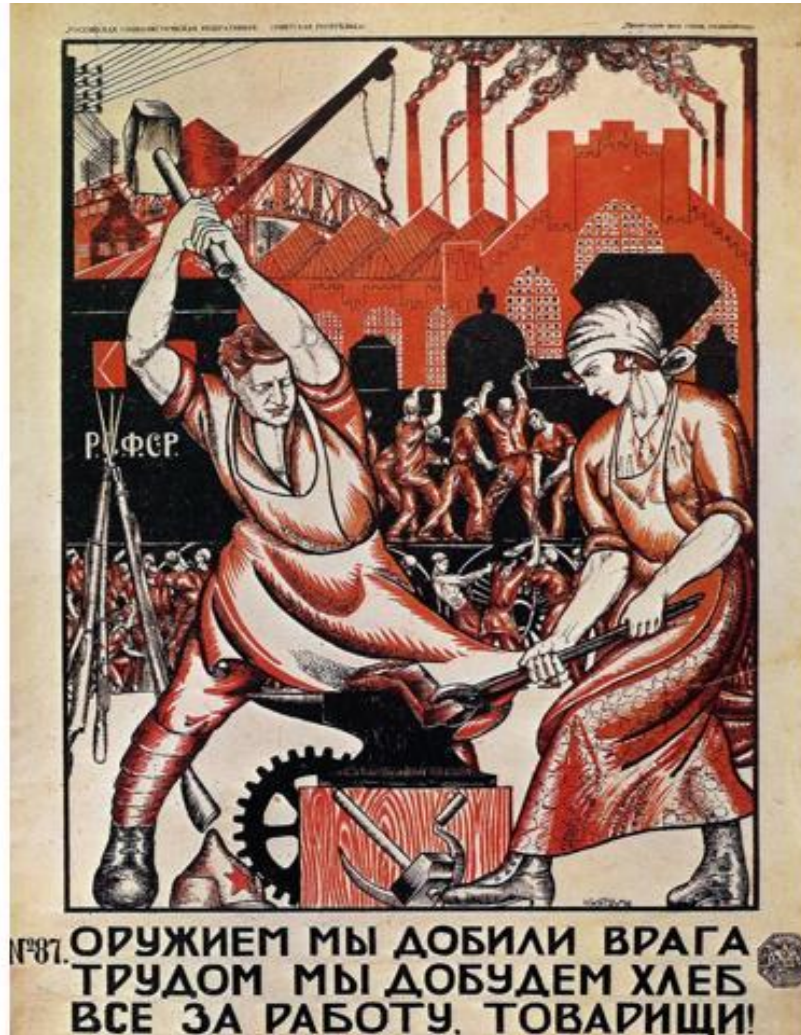


CORNERSTONE

AN UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL



Department of History
University of California Riverside

CORNERSTONE

AN UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Department of History
University of California Riverside

Editors:

Alyse Yeargan

Engin Gokcek

John Haberstroh

Stacie Macias

Committee Chair:

Thomas Cogswell

Table of contents

I. Introduction

- Pg. 1** **Hunting the Hun:
California Media & German Aliens in World War I**
Jillian Surdzial – 2019 Cornerstone Winner
Jonathan Eacott – HIST 197 – Winter 2019
- Pg. 26** **A Mother's Plea for Peace**
Paige Kuster – 2019 Gahn Winner
Anne Goldberg – HIST 197 – Fall 2018
- Pg. 40** **The Bear and the Harp:
Irish-American Nationalism in California**
Mark Reynolds – 2019 Schneider Winner
Jonathan Eacott – HIST 197 – Winter 2019
- Pg. 60** **Men and Monsters:
Characters of Political Posters During the Russian Civil War**
Samantha Owens
Georg Michels – HIST 197 – Summer 2018
- Pg. 78** **Appealing the Draft during World War I:
An Issue of Race, Ethnicity, and or Class?**
Isabella Diaz
Jonathan Eacott – HIST 197 – Winter 2019
- Pg. 88** **The Salem Witch-Hunt:
17th Century Puritan Bonds on Trial**
Rebecca Simpson
Alexander Haskell – HIST 197 – Fall 2018

Each year for the past four decades, *Cornerstone* has showcased the best undergraduate research papers at UC Riverside, and so it does again in 2019. Thanks to a bumper crop of excellent student essays, the editorial committee had to make exceptionally hard choices this year, and in the final selections, Lucille Chia and Denver Graninger assisted John Haberstroh, Engin Gokcek, Stacie Macias and Alyse Yeargan.

To be selected for inclusion in the *Cornerstone* is a signal honor for any undergraduate, and this year we highlight the splendid work of three seniors. In “Appealing the Draft in Southern California during World War One: An Issue of Race, Ethnicity, and/or Class?” Isabella Diaz highlights the unexpected phenomenon of thousands of Californians petitioning for exemptions from the draft. In “Men and Monsters: Characters of Political Posters During the Russian Civil War,” Samantha Owens analyzes how the Bolsheviks deployed visual propaganda during the protracted Russian conflict, and in “The Salem Witch-Hunt: 17th Century Puritan Bonds on Trial,” Rebecca Simpson studies the role of the local community in this pivotal event in American history.

Three other students have earned particular marks of distinction. The Cornerstone Award goes to Jillian Surdzial for “Hunting the Hun: California Media & German Aliens in World War I,” which illuminates the role of movies and newspapers during the Great War. Paige Kuster won the Thomas and Evelyn Gahn Prize for “A Mother's Plea for Peace,” which highlights the efforts of the International Congress of Women to halt the bloodshed in World War One. Lastly, Mark Reynolds receives the Peter Schneider Award for “The Bear and the Harp: Irish-American Nationalism in California,” an innovative study of how Irish-Americans in California reacted to the Great War.

Plainly the study of History is thriving at UC Riverside. It is with great pride that the Editorial Committee presents the latest edition of this distinguished publication.

Thomas Cogswell
Professor and Chair
Department of History

**Hunting the Hun:
California Media & German Aliens in World War I**

Jillian Surdzial
2019 Cornerstone Winner
Jonathan Eacott – HIST 197 – Winter 2019

On March 9, 1918, midway through the United States' involvement in World War I, a young boy from San Francisco named Willis Gauthier wrote to the Naval Recruiting Office. Although he was too young for the Navy, he maintained that he wanted nothing more than to serve his country, pleading, "if you'll send me a badge and the necessary papers, I'll round up some German spies. I'd like a job as [a] spy."¹ Willis' impression that there were spies hidden within his community and that it was his patriotic duty to "round [them] up" was a common idea for Californians and Americans during the war. A barrage of media served average Californian citizens the idea that they were being overrun by dangerous hordes of German spies who compromised the American way of life with their Hun-like barbarism. Popular media, such as films and newspapers, impressed upon Californians that German-Americans and German aliens all had a potential to be spies who threatened American victory overseas and peace of life at the home front. Acclimatized to anti-German, pro-authority, and pro-patriotism viewpoints because of popular media, many Californians decided to join or support patriotic citizens groups (PCGs) which worked in tandem with local authorities to spy on and impose harsh penalties on German individuals. The attack against German aliens' and German-Americans' civil liberties during World War I indicates a broader trend in America to use media to encourage or justify the denial of immigrants' fundamental, constitutionally-guaranteed civil liberties. This essay will consider the importance of silent film, an often ignored medium, and newspapers as potential outlets for encouraging and validating Californians' anti-German fears, which in turn created an atmosphere where citizens increasingly joined PCGs and took (sometimes vigilante, sometimes police-sanctioned) justice into their own hands.

Silent Film

Although a modern audience considers silent film a quaint or antique medium, in their prime silent films were considered "the most powerful medium on earth. For it was a universal language. People who read no newspapers and had no radio still saw moving pictures."² Silent films were, therefore, both a means of entertainment and a way of conveying information and ideologies. A person visiting the theater for a night out would come seeking fun, and leave bedazzled with a story steeped in messages.

¹ "Wants To Be Spy Hunter," *Riverside Daily Press*, March 9, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection

² Brownlow, Kevin. "An Introduction to Silent Film." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 132, No. 5332 (March 1984): 261.

The presence of brand new movie studios in Hollywood meant that California was destined to not only be a consumer of First World War media, but also a producer of it. Before 1914, European films were considered the best; they were of much higher quality than their American counterparts, which suffered from Thomas Edison's miserly enforcement of patent law related to his inventions of motion picture film and projection devices.³ Reacting to Edison, a large group of independent filmmakers began to migrate west, where patent law was less harshly enforced.⁴ Between 1909 and 1912, these "Independents" settled in Hollywood, California, "where sunlight, cheap property, inexpensive non-union labor, cooperative business and real estate interests, and exotic varying locales (ocean, desert, and mountain landscapes) were plentiful."⁵ Over the course of World War I, these "Independents - the pre-dominantly Jewish, alien element Edison had so resented... [became] all powerful. They specialized in remarkably patriotic films, extolling American virtues, denouncing such foreigners as Huns and Bolsheviks."⁶ Although Europe had been a prolific site of filmmaking for decades, "Europe as a film-producing centre virtually ceased to exist after [the war broke out in] 1914."⁷ Thus, on the eve of war, the new Hollywood film industry found itself in a position uniquely primed for success. Using a new technology that appealed to nearly everyone, Hollywood's patriotic filmmakers, newly liberated from Edison's patent-hounding, found themselves with a captivated audience hungry for American films to fill the void created by the absence of European producers.

The 1917 feature film *The Spy* made big claims about the evil German espionage system and American patriotism. Beginning distribution in September 1917, local newspaper ads indicate that

³ Ibid., 265.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tim Dirks, "The History of Film, The Pre-1920s: Early Cinematic Origins and the Infancy of Film," AMC Filmsite, accessed March 12, 2019, <https://www.filmsite.org/pre20sintro4.html>.

⁶ Brownlow, 267

⁷ Ibid., 266

this six-reel film played in Los Angeles,⁸ San Francisco,⁹ San Bernardino,¹⁰ Healdsburg,¹¹ Sacramento,¹² and Calexico.¹³ Fox Studios historian Aubrey Solomon describes the plot of the story thus: “Mark... accepts a challenge, joins the Secret Service, and sets sail for Germany to secure a list of spies in the U.S. working for Germany. German spy Greta... falls in love with Mark and helps him get the information. Eventually, both are caught by the Germans and tortured. Sentenced to death, they march together to the executioner.”¹⁴ Although the plot is fictional, a *Los Angeles Herald* ad indicates that filmmakers and advertisers wanted Californians to view the film as a documentary: “Los Angeles must see this picture—expose of German secret police in America—How the Kaiser operates and secures information.”¹⁵ The anti-German aspects of the film are unsubtle, and complement the pro-patriotism and pro-authority aspects. The Germans in the film are demonized for daring to have a spy system; meanwhile, the American Secret Service agent is depicted as heroic for conducting espionage on the Germans. Advertising campaigns emphasized that Mark’s suffering at the hands of Germans was a martyrdom akin to that of Jesus Christ at his crucifixion: “[Mark’s] moment of Calvary—the scene in the torture chamber—[is] tremendous.”¹⁶ This film fits a pattern of media identified by Matthew Alford, wherein “the US and its media consciously or unconsciously

⁸ “Advertisements Column 1,” *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. XLII, no. 269, 11 September 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

⁹ “‘THE SPY’ WILL BE SCREENED AT RIALTO THEATER,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 16, 1917, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰ “Western Frontier Drama is Strand’s Action,” *San Bernardino News*, vol. 44, no. 101, October 29, 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

¹¹ “Page 1 Advertisements Column 1,” *The Healdsburg Tribune*, vol. XXXI, no. 14, June 20, 1918.

¹² “‘THE SPY’ CONTINUES TO BE FEATURED AT GODARDS,” *Sacramento Union*, vol. 199, no. 43, December 13, 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

¹³ “Page 5 Advertisements,” *Calexico Chronicle*, vol. XIV, no. 85, November 20, 1917, Via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

¹⁴ Aubrey Solomon, *The Fox Film Corporation, 1915-1935: A History and Filmography*, (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2011), 241.

¹⁵ “Advertisements Column 1,” *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. XLII, no. 269, 11 September 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

classify all populations as ‘worthy’ (the US and its allies) and ‘unworthy’ (everyone else – the ‘unpeople’ to borrow Mark Curtis’ term).¹⁷ *The Spy* demonizes Germans into unpeople, while “America’s image of itself...is rendered benevolent and, even, exceptionalist.”¹⁸ The *Los Angeles Herald* ad also indicates “while the public is weary of war plays, this one is different and does not contain a single battlefield scene.”¹⁹ Released in late 1917, the audience would have included family members of American soldiers at the front. While battlefield scenes would have been upsetting to this audience, a romance plot and dramatic spy action would do nicely to “stir your [Californians’] patriotism.”²⁰ By playing a film that “furnishes thrills that stirred to a high pitch the emotions of the audience,” filmmakers made Californians enthusiastic to do their part to honor Mark’s fictional legacy and catch spies.²¹

The 1918 feature film *The Hun Within* taught its Californian audience important values of patriotic loyalty, even if the dangerous aliens came from within one’s own family. The story follows the Wagners, a family of German-Americans. Herman Wagner, a “loyal German-American,” sends his son Karl to a finishing school in Berlin.²² When Karl returns, he is radicalized against the United States, and attempts to blow up an American transport vessel. The father expresses immense “grief at

¹⁷ Matthew Alford, “A Screen Entertainment Propaganda Model,” in *The Propaganda Model Today: Filtering Perception and Awareness*, ed. Joan Pedro-Caranana, Daniel Broudy and Jeffery Klaehn. (Westminster: University of Westminster Press, 2018), 146.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ “Advertisements Column 1,” *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. XLII, no. 269, 11 September 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² “Theater News,” *Calexico Chronicle*, December 27, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

his son's treason," eventually choosing his patriotic duty to America over his son.²³ Ads from local newspapers indicate the film was shown throughout California at theaters in San Francisco,²⁴ San Bernardino,²⁵ Riverside,²⁶ and Calexico.²⁷ Local newspapers sold *The Hun Within* to Californians as a way to have fun while still learning patriotic values. Imperial County's *Calexico Chronicle* indicated, "A finer patriotic picture would be hard to find. It has a delightful love story and the subject is of up-to-the-minute timeliness."²⁸ Coverage in the *Riverside Daily Press* makes it clear that to a 1918 audience, *The Hun Within* was more than a cute love story or a foray into fiction: "This is no picture of fancy, but of facts."²⁹ Newspapers, film critics, as well as the film's own advertising campaign wished for the film to be a stand in for real life concerns about disloyal enemy aliens sabotaging American society. The film's "superb special Paramount-Artcraft photoplay" drew in viewers with the promise of a compelling romance plot with big-name actress Dorothy Gish, and had them leaving the theater thoroughly indoctrinated with the belief that any German alien could be radicalized.

Huns and Hyphens, a 1918 short film, provided Californian audiences with spy propaganda in the guise of comedy. Short films often received a wider audience, as it was common practice to show them "with a variety of feature films in multiple theaters in a single market."³⁰ Throughout late 1918

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Display Ad 13," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 26, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁵ "DOROTHY GISH IN 'THE HUN WITHIN' AT OPERA HOUSE," *San Bernardino Sun*, Volume 44, Number 111, 9 January 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

²⁶ "Advertisement," *Riverside Daily Press*, Volume XXXIV, Number 1, 1 January 1919 via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

²⁷ "Theater News," *Calexico Chronicle*, December 27, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "Advertisement," *Riverside Daily Press*, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, 1 January 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁰ Don B. Morlan, "Slapstick Contributions to WWII Propaganda: The Three Stooges and Abbott and Costello," *Studies in Popular Culture*, vol. 17, no. 1 (October 1994): 35.

and early 1919, the film was shown throughout California in San Francisco,³¹ Chico,³² Red Bluff,³³ Los Angeles,³⁴ San Pedro,³⁵ and San Bernardino.³⁶ The story follows Vera, “a brilliant American engineer,” and her lover Larry Semon, a waiter and “a good American citizen.”³⁷ Vera has invented plans for a new gas mask that will save the boys on the front and help America win the war. Nefarious, plotting Germans have other plans. Vera is given “a suspect invitation to dinner” by the unsubtly named “Fritz Nasty... A GERMAN SPY!”³⁸ At the restaurant, Larry’s boss reveals he is a German spy, steals the mask plans, and kidnaps Vera. With the aid of wacky slapstick, Larry is able to save Vera and the plans, and therefore his country, from the clutches of the evil spy ring.

Although today’s audience would automatically view this film as a propaganda piece based on its mere premise—shutting down a German spy ring out of patriotic duty—contemporary newspaper advertisements only billed the film as a comedy. The plethora of zany slapstick tropes in the film—including pies to the face, pratfalls, tussles on railroad tracks, revolving door chases, and more—distract the audience from the fact that they are being fed subliminal messages. Slapstick films were viewed as a lesser genre than drama and unable to tackle serious subject matter.³⁹ Therefore, the comedy genre allowed audiences to absorb the subliminal anti-German, pro-patriotism

³¹ “Display Ad 13,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 26, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

³² “Theatres,” *Chico Record*, no. 28, February 2, 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³³ “Advertisements,” *Red Bluff Daily News*, Volume XXXV, Number 219, 18 July 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁴ “Kinema,” *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. XLIII, no. 291, 7 October 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁵ “Mary MacLaren at the Victoria Tomorrow,” *San Pedro News Pilot*, Volume 6, Number 57, 7 December 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁶ “Isis Theater,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Volume 44, Number 86, 11 December 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

³⁷ Silent comedy movie, “Huns and Hyphens - Larry Semon & Stan Laurel -1918 -A great silent comedy film -Full movie,” YouTube video, 26:40, February 13, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JKcC6mxOxbl>.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Morlan, 35.

propaganda messages in an easily digestible format that discouraged critical thought. Although Larry's antics are designed for comedic effect, he does express patriotic values. For example, he is willing to die in service of his country, running weaponless into a fray of gun-toting Germans to save the gas mask plans that are vital for American success on the battlefield. It is also no mistake that at least three of the German goons in the spy ring sport the same distinctive, full mustache as Kaiser Wilhelm II, a clear sign of their enemy status. Additionally, Larry is willing to kill, chasing the spy who stole the plans to a precarious rooftop space with a wood plank hanging off the edge of the roof. Larry tricks him into giving back the plans before sawing off the end of the plank and letting the German plunge to his death below (or, rather, his almost-death: he is unwittingly saved by slapstick physics, which swing him a full 180 degrees around and through the window of the floor below). Combined, these details indicate a more serious message hidden under the slapstick: Americans should be prepared to take any necessary steps to defend their country's wellbeing from the hidden Hun enemy within their borders.

The titles of these films raise two pertinent questions: who were these "Huns," and what did it mean to be "hyphenated?" During the war, the Allies used the term "Hun" to reference Germans' supposed barbarism, a comparison that naturally served as a contrast to the declaration of Allied actions as good, patriotic, and necessary.⁴⁰ "Hun" was initially a word Germans claimed for themselves. First used by Kaiser Wilhelm II in his famous "Hun Speech" in 1900, it positively denoted the fortitude of the German military, which was comparable to "the Huns under their mighty King Atilla."⁴¹ Anti-German sentiments in the pre-war period and during the war caused the meaning to shift, and "Hun" became a derogatory word used by the Allies. American journalists' biased coverage of war events from 1914 onward meant that "Within the first few months of fighting, the

⁴⁰ David Welch, "Depicting the Enemy," British Library, published January 29, 2014, accessed March 20, 2019, <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/depicting-the-enemy>.

⁴¹ "Wilhelm II: 'Hun Speech' (1900)," German History in Documents and Images, accessed March 20, 2019, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=755.

stereotype of the ‘brutal Hun’ was being established in the American mind.”⁴² This stereotype continued throughout the war to depict Germans on the front as “brutalized,” an “inhuman force of nature or as mere human parts in a crushing ‘monstrous engine.’”⁴³ The image of evil Germans was not limited to “over there,” however; silent films and newspapers told Americans about the Kaiser’s spy ring, which lay insidiously beneath the surface of their society. For the purposes of propaganda films and newspaper articles, identifying an enemy Hun was necessary because, as historian David Welch indicates, “not only does [the enemy] provide a target that can be attacked, but also it offers a scapegoat – the easiest means of diverting public attention from genuine social and political problems at home.”⁴⁴

The “hyphen” comes from the concept of “hyphenated Americanism,” a model of dual identity wherein an American’s nationality is accompanied by the country of their heritage.⁴⁵ An optimistic outlook would hold that hyphenated names indicated a pluralist identity characteristic of the “American Melting Pot” that the country so prides itself upon. Although “Germans and German-

Americans did not see a dichotomy between heart-felt pride in the old country and a passionate attachment to the United States,” during World War I, the concept of hyphenated identities was considered dangerous.⁴⁶ For average Americans, “the general belief was that many of these immigrant groups... held a dual allegiance both to their native land and their newly-adopted

⁴² Richard S. Faulkner, “Harsh Schoolmasters, Devious Huns, and Dejected Prisoners: The Doughboys and the German Soldiers Meet,” in *Pershing’s Crusaders: The American Soldier in World War I*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017): 307.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ David Welch, “Depicting the Enemy,” British Library, published January 29, 2014, accessed March 20, 2019. <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/depicting-the-enemy>.

⁴⁵ Bill Mills, *The League: The True Story of Average Americans on the Hunt for WWI Spies*, (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, Inc., 2013), 157.

⁴⁶ Mark Kuss, “Hey Man! Watch Your Language: Treatment of Germans and German Americans in New Orleans during World War I,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 180.

homeland—or remained fully dedicated to the land of their birth and would present a security risk in times of war.”⁴⁷ In a mid-war speech on October 12, 1915, former president Theodore Roosevelt expressed the concerns about American identity felt by the majority of the nation, proclaiming, “there is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else.”⁴⁸ Film creators and journalists were but a microcosm of the broader American trend of hating Huns and hyphenated dual identities. The biases of these individuals carried over into the media they produced, which taught and further confirmed the audience’s preexisting hatred of Germans, German-Americans, and aliens in general.

