005).

⁶³ Reserve Officers, p. 59.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 68-69.

Auxiliary was established to help provide coastal security and port security when necessary. Approximately nine out of every 10 Coast Guardsmen who served during the war were reservists.⁶⁵

As in World War I, women were called on to fill billets in order to relieve servicemen and so allow additional troops into theater. By war's end, more than 400,000 women served in some capacity within the military ranks.⁶⁶ Though the Army and Navy Nurses Corps, established during World War I, continued, women's roles were expanded through new Reserve and Reserve-like programs.

The Army established the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps, or WAAC, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The women in it were not a part of the Regular Army Reserve, though they did wear uniforms and have a rank structure. Their auxiliary status was changed to a reserve status in 1943 when they were given the opportunity to leave the auxiliary WAACs or be mustered into the new, Reserve Women's Army Corps, or WAC. Most of the WACs were mustered out at the end of the war.

In August 1942, the Navy once again opened its ranks to women through the WAVES – Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service. Contrary to what the name suggests, these women were not brought in for the war effort only; they received federal commissions made possible by legislative changes. By the end of the war, women comprised 2.5 percent of total Navy strength.⁶⁷

After World War I, the Marine Corps mustered out all of the women recruited to support the war effort. In 1943, Marine Corps leadership looked to women to fill the ranks and release able-bodied male Marines to serve as replacements in the Pacific. Brought into the fold as Marines, the female recruits never received a separate moniker as in the other services: They were full members of the Marine Corps Reserve. Just over 18,000 women served in the Marine Corps Reserve through 1946 and a small group

⁶⁵ "History of the Coast Guard Reserve," *U.S. Coast Guard*, January 2002, <http://www.uscg.mil/hq/g-cp/history/CG_Reserve_History.html> (6 September 2005).

⁶⁶ "Questions and Answers," *History and Collections*, <<http://www.womensmemorial.org/historyandcollections/history/learnmoreques.htm>> (31 August 2005).

⁶⁷ "World War II Era WAVES – Overview and Special Image Selection," 28 January 2001, <<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/prs-tpic/females/wave-ww2.htm>> (6 September 2005).

remained after the war to give the Marine Corps the ability to recruit more rapidly if the requirement to do so presented itself again.⁶⁸

The Coast Guard, having just gained its Reserve force the prior year, began recruiting for a women's Reserve force late in 1942. The SPARs – a name derived from the Coast Guard motto, *Semper Paratus, Always Ready* – served in the continental U.S. as well as in Hawaii and Alaska. More than 10,000 women served; the last were demobilized in 1946.⁶⁹

Post-War Changes

As World War II came to an end, the expected debate regarding the post-war military began. As at the end of the Civil War, protracted fighting had left many men weary of military service, and National Guard and Reserve units had to recruit to fill decimated ranks.

Out of the Marine Corps Reserve Officer Association (MCROA) came VTUs – Volunteer Training Units. These were social and professional organizations that focused on training and proficiency and allowed Marines to maintain ties to the Marine Corps. Women's VTUs were also established in cities across the country. These became highly organized structures which continued the Marine Corps rigor and training.⁷⁰

The National Security Act of 1947 established the United States Air Force after members of the Army Air Corps fought to create the new service branch. The Air National Guard was directed to provide the new Air Force with a Reserve while the newly-minted Air Force Reserve provided support and augmentation. This Act also created the position of the Secretary of Defense and established Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Reserve Officers, p. 77-82.

⁶⁹ Thompson, Robin, "SPARs: The Coast Guard and the Women's Reserve in World War II," January 1999, <http://www.uscg.mil/hq/g-cp/history/h_wmnres.html> (6 September 2005).

⁷⁰ Reserve Officers, p. 113-116.

⁷¹ Doubler, p. 197-198, Gladman, p. 9, and Heller, p. 13. In 1948 the modern National Guard Bureau HQ was organized. This allowed for better oversight of all issues pertaining to training, equipping and organizing the NG forces.

