PATRIOTIC PARTNERSHIPS:

Why Great Wars Nourished American Civic Voluntarism

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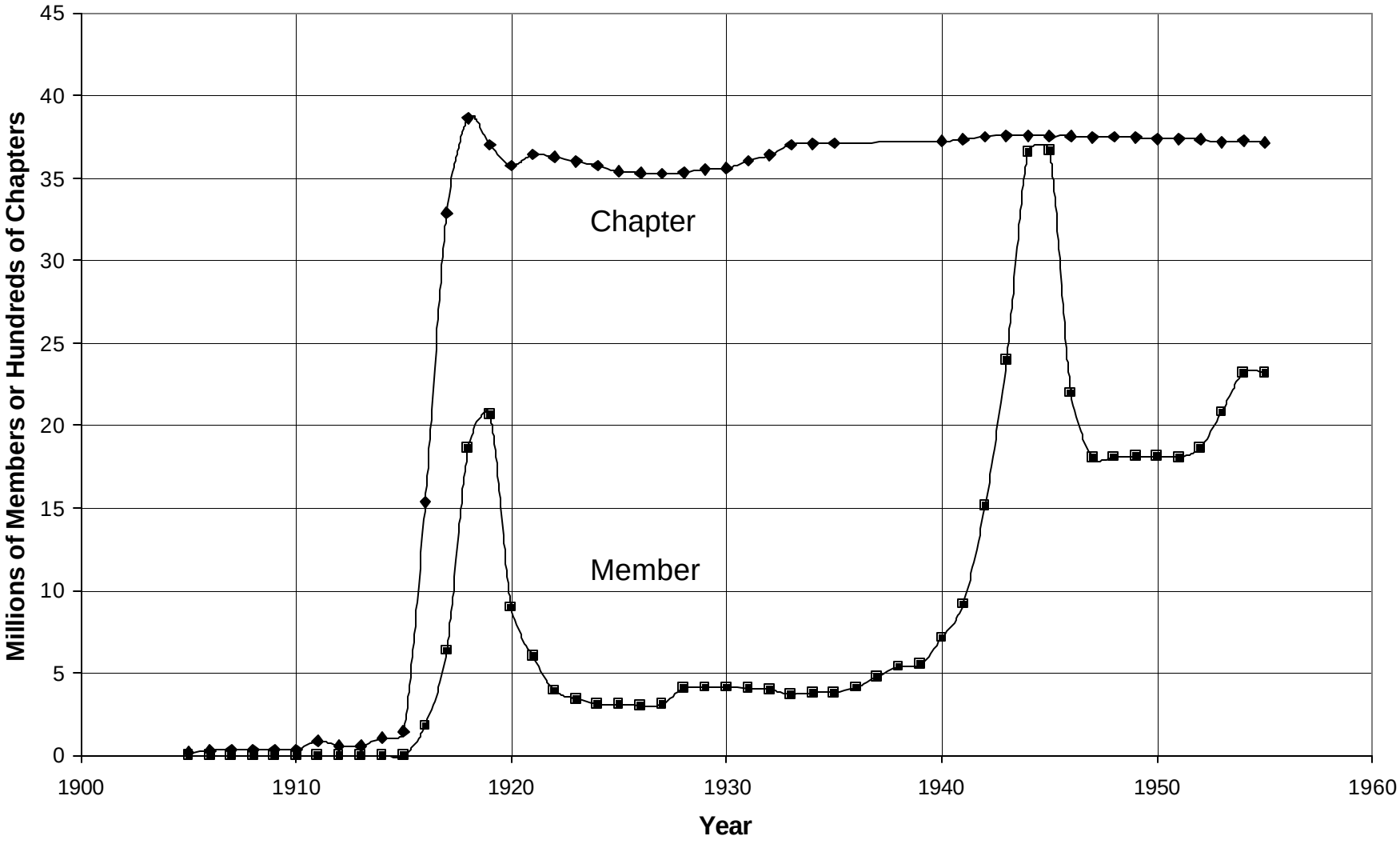
Nationally televised disasters at home and abroad have made the Red Cross a familiar embodiment of humane voluntarism. If contemporary Americans were asked about the history of this respected civic association, some might recall the founding role of nurse Clara Barton, that iconic symbol of feminine caring. But how many would realize the debts owed by the Red Cross to official collaborations with the United States government to fight America's greatest wars?

The American Red Cross was founded in 1881 as an after-effect of gargantuan voluntary relief efforts mounted during the Civil War.[1] Not just Clara Barton, but many other women and men who had been involved in efforts of the United States Sanitary Commission to care for wounded Union soldiers and succor soldiers and civilians, agitated for years to persuade the U.S. Congress to charter this U.S. wing of an international movement. Thereafter, the American Red Cross grew haltingly – until World War I, when it entered into a full-fledged partnership with the U.S. federal government and was able to spread a national network of more than 3,500 chapters and suddenly recruit more than 20 million members.[2] As Figure 1 displays, gains in chapter infrastructure brought by World War I proved permanent, even though Red Cross membership did not spike again until another period of official partnership during World War II.[3]

[Figure 1 about here]

The place of wars in the Red Cross saga is unique in some ways, yet hardly exceptional in the annals of U.S. voluntary associations. As we show and seek to explain in this chapter, big wars have been surprisingly good for American civic voluntarism. The Civil War and the twentieth-century World Wars spurred the creation of new associations and buoyed the fortunes of preexisting groups willing and able to join victorious wartime mobilizations. Each great conflict in U.S. history has also reshaped the associational universe, hurting some voluntary

Figure 1. American Red Cross Chapters and Membership, 1905-1955



Source: Red Cross Annual Reports and data from National Office.

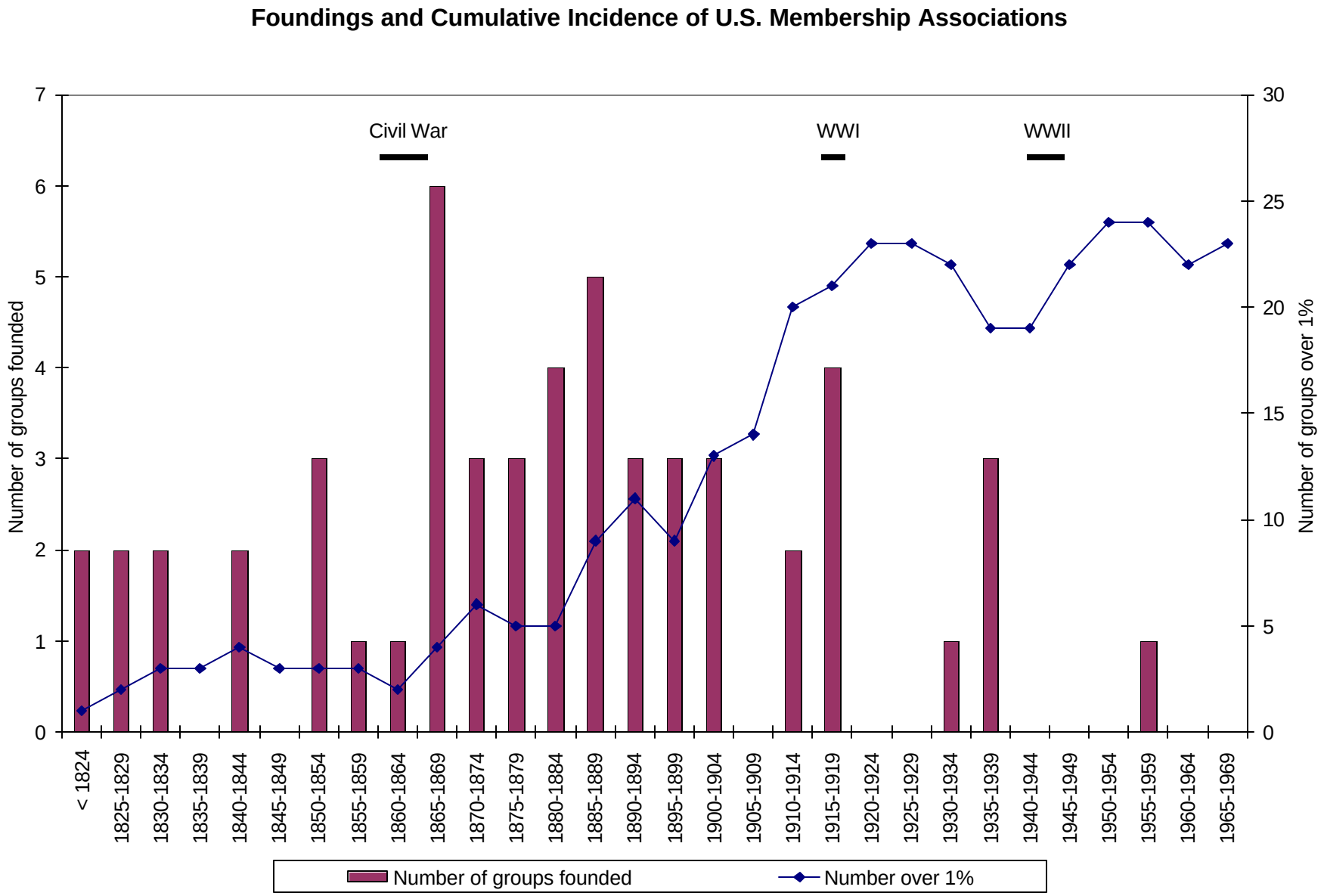
groups and discouraging some kinds of participants, even as most groups and vast numbers of Americans experienced new bursts of civic engagement.

We can survey the landscape using data gathered by the Civic Engagement Project at Harvard University. This ongoing project has identified and traced the histories of all of the very large voluntary membership associations in U.S. history, including (according to our findings so far) 58 groups apart from churches and political parties that have ever recruited one percent or more of U.S. men and/or women as members (the basis for calculation is men, women, or both, depending on whether the association was formally or de facto restricted by gender). A full list of these membership associations appears in Appendix A at the end of this chapter. By early in the twentieth century, the United States had more than twenty coexisting voluntary membership associations, each of which had already recruited at least one percent of men and/or women. Almost all of these associations were federations, in which regularly-meeting local chapters sent representatives to regular state or regional and national meetings. Elsewhere we have established that local chapters of the very large voluntary federations listed in Appendix A were central to organized voluntary life in towns and cities across the country.[4] This means that the large membership federations on which this chapter focuses were at the heart of local as well as national civil society. In subsequent discussions, we make occasional reference to smaller associations whose histories provide a window into national dynamics. But most of our data and illustrations refer to the large membership associations listed in Appendix A.

[Figure 2 about here]

Figure 2 presents breakdowns at five-year intervals for group foundings and the cumulative incidence of associations exceeding the one percent membership threshold. Note

Figure 2.



Source: Civic Engagement Project data as of 02/11/2000

that the numbers of coexisting associations with memberships exceeding one percent of U.S. men and/or women moved noticeably upward immediately after the Civil War as well as during and right after World Wars I and II. In this overview figure, periods of national economic depression coincide with downturns in numbers of coexisting large membership associations; and wars and their immediate aftermaths were certainly not the only times that numbers of large associations climb upward. Yet even without dissecting associational dynamics in greater detail, as we do below, we can see that America's big wars have been associated with upward swings in numbers of coexisting large associations.

Figure 2 also underlines the dramatic impact of the Civil War on foundings of popular associations that would eventually grow very large. More such associations were launched in the five years right after the end of the Civil War than in any other five year period in all of U.S. history. More broadly, the entire post-Civil War era, from the 1860s through the 1890s, was the seedbed time for modern America's prominent membership associations.[5]

The impact of great wars on foundings of major popular associations was not constant. Although the Civil War was followed by a disproportionate number of popular foundings, World War I marked only a minor uptick of two such foundings, and no new large membership associations were launched right after World War II. This difference is partly due to the fact that, by the twentieth century, a large number of popularly rooted membership associations already existed. In addition, twentieth-century warfare spurred a distinctive kind of associational innovation in the United States, encouraging the creation of many new business and professional associations. As we will learn below, the ways in which America's great wars were fought -- the specific kinds of government-associational partnerships forged each conflict -- help to make sense of the patterns of associational foundings during and after each conflict.

In the remainder of this chapter, we explore and seek to explain the surprisingly favorable civic impact of the first two major wars in which the United States became embroiled: the Civil War of 1861-1865 and World War I between 1917 and 1919. A complete analysis would, of course, give equal consideration to voluntary associations during and after World War II, while also probing the effects of pivotal smaller conflicts such as the Spanish-American War and the War in Vietnam. But this is a chapter, not a book, and for students of U.S. civic development the nation's first two modern wars are fundamental. Punctuating the transition from the early republic of farmers and townspeople visited by Alexis de Tocqueville in the 1830s to the hegemonic industrial giant that the United States became by the mid-twentieth century, the Civil War was, by far, the country's biggest and most destructive war, a struggle that redefined the very meaning of U.S. nationhood and permanently reshaped civil society. In turn, World War I marked the advent of the United States as a global great power, with a national government prepared to use unprecedentedly centralized means to marshal agricultural plenty and industrial might as well as military manpower, projecting U.S. power abroad to reshape the internecine struggles of the Old World. Two decades later in World War II, the U.S. government and leading civic associations reenacted partnerships first worked out in 1917 and 1918. Both global wars thus encouraged and channeled American civic voluntarism, yet World War I, though brief, was the more institutionally and culturally pivotal episode.

PERSPECTIVES ON WAR AND DEMOCRATIC CIVIL SOCIETY

To explore the relationship of modern wars to the development of U.S. civil society is to revisit and challenge arguments originally made by the greatest student of American

voluntarism, Alexis de Tocqueville. Ever quoting the great French visitor's fond observation that "Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of dispositions are forever forming associations,"[6] scholars have repeatedly documented that the United States is an unusually civic democracy, where participation in voluntary groups rivals (indeed usually surpasses) voting in competitive elections. But while treating Tocqueville's celebration of American voluntarism as timeless truth, scholars have ignored his ominous prognostications, ultimately mistaken, about what might happen if the United States found itself embroiled in major wars.