Newspapers

“The Oath,” a series of rhyming couplets published in the *La Habra Star* on January 31, 1919, exemplifies how another form of media, newspapers, encouraged Californians to distrust Germans. Like the dramatic tones and plots of the silent films, this poem uses dramatic language to anathematize and demonize Germans as a people. The author, an American named Kenneth Graham Duffield, did not exist in a cultural vacuum; rather, the media he produced gives voice to the anti-German sentiments of the times. For example, the line “I will not take a German’s word / He’ll break it when he can. / There is no love in a German’s heart / Or faith in a German man,”⁴⁹ reflects the author’s exposure to ideas of brutal Huns and untrustworthy hyphenated Americans. Duffield goes a step further than ideological statement of fact, and instead includes vivid imagery that encourages readers to think of Germans as evil, ungodly beasts who are able to foul the air with their mere presence: “I will not breathe where God’s clean air, / is soiled by German tongue.”⁵⁰ This air of melodrama is reminiscent of the silent films. Both the films and the poem are fictional works that reflect their creators’ own ideas on the German condition and project them as an objective Truth. Embodying the xenophobic, anti-German mood of the war, this article, published in early 1919, indicates that Californians had a lasting memory of Germans as enemies that continued to affect German aliens even after the war had ended.

⁴⁷ Mills, 157.

⁴⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, “Americanism,” (speech, New York, October 12, 1915), vdare, <https://vdare.com/posts/guest-post-by-teddy-roosevelt-americanism-october-12-1915>.

⁴⁹ Kenneth Graham Duffield, “The Oath,” *La Habra Star*, January 31, 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Another newspaper article, “Taking Care of the Spies,” published in Southern California’s *San Pedro Daily Pilot*, likewise dramatizes German spies through brutal imagery, historical reference, comparison, and harsh diction. These aspects reflect an anti-German and pro-authority sentiment present in California during the war, ideologies which are encouraged by sharing them with local newspaper readers. Using metaphor, the author creates an image of German alien spies as not only reprehensible traitors, but also a literal poison to American society: “[aliens are the] men whom America has suckled who have become vipers at the bosom of their adopted mother.”⁵¹ This image is contrasted with the “immortal”⁵² goodness of American spies from the Revolutionary War, including Nathan Hale. A series of dramatic, harsh descriptors are given to Germans, who represent “all that is most excretable in treachery and cunning, dishonor and stealth, and the most despicable forms of evil.”⁵³ These traits reflect the aforementioned belief that Germans were brutal, evil Huns and that aliens were treacherous hyphenated scum. Germans were called “an incendiary and murderer, an assassin of women and babies, a poisoner of food and water, a disseminator of disease germs, a dynamiter and train wrecker, a coward and a human reptile.”⁵⁴ By identifying Germans as the enemy in such a colorful manner, the author aims to incite reaction and to encourage his fellow Californians to view all Germans as possible spies, thereby perpetuating paranoia and increasing hostile attitudes. This environment, inflamed by media, profoundly influenced Californians and inspired some to join PCGs.

“INFANT PATRIOT CAUSES ARREST OF GERMAN,” published in the *Los Angeles Times* on April 27, 1918 provides readers with a dramatic, narrative tale of proud citizens, supported by local police and a PCG, who defend their patriotic duty from an attacking German.⁵⁵ Nineteen-month-old Angelino Henry Zellenack “started out to halt the Hun” at an early age, celebrating a

⁵¹ “Taking Care of the Spies,” *San Pedro Daily Pilot*, February 27, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “INFANT PATRIOT CAUSE OF ARREST OF GERMAN,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Liberty Day celebration in Los Angeles by buying a Liberty Bond (in fact, his grandfather bought it, but making the child the actor increases readers' sympathy for the young patriot).⁵⁶ Henry's grandfather, Calvin Cohen, then paraded the child up and down the main street, brandishing his bond proudly, wearing a red, white, and blue suit, and waving a sign saying "Raus Mit de Kaiser [out with the Kaiser]—But (sic.) [buy?] a Liberty Bond. To Hell with the Kaiser."⁵⁷ Although the newspaper deemed Cohen's actions commendable and patriotic, the inclusion of German on the child's sign indicates Cohen deliberately wished to personalize the insult to German aliens. One alien passerby, Paul Reiche, took the bait, and was accordingly arrested by the local police and the War Squad—a local PCG that was actually a bureau of the Los Angeles Police Department.⁵⁸ The *Times* overemphasizes support for local authorities by including a hyperbolic detail: "a crowd of several hundred persons collected and cheered loudly when Patrolman Michael Greely and a member of the war squad arrested Reiche."⁵⁹ This supposedly vast crowd of patriots followed Reiche to Grand Central Station, where he was jailed. In Reiche's pockets, policemen found "telegrams that may warrant future investigation," a detail that sounds too convenient and suspiciously-timed to be true but serves to heighten the narrative drama of the article.⁶⁰ Touting Zellenack and Cohen's actions as good and patriotic while condemning Reiche as a "hunt[able] Hun" continues the narrative that all Germans were a threat that could only be stopped by patriotic actions. Dramatized, narrative articles in newspapers like this one and others indicate media's power to both confirm and further mold a community's fears and sense of duty.

It is important to note that the article calls Cohen's actions a "patriotic demonstration" rather than a political one.⁶¹ While political views can be considered debatable and controversial, during the war, patriotic views were considered a duty and obligation. The *Times'* coverage, therefore, establishes patriotism as a right and places that right above the constitutionally-given rights to freedom of speech and due process. Reiche was arrested by a patrolman and a member of the War

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Diane M. T. North, *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018), 267.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Squad. As a bureau of the Los Angeles Police Department, the War Squad's duty was to uphold the law, but this task was complicated because legislation pertaining to spies at the time of Reiche's arrest on April 27, 1918—the Espionage Act—was vague.⁶² Rather than listing specific actions that counted as offenses and proof of spy activity, the law gave local authority considerable leeway to decide what actions counted as “willfully mak[ing] or convey[ing] false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military... or to promote the success of its enemies...or willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, refusal of duty.”⁶³ Local attitudes about Huns, shaped by media, were therefore allowed to insert themselves into the legal process, making the arrests of German aliens susceptible to personal agendas and popular attitudes rather than logic and evidence.

“‘WAR SQUAD’ HELPS IN CAPTURING ALIEN ENEMY” encouraged Californians to embrace their patriotic duty and join a local PCG to help catch German spies.⁶⁴ The title immediately sets the tone, contrasting roles for the article's characters: while the War Squad “helps” and sounds like a benefit to society, a potentially innocent German is made to fit the “enemy” role. The article describes the arrest of Carl Kuhlman, a German resident of Santa Monica, who was “said to have been a lieutenant in the German Navy and charged with having made with seditious remarks.”⁶⁵ Kuhlman's arrest is framed as a positive action made possible only by the War Squad's intelligence operations.⁶⁶ Although the paper acknowledges the squad's reports included only “alleged[ly] seditious statements,” and therefore were possibly falsified, the article overall praises the War Squad's efforts. Rather than criticizing the PCG for making accusations that cannot be proven, the article classifies the squad's secret work as a desirable contribution to society: “the case demonstrated

⁶² North, 267.

⁶³ Espionage Act of 1917, section 3.

⁶⁴ “‘WAR SQUAD’ HELPS IN CAPTURING ALIEN ENEMY,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

the desirability of the ‘war squad’s personnel remaining unnamed.’⁶⁷ Descriptions like “Not more than three to four men will know who the members of the war squad are” extol the exclusivity of the organization, making readers intrigued to sign up to learn more. Overall, the article’s blend of anti-German and pro-authority rhetoric encourages readers to support the War Squad and view the PCG’s existence as integral to the safety of the city.

The *Los Angeles Times*’ coverage of the American Protective League’s (APL) actions indicates that newspapers oversimplified the roles of PCGs and Germans into hero versus enemy stories. The APL was a nationwide PCG; in California it hosted chapters in Los Angeles, Eureka, Napa, Sacramento, San Jose, Bakersfield, Montrose, Glendale, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, Fresno, and more.⁶⁸ The Long Beach division of the APL was heavily covered in newspapers because it “convinced the Los Angeles County sheriff’s office to deputize [its] agents.”⁶⁹ By lending the power of legal jurisdiction to the APL, the sheriff’s office deemed the APL’s fears of German spies as legitimate. Furthermore, media also lent credibility to the APL’s authority by publishing news stories that goaded readers into fearing Germans and idolizing the APL agents who protect citizens’ safety. In “MAY INTERN GERMAN ARRESTED AT BEACH,” the *Los Angeles Times* showed support for the Long Beach chapter of the APL and expressed anti-German views.⁷⁰ Frank Milewski, a German alien residing in Long Beach, was spied on by an APL agent and subsequently arrested. Although ultimately released due to lack of evidence, the APL continued to watch Milewski for several months, and he was ultimately “arrested [a second time] as he was leaving town by operatives of the league.”⁷¹ Rather than framing the continued spying as a breach of privacy, the *Los Angeles Times* applauds the APL for its steadfastness, saying, “the operatives did not relax their watchfulness.”⁷² Instead of assuring Milewski’s right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty, agents of the APL immediately invaded Milewski’s privacy, seizing the documents in his pockets

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ North, 231.

⁶⁹ North, 232.

⁷⁰ “MAY INTERN GERMAN ARRESTED AT BEACH,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

without a warrant. Although Milewski had done everything the law asked, including disclosing his previous position in the German military and “preregister[ing] as an alien enemy,” the newspaper indicates “an effort will be made to intern him for the duration of the war because he has been convicted of a felony.”⁷³ Milewski had already served six years in San Quentin prison for this felony (forgery).⁷⁴ Legally, trying to get Milewski to serve further prison time for a sentence that had already run its course is a violation of his fifth amendment right to protection against double jeopardy.⁷⁵ Additionally, Milewski’s fourth amendment rights against “unreasonable searches and seizures” were violated when the APL invaded his privacy by spying on him after probable cause had already been dismissed, and by forcing him to surrender his personal documents without a warrant.⁷⁶ This article illustrates that newspapers did not necessarily care about legal rights of German aliens, but rather crafted narratives that encouraged the public to support PCGs, whose underhanded tactics were viewed as invaluable tools to hunt Huns.

Overall, newspaper articles served a similar purpose as film: while film critics desired to transform “picture[s] of fancy” into films of “facts,” newspaper articles transformed real life occurrences into fanciful narratives.⁷⁷ Dramatic language painted Germans as reprehensible, disloyal Huns. Germans and PCG patriots were melodramatically given the roles of enemy and hero, respectively, and the plot of the article oversimplifies a complex legal process into a one-dimensional “good guys win” narrative. These articles never followed up on moments where an alien was released for lack of evidence, which indicates that articles were designed to fit a specific storyline. Presenting these stories in local newspapers gave readers the expectation that the information within was impartial and nonfictional; the medium rendered the impression of facts to unreliably-sourced and agenda-driven narratives.

Effectiveness of Media & Correlation to PCGs

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ US Const. amend. V.

⁷⁶ US Const. amend. IV.

⁷⁷ “Advertisement,” *Riverside Daily Press*, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, 1 January 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

By making PCGs the “hero” of local news reports, newspapers encouraged their audience to consider themselves not only supportive of PCGs but indebted to them. The feelings stirred-up by the drama of anti-German silent film and newspapers caused PCGs to be more attractive to the general population. Articles supporting the War Squad seem to have been effective in encouraging the activities of this group, which accomplished considerable progress in their hunt for Huns and other so-called dissidents. In its career, the War Squad labelled 220 individuals suspicious enough to be arrested, and 26 out of the 220 were interned for being German aliens.⁷⁸ The War Squad was incredibly prolific: “After only three months, if their own statistics can be trusted, the War Squad had investigated 3,069 persons, including those under suspicion as alien enemies, spies, slackers, or deserters.”⁷⁹ The total time in jail sentences served by these individuals was 3,140 days.⁸⁰ The squad affected the community financially as well, collecting \$1,150 in fines, which amounts to nearly \$20,000 in 2017 dollars.⁸¹

The APL was also highly successful. The *Los Angeles Times* article “ENEMY ALIEN GETS MAXIMUM PENALTY: LONG BEACH RESTAURANT MAN MAY BE INTERNED UNTIL END OF WAR”⁸² indicates the APL, in conjunction with local police, delivered maximum sentences to every one of the twelve pro-German cases they handled in April 1918.⁸³ In citing this statistic, the article aims to prove to readers that their patriotic actions can affect change in their community. This change is desired by citizens, if the viewpoints of the author of “Taking Care of the Spies” are to be considered.⁸⁴ The article aims to prove to citizens that the APL should be considered a productive step in the fight against Germans.

APL actions were correlated to local attitudes, which were shaped by a variety of factors, including media. It was not mandated by law or APL policy for members to aim for an arrest; rather

⁷⁸ North, 268.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “ENEMY ALIEN GETS MAXIMUM PENALTY: LONG BEACH RESTAURANT MAN MAY BE INTERNED UNTIL END OF WAR,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ “Taking Care of the Spies,” *San Pedro Daily Pilot*, February 27, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“whether a violator was arrested and tried in court... or just received ‘a good talking to’ by a local APL officer (who would describe the penalties for disloyalty and advise the individual to remain quiet in the future) was dependent on the stance of the local APL division or the discretion of the investigating operative.”⁸⁵ Therefore, in many cases, local attitudes of Californians shaped the legal future of the German aliens who were considered dissidents. Because Californians were so steeped in anti-German and pro-authority media, it is no wonder that many Californian APL chapters turned to the harsher option, choosing to arrest, try, and convict as many Germans as they could.

A feedback loop pattern begins to emerge. Media, including newspaper and film, introduced or confirmed anti-German views to the public, while also telling them that the actions of individual patriots like themselves could make a difference in the war effort. Support from local authorities, such as the Los Angeles Police Department creating the War Squad and the Los Angeles County Sheriff deputizing APL agents in Long Beach, gave institutional support that validated PCG members’ fears of Germans and gave them the means to legally act upon them. The newspaper coverage of the PCGs’ actions then created a feedback loop that confirmed the validity of anti-German sentiment and the necessary existence of PCGs. This media coverage encouraged more Californians to join or support PCGs.

Coverage of harsh PCG actions in newspapers throughout the nation reached the U.S. Congress and had an effect on federal legislation. Congressmen believed the Sedition Act of 1918 was a necessary addition to the Espionage Act: “citing examples of vigilante violence against the disloyal, [congressmen] successfully argued that [a] new law was needed because the weakness of existing statutes was forcing citizens to take the law into their own hands.”⁸⁶ One California case study—the Knights of Liberty’s attack on George Koetzer on May 1, 1918—exemplifies the type of actions Congress was concerned about. The *San Jose Mercury-Herald* indicates the PCG dragged Koetzer from his bed, conducted a mock trial, and threatened to lynch him, before finally deciding to

⁸⁵ Mills, 168.

⁸⁶ William H. Manz, *Civil Liberties in Wartime: Legislative Histories of The Espionage Act of 1917 and The Sedition Act of 1918*. Buffalo: W.S. Hein, 2007, vi.

tar and feather him and leave him chained in a local park.⁸⁷ Because the acts of violence were communicated to Congressmen via the press, newspapers caused local events of violence to become of national importance. Other local PCGs also reacted to this event, but rather than expressing horror, they praised the Knights' actions. The district chief of the APL in Renwick, CA indicated that the "local night riders [who] tarred & feathered an alien enemy for seditious utterances... greatly reduced the number of cases for investigation and stopped arguments on the war situation."⁸⁸ Because information about the attack on Koetzer was disseminated via newspaper, the APL chief's response indicates newspapers confirmed Californians' anxieties about Huns and aliens while validating the need for PCGs. Although both congressmen and the APL reacted to the news of vigilante PCGs differently, the decision to shape their actions around the reception of a newspaper article indicates newspapers had an effect on government and individual actions.

The Continued Legacy of Anti-Immigrant Media

Although the "enemy alien" during World War I was German, discrimination against German-Americans points to a larger pattern in American history: making an enemy out of immigrants by othering and demonizing them in popular media. Just as World War I films about Germans made them into evil menaces to society that must be defeated by brave American patriots, World War II era films disseminated anti-Japanese and pro-patriot messages. For example, the main villain of the 1942 *Superman* cartoon "Japoteur" is a Japanese American, who displays a poster of the Statue of Liberty in the daytime, but at night bows to an image of the Rising Sun.⁸⁹ In the end, Superman, showing his "credentials as a champion of 'truth, justice, and the American way'" defeats many evil Japanese soldiers, showing that without patriots, "Japanese American subversion and sabotage might have drastically changed the course and perhaps even the outcome of the war."⁹⁰ David Cole's comments about the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II holds true for Germans of World War I: the enemy narrative seeks to demonize a difference in an individual (oftentimes foreigner status or race) from the majority, which "made it easier for the majority to accept measures targeted at [the minority], because that difference simultaneously facilitated deeply

⁸⁷ North, 247.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 225.

⁸⁹ Allan W. Austin, "Superman Goes to War: Teaching Japanese American Exile and Incarceration with Film," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 30, no. 4, (Summer 2011): 52.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

rooted stereotypes, diminished empathy, and offered assurances that the same fate would not befall the majority.”⁹¹ For both German-Americans in World War I and Japanese-Americans in World War II, “The error was to treat people as dangerous and to intern them not based on their individual conduct, but on the basis of their group identity.”⁹²

Since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Muslim immigrants have especially endured the enemy alien narrative in news outlets.⁹³ Most recently, members of President Trump’s staff have promoted anti-Muslim rhetoric in media. Former Presidential Cabinet appointees Michael Flynn and Steve Bannon publicly proclaimed Islam was a “malignant cancer,” that fear of Muslims was “rational,” and that Muslims had created an underground spy cabinet known as “a fifth column here in the United States.”⁹⁴ The platform for these comments—speeches and tweets—disseminated anti-Muslim views at a grassroots level to individuals following Bannon and Flynn—i.e., those who have already bought into what the politician has to say. The comments then spread further on news outlets, and were given a sympathetic ear on certain right wing news outlets, like Fox News⁹⁵ and Breitbart News,⁹⁶ while given a less sympathetic treatment on left wing outlets, including CNN⁹⁷ and

⁹¹ David Cole, “Enemy Aliens,” *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 54, No. 5 (May, 2002): 992.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 993.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 955.

⁹⁴ Anthony Zurcher, “What Trump Team has Said About Islam,” *BBC News*, published February 7, 2017, accessed March 20, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38886496>.

⁹⁵ “RNC asks Americans to Give the Trump Administration a Chance,” *Fox News* video, 2:32, November 14, 2016, <https://video.foxnews.com/v/5209528521001/#sp=show-clips>.

⁹⁶ Dan Riehl, “Daniel Horowitz: There is a Fifth Column in the American Government,” *Breitbart News*, published June 21, 2016, accessed May 15, 2019, <https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2016/06/21/daniel-horowitz-there-is-a-fifth-column-in-the-american-government/>.

⁹⁷ Andrew Kaczynski, “On Twitter, Michael Flynn Interacted with Alt-right, Made Controversial Comments on Muslims, Shared Fake News,” *CNN*, published November 18, 2016, accessed May 15, 2019, <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/18/politics/kfile-flynn-tweets/>

BBC News.⁹⁸ Broadcasting anti-Muslim information in either context indicates the media has a desire to change public opinion about Muslims, and is willing to utilize inflammatory anti-Muslim statements to do so. By giving a sympathetic treatment to anti-Muslim opinions, news media lends credence to the public fearing Muslims; this is similar to World War I newspapers that sympathized with anti-German sentiments, like “The Oath.”

While some Americans today still turn to physical action to express their outrage against the perceived alien threat, for many, the fight against aliens has been transformed into a virtual one. This trend is indicated by Jeffrey P. Jones in his article “Fox News and the Performance of Ideology”:

When Fox News programming...consistently dramatizes ideological threats (e.g., Muslims, immigrants, [etc.]...) as well as ‘patriots’ fighting those threats (e.g., Tea Party rallies [etc.]...) through a variety of narratives, visuals, interviews, guests, sound bites, and so forth, viewers are linked to an ongoing struggle, one they can ritually participate in through their repeated viewing.⁹⁹

Although the general medium for sharing ideology-laden, propagandized media has shifted since World War I, social media and cable news outlets serve the same function as silent film and newspapers did a century ago.

Conclusion

Patriotism asks Americans to consider the values afforded to them by living in American society. A historical review of media reveals instances where the rights of certain individuals in America were not upheld, calling into question America’s reputation as the land of the free or of equal opportunity. Based on the trend exhibited by Californian silent films and newspapers in World War I, cartoons in World War II, and the coverage of Muslim-Americans in news outlets today, it is clear that media has the potential to shape or confirm public opinion about immigrants. In California, the print and film media’s promulgation of the German spy archetype normalized PCGs’ and law enforcement’s attacks against German civil liberties. Hatred and suspicion of aliens was not just a fear felt by fringe groups. Paranoia from citizens was felt throughout society and was encouraged by popular media, which told Californians and Americans in general that their fears about German spies were valid. Silent films preached the abominable nature of Huns and the untrustworthiness of

⁹⁸ Zurcher, “What Trump Team has Said About Islam.”

⁹⁹ Jeffrey P. Jones, “Fox News and the Performance of Ideology,” *Cinema Journal*, vol. 51, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 182.

hyphenated Americans, providing plots where patriots always triumphed over the evil enemy. In its coverage of PCG actions, the *Los Angeles Times* undertook an “us vs. them” mentality and dramatized news into a fight between good patriots and evil Germans. Within this atmosphere, police, politicians, and PCGs took supposedly necessary actions to subdue the perceived threat, severely limiting German aliens’ civil liberties. Ironically, the times when America most ardently calls for patriotism is when residents’ constitutionally-guaranteed rights are most in danger, whether it be World War I with German aliens, World War II with the internment of Japanese-Americans, or the present-day conflicts in the Middle East with Muslim Americans. Although media may not always necessarily be the direct cause of anti-immigrant actions, it certainly helps foster an atmosphere in which anti-immigrant sentiment can grow and be perceived as acceptable or even necessary for a community’s continued wellbeing.

