

LEGACY

A Journal of Student Scholarship

Volume 5

2005



A Publication of the Sigma Kappa Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
& the Southern Illinois University Carbondale History Department

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Suzanne Reese

Ida Craddock: Spiritualist, Social Reformer, and Sex Therapist

Ida Craddock lived and worked during the later decades of the nineteenth century. Though little remembered for her courageous reform efforts, she played an important role in the spiritualist, sex reform, and free speech movements of her time. Craddock devoted the final nine years of her life to her own unique social calling, which combined elements of these movements. Craddock strove to lessen the disrespect, distress, disease, and bodily harm that was prevalent in nineteenth-century marriages due to a serious lack of information on sex. She combated this situation by providing men and women with information on human reproductive biology and the sexual process. Through a combination of lectures, counseling, pamphlets, and use of the mails, she disseminated this information to clients across the United States. Craddock's reform efforts were greatly valued by many Americans, but condemned by others, including Anthony Comstock and the Society for the Suppression of Vice. These conflicting responses to her work created the foundation of Craddock's career as a sex reformer. Despite conflicts with anti-obscenity laws, Craddock pursued her work with astounding dedication and courage.

Information on the life and work of Ida Craddock was collected by Theodore Schroeder, a free-speech advocate, in the early 1900s. Schroeder's interest in Craddock inspired him to carry out extensive research on her life and written works. When Schroeder began his research, he contacted a number of people who had been close to her. Through this correspondence, he was able to piece together a general picture of her life. This correspondence and his compilation of Craddock's letters, journals, and written works have been preserved as a Special Collection in Morris Library at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. The majority of my research on Craddock was conducted through the use of this collection, which is composed of her unpublished works, correspondence, journals, newspaper clippings, and various other materials. The collection provides a wide range of information and contains material from 1877 to 1902.

I used a combination of material from this collection to learn about the life and work of Craddock. I researched her journals, specifically her "Borderland Journal," which provided a first hand look into the mind of Craddock. Her journals contain an extensive amount of information on her spiritual life, and at times provide reflections on her past and work as a reformer. I also familiarized myself with her writings. Craddock wrote numerous works on sex instruction and reform. However, I focused primarily on the collection of letters sent to Craddock in request of her educational pamphlets. These letters dated from 1889 to 1902 and were sent by men, women, and doctors across the country.

Little information exists on Craddock's life before she began her reform career. In order to provide a history of her early years, I relied on both Schroeder's inquiries and references in Craddock's journals. Despite Schroeder's diligent work, some periods of her life remain unclear, but the necessary information is present.

Even though Ida Craddock rejected virtually all of her society's standards of female behavior, she was greatly influenced by the prevailing social trends of her time. During the later decades of the nineteenth century the United States was experiencing a tremendous amount of social, economic, and political change. The country was rapidly shifting, as industrialization boomed and immigration reached record numbers. The society of the later decades of the nineteenth century was still deeply concerned with issues of morality and proper social behavior. Prominent theories regarding the status of women followed the Victorian standard and assigned women the characteristics of "nurturance, intuitive morality, domesticity, passivity, and affection."¹ Medical theories related these supposed qualities of women to biological make-up. Most significantly, the theories provided scientific evidence, by nineteenth-century standards, which provided an undeniable route for the subjugation of women. A mid-nineteenth-century physician wrote, "The female sex is far more sensitive and susceptible than the male, and extremely liable to those distressing affections which for want of some better term, have been denominated nervous."² This general attitude toward women combined with the era's strict laws, restricting the distribution of obscene literature, placed Craddock into a unique category of radical social reformers.

These strict laws were the result of efforts by Anthony Comstock to suppress the mailing of "obscene, lewd, and lascivious" material. The Comstock Act, passed on 3 March 1873, was considerably more stringent than all previous anti-obscenity legislation in the

United States. The act “forbade the mailing of contraceptive and abortifacient material and information, along with anything intended ... for immoral use.”³ This vague language gave Comstock the ability to target a variety of mailed items and left the accused persons with little to no ability to defend their actions.

The prevailing societal views were changing during this time in America. Corruption, greed, and materialism characterized aspects of American life. Most of the American population supported Comstock’s work, but others took positions in direct opposition.⁴ Out of the changing standards of society developed new and radical movements. One of the trends in society was spiritualism. Modern spiritualism developed in 1848, and quickly became popular among many circles.⁵ This type of spiritualism had both religious and non-religious interpretations, but overall focused on a variety of forms of communication between the living and the dead. Both men and women were active in patronizing mediumship, although women are more commonly associated with taking on the role of medium.⁶ Spiritualism’s rapid growth was matched by its steady decline in the 1870s.⁷ However, its allure still attracted many in the decades that followed and played a role in the overall atmosphere of Craddock’s time.

Other prevailing social movements consisted of the Free Love Movement and the Free Thought Movement headed by the National Liberal League formed in 1876.⁸ These movements attracted a variety of people with myriad views, but generally found common ground in anti-Comstockism.⁹ The Liberal League wished “that laws enforcing ‘Christian morality’ be abrogated in favor of the criteria of natural morality, equal rights, and liberty; and that governmental favoritism to any religion be stopped.”¹⁰ Comstock worked to suppress the voice of free-thinkers and used his extensive influence to persecute many of the outspoken League members.

Ida Craddock became involved in aspects of each of these social trends and was of course governed by the dominant Victorian ideals. Craddock was a spiritualist, a member of the Liberal League, and a sex reformer, but did not exactly have the same mission as the figures that dominate and structure this history. Her passions were somewhat unique and limited to her own pursuits. She did not promote free-love, like Victoria Woodhull, or disseminate birth control information, like Margaret Sanger. She created a new direction in reform action in which she sought to inform American society on the biology and technique of sexual intercourse.

Craddock's mission was complex because she used elements of several movements. However, her personal background and variety of interests reveal how she fused the elements into her own sexual reform movement.

Ida Craddock's youth was more or less typical, but her true genius was apparent even as a young person. She was born on 1 August 1857 in Philadelphia. Her father died in 1859, leaving her to be raised as an only child by her mother. Craddock was educated by her mother and at a Quaker school.¹¹ She was an extremely intelligent person, and spent her entire life in the pursuit of knowledge. According to a letter written by her mother, "She read any part of the Bible at two and a half years; wrote at five — spent her whole life in studying and writing."¹² In her late teens, Craddock actively campaigned to persuade the University of Pennsylvania to open its doors to women. When they eventually extended admission to women, Craddock became one of the university's first female students. After she finished her studies at the university, she began teaching stenography to women at Giraud College in Pennsylvania and wrote a textbook on the discipline.¹³

Craddock was always confident in sharing her voice and following her heart. Her experiences as a young woman are significant for themselves, but it was not until she reached her thirties that she began the pursuit for which she is named an incomparable defender of free speech. Around 1887, Craddock became deeply interested in spiritualism. In her "Borderland Journal," she described her spiritualist experiences including her attempts at levitation, crystal gazing, and spirit-writing. Craddock created detailed journal entries that discussed her attempts at mediumship and detailed her spirit family, which consisted of a spirit guide, husband, sister, brother-in-law, and niece.¹⁴ Her life as a spiritualist had a great impact on her career as a sex therapist and reformer.

Craddock's choice of lifestyle, including her spiritualist practices and her unmarried status, even though not totally uncommon in the late nineteenth century, created some problems for her. Craddock, for these reasons and her endless struggle to educate American men and women of the biology and moral techniques of sexual intercourse, found some of her friends, her opponents, and her mother to question her sanity. In 1894, Craddock's mother attempted to have her committed to an asylum. This unsuccessful effort was reattempted four years later, forcing Craddock to spend three months in the Pennsylvania Hospital of the Insane.¹⁵ Despite

her stay, she was never formally judged insane by a court of law.

Craddock's upbringing and education provided her with an unusually strong interest in marital relations and sex reform. Craddock wrote, "It was a new idea to me — this, that sex was not only a curious and interesting scientific fact, but also something whose contemplation should fill one with holy awe. From that hour dates the birth of my idealizing of sex."¹⁶ This revelation, experienced during her youth in a Quaker classroom, continued with her into adulthood. Growing up in an extremely puritanical style had a strong impact on her and helped to establish the religious foundation on which she based her sexual philosophy. She idealized sex, and believed it to be holy and sacred. The sacredness of sex is the basis of her writings and her instructions. Craddock authored many works, including the instructional pamphlets "Right Marital Living" and "The Wedding Night," which became very popular handbooks.

The final nine years of Craddock's life were spent educating the American public. Craddock used three approaches to spread her sexual philosophy. She personally instructed and treated clients in an office on Dearborn Street in Chicago and during the years of 1893 and 1894 she traveled across the United States lecturing to the public about the "Survivals of Sex Worship in Christianity and in Paganism" and "What Christianity had done for the Marital Relation."¹⁷ Her final and most popular form of education was performed through the mails. A copy of either "The Wedding Night" or "Right Marital Living" could be purchased for 50 cents.¹⁸ Many customers who were too modest or inhibited by distance, chose to order these pamphlets through the mail, and could also enroll in classes by mail. Requests for these pamphlets came from around the country, including people in Colorado, Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, California, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Texas, Ohio, Iowa, and even Nova Scotia.¹⁹

Craddock's fusion of modern spiritualism and sex reform created an interesting outcome. Although the equating of sex to a holy act was not a new idea, and actually a common aspect of spiritualist beliefs, she used the fusion to promote a new model of married life. Craddock's "The Wedding Night" is an instructional pamphlet in which she provided biological information and a basic revelation of the sexual process. Craddock began by writing, "What art thou, oh, night of mystery and passion? Why shouldst thou be thus enshrouded in an impenetrable veil of secrecy?"²⁰ The ignorance of nineteenth-century society, especially women, about

sex created a need for such instructional booklets. Craddock's pamphlets were addressed to both men and women, allowing males and females to learn from both points of view. This made the pamphlets exceptionally useful, but also made them more dangerous in terms of nineteenth-century values. It is important to note that Craddock was a young unmarried woman when she wrote and distributed these pamphlets. Critics of her work could not only target the content of her pamphlets, but her character and the means by which she, an unmarried woman, came to be a possessor of such knowledge.

In her other pamphlet, "Right Marital Living," she explained the sexual process in more detail. She not only supplied facts in her pamphlets, she provided a strict code of morality and self-control that she strongly believed to be everything holy and good. Her philosophy demanded that men respect their female partners, and not pressure them into immoral acts. She stated in "Right Marital Living," "For a wife to submit to genital union with her husband when she does not desire it, is to degrade herself so that she has no call to draw her garments aside from the harlot in the street."²¹ An important motivation of her work was to prevent harm to women. Her instructions provided men with knowledge of female sexuality and strong instruction to respect their wives' desires. The education she provided prevented acts of rape, encouraged mutual enjoyment, and reduced pregnancies. On the final aspect of her philosophy, called yoga, she wrote:

If properly understood and practiced in the marital embrace by every newly married couple, their sex life would be, from the start, so holy, so healthy, so happy, that they would never care to descend to the methods commonly practiced among married people today — methods which involve loss of sexual self-control, tigerish brutality, persistent rape of the wife's person, and uncleanness.²²

Yoga called for a union between the man, woman, and God and "teaches mankind to enter into that state of oneness with the Divine which will secure them both spiritual bliss and power over their bodies and over material things."²³

This was the philosophy of Ida Craddock. These pamphlets were met with much approval by many people across the United States. The lack of available information about sex made Craddock's books quite valuable. They supplied her sexual philosophy, but

were also filled with nineteenth-century medical and biological findings. Because of this, several physicians supported her work and helped disperse "Right Marital Living" and "The Wedding Night." Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr. took a special interest in the work of Craddock. Foote was the son of Dr. E. B. Foote, Sr., and worked with him to create and promote home medical books.²⁴ Together they edited *Health Monthly*, and were regarded as important supporters of issues including free speech, free thought, and the abolition of Comstockery. Craddock and Foote had a regular correspondence dating from 1893 through 1902. The letters reveal that Foote was an admirer of Craddock's work and found it medically relevant. Foote referred to Craddock's work in *Health Monthly* and helped to promote her lecturing career.²⁵

Another reputable doctor took notice of Craddock in 1902. R. W. Shufeldt, according to his letter to Craddock, was "an army surgeon, a member of the Medico-Legal Society of New York, and a writer of national reputation upon sex in its medical phases."²⁶ Shufeldt wrote, "I cannot sufficiently express how much I admire your daring; it is only equaled by the extreme importance of the field in which you labor. You are evidently pounding away at the very root, the primal cause of ninety per cent of the domestic unhappiness, social ignorance. ..."²⁷

Foote and Shufeldt were supporters of remedying social ignorance through education, and therefore were supporters of Craddock's written and dispersible instructional booklets. However, during the later decades of the nineteenth century, great opposition refuted the education standard. The goals of most of the reformers were similar. Most wished to prevent prostitution and venereal diseases by creating a single sexual standard for men and women.²⁸ Those opposed to educating the public supported the suppression of manuals like Craddock's "Right Marital Living" and "The Wedding Night" through government censorship and the Comstock Act. Even though Comstock's personal beliefs and definitions made up the bulk of this law, they were representative of a great portion of middle-class Americans.²⁹ During this decade, the United States, coping with political and social changes and increasingly industrialized lifestyles, was anxious to promote morality and Victorian values.

These paternalistic attitudes caused Craddock to be persecuted several times under the Comstock obscenity laws. Craddock was first inspected by Comstock after her essay, "The Danse du Ventre," was published in the *Chicago Clinic* in 1893.³⁰ The essay defended

the performance of Fahreda Mahzar or "Little Egypt" at the World's Columbian Exhibition. Again, in 1899 in Chicago, Craddock was investigated and charged under Postal Law 3893, and found guilty. Finally in 1902 she traveled to New York to expand her reform and was arrested under the local obscenity law. She endured a three-month sentence in the City Prison Workhouse on Blackwell's Island, and was arrested again shortly after her release.³¹

Public support for Craddock during her imprisonment was extensive. She received a number of letters in which people proclaimed their grief regarding her persecution and made donations for her defense. Foote received letters on behalf of Craddock during her imprisonment. Foote wrote an article entitled "Comstock vs. Craddock," published in *Lucifer, the Light Bearer* which made Craddock's situation known to the public across the country. A concerned Anton Merakergaard of South Dakota wrote, "I have read with much joy one of her splendid little books and dare say, I wish all her books was in the hands of every young Woman in the land. They would do a world of good for the coming generations."³² Such comments were common responses to those who read her work. The claim that her pamphlets would help future generations is an important statement. Craddock's work as well as her motivations made her seem ahead of her time. She truly saw American society through her unique mind, and was courageous enough to question its standards.

