

24 AUG 1992 -

Doug,

I bought this book last Saturday
at a BC used book store.

Thought that you - or ECP - might
be interested in the ~~1876~~¹⁸⁷⁷ riots

[Handwritten signature]

FEDERAL AID

IN

DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES.

1787-1903.



The Congress shall have power * * * to raise and support armies; * * * to provide for the calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. (Art. I, sec. 8, Constitution of the United States.)

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence. (Art. IV, sec. 4, Constitution.)

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY C. CORBIN,
Adjutant-General, U. S. Army,

BY
FREDERICK T. WILSON,
Chief of Division, Adjutant-General's Office.

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IX. THE LABOR STRIKES OF 1877.

RIOT AT MARTINSBURG, W. VA.—RIOTS AT BALTIMORE, MD.—RIOTS AT PITTSBURG, PA.—
DISTURBANCES IN OHIO—RIOTING AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—RIOTING AT CHICAGO,
ILL.—RIOTING AT ST. LOUIS, MO.—DISTURBANCES IN VARIOUS STATES.

The action of the railroad companies in the summer of 1877, in suddenly precipitating a reduction of 10 per cent in the wages of their employees, was the occasion for a serious conflict between the forces of labor and capital, resulting in the most extensive domestic disturbance which the country has witnessed. In order to respond to calls for aid where violence actually existed, and to guard against danger at threatened places, it became necessary to concentrate troops in six of the States, as well as to move up others in readiness for anticipated calls, so that within six days nearly one-half the Army was in motion or under orders for immediate service. The trouble commenced on the 14th of July on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where some 40 brakemen and firemen stopped work and attempted to prevent the passage of freight trains. On the 16th the crews of the freight trains at Martinsburg, W. Va., refused to work, and drove off the men sent to replace them.

Riot at
Martinsburg, W. Va.,
July 14, 1877.

The police of Martinsburg were powerless to cope with the situation, and a body of the State militia sent to that point on the morning of the 17th were fired upon and driven back. By this time the strikers, whose numbers had increased to 100, had been joined by several hundred outsiders, and by night the road was effectually blocked at Martinsburg, while the strike had extended to Wheeling and Parkersburg. By the morning of the 18th the whole road was in the hands of the strikers, and the governor, perceiving the hopelessness of contending with the situation with his slender militia forces, called in the aid of the General Government. The legislature of 1875 had prohibited the enrollment of the militia, so that the only military bodies in the State were four companies of volunteers, two of whom were at Martinsburg and in sympathy with the rioters; a third was 38 miles from a railroad; the fourth, of but 40 men, was needed for home protection. The following is the call of the governor:^a

WHEELING, W. VA., July 18, 1877.

His Excellency R. B. HAYES,
President of the United States:

Owing to unlawful combinations and domestic violence now existing at Martinsburg and at other points along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad it is

^a See also Documents Nos. 99, 100, and 101.

impossible with any force at my command to execute the laws of the State. I therefore call upon your excellency for the assistance of the United States military to protect the law-abiding people of the State against domestic violence and to maintain the supremacy of the law. The legislature is not now in session and could not be assembled in time to take any action in the emergency. A force of from two to three hundred should be sent without delay to Martinsburg, where my aid, Colonel Delaplaine, will meet and confer with the officer in command.

HENRY M. MATHEWS,
Governor of West Virginia.

In response to this appeal the President directed Col. William H. French, Fourth Artillery, then commanding at Washington Arsenal, to proceed with every available man of his command, equipped as infantry, to Martinsburg, W. Va., there to report to and confer with Colonel Delaplaine, aid to the governor of the State.¹⁰² At the same time similar instructions were sent to the commandant at Fort McHenry.¹⁰³ These troops left without the slightest delay and before dark on the 18th were underway. In order that the laws should be strictly complied with, the commander of these troops was instructed that a proclamation by the President was about to be promulgated, commanding the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their places of abode, and that such proclamation would doubtless have been published at the scene of disturbance by the time of the arrival of the troops, but if not, he should delay action until its publication.¹⁰⁴ The proclamation, in accordance with section 5300 of the Revised Statutes, was issued on the night of the 18th, and was in the following words:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, the governor of the State of West Virginia has represented that domestic violence exists in said State at Martinsburg and at various other points along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in said State, which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress;

And whereas, it is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union, on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature can not be convened, against domestic violence;

And whereas, by laws, in pursuance of the above, it is provided (in the laws of the United States) that in all cases of insurrection in any State (or of obstruction to the laws thereof) it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, on application of the legislature of such State, or of the executive when the legislature can not be convened, to call forth the militia of any State or States, or to employ such part of the land and naval forces as shall be judged necessary for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection or causing the laws to be duly executed.