Bibliography

- Alford, Matthew. "A Screen Entertainment Propaganda Model." In *The Propaganda Model Today: Filtering Perception and Awareness*, edited by Joan Pedro-Caranana, Daniel Broudy and Jeffery Klaehn. 145-158. Westminster: University of Westminster Press, 2018.
- Austin, Allan W. "Superman Goes to War: Teaching Japanese American Exile and Incarceration with Film." *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 30, no. 4, (Summer 2011): 51-56.
- Brownlow, Kevin. "An Introduction to Silent Film." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 132, no. 5332 (March 1984): 261-270.
- Cole, David. "Enemy Aliens." *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 54, no. 5 (May, 2002): 953-1004.
- Dirks, Tim. "The History of Film, The Pre-1920s: Early Cinematic Origins and the Infancy of Film," AMC Filmsite. Accessed March 12, 2019. <https://www.filmsite.org/pre20sintro4.html>.
- Duffield, Kenneth Graham. "The Oath." *La Habra Star*, January 31, 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.
- Faulkner, Richard S. "Harsh Schoolmasters, Devious Huns, and Dejected Prisoners: The Doughboys and the German Soldiers Meet." In *Pershing's Crusaders Book: The American Soldier in World War I*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017.
- Jones, Jeffrey P. "Fox News and the Performance of Ideology." *Cinema Journal*, vol. 51, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 178-185
- Kaczynski, Andrew. "On Twitter, Michael Flynn Interacted with Alt-right, Made Controversial Comments on Muslims, Shared Fake News." CNN. Published November 18, 2016. Accessed May 15, 2019. <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/18/politics/kfile-flynn-tweets/>.

Kuss, Mark. "Hey Man! Watch Your Language: Treatment of Germans and German Americans in New Orleans during World War I." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 178-198.

Manz, William H. *Civil Liberties in Wartime: Legislative Histories of The Espionage Act of 1917 and The Sedition Act of 1918*. Buffalo: W.S. Hein, 2007.

Mills, Bill. *The League: The True Story of Average Americans on the Hunt for WWI Spies*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing, Inc., 2013.

Morlan, Don B. "Slapstick Contributions to WWII Propaganda: The Three Stooges and Abbott and Costello." *Studies in Popular Culture*, vol. 17, no. 1 (October 1994): 29-43.

North, Diane M. T. *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018.

Riehl, Dan. "Daniel Horowitz: There is a Fifth Column in the American Government." *Breitbart News*. Published June 21, 2016. Accessed May 15, 2019.
<https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2016/06/21/daniel-horowitz-there-is-a-fifth-column-in-the-american-government/>.

Roosevelt, Theodore. "Americanism," (Speech, New York, October 12, 1915), vdare,
<https://vdare.com/posts/guest-post-by-teddy-roosevelt-americanism-october-12-1915>.

Silent comedy movie. "Huns and Hyphens-Larry Semon & Stan Laurel -1918-A Great Silent Comedy Film-Full movie." YouTube video, 26:40, February 13, 2017,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JKcC6mxOxbI>.

Solomon, Aubrey. *The Fox Film Corporation, 1915-1935: A History and Filmography*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2011.

Welch, David. "Depicting the Enemy." British Library. Published January 29, 2014. Accessed March 20, 2019. <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/depicting-the-enemy>.

Zurcher, Anthony. "What Trump Team has Said About Islam." *BBC News*. Published February 7, 2017. Accessed March 20, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38886496>.

"Advertisements." *Red Bluff Daily News*, vol. XXXV, no. 219, July 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

"Advertisement." *Riverside Daily Press*, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, January 1, 1919 via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

"Advertisements Column 1." *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. XLII, no. 269, September 11, 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

"Display Ad 13," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 26, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

"DOROTHY GISH IN 'THE HUN WITHIN' AT OPERA HOUSE." *San Bernardino Sun*, vol. 44, no. 111, January 9, 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

"ENEMY ALIEN GETS MAXIMUM PENALTY: LONG BEACH RESTAURANT MAN MAY BE INTERNED UNTIL END OF WAR." *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

"INFANT PATRIOT CAUSE OF ARREST OF GERMAN." *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

"Kinema." *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. XLIII, no. 291, October 7, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“Isis Theater.” *San Bernardino Sun*, vol. 44, no. 86, December 11, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“Mary MacLaren at the Victoria Tomorrow.” *San Pedro News Pilot*, vol. 6, no. 57, December 7, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“MAY INTERN GERMAN ARRESTED AT BEACH.” *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

“Page 1 Advertisements Column 1,” *The Healdsburg Tribune*, vol. XXXI, no.14, June 20, 1918.

“Page 5 Advertisements,” *Calexico Chronicle*, vol. XIV, no. 85, November 20, 1917, Via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“RNC asks Americans to Give the Trump Administration a Chance.” Fox News video, 2:32. November 14, 2016. <https://video.foxnews.com/v/5209528521001/#sp=show-clips>.

“Taking Care of the Spies.” *San Pedro Daily Pilot*, February 27, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“‘THE SPY’ CONTINUES TO BE FEATURED AT GODARDS,” *Sacramento Union*, vol. 199, no. 43, December 13, 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“‘THE SPY’ WILL BE SCREENED AT RIALTO THEATER,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 16, 1917, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

“Theater News.” *Calexico Chronicle*, December 27, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“Theatres.” *Chico Record*, no. 28, February 2, 1919, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“Wants To Be Spy Hunter.” *Riverside Daily Press*, March 9, 1918, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“‘WAR SQUAD’ HELPS IN CAPTURING ALIEN ENEMY.” *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1918, via ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

“Western Frontier Drama is Strand’s Action,” *San Bernardino News*, vol. 44, no. 101, October 29, 1917, via California Digital Newspaper Collection.

“Wilhelm II: ‘Hun Speech’ (1900).” *German History in Documents and Images*. Accessed March 20, 2019. http://germanhistorydocs.ghidc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=755.

A Mother's Plea for Peace

Paige Kuster
2019 Gahn Winner

Anne Goldberg – 197 – Fall 2018

While the period before the Great War was considered a golden age in Europe, it was not without its strife; political and social issues, such as feminism, raged. Women, feeling hampered by separate sphere ideology, strove to make their voices heard and joined transnational organizations.ⁱ However, many of these same women threw off their gained globalist perspective for the nationalist fervor that swept through Europe alongside the war.ⁱⁱ It was only a small segment of the feminist movement that felt that, rather than war, peace was the best solution to the conflict. They posited that the way to achieve this was to give women the right to vote. This would bring the peace that came naturally to them as women and mothers to where it was sorely lacking; the public sphere. Their platform was thus based on an ideology called maternalism—that these and other qualities were innate to women as mothers.ⁱⁱⁱ This maternalism was based on three conjoined foundations; separate spheres ideology, the suffrage movement, and the peace movement. It was these women, able to look beyond nationalist interests, who became involved in the International Congress of Women at The Hague. This was a congress for the sole purpose of peace in the midst of the biggest war to occur in Europe at the time. Over a thousand women from belligerent and neutral countries attended, united by a desire to end the current slaughter.^{iv} From April 28th to May 1st, the women came to twenty resolutions which they then delivered to the various heads of state in person.^v

In attempting to understand the complexity of this situation, several questions arose. Did maternalist discourse play a role in the women's peace movement? Regardless of its ultimate veracity, how and how much of a role did it play? How did critics claim their pacifism was contrary to female gender identity? How does it affect a contemporary understanding of their ideology and movement? Thus the argument of this paper is broken down into four parts; what the historical context of the Congress and the ideology they developed was, who the women were and how they understood this basis in their own words, the criticism of the women based on this ideology, and a modern understanding of the ideology. Regardless of how truly held this belief in maternalism was, the women were immersed in their culture and were able to appropriate what they needed from the qualities assigned to them by separate spheres ideology. This allowed them to take a social role intended to keep women subservient to men and twist it

to make a claim for political empowerment never before held by women; suffrage and the potential for involvement in politics on a global scale.

Maternalism was a key aspect of the ideology of the International Congress of Women, one that had a tripartite basis that it sprang from; separate spheres ideology, the suffrage movement, and the peace movement, that must be understood in order to comprehend the role of that maternalist ideology. The American antiwar song “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier” was written and sung by men in 1915. Thus an incredibly outside view to the thought process of a group of international women, it nevertheless conveys the ideology of maternalism found within the Congress. Framed as if the men are singing what a mother told them as she could “murmur thru’ her tears,” she and they lambast war and the nations that cause it.^{vi} The song opens by equating the pain of the plight of both mother and soldier, leading to the murmured chorus. The mother’s emotionalism is not denied, but she is made into a symbol of change, a powerful force for peace. If mothers from all sides of a conflict unified over their grief and used this to, essentially, put their collective foot down on the topic of war. Ultimately the message of the song, and possibly the Congress, is that war would cease “if mothers all would say/ 'I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier.'”^{vii} It is from this combination of pacifism, suffrage, and separate spheres that the particular brand of maternalism formed in the Congress emerges.

Separate spheres was a ‘rational’ and ‘scientific’ ideology that began in the Enlightenment and was strengthened during the Industrial Revolution with the creation of factory workplaces. It was posited by scholars like Rousseau that the sexes had different natural characteristics that made them suited for either the harsh public sphere or the sequestered private sphere. It was thought that since women, as actual or potential mothers, were ‘naturally’ nurturing, caring, peaceful, and supportive, they should be kept in the private sphere of the home to protect them. Under the system based on this ideology, women faced severe oppression; they were unable to vote, legally dependent on a father or husband, placed under a double standard of morality, amongst innumerable other inequities.^{viii} Women who worked were paid less than men, under the assumption that there was a male primary breadwinner, and faced the double burden of working their job and having to come home and do all the housework.^{ix} Ultimately, there developed an assumption that women were naturally inferior; justifying and perpetuating

separate spheres.^x Despite all of this, the ideology played an important role in both suffrage and the Congress, though in different ways.

By the mid-1800s, women began to gather into organizations to challenge separate spheres and its inequalities, ultimately characterized by the desire to gain access to the public sphere; schooling, jobs, politics and the desire to push for reforms.^{xi} The suffrage movement was formed from upper and middle class women, as they worked and participated in the public sphere the only way they were able, through charity work.^{xii} Seeing the plight of the working class, these women began to organize to help by pushing for reforms. Women began operating politically and pursuing change for themselves and others while still remaining in their sphere of morality in matters such as abolition and anti-vice campaigns. They were allowed to do so since it was believed that it would not upset the gender hierarchy, yet successfully raised questions as to the inequality between men and women and its inevitable fallout.^{xiii} Each campaign inspired another and they spread across the Western World. Few women and organizations had moved directly to getting women equal political rights with men.^{xiv} While incredibly effective in other areas of reform, the suffrage movement in particular had a certain, if limited effect; just before the outbreak of the war, the debate on their enfranchisement and empowerment was an acknowledged, discussable topic, though one with only a few men genuinely supportive of it.^{xv}

The peace movement also began in the nineteenth century, first in America and Britain, later spreading throughout Europe and the rest of the world, flowing from religious reformers to democratic nationalists to internationalists over the years before World War I.^{xvi} The main proposals of the movement were the mediation of international disputes and the strengthening of international laws, through the formation of societies to educate and campaign for peace.^{xvii} The connection between the suffrage and pacifist movements was more tenuous than the one between suffrage and separate spheres, beginning a few decades prior to World War I with several women's demonstrations for peace.^{xviii} Women were largely concerned with peace due to the fact that they could see the dangerous link between militarism and female subjugation, which led them to join peace movements and eventually forming their own women's peace organizations, in the hopes of gaining the right to vote and participate in governance to counter what they perceived as men's martial nature.^{xix} Indeed, for the women at The Hague, one of the few

feminist pacifist groups to survive the war, pacifism was an extension of their feminism just as much, if not more, drawn from their history as part of the anti-militant sect of the suffrage movement, than it was to the wider peace movement.^{xx}

How these women conceived of themselves in relation to their own historical and ideological precedent is crucial to understanding the formation of their ideology and their movement. All three were deeply attached to maternalism, the belief that women have certain qualities based on their ability to be mothers. The women of the Congress used maternalism to establish that they had a role to play outside of the home, in order to enact these virtues in the public sphere.^{xxi} In the suffrage movement, this meant that women have something to add to the political stage, specifically their compassion, which was lacking due to the rigid demarcation that came with separate spheres.^{xxii} They believed this compassion, among other qualities, would be beneficial if utilized beyond the sphere of the home in effecting social and political reforms, because women would be interested in a more compassionate society.^{xxiii} Their ideas of peace were likewise more closely drawn from maternalism, as they positioned women as the source of life and peace, and thus naturally opposed to war and its death toll. It was upon this platform that they argued that they should have the right to vote.^{xxiv} These three cornerstones, separate spheres ideology, the suffrage movement, and the peace movement, are perhaps best understood as a triquetra, each forming from and joining and leading back to the others. Their claim is that it is because women are naturally peaceful that they deserve the vote and thus being able to vote would spread peace and compassion from the private sphere to the public sphere. Feminist pacifists used this maternalistic rhetoric as a stepping stone to the far more public and far more masculine peace-making, which connotes the actions that make treaties and ends wars.^{xxv}

The specifics of this maternalist rhetoric are best found in what the women wrote and spoke about. It is perhaps here, in their own words, that the maternalism they relied upon was the clearest, the most obvious. It is important to consider that the words these women shared were at once both highly idealized, more so than their actions could ever be, as is frequent in ideological movements, and varied in exact meaning, explanation, degree, and personal belief as to the veracity of this ideology. Some women perhaps held this as a deeply ingrained belief and

perhaps others used this as mask to ease their assumption of a power that had been strictly masculine. Regardless of all this, it is ultimately the words that they left that we have to judge their ideology on. One gets the strongest sense of this ideology from the words of leaders in the suffrage movement before the Congress and the WILPF, women like Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Rosika Schwimmer, and Jane Addams use their words as a synecdoche, to stand for the whole.

The International Congress of Women was more spur of the moment than one might think, in that it was the impromptu response to the canceled meeting of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the first female doctor in Holland and president of the suffrage movement there, who refused to accept it, writing letters asking fellow IWSA members and others to attend a conference in the neutral Netherlands.^{xxvi} Dr. Jacobs served as an officer on the international committee of the Congress and delivered its opening address, recorded in the *Report of the International Congress of Women at The Hague* which was published by the women themselves, where she considers their "mourning hearts" for dead soldiers and the "poor mothers bereft of their sons," focusing on their maternalism by placing both on nearly the same level and focusing on the Congress' compassion for both.^{xxvii} It is this aspect of their peace movement, their maternalism, which gives them the "moral effect" that Dr. Jacobs talks about in her work. Women's compassion for the "grief and pain" that comes from war contrasts with men who think only of the economics.^{xxviii} Based on this women argued that they deserve a voice in their governments, representation which would allow them to object to war. Jacobs explicitly states that "woman suffrage and permanent peace will go together," meaning that the entrance of women into the public sphere would be a sign the country is mature enough to want permanent peace and an end to the war.^{xxix} This implies that most countries are immature, and will remain so without women. Jacob's logic renders women a necessary component for a functional, sophisticated society.

Rosika Schwimmer, feminist, pacifist, atheist, and internationalist, was a colleague of Dr. Jacobs at the IWSA and served with her on the Congress' committee.^{xxx} Leader of the Hungarian feminists and a powerful speaker, Schwimmer helped Jane Addams form the Women's Peace Party, a future branch of the WILPF, when she came to America to encourage feminists to pressure their government to use their neutrality to lead negotiations.^{xxxi} At the Congress, she gave an impassioned speech appealing to their maternalism, relying on the emotionalism

assigned to women by separate spheres by stating that “if brains have brought us to what we are in now, I think it is time to allow our hearts to speak.”^{xxxii} Schwimmer argued that it was their duty as mothers that they must go to the various heads of state if all the danger they would face was a refusal while their sons were dying. A master of words, she simultaneously elevated the position of women and the diminishment of men, no longer was it a case of rational men and irrational women; it was now about cold, yet ultimately ineffectual men and emotional, intelligent women. Soon after the end of the Congress, Schwimmer was recorded remarking in *The Survey*, a social reformist newsletter sympathetic to their cause, addressing the victory everyone hoped to attain. She disagrees, stating that all victory is meaningless to women, who alone could understand that it meant “the deaths of thousands of sons of other mothers,” rather than the men who coldly sent them to their deaths instead of making an effort towards mediation, before and during the war.^{xxxiii} This unity of the grief of mothers displayed the transnationalism she was such a proponent of and the power that she believed lay in that direction. Echoes of the maternalist ideology seen in “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier” can be found here; these were not dead men, the pride of the nation who sent them to die, but rather she took possession of the male body to turn it for women’s benefit, using their grief to advocate for political rights.

Jane Addams, president of the Women’s Peace Party and an American social reformer, a gentle woman of calm convictions, was the ideal choice to become the president of the International Congress of Women at The Hague and established the reformist work ingrained in the WILPF platform.^{xxxiv} Her address on the last night of the Congress, also recorded in the report, offers a more nuanced view on the relationship between men and women regarding peace. She states that while women “foster life” and “protect the helpless” as mothers, it is something that needs to be shared with and learned by men, especially on the global sphere, that both would value the sanctity of life and “set them over against the superficial and hot impulses which have so often led to warfare.”^{xxxv} Adams places a quality that she deems feminine and maternal and gives it incredible value, a necessity when participating in the world at large, while at the same time devaluing the characteristics and the space men set up for themselves, calling it superficial and dangerous to society. It is perhaps what she said before the Congress even began, in an article in *The Survey*, that the clearest example of their ideology is seen. Addams calls women the “mother half of humanity” and uses separates spheres and the “patient drudgery” and

“peaceful industry” learned there to reject war and demand inclusion in the public, political sphere.^{xxxvi} This is put plainly when she states that women, in their role as the “custodians of the life of the ages...will no longer consent to its reckless destruction,” demanding that their rights be recognized, that their position as mothers entitle them to certain rights and privileges that had previously been denied to them, an action which has had an incredibly negative impact on society and could only be undone by their inclusion in governance.^{xxxvii}

The Congress itself leaves its own voice behind. For a majority of the report that the Women's Peace Party published regarding the Congress, it is in the singular voice of many in the resolutions it had generated over deep discussion from the women present. Thus it is, to use a slightly florid turn of phrase, the heart, soul, and mind of the women who attended, who believed that women had a “special point of view” and a “particular emphasis” to the destructive nature of wars as women and mothers. Women thus had the “full responsibility and effective influence” needed and the ability to “make their own contribution to the work and ideals of constructive peace,” to do as men refused to, perhaps afraid of being seen as cowardly or womanly, and that is to end the war.^{xxxviii} When considering the women in general and these three in particular, one must understand that they did not exist in a vacuum, free from societal beliefs. The converse is actually true, that these women were immersed in their culture and thus best able to appropriate what they needed from it to achieve their goals, whether they truly believed or not.^{xxxix}

That is not to say that their cultures appreciated this change; the women faced heavy criticism, pressure, and disdain from all sides, from national governments to the press to other feminists, both their mere existence and their ideology fanning the flames that existed before, during, and long after the Congress. At the Congress itself, thirty letters of “protest” had been received, the press was waiting for it to collapse in on itself, and there were several attempts, successful and otherwise, to prevent women from reaching their destination at all.^{xl} The ideology of motherhood that the women at The Hague then built was very different from how the rest of the Western world conceived of it. Motherhood had become deeply tied with patriotism, in a sort of republican motherhood. It was central to the war effort that feminists, the press, and governments rallied around, who were thus enraged by the changes made.^{xli}

The mildest reaction to the Congress was perhaps the other, nationalist, pro-war feminists, who disagreed with and denounced it, but did so “courteously.”^{xlii} As stated before, many feminists rejected internationalism and pacifism for nationalism, especially those women whose national boundaries were being tread upon; no French woman attended the Congress, believing that they did not “know how to talk of peace.”^{xliii} The reason these feminists then threw themselves into the war efforts was the belief that “duties call louder than rights,” and that by doing so, they could prove themselves “worthy of citizenship,” which would hopefully translate into increased rights.^{xliv} Beyond that, the specifics of the Congress’ maternalism was not one many feminists found plausible.^{xlv} Some went so far in the other direction as to say that women had to be anti-pacifist to protect their children, expressed on the larger scale in their support of war, and that the essence of women was really that of self-sacrifice and securing their nations’ future by and for their children, also being filled by the war.^{xlvi}

The press, while a mixed bag depending on who was publishing, stood somewhere in between the feminists and the government in their response; while generally hostile, they were more prone to treat them with scorn than outright aggression.^{xlvii} Two news sources, while sympathetic to the Congress and the women, are also valuable sources of the disparagement from other newspapers. In fact, in the “International Peace Congress of Women” published in *The Advocate of Peace*, the reporter began his article with another reporter anticipating a “big row” and then leaving in disgust on the third day when his expectations for a “sensational outburst or manifestation of hysteria,” because this was, after all, a gathering of *women*, were thwarted.^{xlviii} The press of the countries of the women who came were more than happy to provide them with a laundry list of faults; “peace babblers,” “base,” “silly,” “insignificant,” “hysterical,” “traitorous.”^{xlix} Much of the disdain the women faced was due to a general belief that, as women, they had nothing to offer on the global stage but uninformed opinions.^{li}

The governments’ first actions against the women and their Congress were the attempts to stop them from even attending. Germany only issued eight passports, American women were stopped in the Channel, and British women’s ships weren’t even able to get that far, written off as the “fortunes of war” rather than a deliberate attempt to stifle their movement.^{lii} Soon after the

end of the Congress, the tumultuous period of 1916 to 1917 saw that governments then decided to sustain the war effort until the very end, and thus saw any kind of political activity as disloyal and dangerous to wartime efforts, and eventually treasonous.^{liii} In France, police released a report on feminist pacifists in 1915, stating that, although the threat of activity was low, women could be subtly effective and that such talk “would only profit” the Germans, whom the French government believed to have been behind the Congress.^{liv} It becomes clear that the reason the governments were critical of the Congress was the belief that any talk of peace, especially by women who had been positioned as supportive mothers waving their sons off to war, could have a disastrous impact on the war effort.

The criticism that the Congress and their ideology drew is then if not deserved then well-earned. These women went counter to all that was expected of them as national citizens, as women, and as feminists, risking “the bitterness of their families, the ridicule of their friends, and the censure of their government,” advocating peace instead of the retribution desired by so many and refused to assign blame for the war and how it was carried out.^{lv} It also shows the incredible importance of the movement and its activities that such a small group could create such an enormous outrage and response from such a wide array of sources.^{lvi} The response to these women did not end there, the Congress and its successive movement, the WILPF, continue to draw critical thought from feminists; scholars and laity alike, in understanding its place in gender history.