"All those who seek to destroy the freedom of the democratic nations must know that war is the surest and shortest means to accomplish this," wrote Tocqueville in Democracy in America.[7] Of course he penned this warning in the 1830s, well before the nation's the great wars and in an era when it seemed that "fortune, which has showered so many peculiar favors on the inhabitants of the United States, has placed them in the midst of a wilderness where one can almost say that they have no neighbors. For them a few thousands soldiers are enough...."[8] Tocqueville hoped that the American Republic could avoid the recurrent warfare that embroiled European great powers. As for civil war, Tocqueville considered the dissolution of the fledgling U.S. union possible but not probable; and should a breakup occur, he thought it might occur relatively peacefully. As of the 1830s, Tocqueville believed that the U.S. national government was steadily losing power and administrative coherence. He also felt that people in America, as in all commercially oriented democracies, had little taste for war.[9]

Tocqueville nevertheless feared for civic republicanism should the United States become involved in civil or international conflicts. "War almost always widens a nation's mental horizons and raises its heart...," Tocqueville acknowledged, but "any long war always entails great hazards to liberty in a democracy."[10] Perceiving possibilities through the lens of French

history from the Old Regime through the Napoleonic denouement of the Revolution, he posited that protracted "war between the now confederate states" would inevitably bring "standing armies, dictatorship, and taxes."[11] Once democratic peoples are finally dragged into wars, Tocqueville astutely observed, they tend to fight wholeheartedly; and democratic soldiers are inclined to compete for place and advancement, thus pushing the swollen military of a democracy at war to look for ever renewed fields of combat. Besides, government would come to the fore, displacing civil society. "War does not always give democratic societies over to military government," Tocqueville argued, "but it must... almost automatically concentrate the direction of all men and the control of all things in the hands of the government. If that does not lead to despotism by sudden violence, it leads men gently in that direction by their habits."[12]

Despite knowing about America's martial experiences, twentieth-century analysts have said much less than Tocqueville about war and civic democracy. Presenting his "Biography of a Nation of Joiners" in 1943-44 at the height of World War II, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. highlighted the civic impact of the American Revolution and the profoundly nationalizing impact of the Civil War, but he presented no systematic reasoning about war and voluntary associations and barely mentioned the twentieth-century World Wars.[13] Some years later, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba published The Civic Culture, a classic social-scientific treatment of U.S. voluntarism based on interviews with representative samples of Americans and citizens of four other democratic nations.[14] Even though World War II must have been a life-defining experience for many of the men and women interviewed, the effects of war on civic engagement were not explored.

Nor have these effects been much examined since. To be sure, Robert D. Putnam acknowledges World War II as an important spur to civic voluntarism in mid-twentieth-century

America.[15] But Putnam's attention to war is unusual among scholars and pundits debating the health of U.S. civil society today. As Christopher Beem shows in a wide-ranging survey, theorists of all persuasions focus on local communities and consider "governmental action... at best irrelevant to, and, at worst, inimical to, the production of social capital."[16]

Reasoning much as Tocqueville once did when he considered the likely impact of war on democratic civil society, Ladd and many other contemporary analysts rely on an <u>institutional displacement</u> understanding of the relationship between state activity and voluntarism. According to this zero-sum view, as government activity waxes societal associations and voluntary participation must wane; in Peter Drucker's characteristic formulation, America's "voluntary group action from below" must be understood as flourishing in opposition to the "collectivism of organized government action from above."[17]

There is, however, another way to think about the possible interrelationships of state and society, a theoretical framework stressing <u>institutional synergy</u> that makes better sense of variations across time and places in the impact of state structures and activities on civil society. "Instead of assuming a zero-sum relationship between government involvement and private cooperative efforts," writes sociologist Peter B. Evans in a recent synthesis of ideas from contemporary studies of economic development, "active government and mobilized communities can enhance each other's... efforts."[18] Such enhancement – harnessing governmental and social energies together – is most likely to happen when both governments and social communities have a joint stake in collective tasks that neither can perform entirely on their own.

Beyond a joint stake, two sets of conditions must also be present to create what Evans labels "state-society synergy." There must be "complementarity" between certain necessary inputs that can be provided by government agencies and other necessary inputs that can provided

by social groups. In addition, posits Evans, cooperative action is facilitated by "embeddedness," by which he means social relationships that cut across the state/society divide, tying governmental agencies with a degree of coherence to surrounding groups enjoying a modicum of social cohesion. According to Evans, governmental and social conditions favoring state-society synergy are not always there – not even when joint action would be helpful. To understand whether institutional synergy will occur, we need to examine a country's historical endowments of governmental institutions and organized social ties, both within communities and between communities and government.

Although these ideas about institutional synergy have been formulated in contemporary debates about economic development, they can guide our thinking about warmaking and the historical development of U.S. civil society. By definition, modern wars create a demand for joint action by state authorities and members of society. What makes a war "modern" is the attempt by a national government (or in a civil war, by a would-be national government) to mobilize involvement and support not just from soldiers but from all of society. Still, modern wars have obviously been fought in various ways – and to varying degrees of effectiveness – by different kinds of states in various societal contexts. The interesting thing for our purposes is to examine the role of state organizations and voluntary associations in America's initial modern wars, the Civil War and World War I. How did preexisting governmental institutions and voluntary associations contribute to the waging of each of these great conflicts? Can the organized ways in which Americans mobilized for each war help us to understand the creation of new voluntary groups and the growth of existing voluntary associations during and after each major conflict?

Not just how each great American war was fought, but who won, and who lost, had consequences for civic democracy. Wars are fought as organized mobilizations in institutional contexts, marked by given patterns in state and society. But they are also – preeminently – conflictual events, struggles that pit friends against enemies and result in winners and losers. Voluntary associations are built by networks of leaders and members who pursue shared purposes, while expressing and constructing shared identities – and few historical events have a more powerful effect on the sense of shared fate than wars. Groups that mobilize for war learn who is friend and who is foe; and the friends learn to cooperate, to struggle together. After victory in war, former combatants may have renewed energy and will to cooperate with their allies and friends. But groups that mobilize and then suffer defeat may well dissolve or fragment, as participants downplay their unsuccessfully realized identity.

Associationalism during and after wars is, in short, not only influenced by how a nation mobilizes for the conflict. It is also shaped by divisions of friend and foe and – above all – by victory and defeat. This may especially be true for nations whose citizens remain free to organize voluntary endeavors – or, like the American slaves, gain new freedoms as a result of a war. For free people, above all, the most "state-centered" of historical events – modern warfare – may be culturally as well as institutionally critical, because free people are more able than any others to express various possible shared identities in associational life.

Although abstractly stated, these considerations about state-society synergy as an institutional process, and about shared identities reinforced by friendship and enmity, winning and losing, can readily be applied to American associational trends during and after her first two great wars. We will consider each war in its own terms, and also pay attention to the sequence of these great conflicts. Wars punctuate the biographies of nations, shaping and reshaping both

state and civil society. In the U.S. case, as we are about to see, modern civil society took distinctive shape through a particular sequence of great wars. During the course of urbanization and industrialization in just over a half century, America passed from a massive domestic conflict to an initial twentieth-century mobilization for large-scale international warfare. Civic associationalism was mobilized, refocused, and expanded at home, well before the U.S. state fully joined the world of international power politics.

THE CIVIL WAR AND POPULAR VOLUNTARY FEDERATIONS

No other feature of U.S. political development is more significant than this: America's most protracted, destructive, and transformative war happened not in the "modern" twentieth century but in the middle of the nineteenth century, relatively early in the country's urbanization and industrialization.[19] This gargantuan struggle was not a conflict with foreign states, but an internecine struggle about the identity and shape of the American nation itself. As a military conflict, the Civil War stretched for 48 months, from April 1861 through April 1865. More than a third of adult men in the North served in the Union armies; and while estimates of the proportion of white southern men who fought for the Confederacy range from about 30% to nearly three-quarters, the most likely proportion is just over 40%. American casualties were many times higher in this war than in World Wars I and II; and the Civil War brought enormous destruction to the American homeland, especially in the South. Alexis de Tocqueville's expectation that a full-fledged war might be protracted and fierce proved quite prescient.

But Tocqueville's equally confident expectation that a protracted war between the states would undercut democratic civil society could hardly have been more mistaken. To be sure,

memberships and energies were temporarily diverted from most U.S. civilian associations, as from many economic and family pursuits. This conflict hit a society of farms and small towns like an unending series of tornadoes, as local notables departed for military service along with workers and farm boys. Yet from the end of the Civil War, American associational life was reknit and magnified. Established groups experienced upsurges of membership and activities; and national, state, and local leaders undertook unprecedented rounds of voluntary organizing, setting off a civic boom that lasted for the rest of the nineteenth century and into the start of the twentieth century.

To understand the remarkable civic developments that flowed from the Civil War -- and see why Tocqueville's worries for civil society were not realized despite the scale and ferocity of conflict -- we must survey voluntary associations and government prior to 1860, dissect the modalities of war mobilization, and explore the implications of victory and defeat for late nineteenth-century association-building.

American Voluntary Associations Before 1860

American civil society through much of the nineteenth century is often imagined to have been purely local, centered in "island communities" until large-scale industrialization brought extralocal organization and centralization toward the end of the 1800s.[20] But this picture is misleading, and fails to underline the startling political, religious, and associational changes that occurred well before the advent of corporate industrialization, as America remade itself from a set of British colonies into a representatively governed federal Republic.[21]

Except for churches, voluntary associations of any kind were indeed scarce in Colonial America. But rapid change came along with the birth of a new nation. In the words of Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., the struggle for American independence from Britain taught "men from different sections valuable lessons in practical cooperation."[22] From the Sons of Liberty to the Committees of Correspondence, patriots learned to build federations, tying local groups together within colonies and colonies together for the anti-British resistance. The War of Independence itself was fought, in the end, by an amalgamation of local and state militias working with George Washington's nascent professional officer corps.[23] Once independence was won, Americans came together to institute a unique federal constitution, which divided governmental prerogatives not just across functional branches but across three levels of sovereignty from localities through states to the national government. The Constitution mandated regular elections at all levels, and before long federated political parties emerged to manage competition for voter mobilization and office-filling across levels of government in the new Republic.[24] In the realm of party politics, therefore, American men soon learned to manage voluntary enterprises linked together in nation-spanning federal networks.

In this same era, people inspired by new religious messages competed to spread federated networks of congregations across the land -- Methodist and Baptist as well as Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal.[25] By the 1830s, transdenominational moral crusades emerged as well. Aiming to close U.S. post offices on Sundays, the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath coordinated petition drives across communities and regions. Meanwhile, the American Temperance Society and American Anti-Slavery Society organized representative federations that paralleled the three levels of U.S. governance, linking local face to face groups into state networks, and those in turn into associations with national labels and

organizational centers. All such translocal voluntary movements took advantage of the national postal system to mail newspapers and petitions as well as letters. Unusually efficient and far-reaching for its day, the United States Postal System made it possible for early Americans to link local voluntary groups into translocal movements and state and national organizations.[26]

Parallel developments happened in the expanding world of ritualistic fraternal groups. Here the Odd Fellows were the pioneers. They reached further down the class structure for recruits than the Masons; and between 1819 and 1843, the American "Independent" Order of Odd Fellows broke away from allegiance to Britain and developed a three-tiered lodge structure paralleling U.S. government institutions.[27] Other fraternal groups followed suit, including white nativist fraternals like the Improved Order of Red Men; ethnic associations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians and German Order of the Harugari and Sons of Herman; and assorted temperance-promoting fraternal groups as well, especially the Order of the Sons of Temperance and the Independent Order of Good Templars.

Well before the Civil War, in short, the United States had a vibrant civil society centered in citizen-run membership associations as well as church denominations and political parties. This remarkably participatory civil society was translocally as well as locally organized, with voluntary federations flourishing parallel to -- and on the same scale -- as political parties and representative federal governing institutions. By the 1850s, it is true, tensions over slavery were sundering political parties and religious denominations. Yet Americans everywhere – and especially in the North -- knew how to organize voluntarily for public purposes across localities and states, as well as within particular local communities.

Voluntarism in the Civil War

_____For the leaders of the Confederacy and the Union in 1861, the established associational skills of Americans turned out to be a very good thing. This was especially true for the quickly embattled Union. The early United States had but a modest national bureaucracy, mostly employed in the Postal Service. And as of 1861, the military consisted of only16,000 men, mostly stationed in the West to fight Indians, led by a minuscule layer of aging professional officers, the best of whom (like Robert E. Lee) soon left to serve the Confederacy. On both sides of the war between the states, military and relief efforts had to be created almost from scratch.[28] Government bureaus certainly appeared to try to direct things – and, ironically, as Richard Bensel has shown, proceeded in even more centralized ways in the South than in the North.[29] But there is no way that central governments alone could have fashioned armies or coordinate civilian relief efforts. Huge undertakings were put together quickly only because both men and women proved remarkably adept at assembling local volunteers and resources into state or regional assemblages, which in turn were amalgamated into the Union and Confederate militaries and support organizations.

The Union Army, for example, was initially composed entirely of organized groups of volunteers.[30] Typically, local communities or chapters of preexisting voluntary associations provided officers and men; then state governors combined such volunteer military units and contributed them to the armies controlled by President Abraham Lincoln and his generals. Federal military drafts commenced in the summer of 1862, after the first rush of enthusiasm was over and the protracted and bloody nature of the endeavor was well understood by everyone. But such drafts, culminating in America's first experiments with relatively universal conscription in 1863, mostly spurred local communities and states to find more volunteers and offer higher

bounties to recruits and their families. In the final analysis, fewer than fifteen percent of the Union army's nearly 2.5 million soldiers can be attributed, directly or indirectly, to federal conscription.[31] The Union military effort overwhelmingly consisted of voluntary mobilizations – and was remarkably equitable across class lines, as business, professional, and white collar men "led by example, not by prescript."[32]

As we have already glimpsed in the introductory sketch of Red Cross history, civilian support for the Union effort was also achieved through organized voluntarism.[33] Ladies' aid societies provided military support and civilian aid in the hard-pressed South; and in the North prominent men and women stepped forward immediately in 1861 to form the United States Sanitary Commission, whose proliferating networks of volunteers, disproportionately women, raised money in "sanitary fairs" and made or assembled supplies to meet soldiers' medical and personal needs. Simultaneously, many northern chapters of the Young Men's Christian Association transformed themselves into arms of the United States Christian Commission, devoted to supplying military chaplains for the Union armies and material as well as spiritual assistance to the troops. Organizationally, both the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission were federations, assembled by combining local into state into regional or national efforts (or linking city projects into national or regional undertakings). Like the armies themselves, the great Civil War civilian relief efforts were (to use Peter Evans' terminology) "coproductions" of government and civil society, dependent on close cooperation between voluntary groups and government officials. Officials did not have established national bureaucracies through which they could do things entirely on their own, but they did have contacts with civil associations and organizationally adept social leaders. The remarkable achievements of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions were very much indebted to the prewar

experience Americans had gained at founding and running extralocally interlinked voluntary efforts. To save the Union, Lincoln's government needed voluntary commitment and organizational savvy, and northern Americans were ready to do what was needed.