And whereas, the legislature of said State is not now in session and can not be convened in time to meet the present emergency, and the executive of said State, under section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, has made due application to me in the premises for such part of the military force of the United States as may be necessary and adequate to protect

said State and the citizens thereof against domestic violence and to enforce the due execution of the laws;

And whereas, it is required that whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the President, to use the military force for the purpose aforesaid, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes within a limited time:

Now, therefore, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby make proclamation, and command all persons engaged in said unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before 12 o'clock noon of the 19th day of July, instant, and hereafter abandon said combinations and submit themselves to the laws and constituted authorities of said State;

And I invoke the aid and cooperation of all good citizens thereof to uphold the laws and preserve the public peace.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 18th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and second.

R. B. HAYES.

By the President:

F. W. SEWARD,
Acting Secretary of State.

Colonel French arrived at Martinsburg early on the morning of the 19th, where he found more than 100 engines and 1,500 freight cars standing idle and blocking every approach to the town. He reported his arrival as follows:

MARTINSBURG, W. VA., *July 19, 1877.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, *Washington:*

Proclamation printed; now being circulated. After 12 o'clock, if the insurgents have not dispersed, the troops under my command will proceed to enforce the orders of the President. At present everything seems quiet, and I doubt whether anything more than a demonstration will be required. Whatever action I may determine upon will be after consultation with and full concurrence of Colonel Delaplaine, aid to the governor.

FRENCH,
Colonel, Commanding.

Having circulated the proclamation of the President, which was supplemented by a printed notice to all concerned, warning all persons engaged in the interruption of travel on the Baltimore and Ohio road that the United States troops must not be impeded, and that whoever undertakes it does so at their peril,¹⁰⁵ he proceeded to carry out his instructions. In the course of the day the block at Martinsburg was untangled and several trains were sent forward under military escort. On this day, however, the strike extended over the entire length of the line, and affairs in West Virginia were no longer of consequence.

Moving eastward, the next considerable railroad point was at Cumberland, Md., some 20 miles from the West Virginia line. Here were workshops, roundhouses, car sheds, and various property of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company to immense value, which it was

feared the strikers, who had collected in large numbers, intended to destroy. To prevent this, the governor of Maryland ordered the Sixth Regiment of State Militia, having its headquarters in Baltimore, to proceed to Cumberland. This order was the signal for an uprising in Baltimore, and when the regiment appeared in the streets on its way to the station on the afternoon of the 20th it was stoned by the mob. The soldiers, indifferently disciplined, were unable to endure this treatment and responded by shooting into the crowd. This was done without orders or method, so that an irregular fusillade was kept up along the whole route, with a result that 9 of the rioters were killed and 30 or 40 wounded. The excitement was now intense, and the orders for the regiment to go to Cumberland were withdrawn, but not before the Baltimore and Ohio station had been set on fire and much other damage done. The Fifth Regiment, which was ordered to suppress the riot, was attacked, but no shots were exchanged. Soon after dark, the mob having increased its numbers and determination, the governor decided that the situation was beyond his control and that events justified a call upon the Government. This call and the response of the Secretary of War are subjoined:

CAMDEN STATION, 20.

His Excellency R. B. HAYES.

SIR: An assemblage of rioters, [not] to be dispersed by any force at my command, has taken possession of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad depot here, set fire the same, and have driven off the firemen who attempted to extinguish the same, and it is impossible with force at my command to disperse the rioters. Under circumstances, as governor of the State of Maryland I call upon you as President of the United States to furnish the force necessary to protect the State against domestic violence. The legislature of the State is not in session and can not be convened in time to meet the emergency.

JOHN LEE CARROLL,
Governor of Maryland.

SOLDIERS' HOME, Washington, July 21, 1877

Governor JOHN LEE CARROLL,
Baltimore, Md.:

The President directs me to say that he will aid you to the extent of his power: Available troops will be sent, but a call upon neighboring States will probably be necessary. Communicate with me here and I will advise you more definitely in a short time.

GEO. W. McCRARY,
Secretary of War.