Others like Dr. Cora Smith Eaton of Minneapolis wrote, "It is strange that literature so pure and wholesome and uplifting as these articles are, should be prohibited. ..."³³ For many, the content of Craddock's work was not sexually explicit or offensive in the slightest. The array of reactions to her work is interesting and quite reflective of the significant social changes taking place during the final decades of the nineteenth century. Attitudes were slowly changing and women began to take more active roles in shaping their lives. Access to information gave women the power to begin to define themselves and their roles. Craddock's pamphlets gave women that power and the ability to own their sexuality and stand on more equal ground with men in marital relations.

Similar praise could be found among the numerous letters from the general public. Nettie D. Cole of Hartford, Connecticut, wrote, "I would like ... to personally thank you in the name of poor ignorant humanity for the ignorance of the sexes, in relation to their own bodies is appalling. For the courage you [possess] in launching forth the knowledge given you by God for the benefit of

our race.”³⁴ Cole’s emotional response to Craddock’s reform efforts reveals just how important her pamphlets and instruction were to women. The type of information contained in “The Wedding Night” and “Right Marital Living” was scarce, yet even more importantly, was provided by a woman and written in the interest of women’s health and safety. What few sex manuals existed and could be obtained were mostly the products of men. Craddock’s pamphlets were written in a style that both invited and responded to specific female issues.

Sadie E. Sapp of Olympia, Washington, wrote an interesting letter to Craddock in 1901:

The information contained therein is such that every woman should know, especially every single woman. I have never been married and possibly never will be, but I have to take the part of a mother to my sisters as well as be a sister to them since we lost our mother a number of years ago and I don’t want to make the mistake with them that so many mothers do with their daughters let them find out these things through other people which is so frequently done to the sorrow of many a girl.³⁵

Sapp’s letter exposes another situation that made Craddock’s reform work quite valuable. Without Craddock’s source of information, many women would be forced to remain ignorant of the sexual process. Opponents of sexual manuals would encourage such women to remain uninformed, but Craddock saw the danger in such beliefs.

Despite the demand for her pamphlets, not everyone saw her efforts in a positive light. Comstock formed a dislike of Craddock early in her career, and hounded her severely. Craddock’s views offended Comstock, and her bold actions as a woman and knowledge of sex made her an easy target under his law. Her second arrest in New York marked the end of her dangerous and selfless activism. She chose to commit suicide rather than endure the lengthy sentence she believed she would receive.³⁶ She wrote in her suicide letter to her mother, “I maintain my right to die as I have lived, a free woman, not cowed into silence by any other human being.”³⁷ On the morning of her sentencing, 16 October 1902, Craddock slit her wrists and drank lamp oil, ending her impressive rebellion. Craddock wrote in her letter to the public:

For over nine years I have been fighting, singlehanded

and alone, against Comstockism. Time and time again I have been pushed to the wall, my books have been seized and burned, and I myself have been publicly stigmatized in the press by Comstock and Comstockians as a purveyor of indecent literature. Yet this very literature has been all the while quietly circulating with approval among men and women of the utmost respectability and purity of life, and I have received numerous letters attesting its worth.³⁸

Craddock fought until her end knowing she did all she could to empower and educate women, despite charges.

Craddock empowered the many women who gained her valuable knowledge during her nine year crusade. Her efforts are truly remarkable. Considering nineteenth-century standards and law, Craddock had an impressive run as a sex reformer. Her clients realized the power in understanding their bodies and the sexual process. Craddock contributed to these changing attitudes and handed women the power to control a very crucial aspect of their lives. Craddock saw the danger in withholding information from women and men. Those in power, like Comstock, used the suppression of sexual manuals to maintain a level of power and control. Craddock's work loosened this control and made women and other members of society question current practices.

Craddock, a spiritualist, social reformer, and sex therapist, never conformed to the social standards of her time. As a true visionary, she followed her own code of ethics and used her talents to execute an important campaign that centered on women's safety and education. In the larger picture, her work was a step in the continuing transformation of societal structure. Despite her modest familiarity in current history, Craddock made a significant contribution to nineteenth-century society by educating and empowering women.

Notes

- 1 Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological views of Woman and Her Role in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History*, 60 (1973): 334.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Hal D. Sears, *The Sex Radicals: Free Love in High Victorian America*, (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 71.
- 4 Shirley J. Burton, "Obscene, Lewd, and Lascivious: Ida Craddock and the Criminally Obscene Women of Chicago, 1873-1913," *Michigan Historical Review*,

- 19, (1993): 4.
- 5 Geoffrey K. Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 17.
- 6 Lawrence R. Moore, "The Spiritualist Medium: A Study of Female Professionalism on Victorian America," *American Quarterly*, 27, (1975): 201.
- 7 Nelson, 28.
- 8 Sears, 36.
- 9 *Ibid*, 41.
- 10 *Ibid*, 37.
- 11 A. Theodore Schroeder., "The Religious Erotism of Ida," [1930], TMS, 2, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 12 Letter from Lizzie Decker (Craddock's mother), Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 13 Schroeder, 2.
- 14 Ida Craddock, "[Diary of Psychical Experiences], 1894-1985," TMS, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale).
- 15 Owen Copp, M.D. to Theodore Schroeder, 20 September 1913, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 16 [Diary of Psychical Experiences], 9 April 1894.
- 17 Ida Craddock to E. B. Foote Jr., 22 November 1893, TLS, Special Collection, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.
- 18 Ida Craddock, "Right Marital Living" (Chicago: privately printed, 1899).
- 19 The range of her influence was gathered by reviewing the addresses on the numerous requests she received for her pamphlets, Correspondence, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 20 Ida Craddock, "The Wedding Night" (New York: Privately Printed, 1900), 1.
- 21 "Right Marital Living," 28.
- 22 "The Wedding Night," 19-20.
- 23 *Ibid*., 20.
- 24 Sears, 183.
- 25 Ida Craddock to Dr. E.B. Foote Jr., 22 November 1893, TLS, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 26 R. W. Shufeldt to Ida Craddock, 27 January 1902, ALS, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 27 *Ibid*.
- 28 Burton, 3.
- 29 *Ibid*., 4.
- 30 *Ibid*., 2.
- 31 *Ibid*., 14.
- 32 Anton Merakergaard to E.B. Foote Jr., 10 March 1902, ALS, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

- 33 Cora Smith Eaton M.D. to Ida Craddock, 7 October 1901, TLS, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 34 Nettie D. Cole to Ida Craddock, [24 May 1901], ALS, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 35 Sadie E. Sapp to Ida Craddock, 15 February 1901, TLS, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 36 Ida Craddock to the Public on the Day of her Suicide, 16 October 1902, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 37 Ida Craddock to Mother on the Day of her Suicide, 16 October 1902, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- 38 Craddock to Public.

Matthew Smith

Capitalizing on Addiction: Business Oriented Inebriety Cures and the Keeley Franchise

What is addiction and how can it be cured? This was the question on the minds of doctors, physicians, and even addicts in the late nineteenth century; but this question has been asked ever since humans began using drugs and alcohol. Yet this was not the beginning of common time, this was the Victorian Age and a time when the agrarian world was left behind, trampled by the wheels of industry. Society no longer respected nor even needed the slow life; no, society was fixed on advancement, and progress was in the air. As historians John Haller and Robin Haller put it, "The Victorian credo of progress and evolution allowed only ignominy to accompany failure; the limits within which the middle-class society lived admitted no defeat."¹ Any factor that inhibited progress was to be defeated. So if a large percentage of the population was inebriating itself to the extent that it retarded the advancement of society, it was a problem to be cured.

This was the problem American society was facing in the nineteenth century, and there were many who believed they had the answer to the problem of addiction: doctors, physicians, scientists, churches, governments, temperance groups, and even businessmen. There were numerous theories and uncountable treatments. Every facet of society had a different answer and all were in competition with one another, yet none more so than the two worlds of medicine and business. The doctors saw the patent tonics as absurd and an industry run by charlatans. The businessmen fought back with claims that the doctors and physicians were quacks and that the medical world could provide nothing helpful to the sufferings of addicts. There were those, however, who took something from each of these competing sides, formulating entirely new schemes. One such individual was Dr. Leslie E. Keeley.

Keeley bridged the competing views on addiction treatment. He was a doctor who promoted the disease theory of addiction and its cure by medical practices; he was also an entrepreneur who promoted and benefited from the use of a curing tonic patented

to his name. Keeley received both positive and negative attention in his day for his abnormal practices and his large share of the inebriety cure market. Although profiting from a tonic that had little benefit for its patients, Keeley still succeeded in reforming addicts and paved the way for future treatment practices. In this paper I will explain the various addiction theories and treatments of the nineteenth century, culminating with a focus on the Keeley treatment. By looking at these rehabilitation methods from a business perspective, I will show the similarities in profiteering between doctors, physicians, scientists, businessmen, and even charlatans during this time, for all were capitalizing on addiction.

America in the late nineteenth century was a nation of addicts. Alcohol use had been prominent since the colonial days, but was on a consistent rise. Historian John Burnham notes that "by 1830, the average American adult was drinking about 7 gallons of absolute alcohol per year. ... The fact that members of the controlling classes not only drank extraordinarily heavily themselves but also often profited from the trade made any change very difficult."² As immigration increased through mid-century, so did the number of drinkers. This factor, along with industrialization and movement to the western frontier, served to create a class of men who organized their work around drinking. The Civil War also tended to sanction the use of alcohol in public by soldiers, which continued the same behavior after their discharges.³ America's drinking rituals emerged as a serious threat to community life when the tavern evolved into the saloon. The tavern had been a center for community life, but the saloon was a completely different place, associated with violence, crime, vice, and political corruption. Problems of public drunkenness and disorder, along with the impact they were having on family life intensified during this period.⁴ Despite the temperance movement preaching abstinence and the respectability of sobriety among the middle class during the 1850s, substantial use of alcohol in America remained constant.

Another intoxicating substance was becoming commonly used and admired by society in the nineteenth century: opium. The Victorian world accepted opium as a respectable alternative to alcohol for dealing with pain and stress. In 1829, Dr. William Sweetser, a professor at the University of Vermont, wrote that "in advanced and obstinate cases of intemperance, opium has been advised as a substitute for spirits, and. ... The habit of using opium does not ordinarily so debase the intellectual and moral powers as that of ardent spirits."⁵ Doctors prescribed opium indiscriminately

for all types of illnesses, including alcoholism, and its prominent consumption tempted many Victorians to opium addiction. After the patients began to enjoy opium's ecstatic effect, they forgot the illness or malady for which it was originally intended and began freely administering it to themselves in order to seek its comforting properties.⁶

Throughout the century, various forms of opium became familiar. By mid-century opium was widely used in many cordials, syrups, and elixirs. "Opium derivatives were the primary ingredients in such products as Dovers Powder, Laudanum, Godfrey's Cordial, and McMunn's Elixar," notes addiction researcher William White.⁷ These forms of opiates became widely popular, especially among women. The social stigma against female alcohol consumption drove many women to the more "acceptable" use of opium preparations, taken under the guise of medicine. In fact, many women who spoke out against the tavern habits of their husbands were chronic opium users.⁸ Opium's principal alkaloid, morphine, became widely available as a pain reliever, and even more so after the development of the hypodermic syringe. Doctors prescribed opiates widely and, in a period with few sedatives, opiates were vital to the physician and in turn vital to the public.⁹

The extent of opium and excessive alcohol use was widespread. A doctor, James Brown, in his 1872 study, *An Opium Cure*, wrote "our late intestine war largely induced the disuse of alcoholic drinks and the more than proportionate use of opiates. Anterior to this, a confirmed Opium-Eater was somewhat of a rara avis, but now there are probably a quarter of a million in the country!"¹⁰ The totals reported by institutions and legislation were all over the board, with estimates from 100,000 to 1.5 million between 1871 and 1919. However, Dr. Brown was probably closer in his estimation. A study conducted in 1924 by the United States Public Health Service found that there were never more than 246,000 opiate addicts and 18,000 cocaine users in the United States.¹¹

Alcohol abuse was even more widespread than opium; and, unlike opium, drunkenness was illegal. A study conducted by the Commission to Investigate Drunkenness in Massachusetts in 1914 declared that, in 1913, 104,936 arrests were made for drunkenness in Massachusetts alone, with an annual average increase of 4,106 per year. The study also stated that the "statistics of arrest for drunkenness fail to indicate the gravity of this problem because only a small percentage of intoxicated persons are taken into custody."¹² This figure comes from a single state alone; so one

can imagine the total number if every state in the country were to report. These extreme factors and percentages of addicts in the United States received a great deal of attention from the medical world and reformers alike, and a demand for treatment was born to combat this ever-growing threat to society.

With the problem of addiction ever prevalent in American society in the nineteenth century came competing theories on just what addiction was and how it could be treated. At this point the word *addiction* was not as popular as it is today. The term used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was *inebriety*, and it encompassed a wide spectrum of disorders. It “captured the morbid craving, the compulsive drug-seeking, and the untoward physical, psychological and social consequences of drug use,” explains researcher William White.¹³ *Inebriety* was broken down into numerous subcategories such as alcohol *inebriety*, opium *inebriety*, cocaine *inebriety*, ether *inebriety*, chloroform *inebriety*, and even coffee and tea *inebriety*. However, all were seen as variations of the same disease, *inebriety*, and all could be treated through similar procedures. But just what caused *inebriety*?

There were many philosophies concerning the root of *inebriety* in the Victorian era. The great debate concerned whether or not it was a vice, a crime, a lack of will, a psychological ailment, or a disease. For some time, addiction, or *inebriety*, was popularly considered a vice and promoted as such by temperance groups, churches, and even the courts. Temperance advocates proclaimed that the roots of drunkenness were within the realm of morals, and they desired to differentiate between the vice of alcohol use and the use of other drugs such as opium. The temperance reformers pushed for a difference to be made between alcoholism, or drunkenness, and *inebriety*. They saw drunkenness as a moral vice — a sign of moral weakness, irresponsibility, and hedonistic lifestyles, and *inebriety* as a disease of higher social and intellectual classes — a “disease of refinement” resulting from the pressures and strains of modern civilization. The reformers believed that a cure for drunkenness required punishment and moral education; other addictions would need only rest and physical and emotional renewal.¹⁴

Although popularly considered a vice, *inebriety* seemed to be much more than that to the medical and scientific worlds. Doctors and scientists, beginning in the early nineteenth century, could not accept that this ailment was restricted to the character of a human being. Disregarding the idea that drunkenness was merely an immorality, they turned to the disciplines of biology and

physiology for an answer. The first American physician to propose that drunkenness should be treated medically was Benjamin Rush, a well-known physician and professor of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century. Although controversial and discredited in his day, Rush proclaimed that inebriety was a disease of the body and mind and a progressive medical condition that required abstinence.¹⁵ Rush wrote that “drunkenness resembles certain hereditary, family and contagious diseases. ... In the body, they dispose to every form of acute disease ... upon the human mind. ... They impair the memory, debilitate the understanding, and pervert the moral faculties.”¹⁶ Although Rush’s treatments for alcoholism were crude (that is, bleeding, purging, and blistering the skin), he laid the groundwork for the medical treatment of drunkenness and became known as the founder of the disease theory of inebriety.