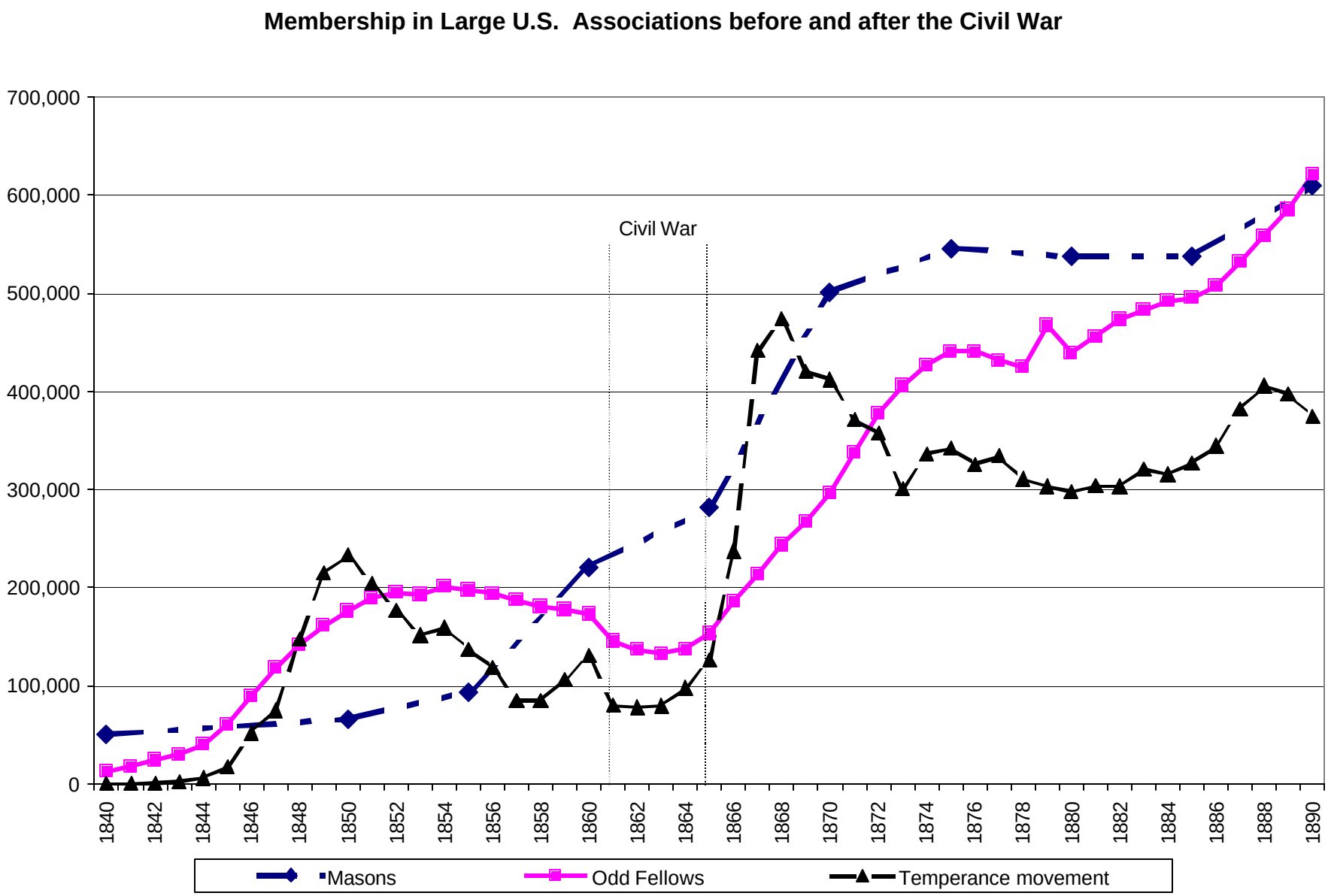
The Postwar Associational Surge

Given that the Civil War mobilizations happened as nested local-state-national efforts involving direct leadership by associated local notables, we can better understand why U.S. voluntary federations were poised for renewal and proliferation right after the war. To be sure, most previously established voluntary associations, even very large ones, suffered during the conflict.[34] Southern fraternalists and temperance reformers stopped attending national conventions; and local voluntary chapters contracted, sometimes disbanding altogether as notables along with broad swatches of ordinary men departed for the battlefields. Yet America's great voluntary federations reknit themselves immediately after the conflict. At wartime national conventions of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), for example, chairs were left vacant for representatives of the southern "grand lodges" – and these gentlemen duly reappeared to reclaim their seats within months after Lee surrendered at Appomatox.[35]

[Figure 3 about here]

U.S. voluntary federations revived and surged upward from 1865, as men leaving the armies rejoined the local chapters of voluntary federations and formed new ones (or, in some cases, arrived at home in chapters already formed in military camps). Figure 3 documents membership trends during and after the Civil War for associations that were already very large prior to the conflict, including the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and the temperance movement as a

Figure 3.



Source: Civic Engagement Project data as of 02/11/2000

whole (summing memberships for the IOGT, the Sons of Temperance, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the three leading federations that to some degree competed for adherents during the 1860s and 1870s). Also buoyed in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War were nascent federations such as the Improved Order of Red Men and the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. Here the YMCA is an especially telling case. Launched in North America in 1851, this evangelical Protestant men's movement was beginning to knit together a national network of "Ys" when the Civil War broke out. Between 1861 and 1865, southern chapters collapsed, while northern "Ys" reorganized themselves to participate in the Christian Commission tied to the Union Army. But "in thus losing their life in a sense, they saved it," explains association historian Howard Hopkins (using unmistakably Christian imagery), "for they identified themselves in the public mind with the great cause to which the nation was committed" and positioned the YMCA movement to grow rapidly starting in 1865.[36]

Beyond buoying memberships, the Civil War also sparked the founding of many new popular membership federations. Men and women from various communities and states met for the first time during this great national struggle, which clearly raised the horizons and emboldened the civic imaginations of many, inspiring them to launch ambitious new associational projects. Some, like the Red Cross, were attempts to continue Civil War undertakings in civilian formats. Others were fresh national projects, clearly intended to reknit the newly reunited country and deal with problems across regions.

Founded in Washington DC in 1864 by a regionally disparate group of young clerks who met in the wartime civil service in Washington DC, the Knights of Pythias – which rapidly became America's third largest fraternal group following the Masons and Odd Fellows – was built around a ritual of mutually sacrificial brotherhood that allowed men to re-express wartime

ties and simultaneously symbolized regional reconciliation.[37] The Patrons of Husbandry, or National Grange, was launched in Washington DC in 1867 by another group of clerks, led by a Department of Agriculture official originally from Minnesota, Oliver Kelley, who conceived the idea of a new national fraternity for farm men and women after he took a postwar official tour into the South to assess the needs of farmers in the depressed agricultural economy there.[38]

Postwar conditions also aroused women, who were horrified at the drinking habits of returned soldiers and worried that wartime taxes on liquor had enhanced the influence of the liquor industry in government. Grassroots female protests against saloons spread in the Midwest in the early 1870s, and then leading women who met at a summer Sunday school camp called for the creation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).[39] "In union and in organization are... success and permanence, and the consequent redemption of this land from the curse of intemperance," proclaimed the "Call" to form the WCTU in phrases resonant with the "Onward Christian Soldiers" rhetoric of Union victory.[40] The idea was to create a nation-wide federation of female-led temperance unions paralleling all levels of U.S. government, in order permanently to institutionalize temperance activities that might otherwise prove ephemeral and hard to sustain. Typical of many activists in the new federation, the first president, Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, had built her reputation and forged many connections as a key wartime leader in both the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission.[41]

As these examples suggest, northerners took the lead in building national U.S. membership federations in the post-Civil War era. America's mid-nineteenth-century fratricidal conflict not only spurred organized civic life; it also reshaped it into more of a northern-centered set of endeavors, at least among whites. Victory and defeat mattered. Before 1860, would-be national U.S. associations were usually launched from great Eastern seaboard cities -- and

Baltimore, Maryland was an especially prominent launching site, in part because it was a "hinge" between North and South. But from 1860 on, virtually all major voluntary associations were launched from northern cities, and the launching locations spread into medium as well as large cities in the Midwest and West. This was true not only for the very large federations listed in Appendix A, but also for the vast preponderance of hundreds of smaller federations launched in the late nineteenth century.[42]

Much evidence suggests that the defeat of the Confederacy undercut in the postwar white South the kinds of connections between local and supralocal associational life that nourished civic vitality across the rest of the nation. Although local veterans' and memorial or aid groups formed in southern communities, for example, the United Confederate Veterans, did not come together until 1889 (whereas as the leading union veterans' federation, the Grand Army of the Republic, formed in 1866, ahead of virtually all the state and local camps that eventually proliferated within it). By the early twentieth century, to be sure, churches were prolific in southern communities. But most churches were affiliated with the southern Baptist and Methodist denominations, while local chapters of non-church voluntary federations, virtually all of them headquartered in the North, were not as dense on the ground inside as outside the South.[43]

After the Civil War, white southerners joined or rejoined chapters of nationally organized membership federations at a lower rate than they had before. Striking evidence of this appears in Figure 4, which traces southern and northern membership in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) per 100,000 population over the course of the nineteenth century. Notice that, prior to 1860, white southern and northern membership densities were converging somewhat, even though the South was a considerably less urbanized region. But white southern IOOF

membership plunged drastically during the Civil War, and then rebounded only modestly. Even as postwar population grew rapidly, northern per capita IOOF membership burgeoned after the war, surpassing the prewar highpoint by the early 1870s and continuing upward from there (with modest losses during the economic hard times of the late 1870s and early 1880s). In contrast, white southern IOOF membership did not come close to regaining its mid-1850s per capita level until the very end of the nineteenth century.[44]

[Figures 4 and 5 about here]

Figure 5 offers yet another picture of the development of American Odd Fellows through the nineteenth century – this time adding African Americans to the picture, using the only data available to us right now, on estimated lodge formation rather than membership trends. This figure dramatizes the liberating impact of the Civil War and Union victory on African Americans. American blacks were excluded from the white-run Independent Order of Odd Fellows, but in 1843 they founded their own parallel federation, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (GUO of OF).[45] Prior to the Civil War, the GUO of OF was run by northern free blacks, most gathered in lodges in the major East coast cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington DC, yet with some presence in smaller cities. With the outbreak of the war about slavery, northern blacks stepped up their organizing; and from the moment of the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation southern blacks founded lodges of their own. The hopes of the time were captured in such evocative names as "Star of Liberty Lodge" (founded 1863), "Free Virginia Lodge" (founded 1864), "Frederick Douglass Lodge" (founded 1865), "United Sons of the Morning Lodge" (founded 1866), and "Abraham Lincoln Lodge" and "Republican Star Lodge" (both founded 1869) – and in the new name of one previously established lodge that petitioned in 1866 to change its name to "Freedom's Friend Lodge." [46]

Figure 4. White Odd Fellows Membership in the North and South through the Civil War