Orders were immediately sent to Gen. W. F. Barry, the commandant at Fort McHenry, to respond to the call of the governor of Maryland by sending all disposable troops to his aid in suppressing the riot at Baltimore, and the President directed that if necessary the marines from Washington Navy-Yard be sent to Baltimore, as indeed they were sent within the following twenty-four hours, but fortu-

nately were not needed. At the same time a proclamation was issued in the following terms:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, it is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence;

And whereas, the governor of the State of Maryland has represented that domestic violence exists in said State at Cumberland, and along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in said State, which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress;

And whereas, the laws of the United States require that in all cases of insurrection in any State or of obstruction to the laws thereof, whenever in the judgment of the President it becomes necessary to use the military forces to suppress such insurrection or obstruction to the laws, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time:

Now, therefore, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States and all persons within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, against aiding, countenancing, abetting, or taking part in such unlawful proceedings; and I do hereby warn all persons engaged in or connected with said domestic violence and obstruction of the laws to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before noon of the 22d day of July, instant.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 21st day of July, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and second.

[SEAL.]

By the President:

WM. M. EVARTS,
Secretary of State.

R. B. HAYES.

By evening of the 21st Governor Carroll telegraphed that order had been restored at Baltimore for the present and hoped he would be able to restrain violence with the State militia and local police. He added, however, that lawlessness at Cumberland was increasing; and as it would require all the State forces to preserve order in Baltimore, he feared he might be obliged to ask the Government for aid at that point.¹¹⁵ General French was accordingly directed to send all the men he could spare from Martinsburg to Cumberland, to report to Colonel Douglass, of Governor Carroll's staff, to act under the orders of the governor. Major-General Hancock, the commanding general of the division of the Atlantic, arrived in Baltimore early on the 22d and assumed charge of all military operations in that section. By noon some 360 Regular troops had arrived from New York and relieved the State troops at the Camden station and the Sixth Regiment Army, so that these latter were available for duty along the

line of the railroad. General French removed his headquarters to Cumberland during the day, and all disposable forces were concentrated at that point. In the meantime all available troops from posts in New England and New York State were moved toward New York Harbor, to be held in readiness for such disposition as the emergency might demand. In the same manner troops were drawn from Columbus, Ohio, to Pittsburg, and from St. Louis to Indianapolis, while others from west of the Mississippi were moved into Chicago, as all of these points had been threatened during the day. The presence of the United States troops at Cumberland seemed to be satisfactory to both sides, and before the evening of the 22d trains were running regularly and freely. In fact, the situation in this section had so far improved that General Hancock was enabled to leave Baltimore on the afternoon of the 23d for Philadelphia, where the state of affairs had become threatening.¹¹⁸

On the morning of the 19th all the crews of the freight trains of the Pennsylvania Railroad then at Pittsburg stopped work and declared a strike. All freight trains were stopped as they reached the city, and by night a mob to the number of perhaps 1,500 had collected in the yards, but beyond blocking traffic they attempted no serious disturbance. On the 20th all freight traffic on the Pennsylvania road was at a standstill, and the mob at Pittsburg was growing larger and more threatening. By this time the governor, who was hastening home

from the Pacific coast with all possible speed, had become fully impressed with the gravity of the situation and had telegraphed orders calling out the entire

national guard of the State, sending the Philadelphia regiments to Pittsburg in order to avoid any difficulty growing out of possible sympathy between the strikers and the militia. This was an unfortunate move, though inspired by the most prudent judgment. All day Saturday, the 21st, the Sixth Division of the Pennsylvania National Guard composed in the majority of the regiments from Philadelphia, was slowly making its way across the State, and each hour the mob at Pittsburg, resenting their coming, was increasing in numbers and determination. At 5 o'clock the advance of the guard reached the suburbs of the city, and was greeted by a shower of stones and other missiles, to which the troops replied by several volleys of musketry. The mob, driven to frenzy, broke open a gun shop and, having procured several pieces of ordnance, returned to the attack. In the meantime the troops had taken up their position in a roundhouse, and this was repeatedly attacked by the mob, rapid firing ensuing on both sides. Finding themselves unable to dislodge the soldiers, the mob set fire to a number of cars loaded with oil and coke, which they saturated with oil, and hurled them against the roundhouse. This continued throughout the night of the 21st, but soon after daylight the troops

Riots
at Pittsburg, Pa.,
July 19, 1877.

managed to make a successful retreat and ultimately succeeded in reaching the opposite side of the river and disbanding, but not before a large number had been killed and wounded. The mob, however, having tasted the sweets of revenge, proceeded to set fire indiscriminately to all railroad property in sight, so that by 7 o'clock the machine shops, two roundhouses, 125 locomotives, over 2,000 loaded freight cars, and all the buildings of the Pennsylvania road, to the value of between \$8,000,000 and \$10,000,000, were a mass of flames. To this succeeded plundering and the most indiscriminate robbery and destruction. During the whole of Sunday the depots of the Pittsburg, Cincinnati and St. Louis, the offices, depots, and engine houses of the Panhandle line, of the Adams Express Company, and the Pullman Car Company, and many private structures were plundered and consumed. The citizens of Pittsburg viewed the destruction with apparent indifference until Monday morning, the 23d, when, the fury of the mob having spent itself, citizen companies were organized and armed for protection.