The traditional, and ultimately flawed, view that many modern feminists have of their own history as a movement is one that is deeply entrenched in the equality/difference debate. This is at heart about whether claiming equality with or difference from men was most effective way to campaign, first to lobby for reforms, then suffrage, and then for a variety of other rights. The first was to claim an equality with men based on individualism, that everyone has the same fundamental faculties and capabilities, specifically in logic and reason, to the effect that free competition is the best state for a society, and thus all infringements and legal barriers, such as the inability to vote, must be done away with.^{lvii} Difference-based feminism, also known as relational feminism, is ultimately the counterargument to individualist feminism, or, conversely, is the argument that individualist feminism is countering, that differences do exist and that it is

best to capitalize on them to achieve their goals.^{lviii} The flaw in this view is that by clinging too tightly to this binary, one misses nuance.^{lix}

In order to understand the Congress, the women, and their actions beyond their historical context and into how it can be understood today, a more enlightened view of feminism must be reached. This view is more balanced, realizing that there is no strict binary, that there can be no equality between men and women that does not acknowledge differences, which in turn does not mean that equality is impossible.^{lx} Having thus reconciled the two strains of feminist belief, an appreciation for movements and organizations that more closely follow one or the other, like the Congress, is achieved, allowing for understanding these women in their historical context, seeing their actions and ideology not as disempowering, but understanding that while they emphasized relational feminism in their maternalism, the women were not constrained by separate spheres to the point of inaction. One is now able to separate the women on male-orientated propaganda posters using motherhood and the antiwar feminist pacifists who used similar language and rhetoric, because they had been socialized the same way, for a very different purpose.^{lxi} Instead, these women used it to make many advances in the feminist movement; encouraging the split between blind nationalism and feminism, building connections between feminism and pacifism, and ultimately the beginning of women having a role in global politics, as the WILPF ideology lasted through two world wars, into the present day, and into a position of prominence, as one of the first organizations to be given consultative status by the United Nations, and the only women's antiwar organization to have achieved this.^{lxii}

Ultimately, the International Congress of Women at The Hague is a much more complex topic than peaceful mothers weeping into the wounds of their sons or women using that as a mask, or whether it is a positive or negative depiction of women, or whether it is a necessary part of feminist history or not. The truth of it lies somewhere in between, that the ideology resonated with women at different levels, that they willingly appropriated some aspects of separate spheres ideology and rejected the rest as it suited them and their cause, that they strove for goals that were almost absurd, and that while very different from some modern conceptions of feminism, there is perhaps something vital to be gained from accepting that the past is a foreign country,

and thus strange and different and yet nevertheless a part of where we are now.^{lxiii} Their legacy to the feminist movement is thus one of audacity, absurdity, and obscurity; in a time when women were not allowed to vote, own property in their own names, or even sign contracts without a male relative present, over a thousand women crossed war zones to resist the tide of nationalism, to make a stand for peace, to discuss matters that they did not even have a legal say in, and to be ultimately ineffective in the immediate aftermath.^{lxiv}

Notes

ⁱ Susan R Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 158; Susan R Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (London; New York: Longman/Pearson Education, 2002), 80.

ⁱⁱ Grayzel, 2002, 81.

ⁱⁱⁱ Grayzel, 2002, 79; Jo Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory: The Early Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," *Women's History Review* 2, no. 1 (March 1, 1993): 27.

^{iv} Gertrude Carman Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965* (London: WILPF, British Section, 1980), 19.

^v Bussey and Tims, 20–21.

^{vi} "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier: A Mother's Plea for Peace :: The Music of the First World War," accessed October 20, 2018, <http://www.idaillinois.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16614coll23/id/323>.

^{vii} "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier."

^{viii} Evans, 1–2.

^{ix} Evans, 3.

^x Evans, 3.

^{xi} Evans, 5.

^{xii} Annette F. Timm and Joshua A. Sanborn, *Gender, Sex, and the Shaping of Modern Europe: A History from the French Revolution to the Present Day*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 95.

^{xiii} Timm and Sanborn, 109, 134.

^{xiv} Timm and Sanborn, 109

^{xv} Evans, 3.

^{xvi} David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge, UNITED KINGDOM: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 16, 25.

^{xvii} Cortright, 17, 25.

^{xviii} Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 122.

^{xix} Evans, 124–25, 127.

^{xx} Richard J. Evans, *Comrades and Sisters: Feminism, Socialism, and Pacifism in Europe, 1870-1945* (New York: StMartin's Press, 1987), 130; Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory," 27.

^{xxi} Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*, Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 11–12

^{xxii} Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 9; Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory," 47.

^{xxiii} Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 122; Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 158.

^{xxiv} Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 158.

^{xxv} Vellacott, 25–26.

^{xxvi} Catherine Foster, *Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 9–11; Gertrude Carman Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965* (London: WILPF, British Section, 1980), 18.

-
- xxvii International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women : The Hague-- The Netherlands, April 28th to May 1st, 1915 : President's Address : Resolutions Adopted : Report of the Committee Visting European Capitals* ([Chicago] : Printed by the Woman's Peace Party, 1915), 5, 10.
- xxviii Netherlands) International Congress of Women (1915 : Hague and Woman's Peace Party, *Report of the International Congress of Women : The Hague-- The Netherlands, April 28th to May 1st, 1915 : President's Address : Resolutions Adopted : Report of the Committee Visting European Capitals* ([Chicago] : Printed by the Woman's Peace Party, 1915), 6; Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 125; Foster, *Women for All Seasons*, 16.
- xxix International Congress of Women, 6; Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 125; Foster, *Women for All Seasons*, 16.
- xxx International Congress of Women, 10; Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory," 32.
- xxxi Bussey and Tims, *Pioneers for Peace*, 18; Foster, *Women for All Seasons*, 10.
- xxxii Alonso, 68.
- xxxiii Mary Chamberlain, "Women of The Hague," *The Survey* 34 (September 1915): 222.
- xxxiv Foster, *Women for All Seasons*, 14.
- xxxv International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women*, 6, 7, 9.
- xxxvi Jane Adams, "A Women's Peace Party Full Fledged For Action," *The Survey* 33 (January 1915): 434.
- xxxvii Jane Adams, "A Women's Peace Party Full Fledged For Action," *The Survey* 33 (January 1915): 434.
- xxxviii International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women*, 13, 19, 20.
- xxxix Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory," 26.
- xl International Congress of Women (1915 : Hague and Woman's Peace Party, *Report of the International Congress of Women*; Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 82; Louis P. Lochner, "The International Peace Congress of Women," *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 77, no. 7 (1915): 174.
- xli Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 150; Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 3, 157.
- xlii Chamberlain, "Women of The Hague," 222.
- xliii Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 128; Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 81–82.
- xliv Evans, 129.
- lv Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 162.
- lvi Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 149–50.
- lvii Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 83.
- lviii Lochner, "The International Peace Congress of Women," 173.
- lix Lochner, 174.
- ¹ Chamberlain, "Women of The Hague," 219.
- ⁱⁱ Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 83.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Bussey and Tims, *Pioneers for Peace*, 19; Mary Chamberlain, "Women of The Hague," *The Survey* 34 (September 1915): 220; Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 82.
- ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 127; Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 157; Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 85–86.
- ^{lv} Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 164; Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 83, 146–47.
- ^{lv} International Congress of Women (1915 : Hague and Woman's Peace Party, *Report of the International Congress of Women*, 4; Chamberlain, "Women of The Hague," 220.
- ^{lvi} Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 88.
- ^{lvii} Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 9.
- ^{lviii} Timms and Sanborn, 37, 84.
- ^{lix} Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory," 24.
- ^{lx} Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory," 25.
- ^{lxi} Vellacott, 26.
- ^{lxii} "Organisation | WILPF," accessed October 21, 2018, <https://wilpf.org/wilpf/who-we-are/>; Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 151; Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory," 27, 49.
- ^{lxiii} Vellacott, 27.
- ^{lxiv} Evans, *Comrades and Sisters*, 2.

Bibliography

- Adams, Jane. "A Women's Peace Party Full Fledged For Action." *The Survey* 33 (January 1915): 434.
- Alonso, Harriet Hyman. *Peace as a Women's Issue*. Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1993.
- Bussey, Gertrude Carman, and Margaret Tims. *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965*. London: WILPF, British Section, 1980.
- Chamberlain, Mary. "Women of The Hague." *The Survey* 34 (September 1915): 219–22, 236.
- Cortright, David. *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*. Cambridge, UNITED KINGDOM: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Evans, Richard J. *Comrades and Sisters: Feminism, Socialism, and Pacifism in Europe, 1870-1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Foster, Catherine. *Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Grayzel, Susan R. *Women and the First World War*. London; New York: Longman/Pearson Education, 2002.
- . *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier : A Mother's Plea for Peace :: The Music of the First World War." <http://www.idaillinois.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16614coll23/id/323>.
- International Congress of Women (1915 : Hague, Netherlands), and Woman's Peace Party. *Report of the International Congress of Women : The Hague-- The Netherlands, April 28th to May 1st, 1915 : President's Address : Resolutions Adopted : Report of the Committee Visting European Capitals*. [Chicago] : Printed by the Woman's Peace Party, 1915.
- Lochner, Louis P. "The International Peace Congress of Women." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 77, no. 7 (1915): 173–75.
- "Organisation | WILPF." <https://wilpf.org/wilpf/who-we-are/>.
- Timm, Annette F., and Joshua A. Sanborn. *Gender, Sex, and the Shaping of Modern Europe: A History from the French Revolution to the Present Day*. 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.
- Vellacott, Jo. "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory: The Early Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom." *Women's History Review* 2, no. 1 (March 1, 1993): 23–56.

**The Bear and the Harp:
Irish-American Nationalism in California**

Mark Reynolds
2019 Schneider Winner
Jonathan Eacott – HIST 197 – Winter 2019

In 1920 the Nation's Forum recording label, in tandem with the Columbia Graphophone Company and the Committee on Public Information, sold sound recordings of speeches delivered by prominent figures in both the U.S. First World War effort and the 1920 presidential election. Among notable speeches by John Pershing, Warren G. Harding, and Secretary of State Newton D. Baker, there exists an anomaly: the only apparent speeches recorded by a foreign dignitary – Éamon de Valera, President of the Irish Republic.¹ During the 1920 election season, while the debates over the League of Nations and the postwar “return to normalcy” were dominating American political life, Nation's Forum and the Committee on Public Information found it pertinent to bring to the public the plea of the beleaguered Emerald Isle. The issue of Irish independence, represented by the Anglo-Irish War already in its second year, was not the sole responsibility of Ireland, according to de Valera. They had done their part, proclaiming Ireland a nation independent from Great Britain, and it was now the duty of the United States to officially recognize the them as a republic. According to de Valera, “[t]his question of recognition is distinctly an American question... The decision is yours and yours only – yours to say whether you shall continue as in the past to recognize a government of might in Ireland, or begin now to recognize a government of right.”² The campaign courting official recognition by the United States of the Irish Republic began four years earlier, shortly before the Proclamation of the Irish Republic on Easter, 1916. By appealing to the American public in 1920, de Valera was tapping into a vast web of Irish-American nationalism existing across the country, increasingly mobilized by events across the Atlantic as well as the effective community organizing of local and regional leaders. On a national level, the movement was led from New York City by the Clan na Gael and Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF), two distinctly nationalist organizations. In California, a

¹ Library of Congress, “American Leaders Speak: Recordings from World War I”. Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/collections/world-war-i-and-1920-election-recordings/> (accessed 9 March 2019). The section labeled “About this Collection” maintains that the Library of Congress may not be in the possession of every recording produced throughout the Nation's Forum project. The de Valera speeches, it is asserted, may have thus been proof of a plan to record more foreign leaders, yet the three records of the Irish president are, at present, the only by a foreign dignitary in the collection.

² Éamon de Valera, “Recognition of the Republic of Ireland.” Speech, *Nation's Forum*, New York, 1920. From Library of Congress, “American Leaders Speak: Recordings from World War I”, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004650653/> (accessed 9 March 2019).

veritable world away from the so-called “Irish Question”, Irish-American nationalists contributed more than their share of money and manpower to promoting the cause. The campaign to gain official recognition for the Irish Republic, evidenced by newspaper articles and other organizational publications, brought Éamon de Valera to California multiple times in 1919, where the Irish President witnessed firsthand both the nationalist community’s dedication to the cause as well as its resilience in the face of a growing nativism.

The historiography of the past century has been understandably reticent on the issue of Irish-American nationalism in California. Much of the scholarship connecting the two ends of the Atlantic has tended to focus on the wave of immigration into the American Northeast, with only scattered studies exploring the Irish experience in the Golden State.³ Although recent works by David Brundage and Michael Doorley have elevated our understanding of diaspora nationalism, they have both continued this Northeastern focus. Further, while much of the attention on the California Irish has been paid specifically to life within the city of San Francisco, perhaps the most important studies of the state’s Irish history come from James P. Walsh. Though Walsh’s work on the San Francisco Irish demographic has become the standard, he offers only brief examinations of the state’s nationalist past. All of the aforementioned have taken productive steps toward a full understanding of a complex, transnational issue spanning multiple centuries, yet the urge to differentiate the two narratives, that of nationalist organization in the Northeast and immigration to the West Coast, gives the false impression that they are somehow mutually exclusive. In reality, larger questions about Irish-America’s connection to the distant revolutionary experience are perhaps just as pertinent to Los Angeles and San Francisco as they are to Boston and New York City. Although by the early Twentieth Century the epicenter of Irish-American nationalism was certainly situated in New York, exploring the nationalist impulse on the Western extreme of the United States may offer a deeper understanding of why Americans felt the urge to participate in a foreign struggle for independence in general.

Exodus: Turning Points in Irish Immigration and Republicanism to 1916

³ *U.S. Census of Population, 1920: Composition and Characteristics: Country of Birth of the Foreign-Born White, For Divisions and States: 1920*. The population of Californians who listed Ireland as their place of birth in 1920 is 45,308. Compared to New York’s 284,747 and Massachusetts’ 183,171, it is not hard to understand why the majority of scholarship on Irish-America is centered on the Northeast. Although the census did not account for native-born citizens who identified as Irish-Americans, it may be accurate to assume that the vast disparity between California and the Northeast is continued in this category as well.

Sons and daughters of Erin began emigrating across the Atlantic from the earliest days of British colonization. These early immigrants not only arrived in a fraction of the numbers that subsequent generations would bring, but they also generally encountered fewer obstacles to assimilation into their new society. By the early nineteenth century, however, the ratcheting up of ethnic and religious tensions in the United States resulted in the Irish-American community in general, and Irish Catholics in particular, coalescing into voluntary organizations aimed at safeguarding the community.⁴ While many of the Irish immigrants of previous generations brought affiliations – political, religious, and organizational – with them across the ocean, the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) was among the first to represent a distinctly Irish-American Catholic experience, if not a decidedly nationalist one in nature. Established as the American offshoot of an Irish secret society in 1836, the AOH directed its energy to protecting Irish Catholics in the United States against the mid-century scourge of “Know Nothing” nativist attacks.⁵ Caring for the nation’s Irish Catholics, while arduous in the early-Nineteenth Century, would become an altogether different prospect by 1850 as a result of a horrifying turn of events across the ocean.

Ireland’s Great Famine seriously altered the trajectories of both its own history as well as that of the United States. Starting in 1845 a blight in the potato crop, a staple in the diet of Ireland’s poorest laborers and tenant farmers, caused massive crop failures across the island. While almost a million of Ireland’s poorest were dying of starvation or the myriad diseases wrought by the Famine, thousands more were pushed to emigration, the largest portion of which was to the United States. While the Famine was deadly in itself, it was simultaneously an accelerant for British disinvestment in the Irish agricultural economy, resulting in millions more of the lowest class of tenant farmers being forced to vacate the little land on which they lived and worked.⁶ By 1851, the peak of this influx of immigration, there were nearly as many people who were born in Ireland living in New York City as in Dublin.⁷ Eventually, three million out of a

⁴ Michael Doorley, *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism: The Friends of Irish Freedom, 1916-1935* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 12.

⁵ Ibid, 13. See also: Mike McCormack, “AOH History: An Updated History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America.” AOH.com. <https://aoh.com/aoh-history/#theirishinearlyamerica> (accessed 11 March, 2019).

⁶ Ibid, 10-12.

⁷ David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798-1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 88.

pre-famine eight million Irish had emigrated. The resulting horde of newcomers, unlike the secret society Irish of the previous decades, were increasingly militant as a result of the cold response from London. Not content with secret defensive societies, the decades following the outbreak of Famine in Ireland saw a dramatic rise in nationalist agitation in the United States.⁸ Shared traumatic experience as well as hatred for England would both be an impetus to a growing sense of communal identity among refugees.

As the potato crop continued to fail annually into the 1850s, prolonging the nightmare of death and emigration, expanding communities of émigrés grew increasingly cohesive and aggravated. Historian Kerby A. Miller has traced these direct connections between Famine, emigration, and the increase in militant nationalism on both sides of the Atlantic. Although the Young Ireland revolt of 1848, a direct response to the Famine, was both brief and unsuccessful, the marked rise in militancy would have far-reaching consequences. According to Miller, “the Young Irelander’s rhetoric and revolutionary gesture politicized the Famine experience, while their own fate modernized old traditions of emigration as exile caused by British oppression.”⁹ By politicizing the horrors of the Famine, the Young Ireland movement set in motion an upsurge in nationalist agitation. A decade after the failed uprising, Young Irelanders founded the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), the precursor to the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Organized calls for revenge were similarly reverberated across the ocean, and the next year the Fenian Brotherhood was founded in New York. By 1859, advancements in communications and transportation technology supported a transatlantic Irish Republican network, connecting the IRB in Ireland and the Fenians in North America in ways inconceivable in previous decades.¹⁰ While the nationalist impulse had surfaced in Ireland at various points since the Eighteenth Century, a distinctly American, newly radical Republicanism emerged in the United States with the Fenians. Unlike their Irish-American defensive counterparts, the Fenian Brotherhood was the first U.S.-based organization established specifically to aid in the liberation of Ireland.

Perhaps the most significant contribution by the Fenians to the Irish-American cause came in the radicalization and subsequent exile of John Devoy. By the end of the U.S. Civil War the Fenian Brotherhood saw a swelling of its ranks to an unprecedented 50,000 by effectively

⁸ Ibid, 88.

⁹ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 280-281.

¹⁰ David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America*, 99.

mobilizing their particular brand of post-Famine, anti-British militancy among the large number of Irish units in the Union Army. Fenianism appealed to the vast populations of urban, working-class immigrants who wanted to raise their social-status.¹¹ While effective recruiting made the Fenians the most successful Irish-nationalist organization in the United States up to that point, three unsuccessful attempts to organize armed uprisings in Canada largely discredited Fenianism – and nearly Irish Republicanism along with it. The failures of the Fenian Brotherhood combined with the rise of a Post-Civil War ascendant Irish-American middle class. Throughout the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century, many Irish-Americans were more concerned with maintaining or improving their tenuous position within their new home society than with agitating for the liberation of the old. When John Devoy and other ex-Fenians were exiled to the United States in 1870 and 1871, they inherited a disinterested, fractured, and increasingly Americanized Irish-American community. Social and ethnic solidarity, exhibited by the early AOH and tempered in the fire of Fenianism, had largely been abandoned.¹² By taking control of the U.S.-based Clan na Gael, Devoy attempted to reignite Republican passions among a new, post-Famine generation.

As had been the case with the Great Famine a generation before, organizing the nationalist movement domestically proved difficult until events abroad forced the issue. Devoy admitted that the Clan na Gael alone almost entirely supported Irish Republicanism during this period, alongside what few American nationalists remained dedicated to the cause.¹³ By the turn of the Twentieth Century the Great Famine was quickly phasing out of living memory and, with it, went enthusiasm for armed struggle. In Ireland enthusiasm began growing for a more conservative approach, a constitutional nationalism emerged represented by the efforts of the Home Rule Party. On the eve of the First World War, the Home Rulers, led by John Redmond and the exponentially more popular Charles Stewart Parnell, had been working for decades on a legal route to a more limited form of Irish autonomy within the larger British Empire, known as Home Rule. Initial enthusiasm on both continents, including by English Prime Minister William Gladstone, was quickly eroded by the public scandal and untimely death of Parnell. In addition, the failure of the first Home Rule Bill in 1885 quickly halted the party's earlier momentum.¹⁴ Republican radicals like Devoy denounced the constitutional nationalist contingent in general,

¹¹ Ibid, 111. Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 336.

¹² Ibid, 538.

¹³ John Devoy, *Recollections of an Irish Rebel* (1929), 392.

¹⁴ David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America*, 125.

and Redmond in particular, as Anglophiles working to keep Ireland dependent upon England. A 1902 *Clan na Gael Journal* mockingly jabbed, “[the Home Rulers’] policy is directed to winning the good opinion of England and giving assurances that the wholly inadequate settlement which they propose would make Ireland a faithful ally of England and a partner with her in the oppression and robbery of other peoples.”¹⁵ This cleavage between the Home Rulers and the newly-founded Sinn Féin, a radical nationalist faction supported by Devoy’s Clan, caused any further progress to stall. While militant nationalism was experiencing a low tide on both sides of the Atlantic, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 drastically complicated the issue further. Redmond’s immediate vocal support for the British war effort cost him many supporters both in Ireland and the United States.¹⁶ Throughout the first two years of the war, as Britain’s military was being bled dry in Flanders, Sinn Féin and the IRB began to view the totality of Britain’s war mobilization as affording them the perfect opportunity for a resurgence of armed insurrection. Planning for such an uprising, however, would require complete transatlantic cooperation among radical nationalist groups.

By 1916, as the third year of global warfare raged on, nationalists in the United States organized for the purpose of aiding Sinn Féin in their long-awaited insurrection. The subsequent armed uprising, referred to as the Easter Rising due to its duration over Easter week, is perhaps the most significant turning point in the long history of Irish nationalism. Less than two months prior, on March 4, 1916, Devoy and a large coalition of other Irish-American nationalists and organizations convened in New York City. The purpose of this so-called “Irish Race Convention” was to form a new alliance, the purpose of which was, “[t]o encourage and assist any movement that will tend to bring about the National Independence of Ireland.”¹⁷ This new organization was to be called the Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF). According to Doorley, both John Devoy and Daniel F. Cohalan, the Tammany Hall judge in charge of the FOIF, certainly had prior knowledge of the planned uprising. As early as February 1916 the IRB notified the *Clan na Gael* of the upcoming insurrection. Moreover, Cohalan may even have brokered the

¹⁵ The *Clan-na-Gael Journal*, 35th year, no. 2, July 4, 1902, 1. <https://digital.library.villanova.edu/item/vudl:281238#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=2446%2c1024%2c755%2c952> (accessed 16 March 2019).