Around the mid-eighteenth century, many other doctors and physicians began to agree with the declarations made by Rush, and they continued to publish works on the causes of inebriety as based upon such physiological factors as heredity, trauma, and disease, somehow altering nervous tissue in the brain and spinal cord. These individuals promoted that not only drunkenness, but all forms of inebriety, were diseases that affected the body and mind. Frederick H. Hubbard, an author of studies on the drug and alcohol habits, wrote in 1880 that “the habitual use of opium is a disease, and a formidable one.”¹⁷ Doctors believed that if addictions were a form of medical ailment, then they must have a means of medical treatment.

Along with the birth of the temperance movement and the disease theory of addiction in the nineteenth century came the rise of addiction treatments and cures — and there were many of them. The medical world based its treatment of inebriety on abstinence; along with abstinence, however, they provided various subsequent methods of treatment. One point held strong among all doctors, though, and that was the fact that drunkards and addicts could neither remain abstinent nor be treated sufficiently without being taken out of everyday society and placed in a controlled environment. Before the development of institutions specializing in treatment of addiction, inebriates landed in all manner of institutions — the workhouse, the almshouse, the charitable lodging home, the jail, and the insane asylum. None of these were equipped to treat addiction and all had failed in their attempts.¹⁸

The inebriate home and inebriate asylum reached alcoholics on

a medical and moral level where others, such as medicine, religion, public charity, courts, and jails, had not. One of the first promoters of the inebriate asylum was Dr. Samuel Woodward of Worcester, Massachusetts. He wrote in 1838 that intemperance was too physical of a disease for ordinary motives of abstinence and that confinement and restraint were necessary. "The drunkard ... must be placed out of the reach of temptation, or his case is hopeless and irremediable. ... In such an institution he will be safe; he will also have the means of cure for all the physical disease that preys upon his health and spirits," he wrote.¹⁹ Although these institutions were the first attempt by the medical world that actually worked for the treatment of addiction, they did require a good deal of revenue in order to function. From the beginning, these asylums were supported through payment by patients, grants, and sales of patient-generated products and labor. Inebriate homes sought state funding also from the beginning, but state support was inconsistent at best and, by the end, nineteenth-century asylums finally gave up on public support. Despite sporadic donations and support, very few people of the lower classes were provided treatment.²⁰ The asylum concept soon found its niche in society, in the pocketbooks of the middle and upper classes.

Inebriate asylums became a national phenomenon, springing up all across the United States in the mid to late nineteenth century with great popularity and enthusiasm, especially among the well-to-do inebriates. By substituting the word asylum in their titles for sanitarium, lodge, institute, or retreat, they appealed to the affluent, offering discreet detoxification and recuperation.²¹ Many of the institutes used a treatment protocol whereby patients came for medicines three or four times a day, listened to lectures, maintained healthy living, and were provided room and board in what could have been a nice hotel. These types of institutions were not cheap, however, and patients would pay anywhere from \$40 to \$600 per month for services.²² The cost depended upon which asylum one was to attend. Depending upon which method of treatment was provided and what medicines were administered to the patient while there, many were quite expensive.

One such institute was Dr. John Harvey Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanitarium. Kellogg emphasized healthy living and biological eating, eliminating meat, tea, and coffee from the diets of his patients and replacing them with fiber, vegetables, herbal drinks, and water — lots of water, taken in all ways. "The sanitarium became something of a combination nineteenth-century European health spa and a

twentieth-century Mayo Clinic," notes Kellogg biographer Richard Schwarz.²³ Patients enjoyed hotel comfort while trained medical specialists devoted their energies first to the scientific diagnosis of their ills and then to treatment of them through natural means. Millionaires and prominent businessmen frequently visited Battle Creek and, as author and historian T. Coraghessan Boyle puts it, Kellogg's "enema machine irrigated the most celebrated bowels in the country." John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Montgomery Ward, J. C. Penney, Harry F. Sinclair, and Henry Ford all stopped by to take part in the treatment.²⁴ With all of this high-dollar-elbow-rubbing, Battle Creek went through periods of great profit.

So began the business of institutionalized and sanitarium addiction treatment, or services for the cure of drunkenness and inebriety. A whole new division was created in the business world with the creation of the inebriety asylum and the methods of treatment that went along with it. The treatments and cures they provided became extremely popular and were marketed throughout American society. The various methods of treatment used by each asylum such as abstinence, healthy living, scientific eating, electroconvulsive therapy, the water cure, and many more, became the talk of the day, and numerous people from around the country were drawn to them for first-hand experience. For the extreme addicts who could not withstand the effects of withdrawal that came along with abstinence, these institutes and sanitariums proved to be a last resort. According to historian H. Wayne Morgan, "The pain and distress of withdrawal and the continued desire for opiates after treatment defeated all except a small minority [and] ... therapy for the specific symptoms during withdrawal did not stop the distress or produce any lasting cures."²⁵ They needed something quick and painless.

Many addicts turned to other options, which were much cheaper and also promised to be a painless alternative for the cure of alcohol and opiate addiction. These other options were patent or proprietary medicines, also known as mail-order cures. The rise of these commercialized addiction treatments in the nineteenth century occurred in tandem with the rise of nostrums and remedies for every conceivable illness. These opium, morphine, alcohol, and cocaine-laced products were widely available and aggressively promoted. The patent medicine industry that brought innumerable alcohol, opium, and cocaine-based preparations into American homes, feeding the daily habits of many addicts, also offered cures for addiction to these same drugs.²⁶

Patent medicine manufacturers formed the largest segment of the medicinal drug industry, outnumbering ethical and science-based companies and holding the largest share of the market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1914 the Bureau of the Census Manufactures 1914 recorded that the value of all "druggists' preparations" totaled \$48 million. Many consumers who were unable to see physicians placed their trust in products on the drugstore shelves.²⁷ Interestingly enough, most nostrums that advertised "relief for the opium-eater" contained either morphia and/or alcohol disguised among herbs and sweeteners.²⁸ What made these varied cures particularly alluring, in contrast to the inebriate homes and inebriate asylums, were their promises of treatment in secrecy from close friends and family members, radically reduced cost, and treatment that did not require confinement and institutionalization that interfered with one's routine business and personal affairs.²⁹

The aggressive and innovative advertising of patent cures further shaped the attitudes of consumers. Advertisements for patent medicines could be found nearly everywhere, from drug stores to mail order catalogues. Some tonics were even manufactured by the catalogue companies themselves. One example was the Sears and Roebuck Company that, in 1901, promoted a cure for inebriety that one could order from them for 50 cents through their catalogue. Patent medicine companies became so popular that some spent outrageous amounts on advertising. "Collins Painless Opium Antidote," a bottled cure offered by Dr. Sam Collins in the late nineteenth century, spent more than \$300,000 to advertise its benefits.³⁰ (One can only imagine the profits Collins must have made to spend this much on advertising.)

Not only were there ads in every mail order catalogue and newspaper, but also letters and books were written by individuals proclaiming to be cured by the tonics. One such example of a "cured" addict's endorsement was *The Alcohol, Tobacco, And Opium Habits*, written by Walter Fobes in 1895. Fobes opened his work with an advertisement for the cure "RE-VI-VO" and then went into a thirty-one-page testimony on intemperance and his cure from it by this drug. He ended his work with a final endorsement: "There is nothing better than RE-VI-VO (which means 'to live again') for cure of Dyspepsia and its accompanying ailments, and for General Debility, whether caused by dyspepsia, or arising from the alcohol, tobacco, or opium habits."³¹ Endorsements played a large role in the advertising of the various patent tonics and supported the ever-

growing public opinion that these cures were more reliable than any sort of treatment a doctor could provide at the local inebriety asylum.

These threats to the reputation of the medical profession and its influence on society were met head on by doctors, physicians, and scientists who believed that the world of patent medicine was driven by fraud and quackery. According to Dr. James Brown in his 1872 work on opium addiction, “the Opium-Eater has fallen, to a large extent, into the hands of a money making charlatanry ... and the too credulous victims of the drug seized upon the pretentious remed[ies], ... left in bondage tenfold more severe. ...”³² Works were obsessively written in the 1880s by many doctors such as J. B. Mattison and by associations such as the New York Medical Society and the American Association for the Study and Cure of Inebriety, which were aimed at exposing the true ingredients of many patent medicines for the cure of drunkenness and inebriety. These criticisms eventually helped to lay the foundations for future legislation such as the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and consumer warnings by the National Better Business Bureau and the American Medical Association in the mid-twentieth century.³³ However, at the time, taking on the patent medicine industry as proprietors of fraudulent addiction cures that should be completely denounced by society was no easy task in an era when the industry was grossing millions of dollars per year.

There were some doctors in the nineteenth century who retaliated against the world of patent medicines in completely different fashions than those of Mattison and his constituents. With claims that cures should be honestly devised by people with the good of the patient in mind and through safe and scientific methods, cures and tonics began popping up throughout the medical community. Although most doctors in the nineteenth century held the belief that no medicines were known to science that could alone constitute an effective treatment for the craving of drugs or alcohol, many believed that if a “cure” were to be designed, that it should be designed (and marketed) by them.

Based on this argument, many doctors took it upon themselves to enter the patent medicine business to create safer and more honest cures.³⁴ Playing upon growing public discourse, some doctors and physicians began developing mail order cures to increase capital in the wake of the faltering popularity of asylums. One such individual was Dr. John Croften Beck, a professor of medicine in Cincinnati. “Dr. Beck’s Opiumania cure appeased the opium addict by feeding

him ten grains of morphia to an ounce of 'cure,' at a cost which ranged from three to forty-five dollars," assert historians Haller and Haller.³⁵ Another physician, F. Baldwin Morris, in his 1878 work, *The Panorama Of A Life*, popularized Beck's cure. Morris wrote that "by this treatise the opium habit can be cured without the patient suffering any pain or loss of time from business or pleasure during the course of treatment."³⁶ In a climate ripe for exploitation, many were able to design so-called scientific breakthroughs and turn them into quick-selling, marketable commodities.

The mixing of medicine with business, however, can best be seen by studying one doctor in particular: Leslie E. Keeley. Keeley bridged medicine and business, the competing proprietors of addiction treatment. Keeley promoted the disease theory of addiction and its cure through abstinence and institutionalization but also proclaimed that this theory alone was lacking. It needed an antidote, and that antidote was the Double Chloride of Gold Cure for the treatment of alcoholism, drug addiction, and the tobacco habit.

Keeley was among the pioneers who recognized addiction as a disease and treated addicts humanely. He insisted that alcoholism was not a vice but a physical disease. He also insisted that it was not inherited and, therefore, curable.³⁷ His commercial interests and dogmatic homeopathic medical philosophy, however, largely overshadowed his work.³⁸ His remedy for treating addicts was praised as a cure of miraculous potential yet, at the same time, attacked as a fraud.³⁹ Although shunned and ignored by the medical community for some time for violating medical ethics, Keeley was a smart businessman. By appealing to the desires of the public for a painless cure to inebriety, Keeley's institutes (for he became one of the first to franchise) and subsequent "cure" became known worldwide, and between 1880 and 1920, more than 500,000 alcoholics and addicts took the Keeley Cure.⁴⁰ But "Keeleyism," as it was popularly called, had some rough beginnings.

Following his graduation from Rush Medical College in Chicago in 1864 and a year of service in the Civil War as a surgeon, Keeley settled in Dwight, Illinois, where he became the resident surgeon for the Chicago and Alton Railroad. While in the army, Keeley became interested in studying the effects of alcohol on soldiers. The same held true afterwards in Dwight as Keeley and a colleague, Fredrick B. Hargreaves, the minister and local temperance lecturer, began investigating the best way to cure drunkenness. Keeley and Hargreaves, believing that drunkenness was a disease and

unsatisfied by the temperance advocates' push for a moral cure, began experimenting with chemical preparations and patent medicines.⁴¹ Assisted by a young Irish pharmacist and chemist, John R. Oughton, they devised their own "cure" with gold as its base. After a few early successes on local inebriates, Keeley and Hargreaves opened the first Keeley Institute in 1879.⁴² With the opening of the Institute, Keeley made his famous first proclamation: "drunkenness is a disease and I can cure it."⁴³

In his proclamation Keeley declared that his cure, the Double Chloride of Gold and Sodium, could be used to cure inebriety, drunkenness, tobacco addiction, and neurasthenia, or nervous exhaustion. Keeley's declaration was reinforced with continuous statements to the public explaining his theories on addiction and how his tonic would work to cure all ailments. The scientific background he provided further advanced his seeming validity. Keeley believed in the disease theory of addiction, proclaiming that all intoxicants, such as alcohol and drugs, were poisons that affected the body at the cellular level, destroying nerves and tissue. According to Keeley, "the Double Chloride of Gold will at least greatly benefit and ordinarily will cure any disease resulting from chronic poisoning, no matter of what character or degree. ... It repairs the wasted and debilitated nerve tissue and assists every organ of the body in its functional work."⁴⁴ Statements such as this were given in every speech made by Keeley and printed in pamphlets, journals, newspapers, and every publication to come out of the Institute.

To grasp both sides of the developing addiction treatment market, Keeley invited people suffering from various ailments to receive the cure via mail order (the popular "painless" way) or to visit the sanitarium in Dwight where they could receive more thorough treatment (the well known asylum/abstinence method). Keeley was aware of the popularity of these methods in American society, yet he truly believed that no individual had found an authentic means of cure like he had discovered with his gold remedy. With this new foothold in the market and an honest belief that more inebriates could find sobriety in his cure, Keeley jumped straight into the business and, within a year, the Leslie E. Keeley Company was incorporated, adding John Oughton, Curtis J. Judd, a businessman and Keeley's brother-in-law, and Father James Halpin to the list of founding partners.⁴⁵

The Leslie E. Keeley Company seemed to be doomed from the start, encountering many problems after its incorporation. In 1881

the Illinois State Board of Health revoked Keeley's medical license for the vague charge of "unprofessional conduct." Although never officially disclosed, this charge may have stemmed from Keeley's dabbling in the patent medicine industry (quite unpopular with the medical community), or the injurious side effects Keeley's patients suffered after treatment, and/or it may have been related to the intense bitterness and strife between the regular medical community and the homeopathic school of thought — the medical philosophy that Keeley promoted and practiced. The exact charge would soon no longer matter, however, for Governor Joseph Fifer later restored Keeley's license when his attention was drawn to its arbitrary and prejudicial revocation.⁴⁶ The restoration of his medical license still never really allowed Keeley to fully regain respect in the medical community and throughout his career, even through periods of great popularity and endorsement, he was continually ostracized by his peers.