Following passage of the National Security Act, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal commissioned a committee to address the preparedness of the Reserves. In the “Gray Report” that was published, the committee reported that the Reserves were not prepared for major combat operations and recommended that the Guard and Reserves be combined into a single force. This recommendation was reinforced by general misgivings regarding the ability of the federal and state governments to coordinate their efforts. Supporters of the Guard, including NGAUS, fought the proposed legislation that grew out of the committee's findings. In the end, Secretary Forrestal chose not to support the legislation, and it died.⁷²

In 1952, Congress passed legislation that established the Reserve Forces Policy Board (RFPB). Title 10 of that legislation states that the RFPB is the primary policy advisor to the Secretary of Defense on Reserve matters. The RFPB continues to provide an annual report to the President and Congress via the Secretary of Defense.⁷³

The Cold War Era

As the new threat of the Soviet Union emerged from the ashes of World War II, the military force structure had to be redefined and reorganized. By 1950, just under half of the states had reorganized their Guard units. This would change during the next decade as larger, more modern units were formed. Many of the states found they lacked adequate training facilities to deal with this new force and, throughout the decade, the funding for the Guard more than doubled. One of the most significant changes for the Guard concerned benefits. In 1948, military retirement was approved for those who served 20 years and reached 60 years of age.⁷⁴

The Korean War

Less than five years after V-J Day, America once again found itself at war. The Korean War would be the first of two wars that resulted from the continuing and growing threat of Communism. When North Korea invaded South Korea in the summer of 1950, President Truman decided to send American troops to support the South. Within a month

⁷² Doubler, p. 198-199, Gladman, p. 8-10 and Heller, p. 12-14.

⁷³ “Reserve Force Policy Board,” <http://www.defenselink.mil/ra/rfpb/factsheet.htm>, (18 September, 2005).

⁷⁴ Doubler, p. 200, 326.

of committing troops, the President instituted a partial call-up of the Guard and Reserves for 24 months. Though promised they would deploy as units, most of the Reserve and Guard troops were used as replacements as casualties mounted.

Glaring deficiencies came to light as the Air National Guard was mobilized for Korea. It was determined that up to six months of training were required to make the newly-activated units combat ready. As a result, only two wings of the Air National Guard were sent into theater.⁷⁵ Most of the activated Guard members and reservists were used to fill specific capability shortages within the regular ranks. This partial mobilization of units was said to result in morale problems and training difficulties. After the war, additional funding was provided to mitigate future deficiencies.⁷⁶

Both air and ground Marine Corps Reserve forces were called up throughout the Korean War. The activated reservists had not received as much training as their active counterparts but were deemed combat ready by decision makers. Marines were even interviewed to determine if they were combat ready. If a reservist felt he was not ready for combat, he was removed from the ranks for additional training. The availability of these reservists allowed the Marine Corps to rotate troops for the first time.⁷⁷

The Armed Forces Reserves Act of 1952 designated three groups of reservists: Ready, Standby, and Retired. Each had different mobilization and readiness requirements. A total of seven Reserve components were identified: Air National Guard, Army National Guard, Coast Guard Reserves, U.S. Naval Reserves, U.S. Army Reserves, U.S. Marine Corps Reserves, and U.S. Air Force Reserves. NGAUS believed this Act threatened the Guard and lobbied for a number of amendments, some of which were added. One of these amendments created the office of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Gladman, p. 10-11.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁷ Reserve Officers, p. 167-169.

⁷⁸ Gladman, p. 11.

Vietnam

The Communist government in North Vietnam, led by Ho Chi Minh, continued to press to unite the entire country under a Communist regime. The United States began its involvement in Vietnam by sending troops to train the soldiers of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam. As the war escalated, President Lyndon Johnson chose not to call up the Guard and Reserves, which would make this the first U.S. war fought without a mass mobilization of the Reserve forces. This decision fueled feelings that the National Guard served as a refuge for draft dodgers.⁷⁹

The end of the Vietnam War left the military in shambles. The war's end ushered in an era of low morale, low recruiting and retention rates, racial strife, and pervasive drug use – a very low point in history for both the active duty military and the Guard and Reserves.

Total Force Policy

In 1970, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird issued a memo describing a new concept of structure and framework for the military. Put into practice by his successor, James Schlesinger, the Total Force Policy sought the right mix of active component (AC), Reserve component (RC), and Guard to optimize the military's ability to respond to future threats. The concept involved moving military assets, whenever feasible, to the Reserve component – maximizing military capability while minimizing or maintaining costs. Additionally, the Guard and Reserves were to be considered during all phases of planning.⁸⁰

A goal of the new Policy was to reduce the time required for the Reserve components to be able to support the active military in time of emergency. In order to do this, it was imperative that the active and Reserve components were equally prepared for the mission and could rely on each other for success.⁸¹ Defense spending greatly

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 13-14.