¹⁶ Michael Doorley, *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism*, 34.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, Appendix 2, “Constitution of the Friends of Irish Freedom”, 178.

arms deal between Germany and Ireland that facilitated the uprising.¹⁸ U.S. neutrality in 1916 certainly would have allowed for Cohalan to act as middle men between Germany and Ireland more easily. Either way, the founding of the FOIF only seven weeks before the Easter Rising is no coincidence; Devoy and Cohalan both knew what was coming. Irrespective of how involved the Americans were with the planning of the uprising, Sinn Féin and the IRB now had a focused and dedicated partner across the ocean whose support would become crucial going forward.

Although the Easter Rising would ultimately end in the British war machine crushing the IRB stronghold by the end of the week, the political ramifications were far reaching. In early May 1916, fifteen of the uprising's leaders were executed by British military police in Kilmainham Jail, including Patrick Pearse, author of the "Proclamation of the Irish Republic". These high-profile executions provoked outrage around the globe, including the large population of Irish-Americans in the United States. John Devoy's newspaper, *The Gaelic American*, referred to the executions as a pogrom, charging Redmond with approving the murders of the nationalist martyrs in a headline that read, "[t]he Traitor Redmond Approves the Murder of the Leaders, His Political Opponents... Irishmen the World Over, Aroused to Bitter Anger, Will Exact Heavy Retributions."¹⁹ By charging Redmond with approving of these executions, Devoy was simply staying on-brand. While radical nationalists had pilloried Home Rulers as pro-English for years, the opportunity was seized upon to catch their political rival on the wrong side of a massive story, garnering more sympathy for the Clan and FOIF in the process. Even the *Los Angeles Times*, which had been dismissive of the insurrection and would become an active opponent of the Irish nationalist movement by the end of the decade, acknowledged that the executions were a political disaster for England.²⁰ The FOIF wasted no time in mobilizing popular outrage over the executions. As with the Great Famine nearly 70 years prior, the desperate situation in Ireland was sufficient to arouse the sympathies of more than just radicals. Politically moderate middle-class Irish-Americans, who had generally stayed out of the nationalist movement, began swelling

¹⁸ Ibid, 44.

¹⁹ *The Gaelic American*, Vol. XIII, No. 30, Whole No. 661, May 13, 1916, pg. 1.

²⁰ "Asquith in Dublin." *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 1916; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. 11 (accessed 18 March 2019). Also see: Harry Carr, "Emotional Campaign Promise of Politicians." *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1916; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. 11 (accessed 18 March 2019).

the ranks, and the coffers, of the FOIF.²¹ Massive FOIF rallies across the country excoriated the British actions in Dublin while simultaneously positioning the organization as the official voice of Irish-America. Just two months after its inception, Devoy and Cohalan had successfully cultivated popular support for their fledgling organization, positioning themselves as the arbiters of what was quickly becoming labeled “the Irish Question”.

The California Connection: California and the “Irish Question”

Although New York City continued to be the center for Irish-American nationalism by 1916, strong support for the FOIF began pouring in from the West Coast. Though geographically a world away from the conflict, California remained closely connected to the Irish question through the dedicated work of West Coast nationalists. The FOIF held rallies across the country in May of 1916, yet the massive turnout in New York City was cause for celebration. The home base of John Devoy and Daniel Cohalan saw 3,500 pack Carnegie Hall, to which the *New York Times* added that, “Fully 4,000 persons were unable to get into the hall, which was crowded an hour before the meeting began.”²² In California, however, FOIF rallies attracted massive numbers of their own in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Over 6,000 came to mourn the Easter Rising martyrs in San Francisco, while a crowd of 2,000 attended in Los Angeles.²³ The honor of the keynote address in Los Angeles was given to Joseph Scott. A lawyer of some local repute, Scott represented a stark contrast to radical nationalists like Devoy. John Devoy was famous, or infamous, on both sides of the Atlantic by 1916 thanks to his days as a Fenian agitator, high rank in both the Clan na Gael and FOIF, and through his fiery use of his nationalist mouthpiece, *The Gaelic American*. Joseph Scott, on the other hand, had only garnered a meager reputation as a lawyer and advocate for Catholics; he came much closer to representing the average, politically moderate, Irish-American middle class who’s support the FOIF badly needed. Scott’s address on May 21, 1916 at the Columbus Auditorium in Los Angeles wasted no time in identifying and welcoming a politically diverse crowd. Scott began by stating, “[i]t may be assumed that there

²¹ Michael Doorley, *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism*, 47.

²² “Irish Pay Tribute to Dublin Rebels” *New York Times*, 15 May 1916; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times, pg. 1 (accessed 18 March 2019).

²³ For San Francisco, see Michael Doorley, *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism*, 47. For Los Angeles, see “2000 in Hall Hear Britain Scored by Speakers” *Los Angeles Tribune*, May 12, 1916; [1916-1917], Box 30v, CSLA-10, Joseph Scott Collection, Department of Archives and Special Collections, William H. Hannon Library, Loyola Marymount University, hereby referenced as Joseph Scott Collection.

are people here of all shades of political belief and of all manner of views on the Irish question, but nevertheless we are all here to record our unanimous protest against the treatment of these men...”²⁴ In his address, Scott acknowledged both the diverse backgrounds as well as the unanimity of purpose for the 2,000 attendees that night, a crucial tactic for courting the California Irish, a heterogeneous community that had been historically more assimilated into the dominant American society than their Northeastern counterparts.

The Irish in California had drastically different experiences relative to those who immigrated into the cities of the East for several reasons. First, Irish immigration began descending upon California from the earliest announcement of gold in 1848. Immigration to the gold fields overlapped with the exodus spurred by the Famine, driving even more migration from Ireland to California throughout the mid-Nineteenth Century. San Francisco, the main hub for Gold Rush immigration, became the nation’s tenth largest city nearly overnight. By 1852, the population of those born on foreign shores exceeded that of those born in the United States, and of this immigrant majority, the Irish made up approximately 22 percent. Further, the majority of these Irish immigrants had not listed Ireland as their previous residence, but were largely migrating from Sydney, London, and the cities of the American Northeast.²⁵ Both the early arrival and the vast number of Irish immigrants by mid-century made them a very difficult contingent to marginalize the way they had been in the larger, more established cities in the East. The Irish in California had as much claim to their place in society as any other immigrant group. Moreover, such a cosmopolitan society offered resistance against the nativism that was burgeoning in other areas of the country in the 1850s.²⁶

Second, the unprecedented urban growth of San Francisco, including the fact that the majority of immigrants were disembarking at San Francisco harbor only to immediately head for the gold fields, afforded those immigrants staying in the city greater opportunities. As a result, the Irish population in San Francisco, despite being a fraction of that of cities like New York and

²⁴ Speech printed in “Irish Plead for Redress / Executions are Denounced” *Los Angeles Examiner*, 22 May 1916; Joseph Scott Collection.

²⁵ James P. Walsh, “The Irish in Early San Francisco” in James P. Walsh, ed. *The San Francisco Irish 1850-1976* (San Francisco: The Irish Literary and Historical Society, 1978), 11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Boston, held a higher total number of white-collar jobs.²⁷ As the city grew throughout the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, Irish immigrants and their families established deep roots in their new communities. While the Famine migrants in the East were being forced to endure the discrimination and humiliation of the mythologized “No Irish Need Apply” signs in store windows, the Irish in the Golden State were making relatively smooth transitions into Californian society.²⁸ According to historian James P. Walsh, “[t]he central theme of nineteenth century American immigration has been the uprooted condition of the newly gathered Americans... each wave of immigrants, unable to sink new roots, lingered for generations between the old world and the new, but belonging to neither.” In early Californian society, where the vast majority of newcomers were struggling to establish roots, the Irish had already had experience, moving from city to city before settling on the West Coast. What made California unique in the history of Irish immigration to the United States was the lack of the elite establishments, thus affording newcomers unparalleled access to the elite positions within society.²⁹

Finally, the relatively high profile of Roman Catholicism in California offered Catholic immigrants a veritable safe haven from ethnic and religious hostilities. The famed Franciscan Missions lining the coast predated Gold Rush immigration by almost a century, creating a lasting framework of normativity for Roman Catholicism that did not exist in the Northeast. Catholic tolerance remained a powerful force even after white American Protestants began flooding San Francisco Bay from the East after 1849. Moreover, the Missions themselves often acted as literal safe havens, sheltering Catholic pilgrims in need. One such example is Mission Santa Inés in Solvang, California. *The Los Angeles Times* ran an article in 1925 celebrating the retirement of Padre Alejandro Buckler, the so-called “Padre of the Down-and-Outs”. According to the article, “during the long years that he was at Santa Ines every derelict that wandered on the King’s

²⁷ Ibid, 12.

²⁸ Historian Richard Jensen argues that these infamous “No Irish Need Apply” signs were in fact apocryphal, simply a “myth of victimization”. He does concede, however, that the Irish flooding the Northeast were certainly met with nativist hostilities, just not more so than any other ethnic group. Richard Jensen, “No Irish Need Apply’: A Myth of Victimization” *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Winter, 2002), pp.405-429.

²⁹ Ibid, 21.

Highway sought him. To them, human wrecks on the highway of life, Santa Ines was a sanctuary and a haven as long as Padre Alejandro was there.”³⁰ Further, Joseph Scott was both a leading figure in the Knights of Columbus (KOC), the nation’s preeminent Catholic organization, and the Los Angeles School Board. In a 1916 speech given under the auspices of the KOC in Davenport, Iowa, Scott referenced the relative ease with which Roman Catholics could participate in the high levels of Californian society. By acknowledging that his election to the School Board, and subsequent election to the Presidency of the Board, came despite a Los Angeles electorate of only fifteen percent Catholics, Scott argued, “I would be the veriest leper if I did not testify publicly here to the spirit of American toleration, of which I have been in Los Angeles a somewhat shining mark.”³¹ The unique cosmopolitan nature of California and the near-ubiquity of Irish influence there within, the ad-hoc urban development within San Francisco, and a distinct framework of Catholic toleration all contributed to the ease of transition for Irish immigrants throughout the Nineteenth and early-Twentieth Centuries. As the Irish question exploded across the United States after 1916, Californians like Joseph Scott and others came to provide invaluable support for the official cooperative between Ireland and the United States pushing for official recognition of the Irish Republic.

Éamon de Valera on the Coast, 1919

By the end of the First World War, events in Ireland once again directed the nationalist front abroad. In the 1918 British Parliamentary elections, Sinn Féin won 73 seats out of a total 105. While another 6 seats went to Home Rulers who would advocate for an independent Ireland, if through different means, Sinn Féin took this massive majority vote as a popular mandate for Irish independence.³² Rather than sending its delegates to London in January 1919, Irish leaders instead formed the Dáil Eireann, Ireland’s first autonomous Parliament in over a century. Much like the American Declaration of Independence 143 years prior, Ireland simply proclaiming its political independence would not be sufficient. After four years of the most horrific warfare the world had ever seen, more bloodshed would be required if freedom were to

³⁰ John Steven McGroarty, “A Page Conducted: A Great Adventurer Tells His Fateful Story” *Los Angeles Times*, 8 February 1925, L3.

³¹ Joseph Scott, “American Citizenship” Speech. Printed in *The Columbiad*, Sep. 1916; Joseph Scott Collection.

³² Éamon de Valera, “The Struggle of the Irish People. Address to the Congress of the United States adopted at the January session of Dail Eireann, 1921” Washington Government Printing Office.

be obtained for Ireland. The resulting Anglo-Irish War of 1919-1921 was the fight that radicals like Devoy had been trying to instigate for decades. For moderates and conservatives like Redmond, this was the fight they had been trying to avoid. The war would forever alter the course of Irish and Irish-American histories alike. It would also bring the first President of the Dáil to the United States. Éamon de Valera embarked on a fundraising tour of the United States from June 1919 until December 1920, bringing with him an air of unprecedented legitimacy to the Irish question.

In an open letter to President Woodrow Wilson, Éamon de Valera powerfully declared that the Irish Republic had indeed become, “the de facto ruling authority of their own country”, and that, “no state which denies them recognition can maintain at the same time that it upholds the principle of ‘government by the consent of the governed’ ... the right of self-determination would be but a ‘mere phrase’ indeed were the Republican Government of Ireland now to be denied recognition.”³³ This letter, in remarkably intentional language, highlights the new direction for global Irish nationalism. Now that Ireland had ostensibly liberated itself from Great Britain, official recognition by the international community would seal the infant nation’s fate. Led for the first time by the highest levels of Ireland’s political body, de Valera seemingly achieved what Redmond and others before him had failed to do: form a unified, transatlantic coalition centered on Irish independence.³⁴

For de Valera, the United States appeared to be the prime target for recognition for three major reasons. First, the large and dedicated Irish-American nationalist community had for decades proven to be a useful ally. As groups like the Clan na Gael and FOIF became increasingly attractive to moderate, middle-class Irish-Americans. With them came a greater ability to put pressure on government. While it may have been easy in the past to ignore radicals like John Devoy, it would be much more difficult to ignore successful moderates like Scott and Cohalan. Second, the internationalist idealism proposed by Wilson during the United States’

³³ Éamon de Valera, “Ireland’s Request to the Government of the United States of America for Recognition as a Sovereign Independent State” Open letter to President Woodrow Wilson, 27 October 1920; printed in Maurice Moynihan, ed. *Speeches and Statements by Eamon de Valera 1917-1973* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980), 37-38.

³⁴ Michael Doorley, *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism*, 107. After 1916, the FOIF had effectively created a united front among the various Irish-American organizations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Clan na Gael. Upon de Valera’s arrival in June 1919, FOIF leaders channeled this support into de Valera.

duration in the war became a beacon of hope for small nation-states eager to break free from their colonial past. In several speeches to Congress throughout 1917 and 1918, Wilson continuously justified the U.S. entry into the war under the auspices of freeing Europe from the evils of imperialism, creating space for democracy to flourish in its place. In the preamble to his famous Fourteen Points speech, Wilson outlined his vision for world progress following such a catastrophic global conflict. He affirmed that:

What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.³⁵

Irish nationalists across the Atlantic may have viewed this speech as tailor made for Ireland. Wilson likened other nation-states' independence struggles to that of the U.S. revolutionary experience, inviting the assumption that he would be an unwavering ally of democratic revolutions across the globe. Further, after the violent experiences of the Easter Rising and subsequent executions, Wilson's references to safety against foreign aggression could have arguably been applied to Britain just as well as to Germany. Finally, the United States' ascendant economic position following the end of the war resulted in the country becoming a serious contender in global finance and trade. Particularly important was the vast sums of money owed to U.S. banks by Great Britain by the end of the war.³⁶ If Wilson were to recognize Ireland as a nation independent of England, the peculiar geopolitical position that the United States found itself in meant that such a recognition would have carried considerable weight. In order to put such pressure on both the U.S. government and public opinion, as well as to raise funds of the Anglo-Irish War effort, President de Valera sojourned to the United States in June 1919.

³⁵ President Wilson's Message to Congress, January 8, 1918; Records of the United States Senate; Record Group 46; Records of the United States Senate; National Archives (on Archives.gov, accessed 20 March 2019).

³⁶ David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 100. The initial loan to Great Britain was \$2 million at 3 percent interest, although as Kennedy points out, "many more millions of dollars at preferred rates were to follow."

Once in the United States, de Valera immediately partnered with Irish-American nationalist groups to raise funds and awareness for the cause. The Irish Victory Fund and Irish Bond Certificate Loan were established in order to raise \$10,000,000.³⁷ In addition, de Valera toured across the country to arouse support and steer U.S. public opinion toward Irish recognition. This trip brought the Irish President to California in July, arriving first in San Francisco as the honored guest for the AOH's national conference. It was reported that while in the Bay he spoke in front of a combined 200,000 people over that weekend alone.³⁸ The celebrity-like presence of the Irish President created a swelling of support hitherto unheard of by Irish-American nationalists. Both the Irish-American community in San Francisco, as well as some of the city's political leaders, received de Valera with a hero's welcome. The mayor, city supervisor, and notable members of the clergy all were included in his welcome party. Perhaps most important was the addition of the president of the California branch of the FOIF, Reverend Peter C. Yorke. Possibly the preeminent figure in the Bay's Irish-American nationalist sphere, Yorke had been the vociferous editor of the newspaper *The Leader* as well as a member of the UC Board of Regents.³⁹ Yorke regularly fixed his boundless ire on alerting his parishioners and readers to the barbaric degradations of British colonial tyranny. After the Easter Rising executions, for example, Yorke chastised the apathy of many Americans towards the events in Ireland. After speaking heroically of George Washington's choice to stand up to English tyranny, continuing the popular trend of connecting the Irish and American revolutionary struggles, Yorke declared, "[b]ut America to-day forgets the Declaration of Independence. In the Americans of to-day their veins flow not with the good, rich, red American blood, but with the pale 4 o'clock tea of England."⁴⁰ Yorke's bombastic dedication to Irish Republicanism, as well as his unrestricted access to print offers some favorable comparisons to John Devoy, but his

³⁷ Newsletter of the Irish National Bureau, Washington, D.C., No. 27, January 2, 1920, 8.

³⁸ For a detailed record of de Valera's first trip to the Bay Area, see James P. Walsh, "De Valera in the United States, 1919" *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. 73, No. 34 (September, December 1962), 105. According to *The San Francisco Chronicle*, de Valera's major engagement at the Civic Auditorium attracted over 12,000 people alone. "Aid Erin Though Britain Angers, Says De Valera" *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Jul 19, 1919, pg. 3.

³⁹ For a biographical sketch of Father Yorke, see James P. Walsh, "Peter C. Yorke: San Francisco's Irishman Reconsidered" in James P. Walsh, ed. *The San Francisco Irish*, 42-57.

⁴⁰ *The Gaelic American*, 2 September 1916, 8.

popularity and high social status within the community of San Francisco made Yorke a unique and valuable partner for de Valera.

After the amicable experience in San Francisco, de Valera was eager to return to California. In November, the President once again arrived in the Golden State, this time with an itinerary that included Los Angeles and San Diego as well. After another warm reception in the Bay, the Southern California leg of the trip offered a very different experience. Received in Los Angeles by Joseph Scott, the Irish delegation had the Shrine Auditorium booked for November 19. When they arrived, however, they found themselves locked out of the Auditorium. According to *The Los Angeles Times*, the Irish delegation had stirred up a “storm of protest”, leading to several members of the Shrine organization passing a resolution to ban the de Valera group entirely. The article added that, “[a] number of former service men are members of this organization.”⁴¹ To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the forces of resistance against de Valera, it is necessary to examine a different mode of understanding and reacting to the First World War in the United States.

In Los Angeles, de Valera’s Neoliberal idealism came into direct confrontation with the ascendant Conservatism sweeping through the United States. While many struggled to make sense of the horror and enormous loss of the First World War, a few popular justifications began to appear. Many, including the transatlantic Irish nationalist contingent, tended to view the war along Wilsonian lines, as a righteous struggle to dismantle the global imperialist framework which had oppressed Ireland and the territories of the Central Powers alike. Those of another mind tended to criticize the Wilson Administration for its lofty internationalism, promoting ultimate dedication to the United States alone. To many, internationalist idealism had been the cause of the war in the first place, and particularly to blame for the United States getting sucked into such a catastrophe. By the 1920s this rationalization of the war was very much in vogue.⁴² Moreover, further entanglements in international affairs was anathema to postwar reconstruction and progress. This contingent, powerfully represented by Republican Party elites including Henry Cabot Lodge and Warren G. Harding, focused this “Americanism” first against the

⁴¹ “Shriners Protest Use of Hall by De Valera.” *The Los Angeles Times*, 19 November 1919, pg. 11.

⁴² David M. Kennedy, *Over Here*, 233. Republicans viewed their massive sweep of the House and Senate in 1918 as a mandate against Wilson’s internationalist policies. The landslide victory of Warren G. Harding in the presidential election two years later provided further confidence to Wilson’s opponents.

League of Nations. In a speech recorded by Nation's Forum, Harding represents this distrust of internationalism and the League of Nations by pronouncing, "It is better to be the free and disinterested agents of international justice and advancing civilization with the covenant of conscience, than to be shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives the military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world."⁴³ By the end of the decade ascendant Republicans were vociferously dedicated to keeping the United States out of further international entanglements, which loomed disastrous in the minds of Irish nationalists hoping for official recognition.

Alongside anti-interventionist sentiments, the United States experienced a wave of what essentially amounts to radical anti-radicalism. Represented most infamously by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's violent campaign to root out communist radicalism from 1919 to 1920, the so-called Palmer Raids demonstrated an obsession among certain visible government officials with the supposed danger of foreign influence within the United States.⁴⁴ While this was certainly a reaction to the ongoing Russian Revolution, during and after the war the Wilson Administration fueled nativist anxieties by attacking the loyalty of so-called "Hyphenated Americans". This group of American citizens, which included Irish-Americans, were not to be trusted, according to Wilson. At a speech in Pueblo, Colorado given less than two months before the Shrine incident, he warned that, "any man who carries a hyphen about with him carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of the Republic whenever he gets ready."⁴⁵ Legislation like the Espionage and Sedition Acts further exacerbated nativist and xenophobic sentiments among hyper-patriotic Americans. By 1919, the recently-established American Legion was dedicated to protecting the country from "those wild radicals who would by force attempt to injure those very institutions we had risked our lives to protect."⁴⁶ Anti-hyphenism even caught the attention of one of the era's most infamous nativist organizations, the American Protective League (APL). The APL were notorious during the war for their brazen attacks on

⁴³ Warren G. Harding, "An Association of Nations" Speech, *Nation's Forum*, 1920. From Library of Congress, "American Leaders Speak: Voices of World War I", <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004650548/> (accessed 20 March 2019).

⁴⁴ David M. Kennedy, *Over Here*, 291.

⁴⁵ Woodrow Wilson, "The Pueblo Speech", Speech, Pueblo, Colorado, 25 September 1919. <http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/wilson-the-pueblo-speech-speech-text/> (Accessed 5 April 2019).