Even though his license was replaced, Keeley still faced the problem of the ever-present side effects that his patients were experiencing from the gold cure. The March 1900 issue of *Banner of Gold*, a Keeley publication, listed that "the exact nature of side effects which caused problems is not known," although Keeley believed that the side effects were caused by an excess amount of gold contained in the mixture.⁴⁷ Historian Ben Scott reported that the side effects "may well have been blurred vision, loss of memory, insomnia, prostration, and possibly incidents of insanity and suicide."⁴⁸ To solve these problems Keeley suspended his treatment for eighteen months, from December 1885 to June 1887, while he experimented with new mixtures and quantities of ingredients to eliminate the side effects. Keeley implored the help of other physicians and chemists for professional advice, mailing over 500 letters, before an Irish physician informed him that the buildup of gold had produced the adverse effects and showed him a way to eliminate the excesses.⁴⁹

With a reinstated medical license and the development of a new gold mixture, Keeley took his company to the next level. Starting fresh with a new panel of board members, and the reincorporation of the company, the business reopened and fame seemed to spread like wildfire. During the 1880s Keeley became a local celebrity and the townspeople of Dwight marveled at the sight of apparently cured alcoholics and drug addicts leaving the Institute. In the 1890s Keeley's popularity grew as he extended his grasp on the market and established franchise branches of his Institute.⁵⁰

By 1890 the sanitarium was bursting with requests for admission and, with only limited space available in Dwight, Keeley decided to establish franchise branches to relieve congestion and treat an even greater number of patients. The first franchised institution opened in Des Moines, Iowa, in June of that year with others in Atlanta, Georgia, White Plains, New York, and Media, Pennsylvania. By the end of 1881, 26 institutes had opened, with 75 more to come in 1882. By June of 1893 there were 118 branches of the Institute founded throughout the United States and in parts of Europe.⁵¹ These franchises were owned by private individuals or investment groups, which contracted to use the Keeley name and methods of treatment. Keeley endorsed these branches and, in a special notice to the public, he wrote, "every part of this extensive business (reaching to all parts of the civilized world) is under competent and skillful management, while the entire business is under the personal supervision of Dr. Keeley, who will at all times be glad to advise patients."⁵²

These branches proved to be beneficial to Keeley. Each franchise owner paid a buy-in fee, some as much as \$50,000. They also paid a percentage of each patient's fees to the Keeley Company and purchased all medicines used from the parent Institute in Dwight.⁵³ In addition, each staff member and physician was required to be trained by Dr. Keeley in Dwight, paying a nice tuition fee. Each institute was issued a certificate stating, "this department is under Dr. Keeley's personal supervision, assisted by an efficient staff of physicians. No unpleasant restrictions. Free from shock or injurious results."⁵⁴ These certificates, along with the notices by Keeley to the public, were used to solidify the image of safety and truth in the minds of patients worldwide.

The Keeley Institute and the Double Chloride of Gold Treatment gained extreme fame and the ability to franchise because of brilliant advertising. The event that put Dwight on the map was a challenge that Keeley issued to the publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, Joseph Medill, in 1891. Keeley wrote, "send me six of the worst drunkards you can find, and in three days I will sober them up and in four weeks I will send them back to Chicago sober men."⁵⁵ Medill jumped on the challenge and afterwards printed in his newspaper, "I selected a half a dozen of the toughest products of alcoholism which Chicago saloons had been able to turn out. ... And in due time they were all returned to me, looking as if a veritable miracle had been wrought upon them."⁵⁶ This event turned the *Chicago Tribune* into an outlet for Keeley testimonials and Medill editorially

defended Keeley from attacks throughout the 1890s. The Institute in Dwight prospered thereafter and Keeley's name was heard nationwide. Advertising increased as franchises spread and their billboards proclaiming the presence of a Keeley Institute became nearly mandatory for a city to be up-to-date.⁵⁷

Keeley's fame spread quickly and "Keeleyism," as it was popularly called, became a national phenomenon. Many factors led to the creation of this national fad, yet most importantly it was the patients themselves. Hundreds of current and former patients wrote letters of praise and endorsement for the treatment. Two books were published in 1892 and 1893 by former patients who soon became well-known authors: C. S. Clark's *The Perfect Keeley Cure* and Alfred Calhoun's *Is It A Modern Miracle?* These books outlined the horrible conditions of inebriety and the miraculous cure that could only be found at any one of the Institutes. Clark wrote, "after doing everything I ever heard of, and taking all the 'cures' I could find at the cost of several dollars, I hastened to Dr. Keeley. ... I owe all to Dr. Keeley and his wonderful remedy, whatever it is."⁵⁸ The narratives praised Keeley's methods and encouraged addicts that the only way to salvation was behind the doors which read, "'For the Diseased Slave to Alcohol there is a Rescue Here,' written in letters of Double Gold. ..."⁵⁹

Numerous other endorsements were published in newspapers and journals; Keeley even received the praise of a few other doctors and the United States military. Dr. J. K. Bauduy of the Missouri Medical college wrote, "as a physician of thirty years' experience I characterize as malicious, absurd and utterly untrue, the statements that the doctor's methods ever produce the slightest ill effects."⁶⁰ When a United States general, Wm. B. Franklin, head of the board of the National Military Homes for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors, wrote to Keeley in 1892 about the great amount of addicts filling national and state veterans' homes around the country, a contract was authorized with the company for the use of Dr. Keeley's remedies in seven national and 21 state veterans' homes.⁶¹ These endorsements, especially by the United States government, seemed to remove all questions of doubt among many skeptics. These public acknowledgements injected Keeley into the consciousness of the American public and provided the sword for market domination.

The novelty that Keeleyism held for the public in the 1890s was demonstrated at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which held a Keeley Day as part of its official program. The *New York Daily Tribune* wrote

Five hundred members of the Keeley leagues, representing every state in the Union except Florida and South Carolina, marched behind Dr. and Mrs. Keeley this morning with their wives, sisters and daughters, all of whom wore league badges. The band of the Old Soldiers' Home at Leavenworth, Kansas led the way, and Andrew J. Smith, the Governor, walked in line with the reformed veterans.⁶²

The phenomenon that was Keeleyism took the country by storm in the latter half of the nineteenth century, supplying the demand for numerous Institutes and creating a trend in the market.

As facilities multiplied across the country more and more inebriates were treated by Keeley's methods. The treatment procedures at the parent Institute in Dwight, Illinois, became the model for treatment in all the Keeley franchises. The atmosphere was friendly and modern and there was no restraint or confinement of patients unless requested. Patients were allowed alcohol or drugs upon request yet most gave up the habits after the third or fourth day. The treatment regimen was centered on four daily injections of the Double Chloride of Gold Remedy accompanied by healthy eating, regular sleep, and physical exercise. The only requirements were that each patient be in line four times a day for treatment injections, attend all lectures, and refrain from smoking, gambling, and fraternization between male and female patients.⁶³ Each patient stayed for four to six weeks and was provided board, usually in an adjoining hotel or a room rented out from a local resident. Patient bills for four weeks treatment at Dwight ran from \$100 to \$200. The terms for remedy and physician attendance were \$25 per week with board an additional \$5 to \$21 per week, according to the means.⁶⁴

Patients at the Institute were encouraged to commune with one another. They were free to travel around the countryside and through town. This regimen was aimed at developing a sense of self-esteem and responsibility among recovering addicts. A feeling of brotherhood developed among patients, all working on the same goal of sobriety, with each member reinforcing his or her strength through contact with one another. As one patient put it in a letter he wrote during treatment, "I am getting along splendidly, and find myself associated with as fine a lot of gentlemen as I ever met, and the time passes quite merrily."⁶⁵ This *laissez-faire* approach fortified self-respect and a resolute sense of new beginnings in each patient.

Although the Institutes were popular and recommended by Dr. Keeley, patients could receive the gold cure through the mail also. Keeley defended the mail-order business as a way to help people who could not afford the institutionalized treatment or who were too ashamed by their addiction to let it be publicly known, or as he put it, "cannot avail themselves of the Institute Treatment."⁶⁶ Just like the popular use of many other mail-order medicines of the day, many addicts relied on this method of treatment. Like other cure doctors in the patent medicine industry, Keeley tailored his home cure to the individual needs of patients and followed up on their progress. To give the illusion, if not the reality, of individualized treatment, the company issued forms for home treatment in which patients sent in reports of their daily use of alcohol, drugs, tobacco, or amount of stress or nervousness, and they were sent, in return, numbered bottles. Patients received directions, which reminded them to use the treatment in specific and careful sequence, depending upon their ailment.

The gold cure was sent as a liquid and in various packages and prices for each type of condition. Each bottle contained eight ounces of solution and they were sold in pairs, with prices as follows: \$9 per pair for drunkenness, \$10 per pair for the opium habit, \$8 per pair for neurasthenia, and \$5 per pair for the tobacco habit. A common special for "The Gold Cure for Drunkenness" listed the price of \$22.50 for five bottles.⁶⁷ Keeley stated that two pairs of the remedy would usually affect a cure, however more may be required and another pair should always be reserved for emergencies — this would total \$50 per order if one were to purchase the Gold Cure for the Opium Habit, nearly \$500 in today's equivalent! Keeley, however, withdrew the mail-order method of treatment in 1895 because of competition with other home cures and he encouraged patrons to visit one of the increasingly numerous Institutions for more valuable (and profitable) treatment.

There were many different outcomes for the individuals who underwent the Keeley treatment yet, surprisingly, the majority of them were positive. Keeley Institutes boasted a 95 percent success rate and Keeley himself swore that it was even higher. A former patient wrote in 1893 that "there are relapses of course. ... The percentage, however, is small — about five percent. From actual observations made by the writer, it compromises young men in whom correct habits and views of life have not been fully formed; and those of weak mind and character."⁶⁸ These claims seemed unbelievable, even more so because they were made by every

physician and entrepreneur in the business. However, in a follow-up study conducted in 1897 on 1,000 patients who were treated at Dwight, only 4.7 percent reported relapse.⁶⁹ This study showed that Keeley's claims of success were valid and his methods were overall effective in the treatment of addiction.

What made Keeley's treatment so effective had more to do with the contagious enthusiasm that held sway within the environment and between the patients at the various Institutes rather than the gold cure. This is shown in the enthusiasm that continued to spread outward when patients graduated. Former patients began getting together after their discharge from treatment to continue mutual support for sobriety. These groups, or clubs, soon became known as Keeley Leagues. Keeley Leagues spread across the country in the 1890s, growing to a membership of more than 30,000 former patients in 370 chapters across the U. S.⁷⁰

The Keeley Leagues were probably the most influential outcome of the treatment experience. Out of the bonds of shared susceptibility arose a unique mutual-aid group composed of patients from all socio-economic levels. Although the majority of patients who attended a Keeley Institute in the beginning were of the middle and upper classes due to the cost of treatment, the Leagues allowed for a more financially diverse range of patients to attend by raising money to pay for the treatment of low-income addicts. These Leagues were also a source of political advocacy and an immense medium for advertising. Although established solely by the patients themselves, without any instigation by Keeley at first, they became the driving factor in the proliferation of the Keeley Company's control of the market and even in its success rate.

With the creation of any new profitable entity comes criticism and controversy — and Keeley's Company was no exception, for it encountered a great deal of scrutiny. This comes as no surprise in a time when the medical profession was under a tremendous amount of pressure to compete with the growing patent medicine industry, which controlled a large percentage of the addiction treatment industry in the late nineteenth century. In addition to this factor, Keeley's practices seemed to be the epitome of quackery from the viewpoints of his peers. The criticisms Keeley faced grew in 1891 and 1892, and "reached massive proportions" in 1893 (this growth in intensity was in tandem with the growth of the company's profits).⁷¹

Those who scrutinized Keeley's practices focused on five issues. The first was that Keeley's claim to be the first to treat drunkenness

and inebriety as a disease and from a medical point of view was false and that it had been proclaimed nearly a decade earlier – which was true. Secondly, they attacked the notion that inebriety had a single biological cause and that there was no single cure for it – another valid point and one that Keeley should have realized in the observation of camaraderie and continued abstinence after treatment through these social pacts. Third, and probably the most significant, was the issue of Keeley keeping the gold cure ingredients a secret.⁷² From a medical standpoint this was a breach of ethics, and it fueled tempers throughout the profession. This fact led to the next criticism: that if the contents of the cure were kept a secret then the physicians administering the treatment might be giving out powerful drugs with adverse side effects. The final issue raised by critics was the claim that the Keeley cure was a fraudulent, money-making scheme.⁷³

The Leslie Keeley Company did make a lot of money and one can imagine how, although based on valid claims, financial interests were possible factors in the promotion of these criticisms. Keeley raked in the bucks by dominating the market in the early 1890s. Keeley's financial records reflect this fact. In 1892 the Keeley Company grossed \$727,094 with a net profit of \$508,966. Although the grosses and profits diminished year after year (net profit in 1894 was one-sixth of the net profit of 1892), the Keeley Company grossed more than \$2.7 million and made profits of \$1.6 million between 1892 and 1900.⁷⁴

These financial figures and also the criticisms that were made surrounding the company raise an interesting point, and one that can be seen throughout the various addiction cures and methods: the question of profit versus ethics. Was Keeley's treatment only for the proliferation of profits? He did make much money, so much that the *New York Daily Tribune* reported in 1893 that his company, including the branch institutes, could be sold easily for \$10 million.⁷⁵ Yet great amounts of money were being made from the treatment of addiction across the spectrum at this time. Many respected doctors were profiting from the various sanitariums that only the affluent could afford and the proprietors of patent medicines, both doctors and back-alley suppliers, were also collecting huge sums of money because of their charlatanry. What makes Keeley different than these other individuals? Many say that he was violating medical ethics, but were not they all? If one was to relate ethical violations to profiteering, one could say they all were acting unethically.

So what do we make of Dr. Keeley? Was he a pioneer, an

entrepreneur, a charlatan, or was he something in between? This is hard to decipher and it may be a question best left unanswered. Maybe without labeling him as just any one of these things, Keeley could be seen through objective eyes and both the pros and cons could be weighed. Although one could say he had many faults, the legacies he left are hard to dismiss. The Institutes were the first to franchise with centralized training and the monitoring of procedures and documentation. Also, the Keeley Leagues were predecessors to Alcoholics Anonymous and other nation-wide reform organizations. But most importantly it was the creation of a supportive atmosphere and the establishment of a need for a common brotherhood or social bond between patients that the addiction treatment industry gained from Keeley. In the end it was the environment that he established and not the gold cure that he invented that was Keeley's greatest legacy.

Every facet of society had a different answer on treating addiction in nineteenth-century America and all were in competition, yet none more so than the two worlds of medicine and business. There were those, however, who took something from each of these competing sides and formulated entirely new schemes. By looking at these various methods from a business standpoint, similarities can be seen between doctors, physicians, scientists, businessmen, and even charlatans during this time, for all were capitalizing on addiction.