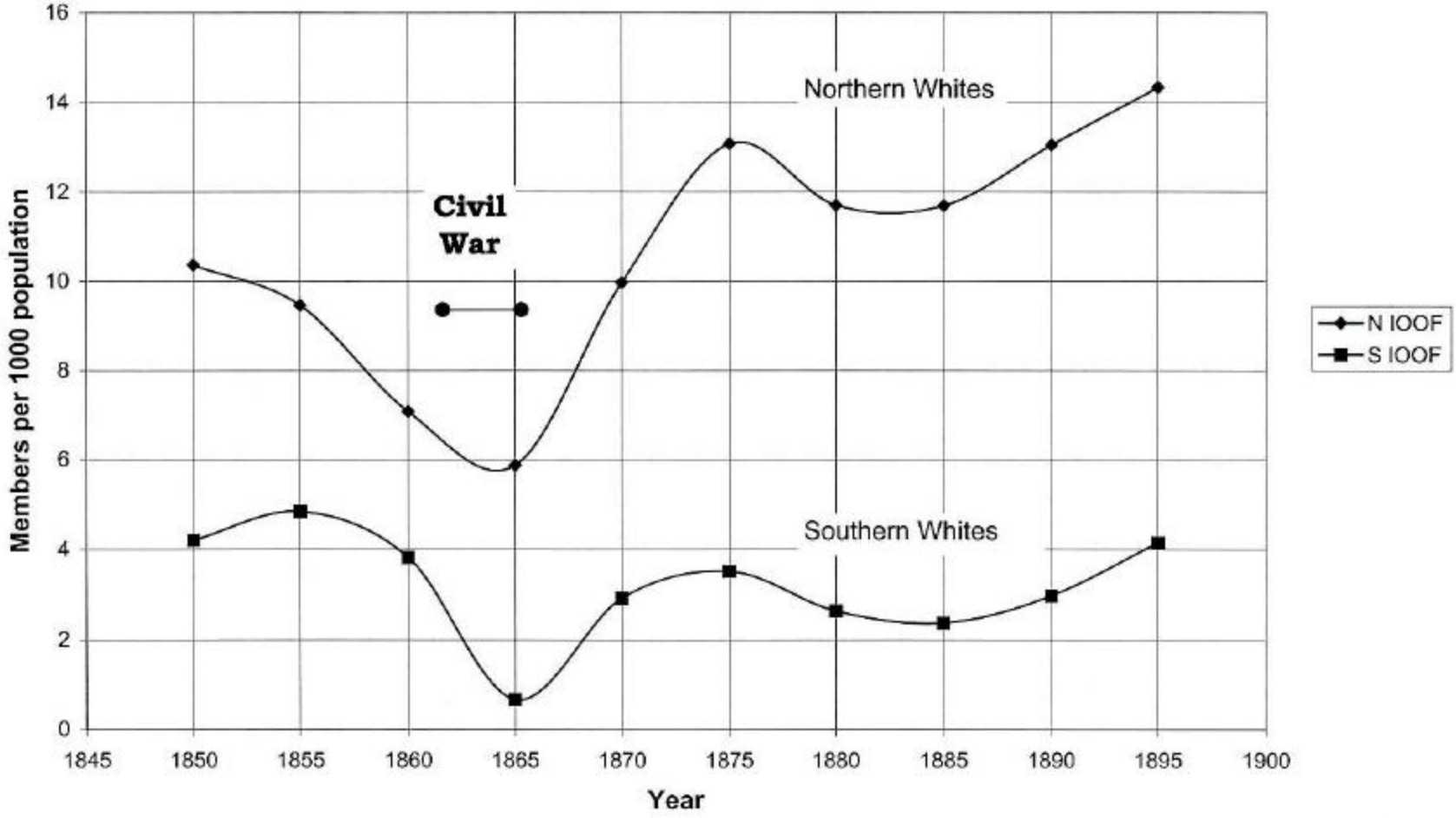
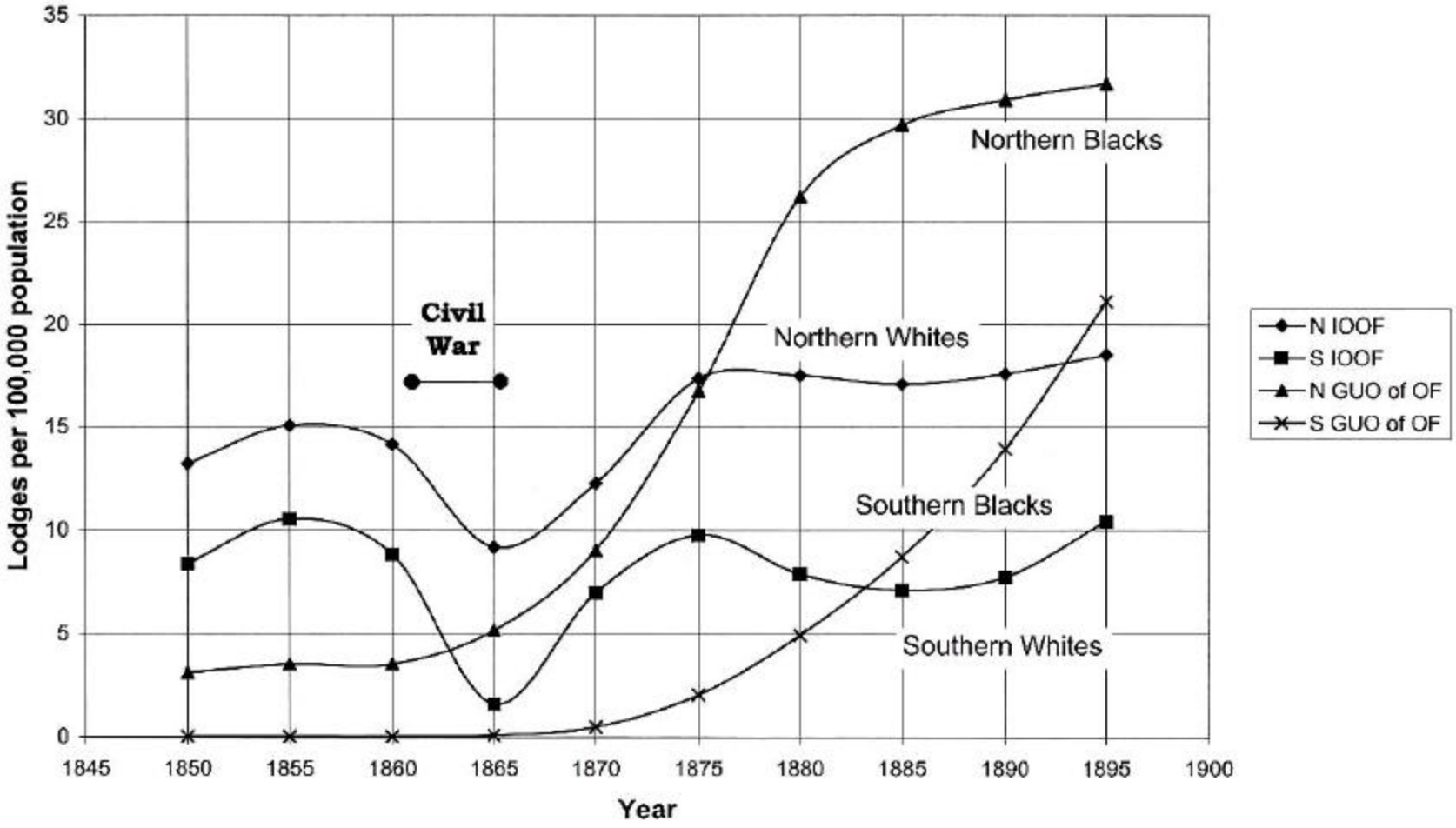


Figure 5. White and Black Odd Fellows Lodges in the North and South through the Civil War



Northern and southern African Americans thus responded to victory and freedom with a surge of organizing and joining – and the numbers of African American GUO of OF lodges eventually overtook white IOOF lodges in per capita terms.

The trends traced in Figure 5 are truly remarkable, given that African Americans, especially in the South, were much poorer and less well educated than whites. Nor was the African American organizational explosion restricted to the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows. From the Civil War through the turn of the twentieth century emboldened American blacks created dozens of new translocally organized fraternal, sororal, and mutual-aid associations, groups like the Order of Galilean Fishermen (founded in Baltimore, Maryland in 1865); the Independent Order of St. Luke (founded in Baltimore in 1867); the Knights of Pythias of North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa (founded in 1869 in Richmond, Virginia); the Knights and Daughters of Tabor, International Order of Twelve (founded in Independence, Missouri in 1872); and the Mosaic Templars of America (founded in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1883). As these examples suggest, postwar African American federations were usually launched from upper-South or border-state cities, symbolizing the new capacity of blacks to forge ties between northerners and southern brothers and sisters now released from slavery.

The Civil War, in short, not only gave a big push to American civic organizing, it redirected the leadership of national endeavors toward northerners and empowered African Americans in unprecedented ways, while disheartening and disconnecting southern whites. For the most part, this meant that national association-building was encouraged, because the North (tied to much of the dynamically expanding West) was the richer, faster growing region in late-nineteenth-century America. But associational fortunes varied through the Civil War, and particular groups could end up being torn apart in the fierce crosswinds of this era. Inside the

vast American temperance movement, for example, the Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) grew both during and just after the war, reaching amazing heights in the early 1870s.[47] From its birth, the IOGT had a policy of recruiting women as well as men and allowing women to be elected officers. During the war, American women intensified their temperance activism at a time when many men were in the military; so its gender-inclusive norms helped the IOGT to keep growing even during the war and gain important new ground in competition with the Sons of Temperance (which only slowly and reluctantly changed away from exclusive recruitment of men). Remarkably, the IOGT also accepted African Americans -- and such recruitment grew during and right after the Civil War, at a time when northerners alone were in charge of the national IOGT. But as white southerners returned to the federation after the Civil War, however, fierce fights broke out over the place of blacks in the association. In 1876, the IOGT split into two organizations, which came back together only in 1886. But by then, IOGT mass appeal had passed. Leadership in the American temperance movement had passed primarily to the female-led WCTU.

The Civil War not only fueled temperance crusades, therefore, it furthered the feminization of this sector of U.S. civic life. Simultaneously, the after-reverberations of a war fought mostly by volunteer brotherhoods encouraged the growth and formation of male-dominated fraternal groups. Hundreds of fraternals, large and small, spread across America in the late 1800s.[48] These associations brought men across occupational strata together to enact regular rituals of cross-class brotherly solidarity; and in many cases sponsored internal "military orders" devoted to drills and parades that surely must have resonated with wartime experiences for millions of late-nineteenth-century veterans and their sons.

American voluntarism flourished from 1865 through the turn of the twentieth century, and its predominant institutional form was the local-state-national federation, a form in place before the Civil War – indeed a form that helped Americans mobilize in partnership with government to fight that war. Although post-Civil War associationalism was arguably more gender-segregated, the postwar civic world was in many ways an expanded and more northern-centered version of pre-war civic America. To be sure, as industrialization gathered force, business and professional groups and labor unions proliferated in the late 1800s and early 1900s. But class and occupationally based groups never became as numerous or anywhere near as large as cross-class membership associations.[49] Because the Civil War was fought as it was, it ended up revivifying and spreading an early modern U.S. associational form: the nation-spanning, cross-class, membership federation. Popularly rooted membership associations expanded and proliferated, even as the United States became a more class-divided society with the advent of corporate industrialization.

STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN AMERICA'S FIRST WORLD WAR

Both the Civil War and World War II were bigger conflicts by far than America's first venture into European big power warfare between 1917 and 1919. Despite its restricted duration and lower level of military involvement and casualties, however, World War I brought the most pivotal changes in U.S. methods for making war. State-society relationships forged during World War I became a "dress rehearsal" for similar undertakings on a greater and more sustained scale in the 1940s. Experiences during World War I also contributed centrally to shaping a modernized universe of U.S. voluntary membership associations -- including both business and

professional groups and popularly rooted federations closely attuned to national purposes, a configuration of groups that remained vibrant into the 1960s. In many ways, World War I set the civic mold for the United States as a global power.

A New Approach to Military Mobilization

Until 1917, U.S. wars were primarily fought by volunteers assembled from localities and states. In the Civil War, as we have seen, local leaders raised units and (often) served as officers of the men they recruited. Decades later, a similar approach was taken to mobilize units for the Spanish American War of 1897-98.[50] Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders epitomize this remarkably persistent, traditional American way of mobilizing fighting men. As late as 1916, public and Congressional sentiment still favored the militia-based system (and initially President Woodrow Wilson resisted "preparedness" advocates who pushed for a national draft and universal military training). But once the United States entered the stalemated European war in April 1917, Wilson did an about-face and asked Congress to enact a system of national conscription, to be based on registration by all adult men on June 5, 1917.[51] Faced with the need suddenly to enhance and manage national industrial and agricultural production at the same time that a large force was raised for potential dispatch to the European battle fronts, Wilson sought to coordinate "selective service" in the military with retention of skilled manpower in key segments of the economy. America's experiences in the Civil War, and Britain's experience in the first years of World War I, convinced the Wilson administration that reliance on locally assembled volunteer units would prompt indiscriminate military service by key civilian leaders and skilled workers, leaving the domestic economy without leadership deemed necessary to fight

a modern total war. President Wilson and his War Department aimed for a more rationally coordinated approach.[52]

Given the fundamental breaks embodied in national conscription and a nationally managed war economy, historians have told the story of World War I in terms of governmental centralization and functional coordination between government and organized economic sectors.[53] Partnerships between government and voluntary associations have certainly been highlighted in standard accounts, but historians have focused almost exclusively on business, professional, and labor and farm associations. The President, the War Department, the Treasury, the Department of Agriculture, and other parts of the federal executive convened coordinating agencies – such as the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, and the Food Administration – each of which in turn formed partnerships with key economic actors.[54] In Ellis Hawley's phrase, an "associative state" began to take shape, based on partnerships between federal agencies and business groups, with some participation by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.[55] "State-society synergy" has certainly been portrayed as central to U.S. mobilization for World War I, but this synergy appears to have taken a fundamentally different form than the partnerships between government and cross-class citizens' associations which predominated during and after the Civil War.

Much about this orthodox story makes sense. Socioeconomically, America was transformed between the Civil War and World War I from a nation of farms and small towns where 53 percent of the workforce was in agriculture, to an urban and industrial giant where more than half of Americans lived in urban places. Only 27 percent "remained engaged in agriculture" and the work force consisted "increasingly of employees rather than the self-employed."[56] Associations grounded in occupational or class identities proliferated from the

1880s on.[57] As the United States moved into global power politics, federal authorities had much to gain by forming ties to -- and fostering cooperation among -- nationally influential business, professional, and labor leaders.

Associational Foundings

The usual wisdom also accounts for a striking difference between the associational after-effects of the Civil War and World War I. In the former case, as we have seen, wartime mobilizations encouraged leaders to launch new cross-class membership federations, in effect imitating and extending the kinds of organizational networks through which the Civil War itself was fought. But the association-building upsurge that accompanied and followed World War I (and World War II as well) sparked business and professional groups – that is, exactly the new kinds of groups that public officials both encouraged and closely cooperated with to manage twentieth-century warfare in more rationalized fashion.

There is no listing yet available of the founding dates of all national U.S. business and professional associations past and present, but chroniclers agree that such groups proliferated gradually from the late 19th century onward and then more than doubled during and right after World War I, going from hundreds to between 1000 and 2000 in number and assuming "many of the characteristics that are typical today."[58] Along with the 1933-34 period (when the first New Deal required business cooperation) and the World War II period (when the federal government again worked closely with business and professional elites), World War I was a time when experts and managers were brought together on officially sponsored government boards and committees. As federal officials mounted unprecedented national propaganda campaigns, for

example, the American Association of Advertising Agencies formed in 1917; and at the conclusion of a war that involved orchestrated food conservation campaigns, the National Restaurant Association was born in 1919. In some cases, federal officials pulled together more specifically elite groups than had existed before, as the birth of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women underlines. When "Secretary of War Newton D. Baker issued a call to make... woman power available for the war effort,... it was found that women were organized in so far as religious, cultural, and fraternal groups were concerned, but that business and professional women were an unorganized group." National war mobilization committees thus brought leading women professionals together; and even though the Armistice intervened before their plans came to fruition, the Secretary of War continued to sponsor meetings and paid regional organizers until the National Federation was instituted in July 1919.[59]

While mobilization for World War I encouraged the formation of hundreds of new business and professional associations, it served as midwife to only two of the large popularly rooted voluntary federations listed in Appendix A. Significantly, the American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF) and the American Legion were directly encouraged by World War I officials seeking to fill what they saw as lacunae in the existing universe of popular membership federations.

The formation of the AFBF was facilitated because federal authorities wanted new, reliable associational partners for managing relations with commercial farmers at a time when agricultural production was critical to the war effort.[60] Federal officials did not find preexisting farmers' associations appealing. Some groups were too radical, and the National Grange had opposed the original 1917 military draft and was dismissed as a "secret" fraternal organization. Prior to 1917, federally appointed county agricultural agents had fostered "farm bureaus," and

they encouraged their rapid spread during the war. In turn, Hoover's Food Administration along with other state and national authorities promoted farm bureau coordination, enabling cooperating non-governmental leaders to bring together the national Farm Bureau in 1919.

Meanwhile, officers of the American Expeditionary Force sponsored the American Legion as a new national federation of World War I veterans, issuing a plan while the armies were still in France calling for officers and soldiers returning home to set up Legion posts in every community and state.[61] The military and civilian elites who launched the Legion were determined to create a nationally influential, cross-class association open to all veterans. In their vision, the Legion would replace the earlier Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) -- which, of course, was a geographically uneven association restricted to Union veterans of the 1861-65 war and was destined to die with them. Remarkably, the entire federation edifice was put in place during 1919, proving the potency of marrying official sponsorship and an established armed forces communications network to a familiar model of civic associationalism copied from the GAR and other cross-class federations.