⁴⁶ "Summary of proceedings of the Second National Convention" American Legion, Cleveland, Ohio, 27-29 September 1920, 6.

German-Americans and any others they suspected of being disloyal. In California, the APL sent undercover agents to infiltrate FOIF meetings, reporting on the organization directly to the Justice Department.⁴⁷ The powerful tide of nativism was figuratively canvassing the country at the very same moment that Éamon de Valera and the Irish nationalist delegation were doing so physically. The lockout at the Shrine in November 1919 was deeply informed by this national attack on the perceived disloyalties of certain ethnic groups as well as a deep-seeded fear of radical nationalism.

Benjamin F. Bledsoe, a U.S. District Judge in Los Angeles and member of the Shrine organization, was interviewed by the *Los Angeles Times* about the lockout. Judge Bledsoe commented, “Considering that Great Britain was defending our hearthfires for three long years before we entered the war, I regard it as exceedingly unpatriotic that we should permit De Valera to voice his opinions here.”⁴⁸ The denunciations of the Irish delegation stemmed from a hyper-patriotic allegiance to U.S. wartime allies. Irish nationalists excoriated Great Britain for decades, which had become increasingly visible after the executions of 1916. By the end of the war, however, the tide of Americanism demanded more respect for the nation’s preeminent ally, conflating anti-English with anti-American sentiments, as evidenced by Judge Bledsoe’s comment. The American Legion became one of de Valera’s most vocal opponents, filling the headlines of *The Los Angeles Times* with charges of disloyalty aimed at the Irish delegation’s supporters. One article in particular printed a resolution drafted by the Los Angeles Post of the American Legion, condemning de Valera for doing, “all in his power to aid and abet Germany during the war” and subsequently for, “seeking to stir up hatred in this country against our allies...”⁴⁹ The claim that the Shriners had “a number of former servicemen” in their ranks was not coincidental. The *Los Angeles Times* may have been pointing to direct links between members of the Shrine organization and the American Legion in California. Certainly, the strong

⁴⁷ Emerson Hough, *The Web: The Authorized History of the American Protective League* (Chicago: The Reilly & Lee Co., 1919), 358.

⁴⁸ “Shriners Protest Use of Hall by De Valera” *The Los Angeles Times*, 19 November 1919, 11.

⁴⁹ “Protest Honor To De Valera.” *The Los Angeles Times*, 14 November 1920. The article, like many in the *Los Angeles Times*, condescendingly refers to the Irish President as “Edward” de Valera, often putting his title in quotation marks, as “president of a so-called ‘Irish republic’”.

tide of Americanism, replete with hyper-patriotic anti-internationalism, unquestioning allegiance to the nation's wartime allies, and anti-hyphenist xenophobia, all contributed to the lockout at the Shrine. Undaunted, Joseph Scott organized a last-minute outdoor engagement for de Valera at Washington Ball Park for the following week.

Éamon de Valera's Los Angeles rally at Washington Park was a triumph for Irish-American nationalism in California. On November 24, more than 12,000 people came to hear the Irish President speak, more than twice the amount that would have fit within the walls of the Shrine Auditorium.⁵⁰ Reflecting the Wilsonian Neoliberalism thread running through de Valera's argument for official recognition, the President posed a poignant question for residents of Los Angeles, one that would be echoed in his speech recorded for *Nation's Forum*. Before the massive, cheering audience, he declared, "[t]he question, then, for the American people is this: Are you going to recognize the right of the vast majority of the Irish people to choose how they shall be governed or are you going to tell them that they must be governed not according to their desire, but in accordance with the method with which Britain may desire?"⁵¹ The crowd cheered loudly, voicing their support for the nationalist cause and its leader. In the face of the American Legion's scorn, the rally had an honor guard of over 300 veterans. Two of which, who were described as having seen active service, carried de Valera from the stage on their shoulders.⁵²

From the years of the Gold Rush and Great Famine to Éamon de Valera's nationwide tour in 1919, Ireland and the United States shared a transatlantic bond of republican nationalism, at times represented by a coordinated struggle for the liberation of the former along the historical lines of the latter. This cooperation was strengthened most by the Neoliberal framework promoted by Woodrow Wilson in his many wartime speeches, most notably the Fourteen Points. Calling on the international community to safeguard the right of self-determination for small nations struck a poignant chord with Irish nationalists who, for more than a century had been struggling to free their island from the influence of Great Britain. The Great Famine and First

⁵⁰ Leo C. Owen, "Irish Cause Impressively Presented" *The Los Angeles Examiner*, 24 November 1919. A FOIF newsletter describing the Shrine incident puts the number at Washington Park closer to 30,000. News Letter of the Irish National Bureau, Washington D.C., 5 December 1919, No. 23, 6.

⁵¹ Éamon de Valera, "Address on Ireland's Fight for Liberty" Speech printed in *The Los Angeles Examiner*, 24 November 1919.

⁵² Leo C. Owen, "Irish Cause Impressively Presented".

World War both represented crucial turning points in both the passion for and organization of Irish nationalism on both sides of the Atlantic. Californians, though seemingly a world away from the crisis, contributed greatly to the nationalist cause, raising more money per branch of the FOIF for the Irish Victory Fund than any other state by far.⁵³ By the U.S. election season of 1920, Americans had been inundated, through countless newspaper editorials and massive public rallies, with the Irish question. The speeches recorded by *Nation's Forum* offer a unique insight into the debates Americans found most important that election cycle and following the First World War. The Irish question, represented by de Valera's plea for recognition of the Irish Republic, stands alone as the single voice of foreign diplomacy Americans would hear during that pivotal moment.

⁵³ See tables 6 and 7 for membership data and table 10 for Irish Victory Fund contributions by state in the Appendices of Michael Doorley, *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism, 186-191*. Constituting just over 2 percent of the FOIF's national membership, California was the fourth highest contributing state to the Irish Victory Fund, behind New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York.

**Men and Monsters:
Characters of Political Posters During the Russian Civil War**

Samantha Owens
Georg Michels – HIST 197 – Summer 2018

As the dust settled on Russia following the events in the October Revolution, the Bolshevik party seized power of Petrograd with Lenin as their leader. He brought with him a promise of land, prosperity, and an end to Russian involvement in WWI. The people believed strongly in attaining peace for the nation, and it seemed to everyone that it would be found when the Bolsheviks took control and made peace with German leaders. However, in the chaos following the revolution and the overthrow of the Provisional Government, portions of Russian territory began claiming their independence, rather than aligning themselves with the Bolshevik regime. This was the beginning of civil war for Russia, and the Russian people would soon find themselves back on the front lines. Bolshevik leaders needed a way to create division between their supporters and opponents and encourage the common people to continue to support the spread of Bolshevik influence. So, the Bolshevik government turned to the mass distribution of political posters and propaganda. Soviet political propaganda poster illustrators used caricature and other forms of disfigurement in order to unite the Soviet people under Bolshevik rule while simultaneously dehumanizing and encouraging violence against their detractors.

In order to understand the motivation behind the Bolshevik government's use of posters, it is essential to first examine the political climate of the early Soviet Union during the civil war. The Bolshevik party did not come into power through a democratic election, as demanded by the people, but instead through an armed uprising and a seizure of power. Rather than wait for "a 'formal' majority" of Russian people supporting and voting for the Bolshevik party in an election, Lenin instead called for the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government.¹ Although the removal of the Provisional Government was popular among the people, this abrupt change in government led to challenges for the new Bolshevik rulers. On the outskirts of Russian territory, the Russian people withdrew from the newly established Soviet Union and declared their independence from Bolshevik control. By 1919, the Soviet Union was surrounded by Whites² on all sides, with anti-Bolshevik movements rising in south Russia, the Baltic, north Russia and

¹ Vladimir Lenin, *Revolution at the Gates*, Ed. Slavoj Zizek (London: Verso, 2002), 114.

² "White" was a term used by the Bolshevik party to describe people who supported anti-Bolshevik movements and governments, or people living in territory in control of "White" governments. Evan Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War* (Winchester, MA: Allen & Unwin, Incorporated, 1987), 200.

western Siberia.³ Without the support of the Russian population that surrounded Bolshevik territory, the Bolshevik government needed a way to rally the support of the people in the territories under their control. By publishing propaganda posters on a large scale, the Bolshevik government was able to do just this. The publication of posters became the most efficient way for the Soviet government to convey information and spread their influence across their territories due to the nature of the communications systems that the Bolsheviks had available to them in the rural, early 20th century Soviet Union.

Without large-scale access to contemporary technology that would allow the rapid spread of Bolshevik propaganda, such as the television or radio, and facing the dilemma of conveying a message to a population that was predominantly illiterate, the Bolshevik government began distributing political posters in order to foster loyalty and rally support from the people in their territory. This method of communication was particularly effective, as the Russian people were already in the practice of consuming media through prints known as *Luboks*. Dating back to the early 17th century, and gaining popularity in the 18th century, *Luboks* were documents sold and distributed to ordinary people in the place of newspapers.⁴ These prints had limited amounts of text, and instead focused on creating messages through imagery in order to reach a greater audience. The *Luboks* provided a large majority of the population with printed entertainment, social and political commentary, and information on national developments.⁵ By the 20th century the population was so accustomed to relying on prints for news and entertainment, distributing posters with propaganda messages to the people was a highly effective means of gaining support for the Bolshevik party. The propaganda posters of the early 20th century imitated the forms of the *Luboks*, and focused on creating dramatic visuals with little to no text. Given the lack of access to books or newspapers due to the population's illiteracy, the forms of media available to the Russian population were highly limited. Therefore, these propaganda posters were the most efficient and readily available way to relay information about the affairs of the Russian state.

Posters distributed by the Bolshevik government contained illustrations of people that had heavily exaggerated characteristics that varied depending on the characters that they were meant

³ Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War*. 194-195

⁴ Stephen White, *The Bolshevik Poster* (New Haven: Yale University, 1988), 3.

⁵ White, *The Bolshevik Poster*. 2

to represent. Characters that embodied the ideas of the Bolshevik party were created with emphasis on the details in their muscles in order to convey an image of strength and health. These characters were likely given traits that were considered to be conventionally attractive during this time period, such as light, even colored skin and a masculine, muscular physique. For example, in the artist Nikolai Kogout's poster, "We Destroyed the Enemy with Weapons, We'll Earn Our Bread with Labour - Comrades, Roll Up Your Sleeves for Work," there are a man and a woman illustrated working together to shape a piece of metal on an anvil.⁶ They are both wearing working attire, such as aprons and work boots, and are likely meant to be a representation of ideal members of the Russian working class. Despite their gender differences, the characters are similar in height and build. Both of their arms seem to have heavily defined muscles, and their jaw lines are pronounced as well. The characters are standing on either side of a hammer and sickle that is crossed in front of the anvil that they are working on, and the man is standing to the right of three bayonets that are unnaturally suspended upright.⁷ All of these objects, and specifically the hammer and sickle, were symbols that indicated their alliance with the Bolshevik party and support for the revolution. The man and woman in this poster are meant to motivate the Russian working class people to continue in their efforts to support the Bolshevik state by creating a connection between healthy, strong bodies and the laborious work involved in creating tools and weapons needed to continue the Bolshevik war effort. The production of weapons, and specifically guns, was essential for the Bolshevik government in the civil war due to their shortage of rifles. Unarmed Russian soldiers during World War I were frequently forced to wait in the trenches until "their comrades were killed or wounded and their rifles became available."⁸ The inhumane conditions and high mortality rate due to the lack of weapons and provisions for Russian soldiers during this time were a major causation for the uprising against the Tsar. Soviet workers therefore had to continue working diligently in the weapons industry to make up for the shortage of weapons under Tsarist

⁶ Nikolai Kogout, "We Destroyed the Enemy with Weapons, We'll Earn Our Bread with Labour - Comrades, Roll Up Your Sleeves for Work," 1919. in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 19.

⁷ Kogout, "Roll Up Your Sleeves for Work," 19.

⁸ Rex A. Wade, *The Russian Revolution, 1917* (Fairfax: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 18.

government in order to protect the Bolshevik war effort and prevent further uprisings from disillusioned soldiers.

An emphasis on masculinity and strength was a common theme in early Bolshevik propaganda when attempting to create loyalty to the new Soviet state. The illustrator Alexander Apsit follows a similar direction as Kogout in his poster “The Workers and the Peasants Are Wiping Out the Lords and Barons, While the Workers on the Homefront are Helping to Till the Land. Long Live the Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasants,” where a man and woman are standing side by side, again holding tools: a scythe and a sickle.⁹ Both of these characters, despite being represented in a different artistic style than those created by Kogout, share many of the same traits depicted in the poster described above. The man and woman in Apsit’s poster were created with thick lines drawn to represent their chins and jawlines, prominent brows and short haircuts. Their limbs are long and muscular, and are positioned in order to draw attention to the tools that they have in their hands. The man is pointing over the woman’s head with his right hand, presumably to the blade of the scythe that she is holding, while holding a sickle in his left.¹⁰ The woman in Apsit’s poster is holding the scythe with her right hand positioned high on the snath, nearly touching the knob of the blade, with her other arm extended out and disappearing behind the man’s back at her elbow.¹¹ The positioning of her right hand on the top of the scythe is an incorrect way to hold a scythe when one is attempting to use it. Apsit therefore made this choice in order to again draw attention to the tool, and emphasize its importance in the poster, by making the woman’s arm and the blade of the scythe the highest point on the illustration. Aside from a lack of weapons, the Soviet government also faced a shortage of grain in markets and cities that was exacerbated by the redistribution of farmland under Lenin.¹² Large grain producers and

⁹ Alexander Apsit, “The Workers and the Peasants Are Wiping Out the Lords and Barons, While the Workers on the Homefront are Helping to Till the Land. Long Live the Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasants,” 1919. in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Nina Ivanovna Baburina. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 18.

¹⁰ Apsit, “Long Live the Alliance,” 18.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Wade, *The Russian Revolution, 1917*, 270.

wealthy landowners, prior to the social revolution, were the primary source of grain sold in the marketplace.¹³ The radical change in land ownership that Lenin enacted upon his seizure of power caused a disruption in the market that caused greater food shortages for an already starved population. As a result, Apsit used the lines created by the characters' arms to draw attention to the scythe in order to emphasize the importance of the production of grain to the Soviet population and the Bolshevik government. Encouraging peasants to work hard in their fields by connecting the scythe to two healthy Soviet characters was the only way that the Bolshevik government could boost production of grain to combat the existing famine without stultifying themselves by returning land to the private companies.

The messages displayed in the Bolshevik posters were not limited to encouragement of the people to come together and work for the good of the nation. One could potentially dismiss the emphasis on muscular structure and masculine traits that are used when creating Bolshevik characters as an artistic choice if it wasn't for the way that enemies of the Bolshevik state were depicted alongside them. In the poster "Crush Capitalism or be Crushed by it," illustrator Viktor Deni creates two side by side images that epitomize the view that the Bolshevik party had of those who did not subscribe to its ideals. Deni created a dichotomy in this poster between the Bolshevik supporters and their detractors by creating a Soviet hero and a capitalist monstrosity.

On the left of Deni's poster is a man created in a similar fashion to those illustrated by Apsit and Kogout. His body is mostly covered by his red, long sleeved shirt, pants and boots, but Deni still emphasizes his muscular structure through the details in his neck. His face is similar to the other characters created as representations of the ideal Russian people during this time period, with a heavily defined jawline and prominent brow.¹⁴ However, instead of holding a working tool, he is holding a red flag¹⁵ in one hand and a bayonet in the other. He is standing triumphantly on

¹³ Wade, *The Russian Revolution, 1917*, 270.

¹⁴ Victor Deni, "Crush Capitalism or be Crushed by it," 1919. in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Nina Ivanovna Baburina. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 4.

¹⁵ Red flags and banners had been used during the Russian Revolution as a symbol for groups standing in protest against the Tsar and his regime. In this poster, and many others, the red flag

top of another human figure who appears to be well dressed, morbidly overweight and has a clawed hand with a ring on each finger,¹⁶ similarly to the way that a hunter would stand over his downed prey. This image seems to be emphasizing the heroism of the revolutionary character by combining the healthy ideal man with a symbols of the revolution instead of those of the working class. Deni created the ideal Soviet hero in this poster by appealing to the Soviet public's desire to create a functioning socialist system that could provide them with the supplies necessary to maintain healthy bodies. His triumphant stance over the downed, overweight figure emphasizes the idea of Soviet supremacy over seemingly larger enemies. Deni suggests in this poster that the Soviet people could attain this type of victory through the use of violence and through its alliance with the Bolshevik regime, as indicated by the flag and bayonet.

On the second image in Deni's poster, to the right of the first, the roles of the characters have been switched. The once strong revolutionary hero is now under the feet of an animalistic humanoid being. The hero's face, which was once a symbol of impeccable health and strength, has now been drawn with hollow, darkened cheekbones and deep set, closed eyes.¹⁷ Deni uses heavy shadowing on the hero's eyes and cheeks in order to suggest that his health has depleted drastically in his position under the other character. The man standing on top of the hero is the overweight man that was originally beneath him. Each of his fingers is tipped with a sharp claw. He has bulging eyes, a pink, upturned nose and large, misshapen ears. Along with his bulging belly and fat, stubby legs, the back of his neck is wide, wrinkled and hairy, and his double chin is tucked firmly into his chest as he looks down at the hero.¹⁸ These exaggerations, when compared to the ones used to create Bolshevik characters, are the opposite of what the Bolsheviks have attempted to convey as the ideal person. The well dressed character is the embodiment of gluttony, stripping away the health of the Soviet hero as he looms above him. He is given animalistic qualities in order to further demonize his violence against the Soviet hero, removing any doubt that he is a representation of the true enemy of the Soviet people. Deni indicates that it was the actions of the grotesque beast

and red banner were hijacked and made into symbols of the Bolshevik regime rather than of the revolutionary movement.

¹⁶ Deni, "Crush Capitalism or be Crushed by it," 4.

¹⁷ Deni, "Crush Capitalism or Be Crushed by It," 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4

that have caused the hardships faced by the Soviet people rather than the actions of the Bolshevik government.

The monstrous character's connection to wealth, and therefore capitalism, is conveyed through his clothing. His top hat is decorated with yellow arches that would normally be seen on a crown. Around his belt is a golden chain, both a symbol of oppression and of great wealth in this case. He is dressed in a black suit, with shiny dress shoes and a black and white striped necktie.¹⁹ The detail in his clothing, combined with his grotesque appearance, is a strong indicator to the Russian people that this is who their enemy is. His animalistic features remove the image of humanity from the figure, and create a representation of the wealthy that is meant to evoke fear and disgust in its audience. Capitalists and members of other anti-Bolshevik groups were meant to seem grotesque when compared to the strong, healthy members of the new Soviet Republic. Deni's emphasis on the gross obesity of Capitalist regimes was essential for the Bolshevik government in order to support their relatively radical ideas of the time period. Many of the independent Russian nations that surrounded Soviet territory rejected the ideas of the Bolshevik government in favor of a less radical socialist system. These groups, as a result, were able to gain the support of foreign, anti-Bolshevik countries consisting of the United States, Great Britain, France and other capitalist nations that were impacted by Russia's radical shift in government. Prior to the establishment of the Soviet Union, the Tsarist regime allowed Great Britain and France, among other western nations, to establish factories on Russian territory. During the socialist revolution under the Bolshevik government, control over these factories were taken from the private western companies and nationalized along with the rest of Russian industry.²⁰ This undoubtedly created tensions between the Bolsheviks and foreign governments due to the monetary loss of the foreign nations. In order to combat foreign, anti-Bolshevik influence and spread hatred among the Soviet public rather than pay reparations to the foreign governments, the Bolsheviks chose to demonize the capitalist systems as a whole by creating the animalistic caricatures seen in Deni's piece.

Themes of violence in Bolshevik posters were a common trope in not only the works of Deni, but in the works of several Soviet propaganda artists. Violence was glorified at the hands of the beautiful Soviet people, and demonized when committed by the demonic bourgeoisie. The

¹⁹ Ibid., 4

²⁰ Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War*. 45

bayonet became a symbol of the revolution in the Soviet poster, and characters that embody the Bolshevik ideal are the only people ever depicted with them. In Apsit's poster, "Rise and Defend Petrograd," a line of poorly dressed men with red starred hats stands in a line, each with a bayonet in hand to symbolize the unity of the common people and the Red Army.²¹ In Dimitri Moor's, "Have you Volunteered for the Red Army," a man dressed in red points to the viewer with a bayonet in his other hand, beckoning them to rise up to support the Bolshevik war effort against the White enemies.²² The association between the bayonet and the strong Soviet man is one of the most common elements of political posters during the civil war, which glorifies armed violence and resistance and encourages the masses to take up arms and defend the Soviet territory. These characters were created to be a call to action for the Soviet people. The disheveled men in Apsit's poster indicated that the Bolshevik government was attempting to appeal to any and all men of the Soviet public. Similarly, the recruiter in Moor's poster was meant to create a connection between any member of the the poster's audience and the character by fixing his gaze and outstretched arm directly at the viewers.

Other depictions of violence against the bourgeoisie include a barrage of cannon fire, bathed in a golden light from the rising sun in the background, approaching the grotesque representation Nicholas II in the artist Vladimir Fidman's poster "The Enemy is After Moscow - The Heart of Soviet Russia. The Enemy Must Be Destroyed. Onward Comrades!"²³ In Kocherin's "Now for Wrangle," where a line of comically small White generals and the Tsar are skewered on

²¹ Alexander Apsit, "Rise and Defend Petrograd!" 1918. in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Nina Ivanovna Baburina. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 6.

²² Dimitry Moor, "Have you Volunteered for the Red Army?" 1919. in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Nina Ivanovna Baburina. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 10.

²³ Vladimir Fidman, "The Enemy is After Moscow - The Heart of Soviet Russia. The Enemy Must Be Destroyed. Onward Comrades!" 1919, in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Nina Ivanovna Baburina. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 8.

a spear held by an oversized red soldier riding a horse.²⁴ The Bolshevik party seemed to be interested in continuing the trend of destroying capitalist regimes through armed uprisings, as seen in the October revolution, and encouraged their people to do the same. This heavy encouragement of violence was necessary to motivate the population to continue fighting in a war that would protect the Bolshevik state against counter revolution and globalize Bolshevik influence. Upon the overthrow of the provisional government, one of the major demands of the Russian people was that Russia end its involvement in World War I and attain peace for the nation. Although Lenin originally brought this demand to fruition by separating the Soviet union from the Great War, the commencement of the Civil War forced the Bolshevik government to mobilize their already exhausted forces. In order to prevent desertion or rebellion among the people, the Bolsheviks used these posters to convince the Soviet people to fight for a cause that they could believe in: the destruction of the anti-Bolshevik oppressors.