Notes

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- 37 American National Biography, s.v. "Keeley, Leslie Enraught."
- 38 Ben Scott, Jr., "Keelyism: A History Of Dr. Leslie Keeley's Gold Cure For Alcoholism" (Masters Thesis, Illinois State University, 1974), 1.
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- 44 Leslie E. Keeley, Tobacco. *Desirable Information on the Tobacco Habit, in its Various Forms: Smoking, Chewing, Snuffing and Cigarette Smoking. The Injurious Effects and The Cure* (Dwight: The Leslie E. Keeley Co., 1884), 7.
- 45 White, 51. In 1886, when the company went through reincorporation, other partners bought out the interests of Hargreaves and Halpin. Hargreaves would later go on to become a Keeley competitor and critic.
- 46 Scott, 5.
- 47 *Banner of Gold* 15 (March 1900): 36.
- 48 Scott, 5.
- 49 Weitz, 4. It must be stated that Keeley never released information on the chemical makeup of his gold cure and kept the formula a secret until his death. This would lead to even more controversy and criticisms from the medical community.
- 50 Scott, 6.
- 51 Ibid., 13.
- 52 Leslie E. Keeley, *A Popular Treatise on Drunkenness and the Opium Habit and Their Successful Treatment with The Double Chloride of Gold, The Only Cure* (Dwight: The Leslie E. Keeley Co. 1893), 32.
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- 62 "Keeley League Celebrates World's Fair," *New York Daily Tribune*, 16 September 1893.
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- 65 F. M. Havens to Henry Coleman, Esq., 12 March 1891, "An Open Letter: Descriptive of Dr. Keeley's Method of Treatment and Cure of Drunkenness" (Dwight: The Leslie E. Keeley Co., 1891).
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- 67 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 68 Charles T. Lambert, "A Remembrance of Dwight" in *Drunkenness and Heredity and The Inebriety of Childhood* (Chicago: Gaul Wermich & Seibert Printers, 1893), 15.
- 69 White, 57.
- 70 Weitz, 15.
- 71 Scott, 36.
- 72 It was however a common practice among the patent medicine industry to keep ingredients as secrets so that others could not copy and redistribute treatments.
- 73 White, 58-9.
- 74 Scott, 63.
- 75 "Gold Cure Business To Change Hands," *New York Daily Tribune*, 17 April 1893. I am sure that Keeley wished he had sold the company in its peak years, especially for 10 million dollars. Every year after 1892 the company saw diminishing profits, from which it never resuscitated.

Wilfred D. Pennington

An Unfulfilled Dream: The Experience of the African-American Soldier in World War I

“Out of this war will rise ... an American Negro with the right to vote and the right to work and the right to live without insults,” predicted editor W.E.B. DuBois, in the June, 1918, issue of *The Crisis*, the journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).¹

Such hopes were likely embraced by a great number of African Americans who, on their own or through the persuasion of community leaders, came to believe that the war would bring relief from an increasingly unpleasant station in American society.² But World War I would not be the watershed that DuBois and others had expected. The harvest of the “Great War” would be, for the African American, frustration, and not equality. Entrenched racism and the largely isolated, segregated experience of the black “doughboy” prevented the war from acting as a catalyst to social change. From stateside camp to overseas cantonment and home again, the black soldier at every step was denied the dignity and equality of opportunity accorded a white soldier.

While DuBois encouraged black Americans to “close ranks” behind the war effort, other voices in the black community were less optimistic. An editorial in the black labor publication, *Messenger*, suggested such enthusiastic black leaders should “volunteer to go to France, if they are so eager to make the world safe for Democracy. We would rather fight to make Georgia safe for the Negro.”³

Georgia, and many other states in turn-of-the-century America, was, indeed, not a safe or happy place for African Americans. Violence manifested itself in the form of lynching and riots. After 1890, black people increasingly became the victims of racist attitudes and segregation in both civil society and the military. Various bills before Congress prior to the war sought either to prohibit the commissioning of black officers or to abolish black military participation altogether. Although unsuccessful, such bills reflected the reality that black participation in the military was anything but universally accepted.⁴

Racial violence touched both black civilians and soldiers. In the decades prior to the war, yearly lynchings exceeded double digits. While Southerners painted the acts as retribution for sexual assaults on white women, most victims were actually charged with non-sexual crimes such as robbery, murder, or even "insulting white persons."⁵ Despite pleas from the black community, President Woodrow Wilson would do little to publicly discourage the heinous acts until late into the war. From a wartime low of 38 lynching incidents in 1917, such vigilante murders peaked at 83 in 1919, and even black soldiers in uniform were not spared the rope.⁶

Racial tensions sparked riots even before the war, but the indignities of segregation and the migration north of large numbers of African Americans brought conflict anew. The influx of black labor led to the particularly gruesome race riots in East St. Louis in July, 1917, where eight white people and more than 100 black people died. Both white police and white National Guard soldiers played more the role of antagonists than protectors of the peace.⁷

Riots took place in the North and South. Thousands of black New Yorkers in the San Juan Hill neighborhood came close to rioting after police harassed uniformed members of the black 15th National Guard Regiment. Riots took place in Memphis, Waco, and Houston.⁸ In Houston, in 1917, just as in Brownsville, Texas in 1906, black soldiers responded to segregation by venting their frustration with arms. In response to rumors that a soldier had been pistol-whipped to death, members of the black 24th Infantry Regiment shot up an area of Houston, killing seventeen white people, including five policemen.⁹

Although thirteen soldiers would eventually hang for the 1917 Houston riot, even authorities at the time acknowledged that the riot had not been without some legitimate provocation. An investigating officer for the War Department credited segregation laws, use of racial slurs by white citizens, and white resentment of black soldiers as factors in the riot. In a report to President Wilson, Secretary of War Newton Baker cited the "so-called Jim Crow laws" as the true source of tension in Texas.¹⁰

Violence on the scale of East St. Louis proved no real deterrent to the great migration movement under way. Labor opportunities for African Americans arose from a labor shortage in the North, one created by the loss of four million white workers to the military and the wartime-diminished supply of immigrant labor. Approximately half a million black people would journey northward between 1915 and 1920, and a million more in the 10 years after that. By

1940, nearly 25 percent of black Americans would be living some place other than the South.¹¹ Adam Clayton Powell perhaps best summarized the plight of the Southern black in a 2 July 1917 piece published in the *New York Times*:

They are tired of being kept out of public parks and libraries, of being deprived of equal educational opportunities for their children, for which they are taxed, or reading signs 'Negroes and dogs not admitted': the men are tired of disenfranchisement, the women are tired of insults of white hoodlums, and the whole race is sick of seeing mobs mutilate and burn unconvicted Negro men.¹²

This then, was the society that DuBois and others hoped would be transformed by black American wartime service. But it was also the society that was reflected in the military. Even clad in olive drab, racism was racism, and the military, particularly the United States Army, sought to limit, segregate, and perhaps even sabotage the black doughboy.

It may be problematic to speak of a coherent, top-down Army policy toward black soldiers, but African Americans could be forgiven if they sometimes saw a "conspiracy to discredit" the military service of the black soldier.¹³ Among other things, great efforts were made to limit the number and elevation of black officers. Stateside camps were models of discrimination and many black soldiers, especially draftees, were poorly trained; better-trained soldiers, such as Regular Army or National Guard regiments, were kept out of the war, or attached permanently to French command overseas. Finally, post-war reports seemed to concentrate on the weaknesses — real or imagined — while ignoring the triumphs of the black soldier.

Just as in society and among the enlisted ranks, black officers were often treated as inferiors to their white counterparts. When possible, army policy worked to avoid having white and black officers of the same grade serve in the same unit, and white soldiers were often not required to salute black officers. In training overseas, black officers could not take their seats in class until all white officers had taken theirs. Although blacks did train alongside white officer candidates in some cases, more than half of the 1,200 black officers during the war were commissioned at an all-black officers training camp at Fort Des Moines. Of the 638 officers coming out of Iowa, all but a handful were commissioned lieutenants. At least two

incidents indicate that the Army may have deliberately sabotaged high-ranking black officers.¹⁴

At the beginning of the war, Col. Charles Young and Col. Franklin A. Denison were two of the highest-ranking black military officers in America, yet neither would be allowed to serve out the war. Col. Young was a likely candidate to become a general officer when he was medically retired for high blood pressure. Despite riding a horse from Ohio to Washington, D.C. to prove his fitness, he sat out the war only to be reactivated to service in Liberia when all chance of promotion had passed. Further, evidence suggests that President Woodrow Wilson may have had a hand in this action. Col. Denison, commander of the 370th Infantry Regiment, was sent overseas but then became "incapacitated through illness contracted during the strenuous days incident to the preparation of the regiment for service in the line." A contemporary source says Denison was "invalided home very much against his will."¹⁵

Evidence concerning the caliber and impact of black officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) is inconclusive. The 15th New York National Guard regiment had much difficulty attracting educated professional candidates for officer training in 1916; however, a year later, Howard University boasted a petition of 1,500 college-educated black men eager to serve as officers. Significantly, the Army announced new age requirements as being 25 to 40 years of age, effectively shutting out the Howard petitioners, all of whom were under 25.¹⁶ The four Regular Army regiments, while kept away from the war, did provide approximately 82 officers and 1,600 NCOs to the draft regiments. The distribution was seemingly haphazard, though, as a white officer of one draft regiment reported receiving no such Regular Army infusion and was forced to train NCOs from the regiment's own draftees.¹⁷

White assessment of black officer ability varied, but generally reinforced prejudice. While Col. James Moss, commander of the 367th Infantry, 92nd Division, said that black officers "compared quite favorably" with white ones, his fellow commander, Col. W. P. Jackson, 368th Infantry, found his black officers, especially captains, lacking. The black soldier, Jackson said, "was really a grown up child."¹⁸ Other opinions were even more inflammatory. Brig. Gen. Lytle Brown, War Plans Division, filed a report with the Chief of Staff in July, 1918, stating that black officers were cowardly, little respected by their men, overly concerned with their appearance, and too interested in having a good time.¹⁹ "In general, the Negro officer was still a Negro, with all the faults and weaknesses of

character inherent in the Negro race, exaggerated by the fact that he wore an officer's uniform," said Brown.²⁰

The attitudes of white officers like Brown often flew in the face of reality. In both the 92nd and 93rd Divisions, most officers above the rank of captain seem to have been white. Yet the two divisions had very different battle records and the better division, the provisional 93rd Division, was mostly National Guard and may have arguably been home to the better educated black officers.²¹ Gen. John J. Pershing wrote in his memoirs:

More responsibility rested upon officers of colored regiments owing to the lower capacity and lack of education of the personnel. In the new army, with hastily trained colored officers relatively below white officers in general ability and previous preparation, the problem of attaining battle efficiency for colored troops was vastly more difficult. It would have been much wiser to have followed the long experience of our Regular Army and provided these colored units with selected white officers.²²

While acknowledging that black officers might have been less well-trained than their white counterparts, Pershing simultaneously excused any culpability on the part of white general officers by noting the "lower capacity" of black soldiers.

Stateside, camp life for the black soldier was often an insulting shadow of the white soldier's experience. Black soldiers complained to the War Department of being "more closely confined" than white soldiers, punished more severely for "trivial offenses," and encountering greater difficulty in getting passes out of camp. A survey of camp conditions confirmed these complaints and more, including substandard medical care, lack of sanitary and recreation services, derogatory epithets from white officers and inadequate accommodations during the winter of 1917-18. As well, the survey found training and drill to be wanting; in some cases, black soldiers were not even allowed to fire their weapons in training.²³

For the most part, Southern states were opposed to black troops training within their borders. Governors and congressmen protested to the War Department and the president, but to no avail.²⁴ The *New York Times* quoted Spartanburg, S.C., Mayor John F. Floyd in 31 August 1917: "With their Northern ideas about race equality, they will probably [expect] to be treated like White men. I can say right here that they will not be treated as anything except Negroes.

We shall treat them exactly as we treat our resident Negroes. This thing is like waving a red flag in the face of a bull."²⁵ Capt. Chester Heywood, a white officer in the 371st Infantry Regiment, notes in his history that the regiment trained at Camp Jackson, near Columbia, South Carolina, "the heart of the so-called 'fire eating, Negro-hating South,'" yet "no difficulties were experienced with Southern authorities."²⁶

To be fair, not all Southerners were so disdainful of the black soldiers, and the black soldier was not the only target of Southern animosity. In dismissing any notion that the black 371st Infantry Regiment could be stirred by German agitators, the Columbia (S.C.) *Record* said in a 2 April 1918 editorial that black soldiers "shame us in their exhibition of their understanding of the causes of this war."²⁷ Civil War-era divisions were still in evidence as one black soldier noted that Southern hatred was also aimed toward white soldiers from New York as well.²⁸

Discrimination and Jim Crow-type laws, such as sparked the Houston riot, continued to be a problem near military camps where black soldiers were housed. In Spartanburg, S.C., a black officer, Lt. James Reese Europe, helped defuse a situation arising from mistreatment of a black soldier: his crime was a failure to remove his hat when entering a white hotel to buy a newspaper. In an incident in Manhattan, Kansas, a black sergeant was refused admittance to a theater, setting off a chain of events that gave birth to Bulletin No. 35, one of the more onerous documents of wartime racial inequity.²⁹

Bulletin No. 35 was a realistic, if blunt, declaration of the black man's place in society and the United States Army. In the document, which was to be read to all soldiers of the 92nd Infantry Division, Maj. Gen. C.C. Ballou said that the aforementioned sergeant was "guilty of the *greater* wrong in doing *anything*, no matter how legally correct, that will provoke race animosity." Further, Ballou explained that the success of the division was tied to the "good will" of a public that is nine-tenths white. "White men made the Division," says Bulletin No. 35, "and they can break it just as easily if it becomes a trouble maker."³⁰

Not surprisingly, these words did not sit well with the African-American press and calls for Ballou's resignation came from many quarters. For its part, *The Advocate*, a black newspaper in Cleveland, Ohio, urged that "now is not the time for injecting any such issue (racial strife) into the already overcrowded portfolio of Uncle Sam."³¹ In response to queries from Emmett Scott, an African-

American appointed special assistant to Secretary of War Baker, Ballou defended his words, saying that racial strife played into the hands of the enemy. The Division commander also informed Scott that copies of the bulletin had been sent to black newspapers with a "misleading" cover letter, which omitted the fact that Ballou had successfully pursued legal prosecution of the theater manager.³²

Despite the lack of candor on the part of Gen. Ballou, the truth remained that white men had control of every aspect of black military service, right down to the decision as to how many, if any, would fight. In August 1917, Gen. Tasker Bliss, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, developed six alternatives for the use of black draftees. He personally favored the sixth plan, one that called for the delay of the draft, minimal training (possibly without weapons), and shipment overseas of black soldiers to be "used exclusively as service troops." Short of this, Bliss ordered the creation of labor and stevedore companies that were to encompass 70 percent of black soldiers, a plan he intended to remain confidential.³³ By December, however, Secretary Baker informed W.E.B. Dubois that 30,000 black soldiers would serve in combat while 50,000 would be assigned to labor duties.³⁴

Service of Supply (labor) was indispensable to the military effort, but the records show how clearly black soldiers were singled out for these unglamorous duties. Baker's later letter to DuBois in no way seems to indicate that Bliss's earlier plans had been superseded. A July 1918 letter to Pershing's headquarters from the War Department advises that "as rapidly as the colored [pioneer] regiments arrive, organize the white [pioneer] regiments into national army infantry brigades," thus the black soldier was hungrily employed to free up the white soldier to fight.³⁵

Of the more than 365,000 black men drafted, about 34 percent of those registered, almost one half were employed in labor battalions. One in three of Uncle Sam's olive drab laborers was black. Overseas, about 80 percent of the 200,000 black soldiers in France fought the war with shovels instead of rifles.³⁶

Combat for the "privileged" minority of black soldiers was confined to only two divisions; one, the 92nd Infantry Division, was almost entirely comprised of draftees under American command while the other, the 93rd Division, largely a National Guard division, served gallantly under French command for the entire war. Although the French welcomed the black soldiers of the incomplete 93rd Division, the British, under whom the 92nd Division was to train, balked at the prospect of dealing with African American soldiers.