⁸¹ Heller, p. 2-3.

increased throughout the 1980s, and this allowed for a better manned, trained, and equipped Guard and Reserve force.⁸²

Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger continued to follow the Total Force Policy during the Reagan administration and also implemented a policy that ensured units earmarked to respond first would be the first to get the equipment they needed to be successful. Increased feelings of patriotism, coupled with increases in military pay and benefits, helped spark an upsurge in recruiting numbers during this decade.⁸³

The Chief of Staff for the Army in the early 1970s, General Creighton Abrams, developed what would become known as the Abrams Doctrine. It called for vital supporting units to exist exclusively in the Reserves. His rationale was that the President would never commit the nation to war unnecessarily if he had to call up the Reserves which, while essential for any major engagement, were also closely tied to the American public.⁸⁴

Legislation to limit the President's power in regard to the military was passed throughout the 1970s. The War Powers Act of 1973 limited the President by requiring that he obtain permission from Congress in order to commit troops for more than 90 days. The President's powers were further defined in Section 673b Provisions, passed in 1976, which allowed the President to involuntarily mobilize reservists without Congressional consent to help support active component operations as necessary.⁸⁵

The goal of providing a bridge between reservists and their employers led to the formation of the National Committee for Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve, which concluded that "the success of the nation's defense is dependent on the availability of highly trained members" of the military. This committee's mission was "to obtain employer and community support to ensure the availability and readiness of Reserve forces."⁸⁶

⁸² Stephen Duncan, *Citizen Warriors: America's National Guard and Reserve Forces and the Politics of National Security*, Presidio Press, California, 1997, p. 146-147.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 146-149.

⁸⁴ Duncan, p. 9, and Gladman, p. 13-14.

⁸⁵ Duncan, p. 6-8.

⁸⁶ "Information about ESGR," <http://www.esgr.org/employers2/aboutESGR.asp>, (18 Sept 2005).

Throughout the 1980s, more constraints were placed on the Individual Ready Reserve. Members were required to muster one day per year in order to update administrative information. This helped move the IRR from a paper organization to one that could be counted on to provide troops when necessary. The Guard and Reserves also continued to improve, becoming more proficient and combat ready as a result of additional funding and a renewed focus on training and preparedness.⁸⁷

In 1986, a massive reorganization of the military took place. The Goldwater-Nichols Act forced a joint structure in which the office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs was further empowered, and the way was paved for joint endeavors of the active and Reserve forces in the following decades. Under the Act, the Chairman was provided two general officers to assist him in all matters affecting the National Guard and Reserve forces.⁸⁸

After the Cold War

The fall of the Soviet Union and significant defense budget cuts in the early 1990s changed the road ahead for the military. Regarding Total Force Policy, the question of the right mix of Reserve and active forces to face new and emerging threats continued to be discussed. Though the powerful legacy of Ronald Reagan did much to restore patriotism, the shadow of Vietnam remained, and it was unclear how Americans would react if faced with the prospect of another war.

In 1990, the Total Force Policy Study Group was commissioned to answer enduring questions regarding total force effectiveness, and to evaluate policies and procedures. These reviews were conducted within the framework of the Department of Defense's planning, programming, and budgeting system. The study group found that confusion existed because no clear-cut boundaries for active and Reserve components existed, and so they worked to develop them. It determined, for example, that the active component and the Reserve component were not to be mirror images of one another, and

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 155-157

⁸⁸ Duncan, 21, 163, and "Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986," *National Defense University Library*, 12 July 2005, <<http://www4.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode10/>> (13 September 2005).

that what was needed, instead, were complementary capabilities that could be leveraged for success.⁸⁹

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, President George H.W. Bush called up the Guard and Reserves to support the active forces that fought in the Gulf. The buildup and contingency planning of the 1980s did much to improve Reserve component readiness.⁹⁰