The violence depicted in these posters was not only encouraged through the depiction of violent acts, but also legitimized through the caricature and inhuman characteristics used to create the anti-Bolshevik characters. The characteristics that were commonly used to identify these people were often those associated with animals. Long, clawed fingernails and hair on knuckles resemble those of apes and other primates. In Deni's "Crush Capitalism or Be Crushed by It," and again in "Each Blow of the Sledgehammer is a Blow against the Enemy," where a man is raining bullets down onto another grotesque, well dressed caricature. Deni created caricatures with pink, upturned noses and drastically overweight bodies that resemble those of pigs.²⁵ This tactic was used to dehumanize the anti-Bolshevik people. This association between anti-Bolsheviks and animals was made in an attempt to devalue the lives of other humans and reduce them to an animalistic level. Pig-like qualities were frequently given to characters that depicted members of capitalist nations in order to associate them with animals that would likely be slaughtered for the

²⁴ Nikolai Kochergin, "Now for Wrangle!" 1920. in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Nina Ivanovna Baburina. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 17.

²⁵ Viktor Deni, "Each Blow of the Sledgehammer is a Blow against the Enemy," 1919. in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Nina Ivanovna Baburina. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 26.

benefit of others. Ideally, it would be easier for the Soviet people to ruthlessly fight against and kill an enemy if they were made out to be subhuman, and this was precisely the message the the Bolsheviks were attempting to convey.

In some of his less subtle works, Apsit takes the dehumanization of Bolshevik enemies to an extreme degree. In his poster “The Resolute Brothers,” Apsit combines perceived enemies of the Bolshevik state with the body of a giant serpent. The monster in the poster has the long, green body of a snake, with five heads in the place of the serpent’s face. At the base of the monster, a small group of presumably red army soldiers attempts to fight back against it. Many of the men are laying on the ground, possibly dead, while others attempt to fight against the monster around them.²⁶ The serpent’s heads are a mixture of animalistic or monstrous figures, featuring fangs, bulging green eyes and each of them have different degrees of human characteristics. Three of the monsters’ heads are topped with crowns, and another crown lays on the floor near the base of the monster. The head in the center of the row of 5 has no monstrous characteristics but is dead. He has blood on his right eye and on the right side of his head, possibly indicating bludgeoning damage, and he is also wearing a crown. The crown on the monster’s middle-most head is broken on the upper right corner and has a Globus Cruciger on top of it, which was frequently depicted on crowns worn by Nicholas II.²⁷ The heads to the right of him are also dead; likely killed by bludgeoning damage.²⁸ The presence of crowns on each of the surviving heads, and their proximity to Nicholas II’s head suggests that this monster is a representation of the members of the Tsarist regime.

Standing in front of the serpent is a male character that bears uncanny resemblance to the hero from Deni’s poster, “Crush Capitalism or be Crushed by It.” He has the same clothing, short, dark hair, and is positioned with one foot propped up on the monster’s snake-like body. He is holding a spiked mace in both hands, positioning himself to strike one of the monster’s heads.²⁹ It appears that the Soviet hero has successfully bludgeoned three of the monster’s heads to death,

²⁶ Alexander Apsit, *The Resolute Brothers*, 1919. 1919. in *The Bolshevik Poster*, by Steven White. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 34.

²⁷ Apsit, “The Resolute Brothers,”

²⁸ *Ibid.*,

²⁹ *Ibid.*,

and plans to slay the beast in order to protect the small people below him. This juxtaposition of the soviet hero and the five headed serpent is an extreme example of the message that Apsit, and other Bolshevik poster artists, was attempting to convey to the Soviet people. The Bolshevik government and their propaganda artists believed that enemies of the Bolshevik party were monsters or animals that were only interested in destroying the Russian people. The only option for salvation offered in these posters was through the absolute destruction of these enemies. By connecting the Soviet hero from Deni's poster, which became a popular trope character for Soviet propaganda works, with the Tsar and other members of Russia's ruling class Apsit suggests that the Soviet heroes are responsible for the overthrow of the Tsarist regime and therefore the liberation of the Russian people. Apsit suggests that violence against the Tsar and his supporters was a necessity for the protection of the Soviet people during the revolutionary period, and was still essential for the Soviet hero to succeed during the civil war. By naming themselves the true victors of the revolution in this way, the Bolshevik government would have been able to gain greater support from Soviet citizens who had previously supported the revolution. The violence that became an integral part of the struggle against the Tsarist regime, according to Apsit, needed to be translated to protect the new Soviet nation from the white oppressors.

In order to promote support for their party, the Bolshevik leaders tried to push the Russian people to embrace their agenda and encouraged violence against anyone who refused through the use of political propaganda. They created a dichotomy between the strong, superior Bolshevik supporters and the seemingly subhuman, monstrous enemies of the Bolshevik state by emphasizing the positive characteristics of Russian workers and revolutionaries while caricaturing and giving animalistic qualities to representations of White leaders and members of the Tsarist regime. These posters glorified Bolshevik supporters and dehumanized anti-Bolsheviks in order to encourage extreme violence against anyone who refused to align themselves with the Bolshevik regime.

As extreme as the dehumanization of an entire group of people seems, it is not a strategy that was unique to the Russian civil war or the Bolshevik party. This is a popular tactic used by governments and political factions in a variety of cultures and countries. The Nazi party in Germany took a similar approach when they began associating the Jewish people with vermin prior to the holocaust in order to suggest the need for their extermination. In the United states, political cartoons used racially based caricature to push an anti-immigration agenda throughout the 19th and

early 20th century, where the Chinese were depicted as locus and the Irish were given ape-like facial features.³⁰ Dehumanizing a population, as seen in the early Soviet Republic and other countries like it, is a tactic that is used to push political agendas on an international scale. In order to prevent further divisions between different demographics of people, it is essential for consumers to think critically about what messages are being conveyed through graphic media, rather than subscribe blindly to the demeaning and inherently violent messages that may be distributed by their government.

³⁰ Keller, George F. "The Troublesome Children" 1881. Print. In "The Wasp's "Troublesome Children": Culture, Satire, and the Anti-Chinese Movement in the American West." by Hall, Nicholas Sean. (California History 90, no. 2, 2013) 48.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41936500>.



Kochergin, Nikolai. Now For Wrangel!



Deni, Viktor. Crush Capitalism or Be Crushed By It.



Deni, Viktor. Each Blow of the Sledgehammer is a Blow Against the Enemy.



Apsit, Alexander. Rise and Defend Petrograd.



Apsit, Alexander. The Resolute Brothers



Fidman, Vladimir. The Enemy is After Moscow..

Bibliography:

- Apsit, Alexander. "Rise and Defend Petrograd!" 1918. Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 6.
- Apsit, Alexander. *The Resolute Brothers*. Colored Lithograph, 1919. in *The Bolshevik Poster*, by White, Steven. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988, page 34
- Apsit, Alexander. "The Workers and the Peasants Are Wiping Out the Lords and Barons, While the Workers on the Homefront are Helping to Till the Land. Long Live the Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasants," 1919. Color Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 18.
- Deni, Viktor. "Crush Capitalism or Be Crushed by It!" 1919. Color Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 4.
- Deni, Viktor. "Each Blow of the Sledgehammer is a Blow against the Enemy" 1920. Color Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 26.
- Duiker, Sjoerd, "Mowing with a Scythe," PennState Extension, May 1, 2012. Accessed January 27th, 2018. <https://extension.psu.edu/mowing-with-a-scythe>

Fidman, Vladimir. "The Enemy is After Moscow - The Heart of Soviet Russia. The Enemy Must Be Destroyed. Onward Comrades!" 1919. Color Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 8.

Keller, George F. "The Troublesome Children" 1881. Print. In "The Wasp's "Troublesome Children": Culture, Satire, and the Anti-Chinese Movement in the American West." by Hall, Nicholas Sean. *California History* 90, no. 2 (2013): 42-76.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41936500>.

Kochergin, Nikolai. "Now for Wrangel!" 1920. Color Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 17.

Kogout, Nikolai. "We Destroyed the Enemy with Weapons, We'll Earn Our Bread with Labour - Comrades, Roll Up Your Sleeves for Work," 1919 Colour Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 19.

Lenin, Vladimir. *Revolution at the Gates*. Ed. Slavoj Zizek London: Verso, 2002.

Mawdsley, Evan. *The Russian Civil War*. Winchester: Allen & Unwin, Inc. 1987.

Moor, Dimitry. "Have you Volunteered for the Red Army?" 1919. Color Lithograph. (Moscow, Literary-Publishing Department of the RVSР Political Administration). in *The Soviet Political Poster, 1917/1980: From the USSR Lenin Library Collection* by Baburina, Nina Ivanovna. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985, page 10.

Men and Monsters: Characters of Political Posters During the Russian Civil War

White, Stephen. *The Bolshevik Poster*. New Haven: Yale University, 1988.

**Appealing the Draft during World War I:
An Issue of Race, Ethnicity, and or Class?**

Isabella Diaz
Jonathan Eacott – HIST 197 – Winter 2019

Prior to America's declaration of war against Germany on 6 April 1917, American men had already begun to volunteer with foreign forces and volunteer agencies overseas. But once the US officially entered the war, only about 73,000 volunteered for the Army short on the millions Wilson and his administration expected. In response, the Wilson administration proposed, and Congress enacted, the Selective Service Act on 18 May 1917, which initiated a draft to raise an army and a sense of patriotic duty and loyalty. In doing so, the federal government decentralized and moderately privatized the entire process of registering and drafting men by having the state districts and officials administer the draft. Unfortunately, not every American male looked forward to conscription, and many appealed for exemptions to the draft. Most however, did not meet the requirements for exemptions as established based by the local district boards. In viewing appeals from different districts within Southern California at the time of the draft, there seems to have been a general pattern amongst agricultural laborers in Southern California who were denied with little explanation as to why. For this reason, it can be inferred that the petitions of possible immigrant men in Southern California who appealed and were denied a discharge for failing to meet the exemption requirements shows that there could be a possibility that race, class, and or ethnicity could have played a role in influencing the local districts' decisions.

Although President Wilson saw that there was a need for the United States to enter the war, he had earlier promised the American people during his 1916 re-election that the United States would remain neutral. The country therefore needed a significant amount of persuasion in order to support the war effort. Toward that end, the Wilson administration developed a series of propaganda campaigns, stressing the patriotic duty of all Americans to back the war effort.¹

World War I was one of the first wars that used mass media and propaganda to alter popular viewpoints of the war. The newly created Committee on Public Information (CPI) used several forms of media to drum up support for the war effort. In addition to public speaking tours, newspapers, and productions of war films the CPI produced propaganda posters designed to inspire Americans to serve their country by trumpeting the importance of patriotism and

¹ Keith, Jeanette. "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance, 1917-1918: Class, Race, and Conscription in the Rural South." *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 4 (2001): 1337. doi:10.2307/2674731.

nationalism. One propaganda poster in particular became the epitome of US military recruitment even to this day. J.M. Flagg created the “I Want You” poster based on a similar poster, replacing the original British Lord Kitchener’s with Uncle Sam. Unfortunately, Uncle Sam could not persuade those Americans who were reluctant to enlist in the army.

As a result of low enlistment, the Wilson administration and Congress decided to authorize a draft for the war effort rather than rely on voluntary enlistment. Before the US entered the war the Army and the National guard combined were not sufficient enough to fight a major war. By America’s entry in April 1917, the Navy and Army had only about 378,707 men, which was still not enough men. Therefore in May 1917, Congress “authorized the selective draft of all male citizens those between 21 and 31 years of ages and prohibited all forms of bounties, substitutions, or purchase of exemptions.”² The federal government had left the administration of the draft to Provost Marshal General Enoch Crowder, who then oversaw state officials and member of the local boards who issued the draft calls in order of the numbers that were drawn in the national lottery and who also determined exemptions. Draft eligibility was based on Classes (categories) I-IV, and members of Class I (men between the ages of 21 and 30) were chosen in the first registration. Unfortunately, because the number of men registered at this point in time, about 10 million, was still deemed inadequate, the age ranges were increased and exemptions were reduced, even though it was somewhat difficult to be exempt in the first place.³ Nevertheless even after the Selective Service Act was passed, a disappointing number of men came forward.

Plainly, some men who would be drafted to fight the war did not want to be involved in it. That is not to say that some men and American people did not outright support the war because there was also a significant amount of support to enter it as well. By 1915, according to historian John Chambers, some Americans were paying close attention to what was going on in Europe and were beginning to support what they thought was the inevitability of the US entering

² "Nbranker." The Purple Heart Foundation. August 04, 2017. Accessed February 19, 2019. <https://purpleheartfoundation.org/2017/08/04/100-years-later-the-selective-service-act-of-1917/175/>.

³ North, Diane M. T. *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2018), 45.

into the war.⁴ Some Americans were in support of the “Preparedness Movement” which focused on strengthening the might of the American military and generally did not support entering the war on the side of Germany, thanks to Germany’s submarine warfare and its atrocities in Belgium. Yet, the American people did not fully support the actual installment of the draft and some did not support the First World War. Behind the patriotic spectacle that was staged by war mobilization are the records of resistance.

The very existence of the draft was unpopular among American men who resented being involuntarily conscripted for service. According to the research I have done in regards to Southern Californian agricultural laborers appealing to the draft, not very many exemptions were approved for because they did not meet the requirements outlined in Section 4 of the Selective Service Act. The appeals that I have found from agricultural laborers were filed in five counties in Southern California—Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Mariposa—and were forwarded to President Wilson. Although these appeals are titled “Appeals to the President of the United States,” one can assume from looking at these claims that President Wilson rarely, if at all, personally looked at them as it clearly states on these forms that Provost General oversaw the process, letting state officials and local board districts to judge whether or not someone should be excused from service.⁵ Whether or not President Wilson actually looked judgement on these appeals, the local draft board districts certainly did. But some important questions remained answered: to what extent did the local boards base their judgement for these appeals and was there more in their decision making besides what was provided in the appeal?

Five counties in Southern California sent in over 20,000 appeals to local draft board districts. I have only looked at 80 of the appeals but very few men received an exemption. The majority of the appeals that I have closely looked at were filed under the claim of “Agricultural” means, and Section 4 under the Selective Service Act stated that discharge from service would only be considered under extreme hardship, which required that the registrant be the only sole

⁴ Chambers, John Whiteclay. *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America*. (New York: Free Pr. U.a., 1987), 211.

⁵ War Department, Office of the Provost Marshal General, Selective Service System, California—Southern, 1917-7/15/1919 Appeals to the President, 1917-1918, Record of the Selective Service System World WI, Record Group 163 National Archives at Riverside[NARA], CA.

income with dependent children, siblings, and/ or spouse.⁶ The language did not mean that they could not take other things into consideration. Although the local boards needed to determine discharges based on the Selective Service Act, they likely sometimes took into consideration the petitioners' class, race, and/ or ethnicity?

Consider this petition of Charles H. Traub, whom the Los Angeles district board denied. The first page of the appeal outlines the appeal number, the claim for which the appeal was made, the date of the decision, the district that reviewed it, and then the Provost Marshal General's stamp of approval. This registrant's claim was filed under "Agricultural" means. The second page of the appeal provides notes conducted by the local district board of the registrant's occupation, marital/family status, age and as well as other information. In Traub's case, his claim was denied because he was engaged in "general farming and raising grains with his three brothers".⁷ With section 4 of the Act in mind, the local board denied Traub's claim because he has three brothers who were not dependent of him. The case also provides that his brothers were currently not enrolled in the draft, but from the board's notes, it looks like they soon would be.

There is much, however, that this appeal fails to provide, and this shows us that the board did not really know that much about the petitioner. For instance, there is no mention of Traub's ethnicity, race, class, or age and one cannot really imagine picture how the board could have based their decision on so little information. The investigation also fails to mention if Traub was working on a ranch as an employee or if he himself owned the ranch with his brothers. With certain pieces of information missing, I then focused on the date that the decision was made and tried to see what other information could have influenced the decision making. The date of the decision was made in December 1917, five months after the Selective Service Act was enacted and four months after the first draft registration. The US also declared war on Austria-Hungary on December 7, 1917 at the same time that the US began shipping large numbers of men to the Western front.

With this in mind, the board likely did not approve men for discharge because of the pressing need for more troops to be sent to Europe, but did it decide on nationality or not?

⁶ "Nbranker." The Purple Heart Foundation. August 04, 2017. Accessed February 19, 2019. <https://purpleheartfoundation.org/2017/08/04/100-years-later-the-selective-service-act-of-1917/175/>.

⁷ Provost Marshall General; Appeals to the President, 1917-1918; RG 163; NARA, CA

Because the last name “Traub” is of German origin, Charles could possibly have been a German immigrant, understandably uneasy about fighting against his home country. Ultimately, we cannot tell why the board rejected Traub’s petition, but it did so on the basis of very little information.

Another registrant was also denied an exemption under the claim “Agricultural,” but this time we have a little more information about the nature of the resident’s background and occupational status. According to the Orange County board, Henry Fielding Martin had been recently married to a widow, worked on a ranch “at present,” and has four brothers working on the ranch as well.⁸ There he helped raise beans and oranges, had not been working for very long at the ranch, which may have been a stable or not business. The board eventually decided that Martin’s labor on this ranch could be replaced by one of his four brothers and his new widow and step-daughter. According to section 4 of the Selective Service Act, the only way that a registrant was to be excused was if they were a vital source of income for their dependents; however, it was also stated in the appeal that the investigator thought that the “registrant attempted to evade the draft by marriage.”⁹ He might have been, but the fact remains that he was denied an exemption even though he technically fit the requirements. Why was he still denied a discharge for service? Although the case does not provide any information about the registrant’s race, ethnicity, or class, I can infer that he could have been an immigrant because his surname is of European origin. After all the notes of the investigation mentioned that the registrant had not lived in the US for very long. Perhaps that was the reason why. Although the registrant technically met the requirements, the board denied his request anyway. The board’s reasoning, was clear enough. He was an immigrant, the State needed the manpower. Besides, the experience would help Americanize immigrants.

On January 19, 1918, the Mariposa County draft board denied the request of Stephen Cuneo, a livestock rancher and grain farmer for an exemption. The notes from the investigation noted that the registrant “is the sole owner of 250 cattle, 600 acres for grazing, owns 3,000 acres for barley and oats, and that he has been engaged in farming and cattle raising for many years.”¹⁰

⁸ Provost Marshall General; Appeals to the President, 1917-1918; RG 163; NARA, CA

⁹ Provost Marshall General; Appeals to the President, 1917-1918; RG 163; NARA, CA

¹⁰ Provost Marshall General; Appeals to the President, 1917-1918; RG 163; NARA, CA

In short, unlike Martin, he was just a local immigrant. But he was Italian, and his relatives and brothers lived on the ranch with him, collectively engaged in “a sole enterprise for market”. The investigator, however, was suspicious about whether or not the registrant was really in the business of semi-subsistence agriculture or was really moving toward mass market production for the war effort. Because the Mariposa county local board could not come to a conclusion just based on this first investigation, they asked for another one. The second investigation found that Cuneo had purchased the property when he and his family arrived in the United States and was not collectively owned. Ultimately, the local board concluded that the registrant’s two brothers were fit enough to run the business without him. Furthermore the yield of the business did not meet the standards for mass production as the business needed to prove that it could generate “an appreciable amount of agricultural produce over and above what is necessary for the maintenance of those living on the place” but Cuneo plainly did not do so.¹¹ Stephen Cuneo was denied an exemption for service and was sent to camp because the board stated, he “would benefit fighting in a patriotic war.”¹²

Benefit fighting in a patriotic war? Why would the local board mention that as part of their conclusion in reviewing an exemption case? The previous appeals examined in this paper did not mention or really allude to the registrant’s origin or ethnicity, but there was one appeal, that of Mr. Martin, that cited that they had not lived in the states for very long. This appeal for Cuneo, however, contained a lot more information than previous appeals that were dated in 1917. His appeal was dated January 1918 when even more US troops would be sent to reinforce the Western front which the Allies desperately needed in order to try to push back the German forces there. But in Cuneo’s case, the local board district plainly took into account his background and recent immigrant status.

Granted the Wilson administration had instructed the local boards to follow the requirements under the Selective Service Act, which did not include taking other factors into account such as class, race, and/ or ethnicity. Yet Nancy Ford argues it was very easy for local draft boards to also base their decisions on social class and/ or race because they had the

¹¹ Keith, Jeanette. "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1346.

¹² Provost Marshall General; Appeals to the President, 1917-1918; RG 163; NARA, CA

capability and power to do so.¹³ The poorest of men were also the most conscripted because they were considered to be part of the least skilled labor force that was not needed on the home front and would be sent to the war front as soldiers. More than often, some local draft boards had a habit of approving exemptions for sons of wealthy bankers and ranchers as they were bribed with political favoritism and financial gain.¹⁴ Class was not the only factor that seems to have been taken into account; race and ethnicity were also taken into consideration, albeit under the radar. About half a million immigrants were drafted into the armed forces which allowed for the Americanization of foreign born soldiers during WWI. These foreign born soldiers were a part of the largest group of immigrants that arrived in the US at the time and sending them to war would help instill American patriotism and loyalty.¹⁵ The military tried to do so by showing a significant amount of respect for their ethnic values and traditions in order to keep the morale up for immigrant troops and ultimately push them to blend into the larger American society. Which brings us back to the question of whether or not the local boards took into account race, ethnicity, or class when considering discharges for the draft. Was this the case?

In viewing World War I through the lens of conscription, it becomes plain that there was a significant amount of opposition to the war. When one learns about WWI, the narrative of overwhelming American support to join and fight the war usually receives more attention. This patriotic narrative often overshadows the fact that the Wilson government had to minister a draft to fill the ranks, which produced a significant amount of resistance. After the passing of the Selective Service Act, local board districts were tasked to initiate draft calls and review exemptions for more than 4.8 million men who were issued draft summons. However, there is also a significant amount of evidence that suggests that the local boards did take into account a registrant's class, race, and ethnicity in the decision making as most registrants who filed for discharges and who were denied in Southern California were immigrants and agricultural laborers. Of the 20,000 appeals and the 80 that I viewed from Southern California, the majority of the men who filed for exemptions were denied. The investigations done for the appeals provided in this paper offered very minute information in regards to the registrant's class, race,

¹³ Ford, Nancy. *Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I*. (Texas A & M Univ Pr, 2009,) 58.