"These Negroes are American citizens," wrote Gen. Pershing to the Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, commander of British forces in France. "My Government, for reasons which concern itself alone, has decided to organize colored combat divisions and now desires the early dispatch of one of these divisions to France. Naturally, I cannot and will not discriminate against these soldiers," he continued. Interestingly, Pershing made no mention of the four regiments of the 93rd Division who were already in France and attached to the French command. At any rate, the British prevailed in their resistance to training black troops.³⁷

The 92nd Division was remembered mostly for the failure of one regiment, the 368th Infantry, which broke under fire in the late September, 1918, Meuse-Argonne offensive. The regiment, untested in battle, had been moved up to plug a hole in Pershing's battle lines while the other three regiments were held in reserve. The problems of the division were many, and its commander, Gen. Ballou, claimed the 92nd "was made the dumping ground for discards, white and black." Several general officers were Southerners, allegedly possessing the typical white Southern opinion of blacks, while the entirety of the junior officer corps were rookie graduates of the various officer training camps. Moreover, it mattered little that elements of the white 35th Division, also new to battle, broke as well. The reasons for the failure seem less important than the fact that the single loss of nerve by a single regiment was so easily and quickly taken to be a final judgment on the character and valor of every black combat soldier.³⁸

One black officer, Lt. William Colson, writing a year after the Meuse-Argonne campaign, accused the U.S. Army of intentionally setting the division up for failure by illogical assignment of men within the division. As an example, Colson said that South Carolina "illiterates" became the core of a machine gun battalion while more educated soldiers were transferred to labor outfits.³⁹ As early as May, 1918, DuBois was criticizing the War Department's refusal to bring in soldiers with technical training. "Unless this decision is reversed, the 92nd Division is bound to be a failure as a unit organization," wrote DuBois in *The Crisis*. He went on to ask, "Is it possible that persons in the War Department wish this division to be a failure?"⁴⁰

In contrast to the 92nd Division was the sterling performance of the provisional 93rd Division, under foreign command and tucked safely away from American view. Three units, the 369th (the old 15th New York National Guard), the 370th (formerly the 8th Illinois

National Guard) and the 371st (draft regiment), received regimental Croix de Guerre honors and hundreds of individual awards, French and American, were earned among the battle-hardened veterans. The Division's 369th Infantry Regiment also produced two early war heroes, Sgt. Henry Johnson and Pvt. Needham Roberts.⁴¹

Decorations and war heroes did little to advance the cause of black soldiers when they were so far removed from the rest of the American army. The four orphan regiments of the 93rd Division were "fully armed and equipped as well as organized exactly as a French regiment."⁴² Only their bodies and their wool uniforms remained American. Though Capt. Chester Heywood, 371st Infantry, describes Gen. Pershing himself coming to inspect the regiment on 14 May 1918 he also notes that following the inspection, "We had very little touch with American GHQ (general headquarters) or any other American forces in France."⁴³

The disposition of the 93rd Division remains mysterious to this day, and it raises the question as to whether the four regiments, three of which were better trained National Guard units, were deliberately kept apart from the bulk of the white American army. Gen. Pershing was vociferously opposed to the piecemeal use of American armies under foreign command, especially concerning the French. Pershing "mentioned the difference in language as being an inseparable barrier to any idea of active service under an assignment that might become permanent."⁴⁴ Yet, Pershing would consent to "temporarily" attach the four regiments to French command.

"Unfortunately," wrote Pershing in his memoirs, "they soon became identified with the French and there was no opportunity to assemble them as an American division. Very much to my regret these regiments never served with us."⁴⁵ At another point, Pershing said the regiments of the phantom 93rd "were anxious to serve with our armies, and I made application for the organization and shipment of the rest of the division, but to no purpose and these regiments remained with the French to the end."⁴⁶ It seems incredible that the commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces lacked the power to reclaim and complete the provisional 93rd Division, if he had so desired.

Writing a decade after the war, Heywood noted in the foreword to his book, "That any of them (colored troops) were in combat units, or that the ones who were saw real service in the lines, or took part in any of the major or minor offensives, seems to be news to a great many people." Further, he added, "Stories of their bravery

and devotion to duty are rarely, if ever, told."⁴⁷

If the true record of African American contribution to the Great War effort became obscured or even distorted, such circumstances were not accidental, according to DuBois. In the June 1919 issue of *The Crisis*, DuBois recounts what is purported to be the comments of an unnamed white 92nd Division officer to the division's judge advocate, Maj. Patterson, an African-American officer. According to DuBois, this officer declared the existence of a "concerted action on the part of the white officers throughout France to discredit the work of the colored troops in France and that everything was being done to advertise those things that would reflect discredit upon the men and officers and to withhold anything that would bring to these men praise or commendation."⁴⁸

Such charges of conspiracy against the black soldier and officer were not hard to believe from the perspective of the average black American. Only a month earlier, the May 1919 issue of *The Crisis* had been banned by the United States Postal Service; the issue contained reproductions of various documents and letters that showed the attitude of prejudice and discrimination against black soldiers and officers.⁴⁹

Among the most infamous of the documents reproduced was a memorandum entitled "Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops," dated 7 August 1918 and issued by a Col. Linard, of the French Military Mission, "stationed with the American Army." The document was designed to inform French officers about American racial realities, and, among other things, instructed French officers not to become too familiar with black officers, not to praise black soldiers in the presence of white American soldiers, and to prevent the fraternization of black soldiers and white French women. Further, Linard notes that white Americans "are afraid that contact with the French will inspire in black Americans aspirations which to [white Americans] appear intolerable."⁵⁰

The black soldier did not return to the transformed America he had hoped would be waiting, and this disappointment is reflected in the changing attitudes of DuBois, who expressed disillusionment as early as May, 1919. In an editorial of *The Crisis* entitled "Returning Soldiers," DuBois enumerated the racial sins of America: "It lynches ... it disenfranchises its own citizens ... it encourages ignorance ... it steals from us ... it insults us," and poignantly, he proclaimed, "We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting."⁵¹

Others spoke of a global "Reconstruction" that might yet touch the life of the African American, though as Mary White Ovington

noted in the February 1919 issue of *The Crisis*, "probably among all the peoples clamoring for liberty and the right to fuller self-expression in this year of 1919, none has a more uphill battle than the American Negro."⁵² But a battle plan did emerge from some quarters. In a deliberate parallel to President Wilson's postwar European plan, Ovington enumerated fourteen points of black American desires including universal suffrage, better schools, desegregation, equal military training, and fair trials in place of lynching.⁵³

Most, if not all, of those fourteen points would go unfulfilled in the postwar years, and the African-American soldier would return to the same contemptuous white America he had left behind. The year after the war, 1919, saw its peak in lynching and nearly two dozen race riots occurred across the country. One black veteran, pursued by a mob in Chicago had this to say to a city commission in 1923: "Had the ten months I spent in France been all in vain? Were those white crosses over the dead bodies of those dark-skinned boys lying in Flanders fields for naught? Was democracy merely a hollow sentiment? What had I done to deserve such treatment?"⁵⁴

Although black voices emphasizing "the underlying moral contradiction of segregation within the army of democracy" rose in frequency during World War II, such hypocrisy had obviously not gone unnoticed during World War I.⁵⁵ Francis Grimke, a black Washington, D.C. minister, had this to say about such contradiction: "Men of darker hue have no rights which white men are bound to respect. And it is this narrow, contracted, contemptible undemocratic idea of democracy that we have been fighting to make the world safe for, if we have been fighting to make it safe for democracy at all."⁵⁶ Such contradictions also did not go unnoticed by the Germans, who bombarded black soldiers with propaganda leaflets: "What is Democracy? Personal freedom; all citizens enjoying the same rights socially and before the law. Do you enjoy the same rights as the white people do in America, the land of freedom and Democracy, or are you not rather treated over there as second-class citizens?"⁵⁷ German propaganda indictments also pointed to Jim Crow segregation and the numerous acts of lynching.

Such philosophical contradiction was not enough to transform society at the close of World War I. In fact, as America faced a new war by the 1940s, many of the same conditions existed as in 1917. Many white officers believed black people to be "naturally inferior" or cowardly; black soldiers were thought better suited to labor than combat; conflict arose between black soldiers and white civilians; and Southern states still complained about training black soldiers

within their borders. There also persisted the idea that racial relations were a civilian and not a military issue.⁵⁸

Despite such similarities, World War II was not a carbon-copy of World War I, particularly in regard to “preconditions for change” in black social standing. The Roosevelt administration (especially first lady Eleanor Roosevelt) was more liberal and considerate of black grievances. These same grievances could be aired more freely, too, with less restriction on public protest and the growth of the black press and civil rights organizations. Harvard-educated philosopher Alain Locke spoke of the “New Negro,” and declared, perhaps somewhat prematurely, that “the vital inner grip of prejudice has been broken.”⁵⁹

With profound insight into modern politics, nineteenth-century African-American reformer Frederick Douglass once said, “Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.” But which demand was the stronger — the demand for equality emanating from the American black community or the demands of a new, modern total war effort? Some early moves, such as the desegregation of on-base facilities and operation of military-only, desegregated bus service, could be attributed to concern for black public opinion or the interests of army efficiency and morale. But later moves, such as the integration of small black units (platoons) into larger white companies, was motivated more by an ever-pressing need for combat troops.⁶⁰

The impact of such close cooperation between black and white soldiers was significant. Surveys of white soldiers in 1942 showed the majority favored segregation of the races, although about two-fifths were favorable to an expanded role for black soldiers. Following the integration of troops in 1944 and 1945, 80 percent of officers and NCOs thought black soldiers “had performed well in combat,” and 73 percent of officers (60 percent of NCOs) thought blacks and whites “had got along together very well.” Although the latter survey did not include enlisted men, it could be assumed that officers would not have reported so favorably if racial tension had been in large evidence among the troops.⁶¹

In the long view, however, World War I was not a dead end for African-American history. True, the black American soldier returned home largely to the life of disrespect and disenfranchisement he had left behind; to the veteran of 1918, it must have seemed as though nothing had changed; as if nothing had been gained by his sacrifice, his courage or his devotion to duty. The intensely racist climate of the time dampened any cries for equality based

on military service; yet, these cries would become only louder as the next war approached, fueled by black veterans who almost certainly felt betrayed by the post-World War I period. Where the power of black protest ended, the exigencies of an even greater war took over; the black G.I. would be desperately needed for combat in a way the black doughboy never was.⁶²

Historians have for some time begun to see the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s as having its roots in the transforming events of World War II. Perhaps now is the time to step even further back, and begin to acknowledge how changes in the 1940s were born out of the unfulfilled dreams of World War I.

Notes

- 1 Neil A. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975), 11.
- 2 Ibid. Wynn says most African Americans believed that support for the war and military service would result in tangible benefits. As support for this statement he offers the black American's willingness to volunteer and the 250,000 dollars in war loans purchased. Wynn is likely correct in his generalization, but it should be noted that five out of the eight combat regiments were draftees, not volunteers.
- 3 Wynn, 11; Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 12. Dubois' "close ranks" editorial from July 1918 issue of *The Crisis*. "Make Georgia safe" editorial from *Messenger*, November 1917 issue, 31. Barbeau notes that the editors of the *Messenger*, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, were later incarcerated by the Justice Department for "alleged pro-German writings."
- 4 Marvin Fletcher, *The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891-1917* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 27-31, 67; Wynn, 5-6. Fletcher cites bills including H.R. 20989, 59th Congress, 2nd Session (1906-07) *A Bill to Discontinue the Enlistment and Appointment of Negroes in the Army of the United States* and H.R. 17541, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, (1913-14) *A Bill to Make It Unlawful to Appoint as Commissioned or Noncommissioned Offices in the Army or Navy of the United States Any Person of the Negro Race*. Wynn offers the rise of imperialism, and its attendant philosophy of white superiority supported by "pseudoscientific writings," as a factor in the rise of prejudice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- 5 Fletcher, 30; Barbeau, 4. Fletcher states that between 1893 and 1904, the average number of lynchings per year topped 100. Further, he says from 1900 to 1914, fewer than one-third of lynching victims may have been guilty of sex crimes. By way of example, Barbeau says less than one-quarter of the 54 lynching victims in 1916 were even charged with a sexual crime, and cites "Last Year's Lynching Record," *Outlook*, 115 (17 January 1917): 97.
- 6 Wynn, 9-10.
- 7 Kelly Miller, *Kelly Miller's History of the World War for Human Rights* (Washington, D.C.: Jenkins and Keller, 1919), 535; Barbeau, 23-6. Miller offers a particularly gruesome account of the St. Louis riots, detailing violence

- against women and children. Barbeau, citing from the Congressional Record, 65th Congress, 2nd Session, 638, says that police allegedly shot into a crowd of helpless blacks and destroyed the negatives of press photographers who had filmed the act.
- 8 Fletcher, 30; Stephen L. Harris, *Harlem's Hell Fighters: The African American 369th Infantry in World War I* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's Inc., 2003), 102, 107-08. Fletcher notes that riots occurred in New York City and Springfield, Illinois, between 1900 and 1910. The New York City scuffle began when police tried to disperse a group of 25 soldiers (New York 15th Inf.) who were standing near a corner, minding their own business. Although some bricks were thrown at police reinforcements, the huge crowd dispersed.
 - 9 Fletcher, 119-52; Harris, 107-8; Barbeau, 28-32; Fletcher devotes two chapters to the Brownsville incident, where several buildings and homes were fired upon, and one bartender was killed. More than 160 black soldiers were dishonorably discharged, although there was some suggestion that whites, dressed in discarded uniforms, had committed the acts in order to frame the black soldiers.
 - 10 Barbeau, 8-32.
 - 11 Roy E. Finkenbine, ed., *Sources of the African American Past: Primary Sources in American History* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004), 132; Wynn, 8.
 - 12 Barbeau, 9.
 - 13 Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Force: Fighting on Two Fronts 1939-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 21; Mary Penick Motley, ed., *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 14. Dalfiume talks of a popular belief about such a conspiracy without providing any citations for such. In Col. Howard Donovan Queen's foreword to Motley's book, he attributes this statement to Col. Charles Young: "The sole intent of the white man during World War I was to discourage and discredit Negro leadership." Queen, who does not cite Young's statement, was a captain with the 368th Infantry, 92nd Division during the war.
 - 14 Barbeau, 64-65; W. Allison Sweeney, *History of the American Negro in the Great World War* (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1970), 79; Miller, p. 536. The Sweeney volume was originally published in 1919.
 - 15 Motley, 14; Barbeau, 67-68, 76; Sweeney, 76, 168. Barbeau cites correspondence between Secretary Baker and President Wilson, and between Wilson and a Mississippi senator. Although the language is guarded, it seems to suggest that Wilson is assuring Sen. Williams that Young will not have a military command. Sweeney says Col. Denison was "a prominent colored attorney from Chicago and a seasoned military man." Sweeney quotes Capt. John H. Patton, regimental adjutant of the 370th, regarding Denison's "illness." According to Barbeau, an earlier attempt had been made to attach Denison's 8th Illinois National Guard regiment to the white 33rd Illinois National Guard, a move which would have displaced Col. Dennison from command. The 33rd Division successfully refused to accept the regiment, largely because of the presence of black officers.
 - 16 Harris, 43; Barbeau, 59-60. Barbeau alleges the change in Army age requirements was a deliberate attempt to keep out educated blacks. While this seems likely, no figures have been found by this author to suggest what percentage of black officers were or were not educated.
 - 17 Barbeau, p. 17; Chester D. Heywood, *Negro Combat Troops in the World War:*

The Story of the 371st Infantry (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 4. Heywood was officer of the 371st Infantry regiment, the sole draft regiment in the provisional 93rd Division. His book was originally published in 1928. Since no Regular Army soldiers were used as officers or NCOS here, this seems to indicate that they were used exclusively in the 92nd Division, which was entirely comprised of draft regiments, and/or they were sent to non-combatant labor battalions, which would have been a true waste of military experience.