The first call from Pennsylvania for aid came on the 21st from the mayor of Philadelphia, who feared that the withdrawal of the local militia would encourage the lawless element.¹¹⁹ To this the Secretary of War replied on the 22d that troops would be immediately sent to Philadelphia to meet any emergency, and that the President would exert every constitutional power to restore order and protect property.¹²⁰ At the same time the President directed General Hancock to go to Philadelphia as soon as he could leave Baltimore with safety, taking the battalion of marines, and halting, if necessary, any troops en route from New England. In communicating these instructions the Secretary of War added that the state of affairs at Philadelphia was very threatening, and that, while the governor of Pennsylvania had not yet made a formal call for troops, the President wished to prepare in season for emergencies.¹²¹ As the news of the riots at Pittsburg was being received, every effort was made to reach Governor Hartranft, but it was not until midnight of Sunday the 22d that he could be located. At 1 a. m. on the 23d the following dispatch was delivered to the President at the Soldiers' Home:

CRESTON, WYOMING TERRITORY,
July 22, 1877.

President HAYES, Washington:

I call upon you for troops to assist in quelling mobs within the borders of the State of Pennsylvania. Respectfully suggest that you order troops from adjoining States, and prepare to call for volunteers authorized by act of Congress.

J. F. HARTRANFT.

By this time General Hancock had reached Philadelphia, where he found the strikers in considerable force and demonstrative, but committing no overt acts. He, however, ordered the troops en route from

Fort Adams, R. I. and Fort Trumbull, Conn., 194 in number, and those from Fort Warren and Independence, Mass., 102 strong, to halt in Philadelphia, so that by nightfall he had, with the marines, a force of something over 450 men and the four guns of Light Battery C, of the Third Artillery. The commanding officer of the arsenal at Pittsburg reported that all was quiet at that point, and that the troops from Columbus, Ohio, ordered to join him the night before, had arrived. During the morning the proclamation of the President was published and given the fullest circulation throughout the State. It was as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, it is provided by the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence;

And whereas, the governor of the State of Pennsylvania has represented that domestic violence exists in said State which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress;

And whereas, the laws of the United States require that in all cases of insurrection in any State or of obstruction to the laws thereof, whenever in the judgment of the President it becomes necessary to use the military forces to suppress such insurrection or obstruction to the laws, he shall forthwith by proclamation command such insurgents to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time:

Now, therefore, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States, and all persons within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States against aiding, countenancing, abetting, or taking part in such unlawful proceedings; and I do hereby warn all persons engaged in or connected with said domestic violence and obstruction of the laws to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before 12 o'clock noon, of the 24th day of July, instant.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be fixed.

Done at this city of Washington, this 23d day of July, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and second.

[SEAL.]

R. B. HAYES.

By the President:

WM. M. EVARTS,

Secretary of State.

The situation in Pennsylvania during the 23d, 24th, and 25th was one of comparative quiet. The blockade inaugurated at Martinsburg on the 18th and at Pittsburg on the 19th had now extended into the adjoining States, so that one after another the railroads leading into Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg, so far as their freight business was concerned, had to come to a standstill. This situation necessitated the stopping of many roads that were otherwise innocent of participation in the strike, while a number of others whose employees

were affected by sympathy suspended operations to await its outcome. Among the latter were the Erie, the New York Central, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and the Canada Southern, all operating in the State of New York, but reaching across Pennsylvania into Ohio. All these roads struck on Tuesday, the 24th, so that by the morning of the 25th, when Governor Hartranft arrived at Philadelphia, there was a cessation of labor throughout the affected States that practically amounted to a paralysis. It is estimated that at that moment fully 100,000 men, ordinarily employed at good wages, were on strike, and perhaps ten times that number ready to join them on the slightest provocation.