¹⁴ Keith, Jeanette. "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance," 1347.

¹⁵ Ford, Nancy. *Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I*, 13.

or ethnicity; however, reading against the grain one can infer that local board districts did dabble in basing their decisions in these matters. Who is to say that this was not the case across the nation?

Appealing the Draft in Southern California during World War I: an Issue of Race, Ethnicity, and/or Class?

Bibliography

"Nbranker." The Purple Heart Foundation. August 04, 2017. Accessed February 19, 2019.

<https://purpleheartfoundation.org/2017/08/04/100-years-later-the-selective-service-act-of-1917/175/>

Chambers, John Whiteclay. *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America*. New York: Free Pr. U.a., 1987.

Ford, Nancy. *Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I*. Texas A & M Univ Pr, 2009.

Keith, Jeanette. "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance, 1917-1918: Class, Race, and Conscription in the Rural South." *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 4 (2001): 1337. doi:10.2307/2674731.

North, Diane M. T. *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2018.

War Department, Office of the Provost Marshal General, Selective Service System, California—Southern, 1917-7/15/1919 Appeals to the President, 1917-1918 Record of the Selective Service System WWI, Record Group 163 National Archives at Riverside, CA.

**The Salem Witch-Hunt:
17th Century Puritan Bonds on Trial**

Rebecca Simpson
Alexander Haskell – HIST 197 – Fall 2018

In February of 1693, Samuel Parris levied accusations of witchcraft against three local women after becoming alarmed at the strange behavior of his young daughter and niece. From there, the accusations spread from Salem, Massachusetts into neighboring communities and churches in New England until around 150 people were accused, questioned, or imprisoned due to witchcraft accusations and investigations.¹ Much of the fear that the Salem witch trials elicited centered on the disruption of interpersonal ties that seventeenth century English settlers viewed as sacrosanct.

When John Winthrop and a group of Puritans established Massachusetts in 1630, they set out to establish a godly commonwealth. In the seventeenth century, commonwealth was envisioned as a set of consensual bonds, or relationships between inhabitants, which created a community with reciprocal duties to be fulfilled. These ties were both temporal and spiritual, linking colonists and government, neighbor to neighbor, family members to one another, and finally, people to God. They were envisioned as fragile, which often led to fear of revolt and anxiety about frontier areas where the bonds were imagined to be stretched to their limit.² In the course of the Salem witch trials, accused witches were questioned regarding their behavior towards neighbors, family members, and their lack of church activity. Each of these lines of questioning ultimately dealt with one thing: the bonds that tenuously connected each member of the community to one another. One of these ties, which became a common subject of interrogation, was the accused witch's connection to the church. In at least twenty-nine of the eighty-two extant examinations of the accused witches, the court questioned their fidelity to the church and, in turn, with God himself. The fear of broken ties manifests itself throughout the trials repeatedly with the courts scrutinizing the appearances of Christian fidelity in their examinations of the accused. The bond between the church

¹ Bernard Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 23.

² Alexander B. Haskell, "Frontier Politics, Providentialism, and "Hobbism" in Bacon's Rebellion." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, (2018), 3.

and the inhabitants of Massachusetts was an integral one, to the point that some lost their lives for appearing to abandon it.

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, a generalized sense of anxiety gripped the New England colonies. These anxieties came from a concern about ensuring that the bonds within society held sure, even during rough patches of the commonwealth. Massachusetts remained without a legal charter from England after the Dominion Regime ended in 1689.³ The Dominion Regime was a short-lived, centralized government installed by King James II that stripped the eight northern American colonies of their prior independence and charters.⁴ There were few forms of legal redress for issues between neighbors and no official legal system established in the post-Dominion years.⁵ This lack of judicature led to increasing animosity over seemingly simple matters like livestock or property lines. Even prior to 1689, the lack of equity in the Dominion courts led to a decrease in legal cases: with non-local magistrates overseeing the court system and equity not enforced, the colonists often felt justice had not been served.⁶ When the first accusations began in 1692 and a court was established to try the cases, witchcraft became an umbrella category that encompassed all anxieties that the colonists had been bottling up inside.⁷ Anxieties among neighbors, family members, and subversive members of society came to the fore and exploded into a rash of witchcraft accusations, simply because there was now a semblance of legal redress. The beginning stages of the Salem witch crisis exemplify this anxiety of ruptured or inverted bonds between people and society.

This widespread anxiety especially haunted communities with unsettled churches like Salem and Andover. Both communities had recently elected new

³ David Konig, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692*, (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 165.

⁴ Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America*, (New York, Penguin Books, 2001), 665.

⁵ Konig, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692*, 165.

⁶ *Ibid*, 163.

⁷ *Ibid*, 168.

ministers with similar education: both had recently attended Harvard and undoubtedly experienced similar training and instruction in supernatural matters. In 1682, the Andover church was experiencing widespread complaints about the location of their church and their longstanding minister, Frances Dane.⁸ The town of Andover was deeply split between the North End and the South End of the city due to tension over geography, ethnicity, and wealth.⁹ These tensions were made manifest within the church when Dane was accused of not carrying out his duties of conducting regular services. Thomas Barnard was elected to a co-ministerial position and given use of the parsonage, with a salary increase once Dane retired.¹⁰ Dane was also given instruction that he should “adopt a carriage of ‘tender loue and respect (forgetting all former disgusts).’”¹¹ By 1692, these tensions and anxieties had not been quelled. The outbreak of witchcraft accusations magnified the differences between the two men, as Dane abstained from the proceedings and Barnard actively participated by conducting touch tests and allowing full access to the Andover meetinghouse.¹² In 1689, Reverend Samuel Parris was elected to the Salem Village Church as their fourth minister since the church was established, just sixteen short years prior.¹³ Parris came to Salem under the guise of moderate Puritanism but quickly began to transition the church away from the Halfway Covenant and set out to purify the church of lukewarm attendees.¹⁴ His efforts were in vain, as attendance and application for membership dropped off: during 1692, the

⁸ Richard Latner, “‘Here Are No Newters’: Witchcraft and Religious Discord in Salem Village and Andover.” *The New England Quarterly*, Volume 79 (2006), 107.

⁹ *Ibid*, 106.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 108.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 107.

¹² *Ibid*, 109, 110.

¹³ *Ibid*, 94.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 99. The Halfway Covenant gave partial church membership to baptized adults and enabled those members’ children to be baptized into the church. This was a departure from the norm, which only allowed membership to those who made a public declaration of grace. Latner, “‘Here Are No Newters’: Witchcraft and Religious Discord in Salem Village and Andover,” 95.

first year of the witch crisis, no new members joined the church.¹⁵ The bonds between church ministry, the church, and the villagers were fraying and both Barnard and Parris realized that they couldn't stop the unraveling with fiery sermons alone.

Parris found a way to bring these frayed ties to the light after support for his hiring waned: accusing those who stood outside of the church of practicing witchcraft.¹⁶ What better way would demonstrate that the relationship between an individual and the church had broken than to levy an accusation of witchcraft? The first accusations of witchcraft came from Samuel Parris' own home and were signed by Thomas Putnam and his brother Deacon Edward Putnam.¹⁷ Indeed, the most avid witch hunters were members of Parris' congregation. When Parris was ordained, seventeen men signed the paperwork: of those men, thirteen testified against or formally complained against a witch during the witch crisis.¹⁸ Thomas Putnam, one of the most active witch hunters, was a long time member of Salem Village church. He played an integral role in the trials by preparing more successful depositions for trial than any other member of Salem Village.¹⁹ All stages of the trials were characterized by anxiety over broken or misaligned bonds and it becomes apparent from the outset, with the first two accusations against Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn, that the court had an interest in the connection between the church and the individual. During their examinations, both women were proved to have stood outside of the Salem Village Church after once attending faithfully.²⁰ These two exemplify the behavior that Parris was trying to eradicate in his congregation: lukewarm Christians whose bonds were not sure.

¹⁵ Ibid, 102.

¹⁶ Latner, "Here Are No Newtters': Witchcraft and Religious Discord in Salem Village and Andover," 101.

¹⁷ Ibid, 104.

¹⁸ Ibid, 104.

¹⁹ Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 30.

²⁰ Ibid, 127 - 136.

Witchcraft was seen as the ultimate fracture between the individual and the church because it went beyond simply breaking the bond: it involved forming another contract with allegiance to Satan. It was the complete opposite of faith and seen as the inversion of the commonwealth bonds. A witchcraft accusation and conviction carried a sentence of death in Massachusetts: it was not something the colony took lightly.²¹ Rebellion was also viewed as a broken bond and the Puritans were undoubtedly familiar with I Samuel 15:23: “Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.”²² During the English Civil War, a period viewed as the ultimate shattering of bonds, royalist preachers in England invoked this scripture against their opponents to demonstrate that rebellion against the king was diabolical.²³ The courts set out to prove witchcraft and rebellion through examining the commitment of the accused to the church, or God. Magistrates questioned the accused regarding their church attendance, their ability to recite scripture, and to a smaller extent, theological beliefs. When the court did not ask questions to determine the strength of the accused’s ties, the accused volunteered information to prove their connection to the church was sure. This concept of bonds and proving them was apparent enough that the accused knew what was actually on trial: allegiance to church, God, and commonwealth. Massachusetts was not only trying witches in the Court of Oyer and Terminer: they were trying those who deliberately, and rebelliously, stood outside of the church by abandoning their vow to the church and society as a whole.

The most visible sign of Puritans’ outward faith was church attendance and it is not surprising that this was the first to be put on trial. Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn were both questioned about their church attendance. Later, William Hobbs

²¹ Francis C. Gray, *Remarks on the Early laws of Massachusetts Bay, with the Code Adopted in 1641, and Called The Body Of Liberties, Now First Printed* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1843), 44

²² I Sam. 15:23 (King James Version)

²³ Peter Elmer, “Towards a Politics of Witchcraft in Early Modern England,” in *Languages of Witchcraft : Narrative, Ideology, and Meaning in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Stuart Clark (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001), 108.

and Rebecca Eames were also asked about their church attendance. Through the court's questioning, it becomes apparent that all four had abandoned their church attendance and were not attending regularly. Regular church attendance was a foregone conclusion for many of the Puritans, whether they were of the 'elect' or not, because it was a visible sign of their buttressing their fragile bonds. To the magistrates, these four accused already stood outside of Puritan norms by abandoning their church attendance. Samuel Parris had made much of church attendance in his Salem Village sermons, saying "those who resisted attending 'will of necessity heighten your sins by such neglects or omissions.'"²⁴ Parris not only saw absentees like Good, Osburn, Hobbs, and Eames as rank sinners but also as actively increasing their sin through neglecting the body of believers. Church attendance was tracked and watched carefully, as is especially apparent in the case of Sarah Osburn. During her examination, her husband and others state that she had not attended meeting in a year and two months: to have such a precise amount of time that could be easily called to reference indicates that church attendance was tracked with reasonable scrupulousness.

The importance of a visible manifestation of the accused's connection to the church becomes even more apparent in William Hobbs' case. The magistrates asked him flatly, "When were you at any Publick Religious meeting?"²⁵ He replied that he had not been in a "pretty while...because I was not well: I had a distemper that none knows." The justices, however, perceived Hobbs' devotional commitments as wanting, asking him, "What is the reason you go away when there is any reading of the Scripture in your house?"²⁶ Two witnesses, Nathaniel Ingersoll and Thomas Haines, attested that Abigail Hobbs, William Hobbs' daughter, told them that he left

²⁴ Latner, "Here Are No Newtters': Witchcraft and Religious Discord in Salem Village and Andover," 101.

²⁵ Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 215.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 215.

the house when scripture was read.²⁷ When he denied this charge, the court then asked whom he worshiped and where he worshiped: Hobbs replied that he

worshipped God in his heart.²⁸ The court's response to this was, "But God requires outward worship."²⁹ Hobbs' invisible bond to the church and God was not being made visible through his actions. The outward, personal practice of Christianity and outward, personal worship were an integral piece of Puritanism precisely because it solidified the fragile tie between sinful, fallen humanity and God. The Puritans of Massachusetts were comfortable with their government legislating, enforcing and trying their constituents' bonds -- even down to how to personally express worship --- because those reciprocal ties were integral to their society's composition.³⁰

While church attendance and outward worship were integral pieces of demonstrating fidelity to the church, they were not the only indicators of a sustained bond. In at least one case the court delved deeper: beyond superficial, outward commitments to fundamental beliefs that the accused held. Martha Cory began her examination by attempting to prove her connections to the church were sure, even before the magistrates began questioning her. She began by denying guilt, requesting to pray, and stating that she is a "Gospel Woman."³¹ Her repeated denials led to a series of questions, with the examination ending with Cory being asked about the nature of the Godhead. Her answer was that there is one God in three persons, which the examinant was not satisfied with.³² She was questioned further, regarding why she could not say "three blessed persons," but her response was lost.³³ In questioning Cory on the finer-grained theological points, the justices might have been thinking of the recent disputes between Puritans and other religious groups concerning the Godhead and the validity of the Trinity. Quakers, like those

²⁷ Ibid, 215.

²⁸ Ibid, 216.

²⁹ Ibid, 216.

³⁰ Leon Howard, *Essays on Puritans and Puritanism*, (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 31.

³¹ Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 143.

³² Ibid, 147.

³³ Ibid, 147.

who had visited Massachusetts in the 1650s and 1660s, interpreted the Trinity as a man-made construction with no foundations in the scriptures. This was William

Penn's contentious argument in *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, in 1668.³⁴ The fact that the court was not satisfied with Cory's answer signifies that her theological belief in this matter may have been at odds with the Salem Village Church. From the examination, it is clear that Martha Cory did not sufficiently prove that her bonds to the church had not wavered, despite her claims of being a gospel woman. There was no room for theological debate or differences within Samuel Parris' church.

A more basic way in which the court tested the accused's faith was by requiring them to repeat the Lord's Prayer during the examination. At least three accused were asked to repeat the Lord's Prayer verbatim: George Jacobs, Sr., Mary Clark, and John Willard. There is further evidence that suggests this tactic was used more frequently in Richard Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*. Calef included a statement from Jonathan (or Nathaniel) Cary, which stated: "The prisoners were...put upon saying the Lords Prayer, as a trial of their guilt."³⁵ Calef condemned utilizing this 'test' in witchcraft trials and stated that it was "to be abhorred and repented of" as a way to determine guilt in a witchcraft trial.³⁶ Calef likely condemned this test because if the accused witch failed, as was the case with John Willard, they were assumed to be guilty. Willard was unable to recite the Lord's Prayer, and after much frustration stated, "It is a strange thing, I can say it at another time. I think I am bewitched as well as they, & laught."³⁷ The magistrates did not share the humor and responded, "Do you not see God will not suffer you to pray to him? Are you not sensible of it? ...God will not suffer a Wizard to pray to him."³⁸ The court interpreted Willard's failure not as nerves or a failing memory but as a

³⁴ Penn, William, *The Sandy Foundation Shaken, or, Those so Generally Believed and Applauded Doctrines ... Refuted : from the Authority of Scripture Testimonies, and Right Reason*, (London, publisher not identified, 1668).

³⁵ Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 310.

³⁶ Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, (London, publisher not identified, 1700), 105.

³⁷ Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 288.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 288.

direct condemnation from God for breaking his bonds and forming new alliances. George Jacobs, Sr. was also asked to recite the Lord's Prayer and, unsurprisingly, was unable to. During the course of his examination, Jacobs stated that he could not read: he was illiterate. Despite his illiteracy, Jacobs did try to prove that he knew scripture and that his bond was secure by referencing the Passion of Christ, but the court was not convinced. Illiteracy was no excuse for not being able to successfully quote the Lord's Prayer because it was interpreted as God not suffering witches to pray to him.

Several of the accused attempted to prove their knowledge of the scripture throughout their examinations. Sarah Good referenced either Genesis 1:1 or scriptures from John 1 in her examination and also stated that she quoted Psalms and commandments throughout the day.³⁹ John Willard was accused of trying to preach during his examination, likely trying to prove his knowledge of the scriptures and the surety of his relationship with God.⁴⁰ Giles Cory, an elect member of the church, was not explicitly questioned about his connection with the church, but stated that he was living for God and dying to sin, which likely referenced Romans 6:11. Cory also mentioned prayer throughout his examination: prayer was just one more outward sign to the church and your family that your bond was secure.⁴¹ Rebecca Nurse, another devout church member, used Biblical language throughout her examination by referring to her Eternal Father and stating that she was born into sin and shaped in iniquity.⁴²⁴³ Knowledge of scripture was just one additional, visible way to prove to the court that you were actively improving your bond with the church by reciting or memorizing scriptures.

The first phase of the Salem witch crisis can be characterized by both the accused and court attempting to prove bonds to Christianity and the church. This changes during the second phase of the trials in Andover. The methods that the

³⁹ Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 127.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 289.

⁴¹ Ibid, 186.

⁴² Ibid, 186.

⁴³ Psalm 51:5 (KJV)

accused witches used to escape punishment or death during this phase are attempts to prove their rebellion and severed ties by renouncing their baptism and partaking in the Devil's Sacrament. At least sixteen of the forty-five examinations, indictments, or trial records in Andover include the accused and confessing witches as renouncing their baptism when they covenanted with the Devil: William Barker, Jr., Abigail Barker, Sarah Bridges, Rebecca Eames, Edward Farrington, Eunice Frye, Sarah Hawkes, Mary Lacy, Jr., Mary Osgood, Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., Elizabeth Johnson, Sr., Stephen Johnson, Mary Toothaker, Mary Tyler, Samuel Wardwell, Sr., and Mercy Wardwell. Many of the examinations from this phase include fantastical narratives with the Devil promising French shoes, happy days with family, and being queens in hell.⁴⁴ They also describe partaking in the Devil's Sacrament, which paralleled the sacrament of Communion in the Puritan church. Through describing this ceremony and their partaking of the sacrament, the Andover witches confirmed to the magistrates that they had not only forsaken their bond with God and church but had also covenanted with the Devil. Even further, they intimated that they were actively working against their previous bond with the church by partaking of a diabolical sacrament and actively proselytizing new witches. While all phases of the witch crisis include references to signing the Devil's book, which signified the creation of a new contract between the signer and the Devil, this imagery increases during the Andover phase. The accused were eager to prove that they had covenanted with Satan, were baptized by Satan, and were torturing other individuals in their community to capture their signature in the Devil's Book as well. The Andover witches were proving the ultimate rebellion: forsaking their bonds to the church, covenanting with Satan, and trying to pull other souls into Satan's snare.

Ultimately, these examinations and trials provide an interesting dichotomy between the letter of the law in Massachusetts and how it was enacted during the Salem witch crisis. Since practicing witchcraft carried a death sentence in Massachusetts, it seems odd that the Andover accused were so intent on proving

⁴⁴ Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, (New York, Cambridge, 2009), 574, 491, 475.

their rebellion and the reversal of their bonds in this way. The Andover witches were resolute in proving that they had allied themselves directly with Satan. This was a tenuous tack to take but by this time in the trials it was apparent that confessing witches were spared, while those that denied the charges were executed. For the confessing witches, proving their bond was broken served as their saving grace. When the accused witch was willing to accept the accusation that their contract with the church and society was broken, the court had mercy. The key was recognizing that the bond was broken and being willing to confess it in front of the court, perhaps reminiscent of James 5:16: “Therefore, confess your sins to one another and pray for one another, that you may be healed.”⁴⁵ The court’s departure from Massachusetts’s law doesn’t make sense until taking into account that religion played an integral role in the Salem witch crisis. This isn’t surprising: the very narrative that the trials were aimed at ferreting out witchcraft and contracts with the Devil can only be constructed by having the foils of faith and God. There can be no evil without good: the concepts play against one another. Similarly, there can be no bond to Satan, unless there was one to God and Christ that was broken. The court was less concerned with the actual religion of the witch, than with their outward practice of religion. What was on trial was not religion or witchcraft, but the bonds that tied the commonwealth together. The outward practice of religion demonstrated the strength of ties to the church, and more widely, the dogma of the colony.

It is human nature to examine tragedy and examine how it could have been prevented, how it can be avoided in the future, and how to deal with the fallout of the event. The Salem witch crisis is no different: it has captured the imagination of generations, precisely because the concept of punishing witchcraft with the finality of death is so foreign to a modern audience. The concept of bonds is not foreign to modernity, though they have been reframed as laws. Laws govern society’s interactions with one another and the government. They are a contract between the

⁴⁵ James 5:16 (English Standard Version).

individual and society and there are repercussions when those expectations are broken. Puritan New England was no different: the commonwealth required that one perform reciprocal duties or suffer the repercussions. By appearing to have broken their bonds with the church, the accused had broken their bond with society at large. This concept provides a new way to frame the Salem witch trials within the modern mind: they were less about witchcraft than they were about the visible bonds of the accused to their church, their God, and their society.

Bibliography

Calef, Robert. *More Wonders of the Invisible World*. London, publisher not identified, 1700.

Elmer, Peter. "Towards a Politics of Witchcraft in Early Modern England." In *Languages of Witchcraft : Narrative, Ideology, and Meaning in Early Modern Culture*, edited by Stuart Clark, 101-118. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001.

Gray, Francis C., *Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay, with the Code Adopted in 1641, and Called The Body of Liberties, Now First Printed*. Boston: Little and Brown, 1843. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.35112104872231>.

Haskell, Alexander, B., "Frontier Politics, Providentialism, and "Hobbism" in Bacon's Rebellion." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, 2018.

Howard, Leon. *Essays on Puritans and Puritanism*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Konig, David. *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692*. North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Latner, Richard. "'Here Are No Newtters': Witchcraft and Religious Discord in Salem Village and Andover." *The New England Quarterly* Volume 79, No 1, 2006.

Penn, William. *The Sandy Foundation Shaken, or, Those so Generally Believed and Applauded Doctrines ... Refuted : from the Authority of Scripture Testimonies, and Right Reason*. London: publisher not identified, 1668.

Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies: The Settling of North America*. New York, Penguin Books, 2001.

Rosenthal, Bernard, ed., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009.