- 18 Barbeau, 218.
- 19 Harris, 207-8. Cited as Brig. Gen. Lytle Brown to chief of staff, 5 July 1918. War Dept. memorandum (WPD 8142-172), Military History Institute, Carlisle, Penn. Harris notes that Brown was a West Pointer and a native of Tennessee.
- 20 *Ibid.*, Brown memorandum.
- 21 Information concerning the black and white officers of the eight combat regiments has been gathered piecemeal from various sources. It would be significant, though perhaps not possible, to analyze the education level of the officers, both black and white, in all regiments, as well as the regional background of all officers, black and white. Indications in the various literature would hint that most Southern officers were skeptical, even contemptuous, of black officers and soldiers and that the better black officers tended to be more educated, Northern and urban.
- 22 John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1931), 2:228-9.
- 23 Emmett J. Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 103, 107-8. Originally published in 1919. Scott says that soldiers would sometimes "rush the guards" to leave camp, with or without pass. The survey was conducted by C.H. Williams, Hampton Institute, Virginia. No date given, though likely conducted sometime in 1918.
- 24 Scott, 93; Harris, 114-15. Rep. Sam Nicholls of South Carolina was among those trying to keep black troops out of their states. "You take a white boy from South Carolina and put him in a Negro regiment ... and you would not have to go to Germany to have a war, for you would get war right at home."
- 25 Quoted in Harris, 115. Mayor Floyd makes a reference to the Houston riot, which had taken place about a week earlier.
- 26 Heywood, 23.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 23-24.
- 28 Harris, 124. Harris quotes from page 77 of the unpublished memoirs of Noble Sissle.
- 29 Harris, 127-30; Scott, 97-8.
- 30 Scott, 97-98. The italic emphasis corresponds directly to words Scott placed in all capital letters. The emphasis is his, most likely, and not in the original document.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 98-9. Scott quotes the 13 April 1918 issue of *The Advocate*, a black newspaper based in Cleveland, Ohio.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 98-101. It is not clear who sent the copies to the black press, although it was not likely to have been an official military act. In his letter to Scott, Gen. Ballou references the East St. Louis riots, noting the heavy German population of the city, and it seems likely that he believed enemy agitators

were behind dissemination of the bulletin to the press.

- 33 Barbeau, 42, 90. August 1917 report from National Archives, Record Group 165, item 8142-17; Memo from Bliss to Adjutant General, 30 October 1917, NA, RG 165, 8689-53. Barbeau and Henri argue that the "great bulk of military files dealing with black troops shows a carefully planned system of racial discrimination."
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 43-44. Letter from Baker to DuBois, December 1917, National Archives, RG 165, 8142-17.
- 35 *Policy-forming Documents of the American Expeditionary Forces*, Vol. 2, *United States Army in the World War 1917-1919* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1989), 546-7.
- 36 Sweeney, 81; Barbeau, 89; Martin Binkin, and Mark J. Eitelberg, *Blacks and the Military* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1982), 17. Interestingly, Sweeney notes that 34 percent of registered whites were inducted while only 24 percent of registered whites were called up. However, as Barbeau points out (36), when factoring in the number of whites who volunteered, black soldiers made up about twelve percent of all men entering service. Military labor fell under many names, including stevedore regiments, labor battalions, development battalions and pioneer infantry regiments.
- 37 *Training and Use of American Units with the British and French*, Vol. 3, *United States Army in the World War 1917-1919* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1989), 95; Barbeau, 85, 111, 122-3. Letter from Pershing to Haig, dated 5 May 1918. The 369th Infantry was the first to arrive in France, December 1917, followed by the other three regiments of the 93rd Division in April, 1918. The 92nd Division did not sail for France until June 10, 1918, after Pershing's letter to Haig.
- 38 Binkin, 17; Barbeau, 66, 149-57.
- 39 Barbeau, 85. Cited from William N. Colson and A.B. Nutt, "The Failure of the Ninety-Second Division," *Messenger*, September 1919, 22-4.
- 40 Barbeau, 70.
- 41 Wynn, 7; Heywood, 250; Sweeney, 142-4, 146-8.
- 42 Heywood, 33-34. Heywood complains of French rations and notes there was sporadic supplement from the American commissary.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 39-40. With the exception of visits from two different American officers, Heywood says there was no American contact from July through November, 1918.
- 44 Pershing, 1:255-7.
- 45 Pershing, 1:291.
- 46 Pershing, 2:97.
- 47 Heywood, foreword.
- 48 William E.B. DuBois, *Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1986), 891.
- 49 Lee Ulysses, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1994), 11; "Documents of the War," *The Crisis*, May 1919, 16-21.
- 50 *The Crisis*, May 1919, 16-18; Keene, Jennifer D., *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 103, 238. Keene cites the memorandum as "Au sujet des troupes noires

americaines," 7 August 1918, serie 7N, Bureau special franco-americain, carton 2257, Service historique de l'Armee de terre, Chateau de Vincennes, Paris. Keene says that the May 1919, issue of *The Crisis* was the first English language publication of this document.

- 51 W.E.B. DuBois, "Returning Soldiers," *The Crisis*, May 1919, 13-14.
- 52 Mary White Ovington, "Reconstruction and the Negro," *The Crisis*, February 1919, 169-73.
- 53 Ibid. Ovington credits the fourteen points to a speech delivered by J.R. Hawkins before the District of Columbia branch of the NAACP.
- 54 Wynn, 9, 11-12. Chicago was the destination for the largest "influx" of black people, and black homes were the targets of two dozen bomb attacks between 1917 and 1919. Many white people in the North feared labor competition from blacks after the war. Unidentified soldier's comments cited from Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*, 483. (Chicago, 1923).
- 55 Wynn, 27-8.
- 56 Barbeau, 11. He cites from Carter G. Woodson, ed., *The Works of Francis J. Grimke* (Washington, D.C., 1942), 1:563-4.
- 57 Addie W. Hunton and Katherine M. Johnson, *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces* (New York: Brooklyn Eagle, 1920), 53-4.
- 58 Motley, 24; Sherie Mershon, *Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 2.
- 59 Wynn, 19-20; Finkenbine, 136-139. Locke's passage in Finkenbine is taken from: Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: MacMillan, 1925).
- 60 Motley, 25; Wynn, 21, 30, 35-7. Wynn cites three factors in the move toward desegregation: desire to align democratic ideals with military service, black activism and total war effort. During the crisis of the Battle of the Bulge (December 1944), Gen. Dwight Eisenhower agreed to take black labor volunteers to fill dangerous gaps in combat strength. Although Gen. John Lee, the commander of the communications zone, had proposed total integration, the final plan attached platoons of 40 men to white companies of 200 men. Volunteers numbered 5,000, but the Army set the limit at 2,500 and these men "fought throughout 1945."
- 61 Wynn, 36-7. The various surveys and reports come from two branches of the War Department, the Special Service Division (Research Branch) and the Troop Information and Education Division. All records were cited from War Dept. 47, National Archives Record Group 330.
- 62 Dalfiume, 21.

Corey B. White

Consolidating the Message: American Motion Pictures as Propaganda in the First World War

When the United States of America went to war in April 1917, the government faced an enormous task in selling the war to the public. The main objective was seemingly to convince the masses of American people that this war was for the preservation of democracy. Both the United States government and private enterprises employed several strategies in order to convince the citizens of the United States that war was a necessary means to an end. How to carry this message became the central question. Private industry turned out to have the answer. Cinema was a new medium that had been universally untapped as a major source of storytelling and information. This medium of communication was unique because it was in its stages of relative infancy. However, no other means of indoctrination was able to mobilize support in the United States for the “European War” like the motion pictures.

Declaring war against Germany on 6 April 1917, the United States represented an evolution of ideology, mixing the ideas of pacifism, isolationism, and “preparedness” into a tangled web of differing viewpoints. Three years earlier, countries such as Great Britain and France had more immediate reasons for entrance into a war. Because of distance, however, there was no immediate threat of invasion and no public treaties had been previously established which might drag America into the conflict. After a series of events – including, but not limited to, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, unrestricted submarine warfare by the Germans, and the Zimmerman Telegram – United States President Woodrow Wilson said to a joint session of Congress, “we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts – for democracy, for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government. ...”¹

Suddenly, the United States was in a position with which it had not been familiar in several years. Public opinion in America had been split between “preparedness” and pacifism. Just as the physical mobilization of the army was of major importance, so too was the

ideological mindset of the American people. This mindset needed encouragement toward supporting United States involvement in Europe. Film became the weapon to facilitate this encouragement.

Film as a medium was unique. Relatively new, the essence of film allowed for the same message to be carried almost anywhere across the country. If a farmer in Kansas saw *The Birth of a Nation* (probably the most popular film of the time), for the most part, a businessman in New York City was seeing the exact same piece of work. Whereas newspapers were subject to local bias, film, on the other hand, had no place for this kind of regional subjectivity.² The sheer amount of daily attendees also contributed to film's early success. A journalist for *McClure's Magazine* in 1915 pointed out that upwards of 10 million people a day attended the "picture shows."³ People flocked to motion pictures, also called "moving pictures" and more commonly "photoplays." The draw of these marvels was due mostly to their inherent novelty. Writing for *Film & History*, film historians David Mould and Charles Berg point out, "The motion picture was a thing of wonder; images on the screen were normally accepted for what they purported to be."⁴ Special effects had not been successfully utilized at this time and techniques like "fade-outs" and "dissolves" were even younger than the medium itself. Viewers of these early films were not just paying for the story and message of the filmmaker, but the wonders of watching photographs imitate reality, an anachronism when compared to today's technological standards.

Attending picture shows once or twice a week, for most, became a regular habit.⁵ When war broke out in 1914, silent newsreels inter-cut with informative title cards became the main attraction as inquisitive Americans sought to understand the Europeans' call to arms. "Official films" began sprouting up and purported to show actual battle scenes on the front.⁶ These supposedly neutral, documentary-style films would be of little interest today, but at the time they allowed the average American citizen to formulate a direct visual link to the fighting in Europe. American cameramen were known to travel with the British, French, and German armies and almost played the roles of honored guests. One film, *The German Side of the War*, opened to record-breaking crowds when it premiered at the 44th Street Theater in New York City in September 1915.⁷ The filmmakers, working for the *Chicago Tribune*, remarked about the German army, "the whole world can't whip them."⁸ The American public was thirsting for films about the war. Even before the United States entered the war, filmmakers capitalized on the

desire of the public to address the war in one way or another.

The term “propaganda” is one of the most ambiguous words in the English language. Its use questions the motives of the propagandist and implies indefinite results. During the war, the American government embarked on at least four different “Liberty Loan” campaigns. Posters appeared in order to rally support and condemn the enemy. One can certainly interpret these posters as examples of propaganda. The intention of the government in producing the posters was to remind the citizens of the country how each individual could contribute to the war effort. While the motivation behind these war posters is obvious, film offered a more confusing interpretation. The objective of the filmmaker was not always clear.⁹

Historian Richard Taylor examined film propaganda during the years of the Second World War, but his initial findings are relevant to any era. Because of its inherent use of dynamic and emotional visuals, the appeal of film, argues Taylor, “is therefore universal, unlimited by considerations of language, literacy, or culture. Only the blind man cannot see and understand what is happening on the screen.”¹⁰ While Taylor is correct that anyone could understand an actor, for example portraying sorrow, early silent films also utilized title cards to relay information and progress the story. The illiterate or non-English speakers would not have readily understood these title cards. Finally, he decrees, “the cinema has been, and indeed still is, the only truly mass medium.”¹¹ Not only does it reach the masses with the greatest amount of efficiency, but also it combines the most effective characteristics of each of the communication mediums.

Historian Larry Wayne Ward summarized propaganda film production during the neutrality years (1914–early 1917) as a minor industry. “It would be a mistake to conclude that propaganda films dominated American movie screens during the two and one-half years of neutrality,” he argues.¹² The general public, and therefore the film market, simply found very little interest in the European war. The American cinema audience seemed to prefer love stories and films about the triumph of the human soul rather than the bloodshed of a war campaign thousands of miles away. One cannot help but wonder what profitability Thomas Ince saw in a film like *Civilization*.