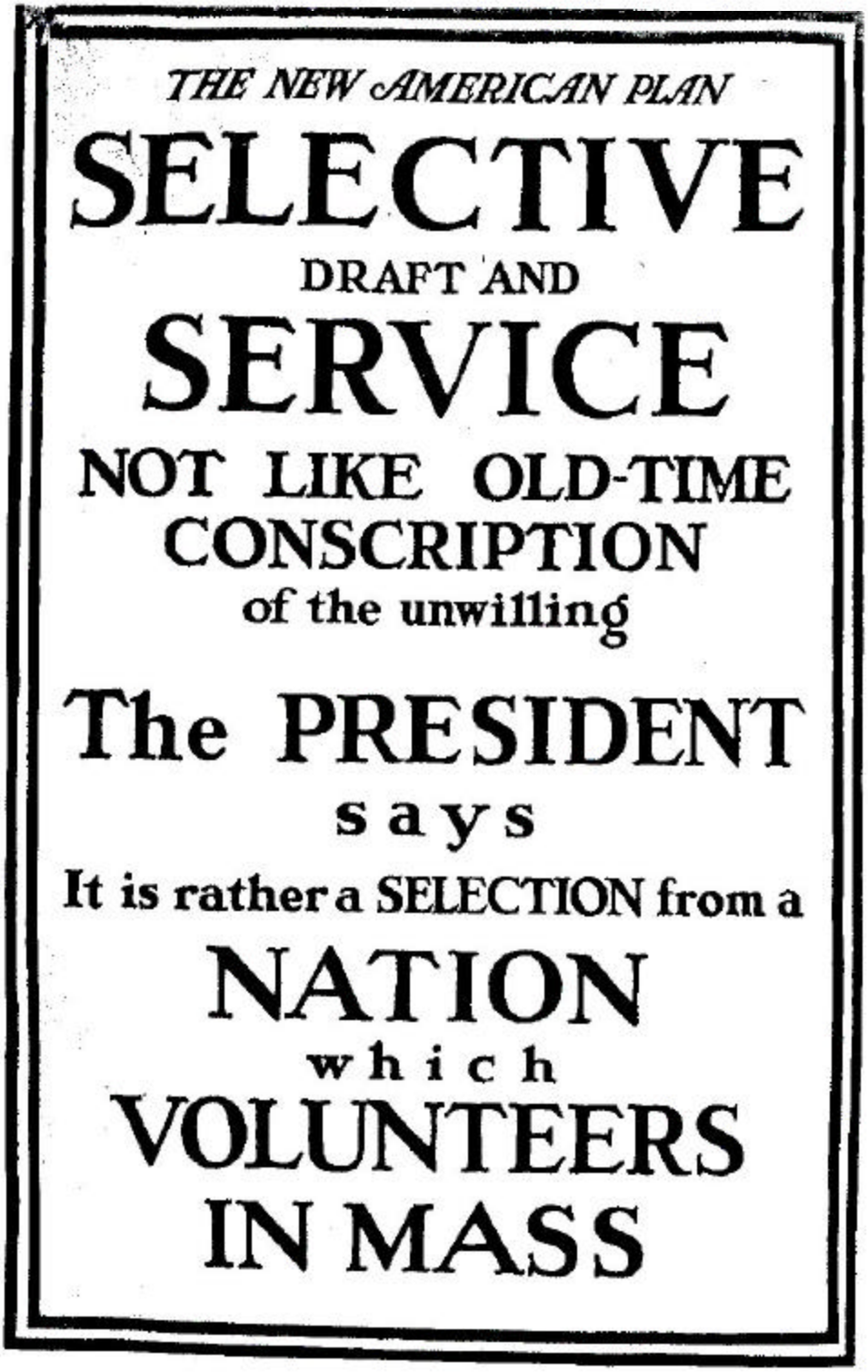
Popular Federations in World War I

But the Legion and the Farm Bureau were atypical instances of official encouragement of new popular voluntary federations in conjunction with the World Wars. In most spheres, such innovations were unnecessary, because twentieth-century American civil society was already networked with a rich array of popularly rooted, cross-class voluntary federations – many of which were able and very willing to enter into wartime partnerships with government. Given the conventional focus on business-government cooperation during World War I, another major part

of the story has been overlooked. Mobilization for this conflict could not be achieved solely through cooperation between business and professional associations and federal agencies. Millions of ordinary Americans had to be involved, through efforts reaching out to families and communities throughout the nation. Executive agencies and coordinating committees certainly proliferated in Washington DC, and defined bold goals to project American economic and military power abroad. Yet the goals of war mobilization far outran available bureaucratic means – especially in 1917-19, when, for the first time, the American people were asked to participate in a huge European war.

[Selective Service poster about here]

When Wilson administration officials asked millions of American men to register for the new Selective Service system on June 5, 1917, they were not at all sure people would respond to President Wilson's exhortation for everyone to come forward "voluntarily." This approach was taken in deliberate contrast to the highly problematic Union Civil War draft, where military officials went out into the countryside to run men down. Yet "voluntary" registration had to be backed not just with national propaganda but also with much community hoopla and social pressure; and then local civic notables had to be recruited to run the local draft boards through which further registrations and actual draft selections were accomplished.[62] Similarly, when Treasury Secretary William McAdoo chose to make sales of "Liberty Bonds" a major part of his scheme for financing the war with cheap money, millions of Americans had to be persuaded to buy these unfamiliar financial instruments. And when Food Administrator Herbert Hoover wanted consumers to conserve scarce food stocks for military supply and shipment to starving Europe, he needed to find a way to get the word out to millions of ordinary households, persuading housewives to prepare "meatless" and "wheatless" meals.



ANONYMOUS
Selective Draft and Service, ca. 1917
14⅛ × 21⅝ inches
University of Texas at Austin

In none of these undertakings did the U.S. national government possess the capacity to handle the administrative tasks or the means to contact individuals and families directly. Historians have stressed the Wilson administration's innovative use of propaganda techniques coordinated by George Creel's Committee on Public Information, which inundated the country with newsreels, posters, and pamphlets.[63] But what about the actual dissemination of such messages? Newsreels could be sent to movie theaters, but this was not yet the era of instant electronic communication through televisions or radios in every home. Organized social intermediaries mattered in what social scientists used to call the "two step flow of communication" from authoritative central sources via local "opinion leaders" to ordinary citizens.[64]

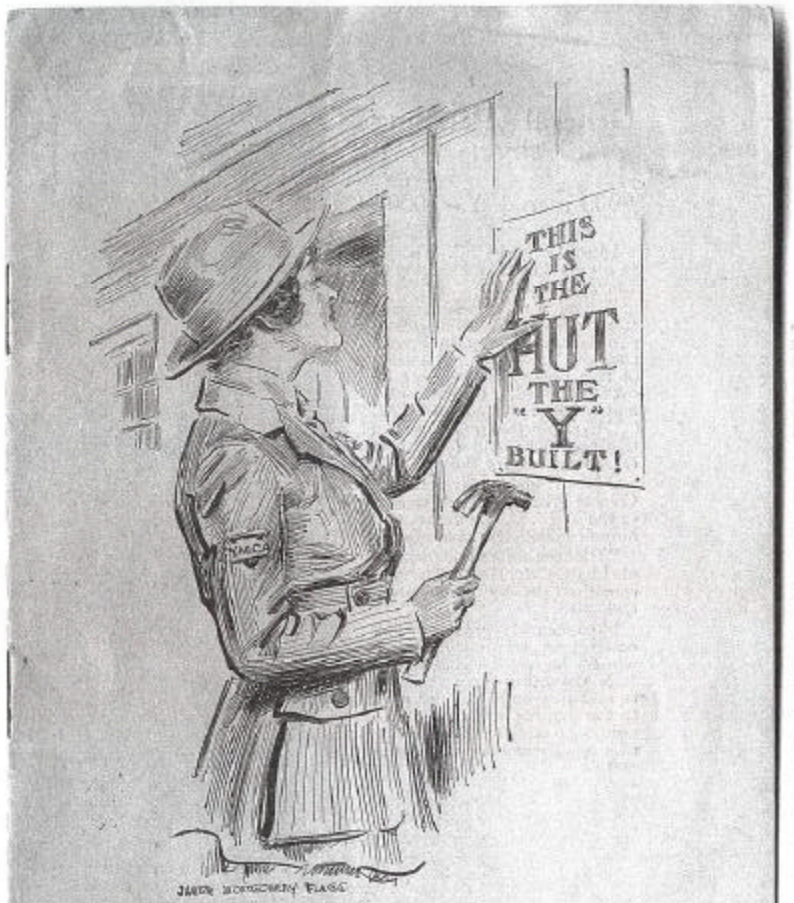
Not surprisingly, America's World War I managers turned to the great voluntary federations for help. The federal government relied on partnerships with voluntary associations -- and it needed groups with extensive networks and popular roots, not just the sorts of business and professional associations on which scholars have concentrated so much attention. Knit together in the decades following the explosion of associational births that followed the Civil War, an elaborate associational infrastructure -- reaching into towns and states across the nation -- made it possible for the United States to mobilize for World War I. Organized popular campaigns involving the national, state, and local bodies of more than two dozen leading voluntary federations (and many smaller federations, as well) figured in every aspect of war mobilization – from drafting, training, and supporting troops, to raising money to pay for the war, to heightening industrial and agricultural production, to conserving resources in order to maximize the deployment of U.S. resources abroad. The best place to learn about these efforts is not in scholarly treatments of World War I, which tend to be top-down accounts focused on

business and federal managers, but from the ubiquitous reports prepared soon after 1919 by chroniclers proud of the wartime efforts of "their" states or communities.[65]

At the official core of the popular war mobilization were new versions of the same kinds of partnerships that constituted the civilian contributions to fighting the Civil War. Picking up right where they left off in earlier conflicts, the YMCA and the Red Cross were immediately commissioned by the War Department to organize and fund services from the recreational to the spiritual, supporting the newly mobilized soldiers in training camps, in transit, and on the European fronts.[66] YMCA "huts" went everywhere with the troops – and were advertised to potential donors on the home front as "homes away from home." Associations engaged in war relief also supported families and communities on the home front.

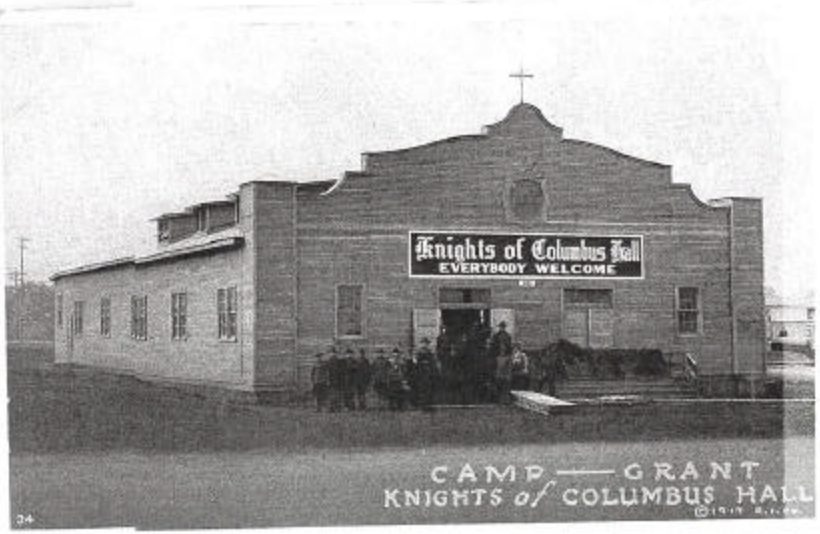
[YMCA pamphlet and K of C postcard about here]

World War I brought an important new twist to government-associational partnerships for military and civilian support. This time, non-Protestant voluntary associations also got officially involved. By the 1890s, at a time of heightened ethno-religious tensions between Protestants and Catholics, the Knights of Columbus (K of C) was emerging as an influential and ambitious nationwide Catholic fraternal group. Tied to the Church but led by laymen, the Knights stressed their patriotic credentials. This fraternal group's name and ceremonies celebrated the Catholic explorer and discover of America, Christopher Columbus; and the K of C added a patriotic higher "degree" to its ritual in the 1890s. By the early twentieth century, Knights of Columbus leaders were confident enough to begin to challenge Protestant hegemony in national affairs.[67] During the 1916 U.S. military incursion into Mexico, local K of C councils persuaded military authorities to allow them to join the YMCA in setting up centers in the border camps offering comforts and religious services to American troops. With the outbreak of World



THE Y. M. C. A. Hut is home to-day for two million boys over there, and for another million on this side. Your money helped to build the Huts; and is helping to keep them the bright spot in the soldiers' and sailors' lives.

Follow your money through the pages of this book, and see how many different good things it is doing for our boys.



War I, national K of C leaders pointed to this example and stressed to the Wilson administration that one-third of Americans were Catholics, who should not be subjected to the Protestant evangelism that YMCA volunteers dispensed along with services. Some leading Knights had strong ties to the Democratic Party; and this was a juncture when the newly instituted military draft was reaching out to take many Catholic working-class men. So no doubt for political as well as administrative reasons, President Wilson and the War Department agreed to give the Knights of Columbus official standing along with the YMCA in the wartime support apparatus run by voluntary associations.

Protestant fraternal groups, including the prestigious Masons, protested the "favoritism" allegedly being shown the leading Catholic fraternal federation. But the War Department held firm, stressing that the K of C was acting as a social service agency not a fraternal brotherhood, and pointing out that its "huts," like those of the YMCA, would be open to all soldiers.[68] To highlight the interdenominational nature of the new arrangements, the War Department invited the Young Men's Hebrew Association to join with the YMCA, YWCA, K of C, Salvation Army, and other officially supported voluntary associations in what soon became the "United War Work Campaign." Along with the American Federation of Labor and the farm bureaus, which were crucial partners in ensuring heightened economic production, the associations of the War Work Campaign were at the official heart of government-society partnerships during World War I.