For a time a conflict of opinion between the State and Federal authorities seemed to threaten a defeat of the very purposes of their joint action. In the cases of West Virginia and Maryland the President had been especially careful that the Federal troops should report to the governor and act under his direction, and General Hancock had been instructed to pursue a similar course in Pennsylvania; but upon reflection the President was inclined to think that when a State had exhausted all its resources and by an appeal to the General Government had confessed its defeat and admitted its inability to cope with the situation, it was for the Federal Government to assume the direction of subsequent affairs, inasmuch as by responding to the appeal of the State it had accepted the responsibility and would be held accountable for the consequences. In this view of the case and under the circumstances known to exist in Pennsylvania the President thought that General Hancock should take command of all the troops engaged in suppressing domestic violence within the State, including both the United States forces and those furnished by the State. He deferred, however, to a suggestion of General Hancock that inasmuch as the governor believed that he could maintain the supremacy of the law, and with the moral effect of the Federal cooperation was willing to undertake it, it would be time enough for the Government to insist upon its position when the governor had failed to accomplish successful results.^a In the furtherance of this policy Major-General Schofield, who in the absence of both General Sherman and Lieutenant-General Sheridan in the far West had been ordered to Washington, was directed to stop at Philadelphia and confer with the governor and General Hancock. At this conference it was decided that an attempt should be made at once to open up the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg by a force of State troops under the immediate command of the governor, supported by United States troops under an efficient officer to be designated by General Hancock. General Schofield arrived at Washington with the terms of this project at midnight of the 25th,

^a See Documents Nos. 122 to 132.

and, the plan being approved by the President, measures were at once instituted to carry it into effect.

The combined forces, numbering over 2,000 State troops under General Beaver and 500 United States troops under the command of Maj. John Hamilton, First U. S. Artillery, left West Philadelphia at 11 o'clock on the night of the 26th, the governor having already gone forward with a strong force from Harrisburg. There was some little delay at Johnstown, where the Cambria Iron Works are located and several thousand men on strike, and a misplaced switch threw several cars from the track, but the damage was speedily repaired, and a few minutes before noon of the 28th the troops arrived at Pittsburg. The regular troops were marched directly to the United States arsenal and remained at that point for the following two weeks, but were not called upon for further service. The strikers came to terms on the 27th, and by the 30th traffic had been resumed on the trunk lines and on most of the smaller roads east of the Ohio. Disturbances had in the meantime broken out at Reading, where 13 rioters had been killed in a collision with the militia and 43 wounded, and a force of 200 men, under Major Hamilton, was sent to that point, and about the 1st of August, by which time the disturbances incident to the railroad strikes had ended, it was found necessary to send troops to the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, where the miners had defied the authorities, and for a week or more detachments of the Army were stationed at Scranton, Wilkesbarre, Mauch Chunk, and Easton. But in every instance the presence of the United States troops sufficed to repress the disorders, and during the entire period of the labor troubles no serious resistance was ever made to them.

The blockade at Pittsburg commencing on the 19th and continuing through the 20th naturally resulted in the blocking of that portion of the lines crossing the State of Ohio. The train hands on the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago road struck on the afternoon of the 19th and on the Baltimore and Ohio on the 20th. This effectually

blocked everything at Steubenville and at Newark, at which points great crowds assembled, causing serious apprehensions on the part of the authorities. To

quiet these fears the governor ordered out the State troops. Early in the month the governor of Ohio had made requisition upon the General Government for arms and ammunition, and although the State had but a small balance to its credit the President decided that the emergency warranted the exercise of extraordinary powers and directed the issue of as many arms as could be spared. Accordingly, 2,500 Springfield rifles, .45, were sent from the Rock Island Arsenal on the 23d to Columbus. On that date all trains were stopped on the Ohio and Mississippi road; on the Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus at Cleveland; on the Hocking Valley and on the Indianapolis and

Disturbances
in Ohio,
July 16-30, 1877.

St. Louis. At Toledo the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern was blocked, and a similar tie up existed on the Erie at Youngstown. At Columbus, where a dozen railroads centered, the idle railroad hands were joined by a mob of miners and tramps, who closed the rolling mills, machine shops, and factories, and at Zanesville the most of the factories and mills were closed on the plea of sympathy with the railroad strikers at Pittsburg.