Prior to the mobilization of troops, concerns were raised regarding the “round out” brigades used to supplement the active Army. Combat elements were placed in the Reserves in order to keep defense costs low; these Reserve elements “rounded out” the active force. Additionally, more than 70 percent of the Army’s support elements were in the Reserve component. It was vital that the Reserves be called up to support the war because the Army couldn’t conduct long-term operations without them. After much debate, units were mobilized and deployed into theater to support operations.⁹¹

In the end, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney would state that the Gulf War was evidence that the Total Force Policy resulted in success.⁹² Following this war and the fall of the Soviet Union, President Bush authorized deep cuts in the military – across the board.⁹³

Base Force and Bottom-up Review

After the fall of the Soviet Union, it again became necessary to determine the appropriate mix of Reserve and active forces. Two major military reviews were conducted in the 1990s. The first, during the Bush administration, was entitled Base Force. It sought to determine the smallest force size that would be needed to maintain

⁸⁹ Duncan, p. 159-183.

⁹⁰ Doubler, p. 284, Duncan p. 46, 87, and Heller, p. 2-3, 16.

⁹¹ Doubler p. 268-275 and Duncan p. 62-73.

⁹² Ibid., p. 196.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 203-207.

U.S. standing in the world. It also determined that the U.S. needed to maintain forward deployed bases in Europe and Korea to protect against emerging threats.⁹⁴

The second review was entitled the Bottom-Up Review. Both it and the Commission on Roles and Mission of the Armed Forces which followed during the Clinton Administration recommended even deeper cuts within the military. The Clinton Administration's foreign policy utilized the military, both active and Reserve components, in support of United Nations actions and against broader threats to democracy.⁹⁵

Title 10 USC, Armed Forces

Subtitle E, Reserve Components, Title 10 United States Code is the current basis for the Reserves. It places all Reserve component members in one of three categories: Ready Reserve, Standby Reserve, and Retired Reserve.⁹⁶

The Ready Reserve consists of several subcomponents. The first, the Selected Reserve, contains “drilling reservists,” or those who attend regularly scheduled training. Each service has reservists who are on active duty, providing full-time support with administrative, training, logistical, and operational work. The second subcomponent is the Individual Mobilization Augmentee, or IMA, billets in which opportunities are available only to those in the federal Reserve. These individuals augment positions having flexible drilling requirements, allowing service members to adjust their drill schedule depending upon the requirement. The Ready Reserve also includes the Individual Ready Reserve, or IRR. Members are individuals in the federal components who have the lowest priority for training. They can be called up to active duty if the President declares a national emergency. The National Guard has a similar category, the Inactive National Guard, or ING. Both the ING and the IRR are required to muster once each calendar year.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Doubler, p. 288-289, Duncan, p. 169-171 and Gladman, p. 16, 34.

⁹⁵ Doubler, 299-300, Duncan, p. 204, 212-213, and Gladman, p. 16, 34.

⁹⁶ “Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986,” *National Defense University Library*, 12 July 2005, <<http://www4.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode10/>> (13 September 2005) and Heller, p. 6-9.

⁹⁷ Heller, p. 6-7.

The Standby Reserve is a pool of individuals who could be called up in times of national emergency. These are individuals who, though not required to drill, are affiliated with the military. This group can include individuals with disabilities or hardship who still owe the government time under their contract.⁹⁸

The Retired Reserve includes individuals who have been honorably retired and are drawing retirement pay. Members can be ordered back to active duty if necessary. This group is subdivided into three categories by age and time in retirement status.⁹⁹

Conclusion

On September 11, 2001, the landscape of America was forever altered; the military operations that followed had an enormous impact on the National Guard and Reserves. In order to secure the homeland, fight terrorists in Afghanistan, and support operations in Iraq, the Guard and Reserves have experienced an increase in operational tempo. Many members have endured multiple activations which may have included combat in both theaters of war and service in defense of the homeland as well. This increase in their use has renewed debates over the roles and missions of the Guard and Reserves and the right balance of forces. Additional questions being raised include: What compensation and benefits are needed for equity with active component forces? How do we recruit and retain qualified forces? What policy and procedural changes can be made to ensure that the best training and smoothest mobilization processes are utilized?

Creating the most effective military force with the best mix of capabilities in a restrained fiscal environment is not an easy task. Questions such as these persist. Getting answers will require both a thorough understanding of the past and careful study and assessment of the future.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 6-7.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 6-7.

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