["United War-Work Campaign" poster about here]

When other voluntary associations wanted to help the troops, federal agencies told them to channel their volunteers and monetary contributions through the groups officially commissioned to take the lead. Thus the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks ended up

YMCA

YWCA

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL

Keep them smiling

JEWISH WELFARE BOARD · U.S. Army and Navy ·

This home is helping our boys over there

UNITED WAR-WORK CAMPAIGN

WAR CAMP COMMUNITY SERVICE

THE SALVATION ARMY

A·L·A·

conducting a national fundraising campaign for the Salvation Army.[69] And the General Federation of Women's Clubs, informed that it could not send women directly to France, placed volunteers wearing "GFWC" arm patches in units run by the Young Women's Christian Association (which, along with the YMCA, was officially designated to serve the troops).[70] The national managers of America's wartime mobilizations may have badly needed the enthusiasm and contributions of many voluntary associations, but they also aimed for efficiency and wanted to avoid the "duplication" of efforts. So they required associations to work together and limited the number that could officially gain direct access to military encampments and fronts. This was in important respects a departure from voluntarist traditions in the past, when local communities and particular associations tended to maintain direct ties to units of "their men" in the military, without going through central authorities either to gain information from the men or to send things to them.[71] Especially where access to military units was concerned, the state-society synergy of World War I was more rationalized than the Civil War mobilization.

Even so, there remained many routes for federations to take into the heart of the World War I mobilizations on the home front. Domestic efforts were not completely rationalized – in large part because various civilian federal committees and agencies each forged their own partnerships with distinct voluntary partners. The Treasury Department tapped the Boy Scouts to help conduct national Liberty Loan drives.[72] Promising to avoid European-style food "dictatorship" and instead "assemble the voluntary effort of the people," Food Administrator Herbert Hoover convened a meeting of fraternal and women's group leaders to request their help in persuading families to cut back use of wheat, sugar, fats, and meat.[73] And only fifteen days after Congress declared war in April 1917, the Council of National Defense decided to set up a Woman's Committee which quickly tapped leaders of national women's federations.[74]

Prominent "organization women," especially from the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, immediately brought their federations' networks into the war effort. In state after state, Federated Women's Club leaderships essentially converted themselves into instruments of war mobilization, able to reach millions of individual homes through clubs in thousands of local communities.[75]

[Table 1 about here]

In fact, local chapters of all kinds of voluntary membership federations became crucial nodes in war mobilization drives. Reproducing lists from a chronicle of war activities in Iowa, for example, Table 1 indicates the remarkable range of church congregational networks and voluntary chapter networks that were reported as contributing to food conservation campaigns in that one state. Without including the public schools, which were invariably mobilized for war drives, some 43 federated networks and more than 12,500 congregations and chapters were reportedly involved in food conservation drives in just this state. Iowa may well have been one of the most civicly engaged states, but it was not unique. Voluntary association reports and other state and community histories tell the same stories again and again. Drives to purchase Liberty Bonds were regular undertakings for associational chapters, often involving competition among local or state units within the membership federations. Women's groups routinely spearheaded food conservative drives, worked on behalf of the United War Work associations, or convened to knit socks or wrap bandages for the Red Cross. And male fraternal and veterans' groups championed draft registration and military recruitment, participated in patriotic parades and pageants, and raised funds to help soldiers and their families. "For the temple units, it was

TABLE 1. FEDERATED GROUPS ENGAGED IN WWI FOOD DRIVES IN IOWA

Church Congregations:

Methodist: 783	Presbyterian: 202	
Catholic: 480	German Lutheran: 121	
Lutheran: 337	German Evangelical: 56	
Christian: 324	Swedish Lutheran: 53	
Congregational: 237	Episcopal: 40	
Baptist: 221	Evangelical Lutheran: 19	Total: 2873

Association Chapters:

United Commercial Travelers: 34 lodges	
Travelers Protective Association: 14 lodges	
Iowa State Traveling Men's Association: 235 lodges	
Gideons: 324 lodges	
Knights of Pythias: 235 lodges	
Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks: 32 lodges	
Loyal Order of Moose: 50 lodges	
Knights of Columbus: 47 lodges	
Ancient Order of United Workmen: 118 lodges	
Fraternal Order of Eagles: 25 lodges	
Independent Order of Odd Fellows: 685 lodges	
Brotherhood of American Yeomen: 500 lodges	
Homesteaders: 140 lodges	
Woodmen of the World: 400 lodges	
Modern Woodmen of America: 982 lodges	
Masons: 531 lodges	
Sons of Herman: 1500 lodges	
Foresters: 22 lodges	
Royal Neighbors of America: 575 lodges	
Order of the Eastern Star: 419 lodges	
Woodmen of the World Circle: 190 lodges	
Rebekahs: 600 lodges	
Pythian Sisters: 144 lodges	
Women's Clubs: 600 clubs	
Woman's Christian Temperance Unions: 400 unions	
Daughters of the American Revolution: 75 chapters	
Colonial Dames: 100 chapters	
Grand Army of the Republic: 600 posts	
Sons of the American Revolution: 25 chapters	
Ad Men's Clubs: 14 branches	
Rotary Clubs: 14 clubs	Total: 9630

Source: Ivan L. Pollock, The Food Administration in Iowa, vol. I (Iowa City, IA: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1923), pp. 188-89.

parade, parade, parade," recounts the group's official history about the wartime contributions of the Ancient Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.[76]

At their most attenuated, group efforts shaded into primarily symbolic association with the war effort. Of course, even symbolic participation meant that voluntary associations lent their internal communications to the shaping of public opinion in support of America's newfangled engagement in a European war. For federal authorities, running the war effort through partnerships with voluntary associations and societal institutions had great advantages. "A national bureaucracy might possibly have handled the local problems of war administration more efficiently...," explained historian Preston William Slosson in a 1931 retrospective, "but it could not have enlisted an equal degree of popular enthusiasm. The fact that nearly every prominent citizen could wear some sort of button or badge, that homes and business houses could hang out flags with a star for each person serving in France, that the operation of the draft was in the hands of local civilian boards, that food-saving posters could be placed in every kitchen window, that every child could collect thrift stamps, made the war national as no congressional resolution or presidential proclamation could have."[77]

Voluntary associations had their own reasons for trumpeting war service, and also benefited from the effort. Federations gained visibility and legitimacy with the general public – and this was surely valuable to associations dependent on membership recruitment and dues. Wartime service also allowed voluntary groups provide praise and status inducements to leaders and members. Engagement with the war was a way to honor "manly" patriotic service in fraternal lodges, and an equally good way to underline feminine caring in women's clubs and auxiliaries. Idealizations of patriotism, community service, and brotherhood and sisterhood across class lines were already standard in American civic culture -- drummed in constantly in

the rituals and programs of voluntary chapters as well as churches. Thus, as World War I was fought in large part through partnerships between government and voluntary membership federations, the wartime mobilizations both drew upon and reinforced longstanding civic ideals and norms for allocating status and leadership in voluntary federations.[78]

Winners and Losers

Earlier we pointed to aggregate trends suggesting that coexisting numbers of large voluntary federations increased during and after World War I. But the events of 1917 to 1919 also had a differential impact on various American voluntary associations – depending, very much, on whether groups appeared as friend or foe of the U.S. war effort, and depending in part on how close a partnership each association's national leadership forged with government during the mobilization.

For associations that found themselves outside the official pale, World War I was a very dark time. A new kind of nationalistic endeavor, this war was conducted by U.S. authorities uneasy about managing an ethnically, politically, and class divided society. Ironically, because federal authorities were so reliant on public mobilization and partnerships with voluntary associations, they were quick to perceive and fear opposition and fierce in orchestrating popular as well as legal repression of possible opponents. Associations thus had sharply divergent experiences depending on whether government saw them as friend or foe of the war effort. Even as World War I proved propitious for the American Federation of Labor, whose President Samuel Gompers accepted appointments to national boards, it brought disarray, destruction, and massive membership loss to the Socialists and the International Workers of the World, whose

leaders were often jailed, deported, or held up for public scorn.[79] Similarly, while many ethnic-American associations (including Polish and Italian groups) joined the war effort just as enthusiastically as Anglo-Protestant groups, other associations suddenly found themselves on the wrong ethnic side of the international alignment of friends and enemies, while still another set of groups could not muster enthusiasm for a war that tied the United States to England.

Many Irish-American associations fell into the unenthusiastic category. Because nationalist tensions against England were high in Ireland, sympathetic Irish-American groups tended not to like the U.S. alliance with Britain – and, for their awkward sympathy, paid a price in this period. The Ancient Order of Hibernians, for example, was growing until World War I, but then went into a decline and never regained the same momentum. Yet the fate of the Hibernians, and the difficulties of other Irish dominated associations that stood back from the war effort, contrast sharply with the rising fortunes of the Knights of Columbus (which despite its name was Irish-dominated). As we have seen, the Knights of Columbus strongly supported the war effort and was made an official partner with the War Department. During and after the war, the Knights of Columbus gained members and prestige, partially at the expense of other Catholic-American associations during this era.

Fates worse than stagnation awaited ethnic associations that became identified with "the Hun," as official propaganda labeled the Imperial Germany enemy in World War I. Constituting more than a tenth of the population (along with the nation's other two very large minorities, the Irish and African-Americans), German-Americans had developed since the early 1800s a flourishing world of ethnically identified Catholic and Protestant churches, singing societies and sports clubs, fraternal groups, and associations devoted to cultural assertion and defense. In the early twentieth century, German language and culture continued to flourish in the United States,

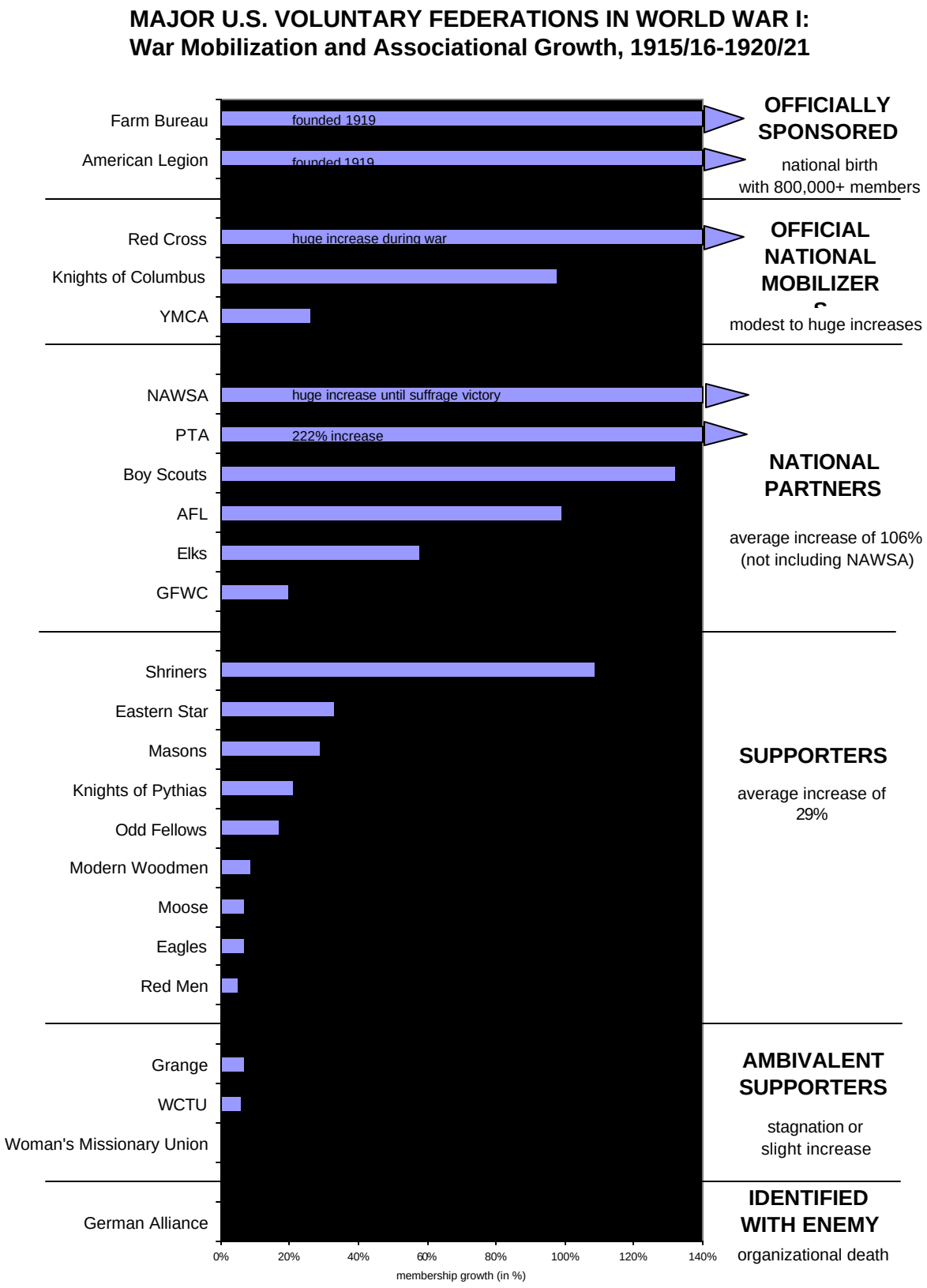
even though many German immigrants had become quite assimilated and also spoke English quite well. Not only did the Germans have their own distinctive groups; major U.S. fraternal orders like the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias had long histories of welcoming German-speaking lodges in their midst. But the visibly distinctive associational world of German Americans was largely destroyed during World War I.[80]

Straightforward national repression was part of the story. Formed in 1901 to foster German culture and advocate for the civil rights of German-Americans, the German-American Alliance was immediately targeted when the United States went to war with Germany. In early 1918, Congress investigated the Alliance as a potentially subversive group; and as members deserted and units closed down, the organization disbanded and donated its remaining funds to the Red Cross.[81]

Meanwhile, other German-American voluntary groups faced pressures and fears. Non-German Americans might attack and criticize, and even if they did not, German-Americans were anxious to distance themselves from ethnic markers. Suddenly, German churches and societies changed their names. Fraternal groups rescinded their longstanding policies allowing foreign-language lodges. Group badges that used to sport the black, red, and gold of the German Empire suddenly turned red-white-and-blue. And some groups did not survive, at least not nationally. The Sons of Herman, for example, had flourished since the 1840s as a fraternal, insurance, and cultural self-defense association. But after the tribulations of World War I, the national Sons of Herman disbanded in 1921, leaving organizations only in particular states, like Texas, where local infrastructure remained strong.

[Figure 6 about here]

Figure 6.