Although no formal call for military aid as required by the Constitution was made by the governor of Ohio, many earnest appeals came from local authorities, but beyond the stationing of a considerable force at Newport Barracks opposite Cincinnati, a point from which they could be speedily thrown into the State, no assistance was directly rendered. On the 2d of August, Col. E. S. Otis in command of a force of United States troops, en route to Fort Wayne, passed through Toledo, where the strikers were especially violent, and the local authorities implored him to stay and render assistance. He submitted the question to General Hancock, who decided that unless legally summoned by the sheriff as a posse comitatus he should take no part in suppressing the rioters, inasmuch as the governor had not called for assistance. In the end the State authorities, aided by the National Guard and citizens' committee, succeeded in quelling the disturbances at Zanesville, Columbus, Toledo, and Cleveland, but it was nearly the middle of August before order had been completely restored.

As the strike progressed westward, two points in Indiana threatened for a time to call for the most energetic measures. These were Fort Wayne, where the headquarters of the western section of the Pennsylvania system crossed the Wabash road, and at Indianapolis, where were centered a half dozen trunk lines as well as nearly a score of shorter roads. At both of these points there was a complete embargo as early as the 20th. At Jeffersonville, opposite the city of Louisville, another considerable railroad point, is located the largest quartermaster's depot in the country, and at Indianapolis, an arsenal, where was stored a large quantity of small arms and ammunition. To fully

Rioting at
Indianapolis, Ind.,
July, 1877.

protect these points, troops had been sent, and their presence immediately prevented their attempted seizure by the immense mobs that gathered in the adjoining cities. On the 25th United States Judge Gresham advised the President that the situation at Indianapolis was most critical and dangerous. He stated that the State authorities were doing nothing and that the mob was for the moment the only supreme power in the State. He thought an officer of high rank of the Army should be sent there at once.¹³³ On the 26th the governor of Indiana, finding the capital surrounded by a wholly reckless mob bent on mischief, called on the commandant of the arsenal for assistance. The latter referred him to Washington, and at 10 p. m. of that date the Presi-

dent received the following telegram, to which is subjoined the reply of the Secretary of War:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., July 26.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.:

In view of the threatened domestic violence growing out of the railroad strike, I request that authority be at once given to the commandant of the arsenal to render me all the aid possible in preserving the public peace.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS,
Governor of Indiana.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington City, July 27, 1877.

GOV. JAMES D. WILLIAMS,
Indianapolis, Ind.:

I am directed by the President to say that in the absence of a call upon him under the Constitution and statute for military aid in suppressing domestic violence the Federal troops at Indianapolis can only be used in protecting property of the United States and enforcing process of Federal courts.

GEO. W. McCRARY,
Secretary of War.

At the same time additional troops were sent to the arsenal at Indianapolis, and on the 27th arms and ammunition were issued, at the request of the governor, to four companies of militia—360 men—who were also permitted to camp at the arsenal. The city was greatly excited from the 27th to the 30th; a committee of safety was organized by the citizens, and fears were entertained that the mob would repeat the scenes of Pittsburg. On the 28th the President, yielding to the opinions of Judge Gresham, General Harrison, and other leading citizens of the State, decided that in cases where troops should be called for by United States marshals to aid in enforcing the processes of the United States courts they might be furnished, but in such event he desired that the officers in command of troops, before resorting to extreme measures to compel obedience, should, in the name of the United States, command the insurgents to disperse and desist from resisting the process of the United States.¹³⁶ A riot occurred at Fort Wayne on the 28th, and on the same date a small force was sent to Vincennes in response to the call of the United States marshal, but on learning of their coming the rioters dispersed. This latter force was then sent to Terre Haute, where a mob of some 3,000 or 4,000 had assembled and were preventing the running of trains, but their arrival was followed by similar results as at Vincennes. The small force under Colonel Otis en route to Pittsburg was halted at Fort Wayne, but was not called upon for any service.

It was nearly a week from the inauguration of the strike at Martinsburg before its exterior circles had reached Chicago. The men stopped work on the Vandalia and the Chicago and Alton on the 23d. On the 24th General Drum, at Chicago, having telegraphed that from present

indications all the trunk lines from the West into Chicago would be closed before night, the troops from Omaha (Ninth Infantry) were ordered east, the Twenty-second Infantry, from Detroit, as well as two companies from Montana being already en route to that point.

Rioting
at Chicago, Ill.,
July 26-28, 1877.

Although the mayor had expressed his opinion that "the presence of troops at Chicago would only aggravate existing troubles," the mob was permitted to gather and increase in numbers and turbulence throughout the 24th and 25th, shutting up factories and committing all manner of depredations. On the 24th Governor Cullom had inquired if there were troops on the way to Chicago and had been advised of the small force from Detroit. On the 25th signs of the coming storm were so apparent that he lost no further time in calling for aid.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., July 25, 1877.