Source: Civic Engagement Project data as of 02/11/2000

That groups identified with the foreign enemy (or hostile to foreign friends) suffered in 1917 to 1919 is, in a sense, not surprising. Of more interest are the fortunes of large U.S. membership associations that supported the official war effort in varying ways and degrees. Using the information we have been able to find for 24 of the 30 voluntary membership federations that were in existence no later than 1919 and surpassed one percent of the U.S. adult population between 1910 and 1930, Figure 6 displays associational membership trends from 1915/16 to 1920/21.[82] As spelled out in the definitions of categories given in Appendix B at the end of this chapter, associations are classified along a continuum according to how involved they were with the federal government during World War I.

At the top of the continuum, two "Officially Sponsored" groups, the American Legion and the Farm Bureau, were actually guided into existence by federal officials in 1919. And at the opposite extreme, the German Alliance was "Identified with the Enemy" and targeted for repression by the federal government. Obviously, the "Officially Sponsored" groups suddenly achieved very large memberships during their time of close involvement in the war effort; and equally clearly the German Alliance lost its membership, indeed its very organizational life, as a result of its identification with the wartime enemy. Most associations are classified between these extremes, however. There is a rough tendency for groups that were more involved in the national war effort to have experienced greater membership increases. But there are interesting nuances, too.

"Official Partner" associations include the Red Cross and the two large federations among the "United War Work" designees. These were unquestionably the voluntary membership federations most closely involved in war work, supporting troops abroad and in the field as well as troops and other Americans at home. All three gained membership over the

wartime period, yet the Red Cross (which included donors as well as chapter participants) experienced an extreme spike restricted to the emergency itself (see Figure 1 at the start of this chapter), and the YMCA experienced only modest membership growth during its intense period of service to U.S. troops. As the association that gained the greatest new national visibility and legitimacy in World War I, the Knights of Columbus experienced an immediate membership pay-off. For the Red Cross and the YMCA, the nationalist legitimacy brought by World War I was not new, and the tasks they had to accomplish were enormous. Both of these associations gained more in terms of institutional heft than membership. The Red Cross achieved an enduring and nationwide structure of local chapters that could continue to foster giving and volunteering through peace and war. The YMCA, meanwhile, moved into a postwar building boom and during and after the war chapter secretaries became more professionalized, as YMCAs in general made a transition from evangelical Protestant membership efforts toward the community social service institutions they are today.[83] Synergy in the U.S. World War I effort paid off for the Red Cross, the YMCA, and the Knights of Columbus alike, but if we measure associational health strictly in terms of enduring membership gains, then the K of C -- which enjoyed official status but did not give as much effort or treasure to the war as the Red Cross and the YMCA – benefited the most.

That synergy may work best for voluntary membership groups when it is enthusiastic and nationally visible yet something less than a complete embrace by the state, seems born out by the experiences of federations classified as "National Partners," "Supporters," and "Ambivalent Supporters" in Figure 6. Groups in these categories either held their own or gained membership ground during World War I in rough correlation to how closely their national leaderships and organizations were with official war efforts.[84]

Little more than holding their own were "Ambivalent Supporters" opposed to war or the military draft before 1917. These groups endorsed the U.S. effort after Congress declared war and their local chapters participated in the major domestic drives. But national federation leaders remained focused on prewar objectives throughout. In contrast, "Supporter" groups favored the war, and their national leaders consistently urged state and local chapters to respond to government requests, while they concentrated on raising funds to help soldier-members and their family dependents. Supporter associations gained members, but to widely varying degrees, and for the most part they did not expand as much (in percentage terms) as the "National Partner" groups.

Partners entered into close working relationships with the federal government, but were not officially designated to carry the full burden in any area. In return for their leading efforts – such as lending national officers to federal war boards; committing state and local networks to run war campaigns; and amassing resources to donate to the national military effort -- the Partner associations gained enhanced institutional solidity and national respect, which certainly helped them gain members. When World War I came to an abrupt end with the German collapse in 1918, moreover, the national headquarters of several Partner federations were left with "surplus" funds gathered as intended contributions to the nation; and some also received back from the federal government buildings that they had donated during the war.

Overall, the voluntary federations most closely involved with U.S. efforts during 1917-19 seem to have significantly built up their national organizations and finances as well as their memberships – and these buildups may have put such groups in the best position to ride through economic dips of the 1920s and the Great Depression of the 1930s, which subjected most dues-based popular associations to great stress. Overall, there were 29 voluntary associations that

enrolled one percent or more of U.S. men and/or women as members (at least briefly) during the 1910s and/or 1920s; and of these only 17 (about 59%) were still to be found in the ranks of membership associations surpassing one percent in the 1940s. In line with this macroscopic picture of associational turnover, 6 out of 9 of the associations listed as "Supporters" in Figure 6, and only one out of the three "Ambivalent Supporters," remained in the ranks of membership associations surpassing the one percent mark in the 1940s. But 10 of the 11 associations classified as "Officially Sponsored," "Official National Mobilizers," or "National Partners" in Figure 6 remained in (or in the case of the Boy Scouts, attained entry into) the ranks of America's largest membership federations by the 1940s.[85]

Not only did they ride through the Great Depression and flourish into the 1940s, the associations most involved in the U.S. mobilizations for World War I again became closely involved in national mobilizations for World War II – and expanded anew in the aftermath of America's victory in that conflict. Partners with the U.S. national state in the mobilizations to fight and win two global wars, the leading voluntary membership associations of the 1910s and 1940s were essential to the nation's warmaking capacities. And America's biggest wars proved surprisingly good for them, too, enabling these associations to remain at the heart of local and national civil society through much of the twentieth century.

AVOIDING TOCQUEVILLE'S NIGHTMARE

Neither the prolonged and destructive Civil War nor the internationally entangling World War I fulfilled Alexis de Tocqueville's worst fears about the likely impact of big wars on democratic civil society. To be sure, each of these great wars damaged particular groups and

undercut certain identities and spheres of association in American civil society. Defeated white southerners lost much of their civic vigor after the Civil War. German-Americans rushed to blend in to undifferentiated groups once the United States locked into twentieth-century wars with their ancestral homeland. And groups that even symbolically countered the U.S. state or challenged any powerful institution in times of national mobilization for war, could find themselves disorganized out of existence. In all of these ways, America's first modern wars were, at the very least, disheartening, for some voluntary joiners and organizers. On balance, however, America's civic vigor was greatly enhanced, both following the national fratricide of the1860s and amidst the plunge into global conflict between1917 and 1919. Hearts were raised for those who joined in victorious shared endeavors; and mental horizons were broadened by the sheer scale of cooperation Americans managed in both the Civil War and the Great War.

Raised hearts and widened horizons were wartime potentials that Tocqueville acknowledged, but he feared that a war-swollen state would, inevitably, displace self-organized civil society. In this fear, Tocqueville misunderstood, quite fundamentally, the bases for complementarity between state power and an engaged civil society in the United States. He did not comprehend the institutional and organizational underpinnings of the apparently spontaneous civic voluntarism he so often celebrated. And he did not understand, or foresee, that the genius of American associationalism would lie in representative membership federations that could serve as two-way bridges across communities and between leaders and led. Because they were translocally as well as locally organized, such voluntary federations could be, at once, significant counterweights to, and powerful partners of, the U.S. federal government.

Along lines more explicable in terms of Peter Evans' ideas about state and society, both the Civil War and World War I were fought by intricately organized and balanced partnerships.

Government agencies were unable to go it alone or assert full preeminence, and voluntary federations were available to mobilize popular energies for war. In turn, because America's first great wars were fought through synergistic partnerships between state and society -- and not through displacement of society by the war-swollen state -- these great conflicts ended up nourishing rather than undercutting organized civil society, at least from the perspective of groups prepared to cooperate with national endeavors and fortunate to be on the winning side.

In the Civil War and the Great War alike, state authorities needed organized civil society – and America's civicly capable people responded, deploying federated associations to meet the wartime challenges. From Abraham Lincoln to Woodrow Wilson – and ultimately Franklin Roosevelt, too -- U.S. leaders called upon a well-organized and participatory civil society to help fight great wars at home and abroad. In consequence of how these conflicts were fought, Americans managed to direct the fierce fires of civil and international war to forge a stronger civil society. Americans used times of war, and the immediate aftermaths of victory, to reinforce networks, organizational resources, and shared values within a dense network of popularly rooted membership federations able to withstand, for a remarkably long time, the class divisions and economic crises of industrial capitalism.

Appendix A.

Large Membership Associations in US History

Civic Engagement Project

Common Name	Founding Date	Ending Date
Ancient and Accepted Free Masons	1733	
Independent Order of Odd Fellows	1819	
American Temperance Society	1826	1865
General Union for Promoting Observance of the Christian Sabbath	1828	1832
American Anti-Slavery Society	1833	1870
Improved Order of Red Men	1834	
Washington Temperance Societies	1840	c1848
The Order of the Sons of Temperance	1842	c1970
Independent Order of Good Templars	1851	
Young Men's Christian Association	1851	
Junior Order of United American Mechanics	1853	
National Teachers Association / National Education Association	1857	
Knights of Pythias	1864	
Grand Army of the Republic	1866	1956
Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks	1867	
Patrons of Husbandry (National Grange)	1867	
Ancient Order of United Workmen	1868	
Order of the Eastern Star	1868	
Knights of Labor	1869	1917
National Rifle Assocation	1871	
Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic	1872	
Woman's Christian Temperance Union	1874	
Royal Arcanum	1877	
Farmers' Alliance	1877	1900

Common Name	Founding Date	Ending Date
Maccabees	1878	
Christian Endeavor	1881	
American Red Cross	1881	
Knights of Columbus	1882	
Modern Woodmen of America	1883	
Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative	1886	1892
American Federation of Labor / AFL-CIO from 1955	1886	
American Protective Association	1887	c1911
Woman's Missionary Union	1888	
Loyal Order of Moose	1888	
National American Woman Sufferage Association	1890	1920
Woodmen of the World	1890	
General Federation of Women's Clubs	1890	
American Bowling Congress	1895	
National Congress of Mothers / National Congress of Parents and Teachers (PTA)	1897	
Fraternal Order of Eagles	1898	
German American National Alliance	1901	1918
Aid Association For Lutherans	1902	
American Automobile Association	1902	
Boy Scouts of America	1910	
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States	1913	
Ku Klux Klan (second)	1915	1944
Women's International Bowling Congress	1916	
American Legion	1919	
American Farm Bureau Federation	1919	
Old Age Revolving Pensions, Ltd. (Townsend	1934	1953
Congress of Industrial Organizations	1938	1955
National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis / March of	1938	
Woman's Division of Christian Service / Unite d Methodist Women	1939	

Common Name	Founding Date	Ending Date
American Association of Retired Persons	1958	
Greenpeace USA	1971	
National Right to Life Committee	1973	
Mothers Against Drunk Driving	1980	
Christian Coalition	1989	

Appendix B.

MAJOR U.S. VOLUNTARY FEDERATIONS IN WORLD WAR I

OFFICIALLY SPONSORED

U.S. Department of Agriculture officials, including County Extension agents, encouraged the spread and interconnection of farm bureaus during the war. American Expeditionary Force military officers helped to launch the American Legion at the end of the war.

OFFICIAL NATIONAL MOBILIZERS

The Red Cross was chartered by Congress in part to manage aid to soldiers and wartime relief efforts. Seven other voluntary associations, including the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus were designated as official relief agencies during the war.

NATIONAL PARTNERS

The national leaderships of these associations served on war advisory boards and/or directed their association's organizational networks and financial resources to provide major contributions to federal war efforts.

SUPPORTERS

All of these associations endorsed the U.S. war effort and encouraged local and state units to contribute to food conservation efforts, Liberty Loan drives, Red Cross drives, and the war relief efforts of the officially designated associations. National undertakings in these groups were primarily directed to aiding their own soldier-members.

AMBIVALENT SUPPORTERS

Devoted to international peace or opposed to military conscription prior to the U.S. decision to enter World War I, these associations accepted the war, once declared, and local units participated in civilian drives. But national leaders emphasized other priorities throughout the conflict.

IDENT1FIED WITH FOREIGN ENEMY

Formed in 1901 to defend German-Americans from nativist attacks and assert the value of German culture, the German American National Alliance (along with other German-American voluntary associations) was caught in the anti-German fervor of World War I. Congress investigated the group and it disbanded in 1918.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] William Quentin Maxwell, Lincoln's Fifth Wheel: The Political History of the United States Sanitary Commission (New York: Longman, Green, 1956), chapter 13.

[2] Charles Hurd, The Compact History of the Red Cross (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1959.

[3] The Red Cross defines "members" as either chapter-based volunteers or donors (of even tiny sums).

[4] For further discussion of the large voluntary membership associations at the core of this chapter's analysis, see Theda Skocpol et al., "How Americans Became Civic," pp. 27-80 in Civic Engagement in American Democracy, edited by Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina (Washington DC and New York: Brookings Institution Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 1999). For systematic evidence that these associations were also central to local associational life, see Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson, "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States," American Political Science Review 94(3) (September 2000): 527-46, especially Tables 3 and 4.

[5] An event-history hazard analysis of the spread of state-level units of voluntary federations across the continental United States reveals that states' involvements in the Union Civil War effort had a continuing favorable impact on associational formation for many decades after the war. See Jocelyn B. Crowley and Theda Skocpol, "The Rush to Organize: Explaining Associational Formation in the U.S. States, 1860s to 1920s." [Currently under journal review; will have reference during copy-editing].

[6] Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, volumes 1 and 2, edited by J. P.

Mayer and translated by George Lawrence (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1969; originally 1835, 1840), p. 513.

[7] Ibid, p. 650.

[8] Ibid, p. 646.

[9] Ibid, volume 2, chapter 22.

[10] Ibid, p. 649.

[11] Ibid, p. 395.

[12] Ibid, p. 650.

[13] Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Biography of a Nation of Joiners," American Historical Review, 50(1) (0ctober, 1944): 1-25.

[14] Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963).

[15] Putnam's analysis is framed in social psychological terms, stressing the impact of wartime efforts and solidarities on the outlooks and habits of Americans who were young adults at the time, and subsequently became the most civic generation of the late-twentieth-century. See Robert D. Putnam, "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America," PS: Political Science & Politics, 28(4) (December, 1995): 664-83; and Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), especially pp. 267-72.

[16] Christopher Beem, The Necessity of Politics: Reclaiming American Public Life (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), p. 197. Typical is a study by Everett Carl Ladd, The Ladd Report (New York: Free Press, 1999) that says nothing about the impact of wars and argues that what government has not done has been the key to American civic vitality. "Surely

the flourishing of all sorts of religious organizations in America is the product not of government action but of deliberate inaction," declares Ladd (pp. 10, 12), who "guesses" that the U.S. government's historic role in shaping all facets of civic engagement "has been minimal," except to guarantee political freedoms and allow citizens to organize spontaneously.