His Excellency R. B. HAYES,
President United States, Washington, D. C.:

Lawlessness exists in this State to such an extent that I am unable with forces at my command to quell the same and protect the law-abiding citizens in their rights. I therefore call upon you for assistance by furnishing military and without delay. Can the six companies at Rock Island be forwarded to Chicago at once? Domestic violence exists in the State.

S. M. CULLOM,
Governor.

On the 26th a fierce encounter took place between the mob and the police, aided by the militia, in which 19 were killed and nearly 100 injured and wounded. It began with an attempt on the part of the police to clear the streets; the crowds resisted and again and again forced the police to retire. At last a force of some 300 policemen, properly officered and maneuvered, made a determined charge on a crowd composed of many thousands; the crowd broke but rallied, heavily reenforced. To this the police responded by another fierce charge, backed by a company of mounted militia, with results as already stated. Many similar skirmishes ensued in various parts of the city, continuing through the day and far into the night. As soon as the call of Governor Cullom was received, the following dispatch was sent to General Drum at 2.50 a. m. of the 26th:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., July 26, 1877.

Col. R. C. DRUM,
Assistant Adjutant-General, Chicago, Ill.:

The President directs that you use the United States troops in case of emergency in suppressing riot at Chicago, under orders of governor of the State. The orders you have given for movement of troops are approved. I have ordered Major Flagler to send you the Gatlings and ammunition. Inform Governor Cullom of this in reply to his request for them. Acknowledge receipt.

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Adjutant-General.

On the receipt of this the two companies of the Twenty-second then at Chicago were reported to the mayor, and by 2 p. m. four more companies of the Twenty-second and six of the Ninth had arrived and been put on duty, but none of the regular troops were engaged in the affray with the mob.¹⁴⁶ On the morning of the 27th the mayor called for guards from these troops to protect the city gas and water works, and these were promptly given, as also, on the application of the Treasury officials, guards were placed at the bonded warehouses. Later in the day the following instructions were sent to General Drum:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., July 27, 1877.

Col. R. C. DRUM,
Chicago, Ill.:

The President directs that the troops under your command are to be used in protecting the property of the United States and in enforcing the process of the courts of the United States. Should a pressing emergency again arise for their use otherwise, you will telegraph for further orders unless circumstances make it impossible. You will make such display of your force for moral effect as you may deem expedient and will advise me as to situation.

GEO. W. McCRARY,
Secretary of War.

Although there was some rioting at Chicago for several days following, there were no serious encounters with the strikers, and when General Sheridan arrived, on the 30th, he was able to report that the city was tranquil, and he had no doubt that this was largely due to the confidence inspired by the presence of the regular troops.¹⁴⁷ In deference to this condition of public opinion, the troops were kept at Chicago until about the 20th of August, but at no time were they actively employed.

The strike reached St. Louis on the 23d. On the previous evening the railroad employees in that section met at East St. Louis and decided to tie up all freight trains at midnight. Information of this decision was immediately communicated to the President, who directed General Pope, then commanding the Department of the Missouri at Fort Leavenworth, to send to St. Louis all the force he could spare, and to proceed to that point himself if he deemed it necessary. In accordance with these instructions, Col. Jeff. C. Davis, with six companies of the Twenty-third Infantry, left Fort Leavenworth at 10 p. m. of the 23d, arriving at St. Louis on the afternoon of the 24th. The commanding officer

of these troops was expressly instructed that his duty was simply to protect the property of the United States; that until a call should have been made by the State upon the United States, duly responded to, he should take no part in suppressing insurrection against the State laws.¹⁴⁸ Later in the day General Davis was joined by two companies from Fort Riley, with two Gatling guns, and six more companies

were put en route. During the night of the 24th and throughout the 25th the mob at St. Louis was being constantly recruited, and the situation was extremely threatening. The same practice of closing the workshops as a method of showing sympathy with the railroad strikers as was carried out in other cities was pursued at this point, so that the streets became congested with idle workmen, the shiftless unemployed and the miscellaneous rabble that is always abroad at such times, and the same spirit of riot that had exhausted itself in the East now renewed itself on the west bank of the Mississippi. On the 25th and 26th business at St. Louis was at a standstill. To prevent a repetition of the scenes at Pittsburg and Chicago, the citizens formed large committees, and these having called upon the General Government for 10,000 arms and sufficient ammunition, General Pope was authorized to deliver all that were required "to the State authorities upon a requisition of the governor." On the 26th an immense crowd marched through the streets in regular column, surrounded the police headquarters and the armories of the militia, daring the latter to fight and taunting the police with cowardice. At East St. Louis the situation was even worse. No freight trains were permitted to leave in any direction, and the strikers were masters of the situation. This point, however, was within the limits of the State of Illinois, and no call for troops for use at East St. Louis had been received. In the meantime the citizens at St. Louis, to the number of more than 3,000, had been organized and armed and were doing good service.

On the 27th the judge of the United States court called for aid in enforcing the mandates of his court, and General Davis, having been directed to furnish it, immediately reported to the marshal, who, with the aid of the troops, seized and held the yards and tracks of the Ohio and Mississippi and the St. Louis and Southeastern, as well as the St. Louis bridge, and on the morning of the 28th General Davis crossed the river and took possession of East St. Louis. This was the beginning of the end. The governor of Illinois arrived during the day and asked for aid, but the President decided that beyond protecting United States property and enforcing the mandates of the courts the troops should not act until the States of Missouri and Illinois had exhausted all their resources in enforcing peace and order within their own borders. The strikers by this time had opened negotiations with their employers, and within twenty-four hours freight trains were moving on the trunk lines, and by the 2d of August business had resumed its ordinary channels. The troops remained at St. Louis until the 20th, when they were returned to their stations.

Although the more serious disturbances of the labor strikes of 1877 were confined to the States here mentioned, their reflex action affected to a greater or less degree several of the surrounding States. In New York there were riots at Buffalo, Hornellsville, Elmira, and a half dozen

other points, but in every instance the National Guard proved competent to handle the situation. On Wednesday, the 25th, every railroad man in New Jersey was on strike and traffic was entirely suspended, but there were no acts of violence, and the determined attitude of the authorities at Jersey City and Newark prevented any prolongation of the blockade. In several Western cities, other than those already mentioned, the idle and dangerous classes attempted to intimidate the authorities, and in some cases bold and lawless mobs held towns and railway junctions and prevented the running of trains for several days. On the 24th the unsettled and threatened condition of affairs at Detroit induced the governor of Michigan to request that if necessary the troops at Fort Wayne be made subject to his orders, as it was feared an emergency might arise where their services would be absolutely necessary in maintaining peace and enforcing obedience to the laws.¹⁵⁴ He was advised, however, that the troops of the United States are to protect public property and by their presence promote peace and order, and that they can not take part in suppressing insurrection against State laws until call is made by the State upon the United States and responded to in the manner provided by the Constitution and the laws.¹⁵⁵

Disturbances in
other States.

A similar condition of affairs at Milwaukee on the 25th resulted in a similar request from the governor of Wisconsin,¹⁵⁶ and on the same day the governor of California, in the fear that the local police and State militia would prove inadequate to quell impending disturbances, desired that all the United States forces at San Francisco be placed at his disposal to be used in case of emergency.¹⁵⁷ In both cases the trouble had passed before the Government found it necessary to decide upon a course of action. Again, on the 27th, when the employees of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy tied up the trains of that line at Burlington, the citizens of that city suggested that regular troops might be held within call from the governor. On that day General Pope was at St. Louis and General Ruger at Louisville, in order that they could, if necessary, advise the President as to the need of troops at those points; and all the troops in the Department of the Gulf and the Department of the South were ordered North; but happily these precautions were needless.

In his annual report to Congress for the year 1877 the President marked as follows concerning the foregoing occurrence:

The very serious riots which occurred in several of the States in July last rendered necessary the employment of a considerable portion of the Army to preserve the peace and maintain order. In the States of West Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Illinois these disturbances were so formidable as to delay the local and State authorities, and the National Executive was called upon, in the mode provided by the Constitution and laws, to furnish military aid. I am gratified to be able to state

that the troops sent in response to these calls for aid in the suppression of domestic violence were able, by the influence of their presence in the disturbed regions, to preserve the peace and restore order without the use of force. In the discharge of this delicate and important duty both officers and men acted with great prudence and courage, and for their services deserve the thanks of the country.

Similarly the Secretary of War:

I am glad to be able to announce that the Army has again shown itself the staunch friend of law, the firm supporter of the lawful authorities, and in an eminent degree the conservator of peace and order. It is also a source of great pleasure to me to be able to announce that the national forces sent to quell these disturbances met with little resistance, and were able to execute all their orders without firing a gun and without bloodshed. The single instance of serious resistance, at Johnstown, Pa., it is believed may have been in ignorance of the fact that it was made against the national troops.