[17] Peter F. Drucker, The Ecological Vision: Reflections on American Civilization (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press), p. 9.

[18] Peter B. Evans, "Government Action, Social Capital, and Development: Reviewing the Evidence on Synergy, in State-Society Synergy: Government and Social Capital in Development, edited by Peter B. Evans, Research Series, number 94 (Berkeley, CA: International and Area Studies Center, University of California at Berkeley, 1997), p. 178. The following discussion draws from Evans' arguments in the chapter as a whole.

[19] For comparisons of the destructiveness of major U.S. wars, see the statistics and references in Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 103-04. We are also grateful to Meyer Kestnbaum of the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland for sharing his range of estimates of the proportion of southerners who served the Confederacy.

[20] For a classic formulation along these lines, see Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[21] The following discussion draws especially upon Richard D. Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820," Journal of American History 61(1) (June, 1973): 29-51.

[22] Schlesinger, "Nation of Joiners," p. 5.

[23] Meyer Kestnbaum, "Partisans and Patriots: National Conscription and the Reconstruction of the Modern State in France, Germany, and the United States, " unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Department of Sociology, Harvard University, 1997), chapter 4.

[24] Martin Shefter, Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 61-71.

[25] Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis," American Quarterly 21(1) (Spring, 1969): 23-43; and Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, The Churching of America, 1776-1990 (Rutgers, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), chapter 3.

[26] Richard R. John, Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[27] Full development of this argument and citations are to be found in Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson, "A Nation of Organizers."

[28] This discussion draws on "Amateurs Go to War," chapter 10 in James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[29] Richard Bensel, "Southern Leviathan: The Development of Central State Authority in the Confederate States of America," Studies in American Political Development, volume 2 (1987): 68-136.

[30] James W. Geary, We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991), chapter 1.

[31] Ibid, chapter 7.

[32] Ibid, p. 89, Table 4. If anything, white collar and professional men were

overrepresented in the Union military effort. Because Union Civil War drafts allowed people to pay substitutes, many assume that modern selective service methods are more equitable. But in practice, Geary (p. 170) concludes, "northern conscription was fairer than most of the methods used in raising America's armies in the twentieth century."

[33] Maxwell, Lincoln's Fifth Wheel; McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 323, 480-85; C. Howard Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America (New York: Association Press, 1951), pp. 89-94; and Linus Pierpont Brockett, The Philanthropic Results of the War in America. Collected from Official and Authentic Sources by an American Citizen (New York: Sheldon, 1864).

[34] There were a couple of major voluntary groups that held their own even during the war. Because it welcomed women, the Independent Order of Good Templars did better than alternative temperance associations. And the Masons also did well, probably because they were the most prestigious fraternal group and various state "grand masters" allowed lodges to form within the Confederate and Union armies. For more on the special attractiveness of Masons for white southerners, see note 44 below.

[35] Theodore A. Ross, Odd Fellowship: Its History and Manual (New York: M.W. Hazen, 1888), pp. 158-79.

[36] Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A., p. 90.

[37] James R. Carnahan, Pythian Knighthood: Its History and Literature (Cincinnati, OH: Pettibone Manufacturing Company/Fraternity Publishers, 1890), chapters 5-6.

[38] Sven D. Nordin, Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867-1900 (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1974), p.4.

[39] Ruth Bordin, Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-

1900 (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1981).

[40] The "Call" is reprinted in Helen E. Tyler, Where Prayer and Purpose Meet: The WCTU Story, 1874-1949 (Evanston, IL: The Signal Press, 1949), p.18.

[41] "Life Sketches: Annie Wittenmyer (Evanston, IL: National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, undated pamphlet).

[42] This is based on an analysis of founding locations for hundreds of fraternal, patriotic, labor, and women's auxiliary associations included in Albert C. Stevens, The Cyclopedia of Fraternities (New York: Hamilton Printing and Publishing Company, 1899), as well as additional groups included in Arthur R. Preuss, A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies (St. Louis, MO: Herder, 1924) and Sophinisba Breckinridge, Women in the Twentieth Century: A Study of their Political, Social, and Economic Activities (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933), chapter 2.

[43] On the prevalence of churches compared other voluntary groups in the South, see Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840-1940," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 29 (4) (Spring 1999), p. 538, note 29.

[44] Southern whites held back from voluntary federations centered in the North. This interpretation is strengthened by the contrasting trajectory of Masons during and after the Civil War. In that fraternal universe, southern whites joined more often than northern whites before the Civil War; and on a per capita basis southern white Masons did not fall behind northern white Masons during or after the great conflict. Yet there was a crucial institutional difference between the Masons and the Odd Fellows, which that surely made Masons more attractive to southerners through all of the regional divisions of the nineteenth century. Basic ("blue-lodge") Masons were organized into state grand lodges with no national center; and the higher-level

"Scottish" jurisdiction into which white southerners disproportionately flooded was divided into regional wings, with the Southern Jurisdiction both autonomous and predominant. During an era of American history when the symbolism of Union triumphalism ran strong in most national voluntary federations, southern Masons did not have to subordinate themselves to northern organizational centers or attend national conventions run by their former enemies.

[45] The African American Odd Fellows started in lodges chartered in the United States by a different branch of English Odd Fellows than the branch that chartered most of the original white lodges. Interestingly, the GUO of OF retained its allegiance to the English center, even as it grew in America guided by its own national committee.

[46] Charles H. Brooks, The Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971; reprint of original 1902 edition), pp. 90, 94, 96, 97, 105.

[47] This account of the IOGT draws especially on David M. Fahey, Temperance and Racism (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1996).

[48] Stevens, Cyclopedia of Fraternities; and Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Gender, Class, and Fraternalism (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[49] See Figure 2 in Gamm and Putnam, "Growth of Voluntary Associations."

[50] Gerald Linderman, "The Spanish-American War and the Small-Town Community," pp. 275-94 in The Military in America: From the Colonial Era to the Present, revised edition, edited by Peter Karsten (New York: Free Press, 1986).

[51] John Whiteclay Chambers II, "Conscripting for Colossus: The Progressive Era and

the Origin of the Modern Military Draft in the United States in World War I," pp. 297-311 in The Military in America.

[52] David M. Kennedy, Over Here: The First World War and American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 146-50.

[53] Examples include: Kennedy, Over Here; Ronald Schaffer, America in the Great War: The Rise of the War Welfare State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Ellis W. Hawley, The Great War and the Search for Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

[54] For accounts of key federal coordinating bodies, see: Franklin H. Martin, Digest of the Proceedings of the Council of National Defense During the World War (Washington DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1934); Robert D. Cuff, The War Industries Board: Business-Government Relations During World War I (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); and William C. Mullendore, History of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1919 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1941).

[55] Hawley, Great War, chapters 2 and 6.

[56] Ibid, p. 3.

[57] Gamm and Putnam, "Growth of Voluntary Associations," p. 526.

[58] W. Lloyd Warner, editor, The Emergent American Society, Volume 1: Large-Scale Organizations (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 317-25. See also National Trade and Professional Associations of the United States, 1966 (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 1966), pp. v-vii; and Joseph F.Bradley, The Role of Trade Associations and Professional Business Societies in America

(University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1965), chapter 2.

[59] A History of the Oklahoma Federation of Business and Professional Women, 1919-1993 (Oklahoma Federation of Business and Professional Women, n.d.), pp. 11-12. As this history (ibid) recounts, regional organizers stimulated the concurrent emergence of town clubs and state federations along with the national group.

[60] Orville Merton Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement (New York: Macmillan, 1921), chapters 8-9.

[61] Thomas A. Rumer, The American Legion: An Official History, 1919-1989 (New York: M. Evans & Company, 1990), pp. 5-56; and William Pencak, For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941 (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1989), chapters 2-4.

[62] Members of military veterans' associations and fraternal groups, typically locally prominent men who were also church members and participants in community service and business or professional associations, became the volunteers who manned the local draft boards that ran America's twentieth-century Selective Service system. See Table 3.5 in James W. Davis, Jr. and Kenneth M. Dolbeare, Little Groups of Neighbors: The Selective Service System (Chicago, IL: Markham Publishing Company, 1968), p. 68.

[63] James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, Words that Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information 1917-1919 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1939).

[64] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

[65] We cannot list all such reports we have consulted, but it is worth noting that the best resource for understanding both the national and local contributions of

voluntary federations to the war effort is a seven-volume series called "Iowa Chronicles of the World War," edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh and published between 1919 and 1923 by the State Historical Society of Iowa. One scholarly study that does stress state and local voluntary activities is William J. Breen, Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984).

[66] On the YMCA efforts in World War I, see Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A., pp. 485-504; and Frederick Harris, Frederic Houston Kent, and William J. Newlin, Service With Fighting Men: An Account of the Young Men's Christian Associations in World War I, 2 volumes (New York: Association Press, 1922). On the Red Cross, see Henry P. Davison, The American Red Cross in the Great War (New York: Macmillan, 1920); and Earl S. Fullbrook, The Red Cross in Iowa, volume 1, "Iowa Chronicles of the World War" (Iowa City: Historical Society of Iowa, 1922), chapter 3.

[67] This account draws upon Christopher J. Kaufman, Faith and Fraternalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus, 1882-1982 (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), chapters 4 and 6-9; and Maurice Francis Egan and John B. Kennedy, Knights of Columbus in Peace and War, volume 1 (New Haven, CT: Knights of Columbus, 1920).

[68] Kaufman, Faith and Fraternalism, pp. 204-05.

[69] James R. Nicholson, Lee A. Donaldson, and Raymond C. Dobson, History of the Order of Elks, 1868-1978, revised edition (Chicago, IL: Grand Secretary's Office, 1978), pp. 248-49.

[70] Mildred White Wells, Unity in Diversity: The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs (Washington DC: General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1953),

pp. 231-32.

[71] Linderman, "Spanish-American War and Small-Town Community."

[72] Mitch Reis, The Boy Scouts of America During World War I & II (private publication, 1984), chapter 1.

[73] Mullendore, History of Food Administration, pp. 94-95; and Nicholson, Donaldson, and Dobson, History of Order of Elks, pp. 246-47.

[74] Clarke, American Women and the World War.

[75] Clarke, part II on "State Organizations"; Breen, Uncle Sam at Home, chapters 7-8; and Ivan L. Pollock, The Food Administration in Iowa, volume 1 (Iowa City, IA: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1923), p.54. As Pollock recounts, the leader of the food pledge campaign and chair of the Woman's Committee of the Iowa State Council of National Defense was Mrs. Francis E. Whitley, who "had just completed a term as president of the Federation of Women's Clubs of the State and had been an active member and officer of the federation for many years prior to this time. Consequently, she had a wide personal acquaintance among members of the women's organizations throughout the State. In a very short time, she had a district chairman in each of the eleven congressional districts, and with the aid of these district chairmen she selected a woman in each county to act as county chairman.... During the food pledge campaign the women perfected their organization until it extended out into every school district and voting precinct."

[76] Orville Findley Rush and (original author) Fred Van Deventer, Parade to Glory: The Story of the Shriners and Their Caravan to Destiny, revised and updated Edition (Iowa: Imperial Council, A.A.N.O.M.S., 1980), p. 166.

[77] Preston William Slosson, The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928, Volume XII of

"A History of American Life" (New York: Macmillan, 1931), pp. 63-64.

[78] U.S. voluntary federations found it so easy to adapt longstanding values to wartime efforts that some merely bent the war emergency to their usual goals. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for example, took the war as a set of new opportunities to push for prohibition through the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, while also pressing authorities to curtail the production and distribution of alcohol (as a food conservation measure at home and to safeguard the morals of troops in camps and abroad). See Elizabeth Putnam Gordon, Women Torch_Bearers: The Story of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, second edition (Evanston, IL: Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1924), chapters 5-6. The Loyal Order of Moose, moreover, was heavily invested prior to the war in building and sustaining a national children's orphanage at Mooseheart, Illinois – a massive undertaking that required regular contributions from local lodges. When World War I came along, Moose lodges contributed to Liberty Loans and honored their many soldier members, but the national Moose leaders became only modestly involved in national war-support activities. This is the conclusion one can draw from a complete reading of Guy H. Fuller, Loyal Order of Moose and Mooseheart (Mooseheart, IL: Mooseheart Press, 1918). The national headquarters did, however, take the occasion to recast its message about Mooseheart – presenting it as an institution that would help to care for soldiers' orphans after the war. Supreme Lodge of the World, Loyal Order of Moose, Letter appealing for War Emergency Contribution, September 15, 1917, sent from Mooseheart, Illinois (in the personal ephemera collection of Theda Skocpol). This letter included a flyer/poster portraying "Some of the children now at Mooseheart" and asking "What will become

of the widows and orphans after this Great War."

[79] William Preston, Jr., Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933, second edition (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994; originally 1963), chapter 4.

[80] Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), chapters 9-10.

[81] Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, "National German-American Alliance Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, Sixty-Fifth Congress, Second Session on S. 3529...., February 23-April 13, 1918 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office); and Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty, pp. 269-70.

[82] Four groups (Maccabees, Christian Endeavor, American Automobile Association, American Bowling Congress) are omitted because we so far lack detailed membership data and/or information on wartime activities. In addition, the Ku Klux Klan is not included, because reliable year-by-year membership trends are unlikely ever to be available; and the Woodmen of the World is not included because it split into separate jurisdictions around 1920 and we have not yet been able to develop a consistent membership measurement for the larger continuing part. There is no reason to believe that including any of these associations would change the rough picture presented in Figure 6.

[83] Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A., chapters 12-15.

[84] To fully explain percentage shifts in memberships, however, we would need a more fine-grained analysis of the timing and modalities of associational involvements in war campaigns. And we would have to take associationally

idiosyncratic factors into account as well. The PTA, for example, was both sharply on the rise and had a national recruitment drive in place when the war struck. And the Shriners seem to have done better than other supportive fraternal groups, in part because they conducted recruitment drives inside the military, and in part because, as a nationally visible group open only to high-degree Masons, Shriners were at this time reaping the fruits among older men of membership surges experienced around 1900 by southern and northern Masonic lodges.

[85] The only group that did not carry forward was NAWSA, an association that attained very large size only fleetingly and then went out of existence after woman suffrage was established in 1921, giving birth in its stead to the smaller yet persistent League of Women Voters. The League vastly expanded after World War II, as displayed in trends graphed in Putnam, Bowling Alone, p. 442.