“Dedicated to the vast army whose tears have girdled the universe – The Mothers of the Dead,” so read a poster for the 1916 Thomas Ince film, *Civilization*.¹³ Lauded as “An Epic of Humanity,”

Civilization was the quintessential pacifist film of the era. Opening 2 June 1916 at the Criterion Theatre in New York City, *The New York Times* called the film “an excellently elaborate photo pageant on the physical horrors of war.”¹⁴ A rival production company had just released *The Battle Cry for Peace* and Ince’s Triangle Company was looking to take advantage of a pacifist American sentiment toward the war in Europe.¹⁵ The story of the film follows a soldier in a fictional army that refuses to fire a torpedo from his submarine upon a “defenseless passenger vessel.” Although not formally alluding to the sinking of the *Lusitania* on 15 May 1915, one reviewer understood this part of the film as a “barely-veiled allusion to last year’s torpedoing of the liner *Lusitania* in which 124 Americans died.”¹⁶ Mutiny follows and the submarine is sunk, killing the soldier and all those aboard. The body of the soldier is returned to the King of the fictional Wredpyd. The king is not aware, however, that the spirit of Christ has overtaken the soldier’s body. Here, Ince made a brilliant move by playing upon not only pacifist sentiment, but religious feelings as well. Christ takes the King on a mythological tour of the carnage caused by his war at which time, “the king declares the war at an end and begins the restoration of peace and happiness to his devastated land.”¹⁷ *Civilization* was wildly popular, and critics were enthralled with the photography of the film and Ince’s creative genius. *Variety* opened its review of the film with, “All hail to Thomas H. Ince as a master producer of filmdom.” The magazine commented that the film’s cast was “uniformly excellent,” and that “all told, ‘Civilization’ ranks with the world’s greatest cinema productions.”¹⁸ While *Civilization* enjoyed moderately profitable success at the box office, it certainly was not the norm.

Although the market for these films was questionable, Ince invested his own funds and gambled on a film about the European conflict. Although offering no evidence, historian Terry Ramsaye claimed Ince invested \$100,000 and profited \$700,000. Ramsaye claimed that Ince made the film for monetary gain and not as “propaganda” for incumbent President Woodrow Wilson’s non-interventionist reelection campaign.¹⁹ Irvin Willat, the editor of the film recalled, “I don’t think [the Ince studio] gave a damn [about the propaganda elements of the film]. They wanted to make pictures sell.”²⁰ It seems no coincidence that Ince opened his film in front of notables at the very same theater where *The Battle Cry for Peace* had played just weeks before.²¹ These questionable motives seem to outweigh the argument that Ince was attempting to make a

justified call for peace around the world. The reviewer from *Variety* even commented on Ince's uncreative use of an overtly "Teutonic" (German) character as the villainous King. "When a casualty list is flashed, the names thereon are undeniably German."²² While Ince's film was interpreted early on as a propaganda effort from the pacifists, time revealed outside factors that led one to believe material considerations, and not the call for armistice, motivated the filmmakers. Despite this question of motivation, one truth remained: people saw the film in great numbers.

Films like *Civilization* could influence popular opinion only so far, however, and the United States declared war against the Central Powers in April 1917. The films that would follow from the major studios epitomized a major ideological shift in American policy. Whereas before photoplays competed with one another for consumers, motion pictures released after the declaration of war dropped the non-interventionist, Wilsonian ideas of isolationism in favor of capitalizing on the nationalist fervor that gripped the country. Films of this era repeatedly illustrated the general rhetoric of World War I propaganda.

About the United States in the beginnings of American involvement, British historian Arthur Ponsonby quipped, "There was no richer field for propaganda."²³ As in other countries around the world, ill-informed citizens comprised the majority of the American audience, and the opportunity to influence public opinion, while making personal financial gains was an opportunity many filmmakers could not pass up. Some would rightly argue the major mediums of propaganda — songs, posters, newspaper, and literature — made a significant impact on the minds of American citizens. The motion picture, however, blended the most effective characteristics of each into a holistic message. By consolidating the message in the form of a motion picture, the viewer's attention was immediately grasped in an innovative way, and the message was received like never before.²⁴

Once the sentiment of neutrality ended, nationalism began to pervade the public mindset. Now critical of pacifism, patrons of theaters exclaimed, "I stopped being neutral and became a human being."²⁵ Audiences needed an outlet for their nationalist sentiments, and the motion picture studios quickly supplied this need. Because of the inherent uniqueness of film, mass audiences digested stories with propagandist undertones repeatedly throughout the war years.

According to Harold Lasswell's 1926 book *Propaganda Technique*

in the World War, the first objective of effective propaganda is to "mobilize hatred against the enemy." The most effective way to carry this out on screen was to take advantage of American innocence. Propaganda films regularly employed the tactic of portraying Germans as ruthless, lecherous and deceitful. In his book, Taylor points out, "Without purpose, 'propaganda' can have no aim and no direction."²⁶ Anti-German characterizations and stories functioned as a catalyst to achieve the purpose of inciting nationalist sentiment against Germany.

During World War I, one quarter of the films released were war-related.²⁷ One of the first films released after the United States declaration of war was the aptly named *The Little American*, which premiered in July 1917. Exchanging letters several months before production, studio heads Jesse Lasky and Adolph Zukor, and director Cecil B. de Mille were not in favor of the film by January 1917. Their sentiments reflected a belief in neutrality that persisted in the beginning of the year. As tensions overseas mounted and the pressure on the United States to enter the war increased, Lasky and Zukor lamented in March 1917, "We have talked it over here and believe that at this particular time, when other companies are striving to catch the national spirit. ... Mary Pickford in a production called 'The American Girl' would create a great deal of interest."²⁸ So began production of a film that, next to *Civilization*, constitutes one of the first in a series of films that used a propagandist message to make money. Mary Pickford herself was the biggest female star of her time and regularly rivaled her male counterparts.

Because of *The Little American*, Pickford's new nickname became "America's Sweetheart" and "Our Mary."²⁹ Her character in the film symbolically represented the pure, stainless image of American ideology. The filmmakers expertly played upon America's infatuation with Pickford, both innocent and sexual, and cast her trying to escape an onslaught of invading Germans. The German attacking the defenseless female was a reoccurring dynamic in American film propaganda.³⁰

Many of the scenarios that played out on the screen portraying characters in the war represented the reinforcement of popular propagandist stories. *The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin* premiered 9 March 1918 to an amazing reception at the Broadway Theatre in New York City.³¹ Noted by *The New York Times*, in attendance were "a large number of army and navy officers and a sprinkling of foreign officers."³² Hailed as "a picture that will go a long way toward awakening America to the danger of Prussianism," *The Kaiser*

sold out many of its opening shows.³³ Reviewer Peter Milne of the magazine *Motion Picture News* remarked, "*The Kaiser* dramatizes patriotism more intensely than any other picture the writer has seen."³⁴ This opinion represented a positive comment toward the effectiveness of the film.

One particular scene in the film depicted the Kaiser rewarding Officer von Neigel, the captain of the U-Boat that sank an enemy passenger liner. While the name of the liner is not revealed, the reviewer for *The New York Times* interpreted the liner to be the actual *Lusitania*. In his book *Falsehoods in War-Time*, Arthur Ponsonby debunked the theory that the Kaiser rewarded the crew of the U-Boat with medals. He did concede, "The propaganda value of the medal was great. ... The impression it created was absolutely and intentionally false." This episode illustrates how propaganda turned into a type of urban legend and found reinforcement on the screen. Later in the film, von Neigel degenerates to madness, according to *The Times*, "as a result of carrying out so brutal a command."³⁵

Hearts of the World, a film by D. W. Griffith, opened in New York City on 4 April 1918 at the 44th Street Theatre. The United States had been involved in the war for one year, and Griffith's film would come to represent the most fantastic and spectacular war film made until that point. Prime Minister of England Lloyd George approached Griffith about the possibility of creating a propaganda picture for the United States. Lillian Gish, a regular actress of Griffith's, recounted the meeting of Griffith and George while visiting London in early 1917: "We learned [Griffith] had been summoned to No. 10 Downing Street by the Prime Minister ... who told him that he had the greatest power in his hands for the control of men's minds that the world had ever seen."³⁶ Clearly, the British understood the usefulness of film as a means of propaganda. According to Gish, Griffith claimed that Lloyd George said, "I want you to go to work for France and England and make up America's mind to go to war with us."³⁷ Griffith agreed and set out "to make a propaganda film." *Hearts of the World* appears in the official British Film Catalogue with its creators as D.W. Griffith Inc. and the War Office Committee.³⁸

Advertisements running in *Motion Picture News* for *Hearts of the World* called it "The Sensational Spectacle Interwoven with the Sweetest Love Story Ever Told." Milne reviewed this film as well and welcomed Griffith's work "as a relief as well as an emotional inspiration." Praising the film on all fronts, Milne wrote, "Griffith has injected the true patriotism into his picture and has done more

to move and sway the emotions than any number of blundering enemy spies and violently heroic heroes have ever done or ever will do."³⁹ The altering of people's emotions is elicited by a very effective artist, or, in this case, a very effective propagandist. The "injection" of "patriotism" is what differentiates Griffith's work from the vast majority of non-war related pictures. It turned *Hearts of the World* from a filmmaker's contribution to the medium to a filmmaker's contribution to the war effort. Peter Milne, the reviewer, seems to be fully enveloped in the patriotic sentiment Griffith was hoping to achieve. However, years later, Griffith came under criticism for his participation in the British propaganda film.

Karl Brown, Griffith's assistant cameraman and author of *Adventures with D. W. Griffith* said, "The general opinion ... was that Griffith had botched his picture abominably. Made a mess of it. And what was it, after all? A made-to-order, government-sponsored, paid-in-advance propaganda picture! Horrible."⁴⁰ In a letter to President Wilson, Griffith himself remarked, "It has been hailed as the biggest propaganda to stir up patriotism yet put forth."⁴¹ Griffith, however, used the term propaganda not in a negative sense, but rather to represent his contribution to the war cause. While Griffith's film was wildly successful and only further cemented his lasting impression on the world of cinema, his blatant use of propaganda images forever tarnished this particular motion picture.

Looking back on Hollywood's more successful films of the silent era, the *Encyclopedia of American War Films* took notice of how audiences came out in droves to see "the lecherous Prussian officer gaze at Mary with the most dishonorable intentions."⁴² Cecil B. de Mille, *The Little American's* eventual director, understood how to capitalize upon America's obsession with Pickford as a defenseless young girl. A review for *Variety* read, "there is a vivid picturization of all of the horrors that have been related as having taken place in Belgium and France by the exponents of Prussian 'kultur.'"⁴³ For his article "Germans in Hollywood Film" for *Film & History*, professor Richard Oehling interviewed James Card, the former Vice-Director of the George Eastman House, the production studio responsible for *The Little American*. Card described the alternate ending that was employed because of the strong anti-German feeling sweeping the country:

The Little American was recalled when the war was declared. The earlier ending, in which the redeemed

Karl [Pickford's first love interest] was allowed to return to the USA with Angela [Pickford] to unlearn his German ways, was removed from the film and a new ending provided. This time Karl gets what is coming to him for his barbarism – death – and the Frenchman [Pickford's second love interest] wins the hand of the fair damsel. The new ending clearly was more in keeping with the changed status of the U.S.⁴⁴

Pickford was not the only young woman to symbolize German cruelty. The true story of nurse Edith Cavell became a hallmark of Entente propaganda. Cavell was a British nurse working on the front lines of France in 1915. The German army abducted and executed Cavell after a raid on a town in which she was stationed. Her martyrdom shocked the world and the United States film industry capitalized on the event in the form of *The Cavell Case* and *The Woman the Germans Shot*. Taglines of the film directed at theatre owners read, "If YOU are a 100% American you will be proud to show your patrons Select Pictures' Great Special, *The Cavell Case*."⁴⁵ Other women acted as the target for German brutality as well. *Variety* told about one scene from *To Hell with the Kaiser*, "nothing is sacred to the invaders, and when the mother superior protests, she is shot dead in the presence of the crown prince, who declares he will take the first choice among the girls, and the others may follow suit."⁴⁶

Repeatedly in propaganda films, females represented the idyllic innocence of humanity that is brutally shattered by the unholy hordes of Germans. The reasoning seemed to be that if Americans did not win the war, the Germans would invade and destroy humanity. Rarely was a German officer successful in his attempts to ravish a young lady. Usually the male protagonist made a daring rescue of his maiden, and no harm was done to her. For example, Pickford is saved at the last minute by her French boyfriend. Film audiences were not ready for the violence and bloodshed that is commonplace in today's cinema. The mere implication of rape was enough to antagonize the audience.

While the story of Nurse Cavell was a documented fact, the German atrocities committed in Belgium, Ponsonby argued, existed purely for propagandist purposes: "Stories of German frightfulness in Belgium were circulated in such numbers as to give ample proof of the abominable cruelty of the German armies and so to infuriate popular opinion against them."⁴⁷ Ponsonby cites five American war

correspondents' 1915 declaration, "To let the truth be known, we unanimously declare the stories of German cruelties [in Belgium] ... were untrue."⁴⁸ However, this failed to fetter the film industry from taking advantage of this historical inaccuracy. *Variety* calls the invasion of Belgium as "stirringly depicted" in *The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin*.⁴⁹ Accuracy was abandoned in favor of instilling hatred toward the Germans. The titles of other films alone illustrate the role played by the German characters.

The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin and *To Hell with the Kaiser* leave very little room for speculation as to the point of view of the picture. An advertisement taken out in *Motion Picture News* shows one of the inter-titles from *The Kaiser* that reads, "Then came the Kaiser's horde of baby killers."⁵⁰ Invading Germans tell the Belgian civilians to "Stand aside ... it's the girl I want!" Finally, the ad concludes with an inter-title representing a conversation in the film between American ambassador to Germany James Gerard and the Kaiser in which Wilhelm chuckles, "What — The United States fight? Faugh!" The *Variety* reviewer enjoyed the picture thoroughly even though he knew "the whole affair is designed to arouse a just indignation against the German emperor."⁵¹ Despite this "commercialism" as he puts it, the hope is that the public will look beyond the purpose of the film and instead focus on the content. One can almost envision an everyday American citizen seeing ads like this and responding with a feeling of nationalist pride that carried him straight to the movie theatre.

Motion Picture News ran a series of advertisements directed toward theatre owners (known as exhibitors) in which the purpose was to convince the exhibitor to purchase a print of the film. The largest campaign was for *To Hell with the Kaiser*, a fanciful drama about the Kaiser taking over the world and upon his death being sent to hell where Satan abdicates his throne claiming the atrocities committed by the Kaiser could never be surpassed, not even by the Dark Lord himself. "Of all box office attractions ever offered," the ad begins, "this is one that you know will bring the greatest cash returns. Book it, advertise it, get back of it!"⁵² The focus of the advertisements was to encourage the exhibitors to exploit certain aspects of the film to draw a larger, more susceptible audience: "Play strong that the picture shows the compact between Hell and the Hun." The magazine recommends to "tell the public that this is a frank indictment of the Kaiser." If someone is concerned that the "atrocities" of the film might not be accurate, tell them, "[the Germans] have thousands of duplicates in events that have shocked

the civilized world.”⁵³ Simply put, Germans in American war propaganda pictures were “portrayed as being so utterly ruthless and bloodthirsty that the audience [was] moved to cheer for their annihilation.”⁵⁴

Public outbursts by the audience were not uncommon. Silent film audiences had not yet separated their role as an audience from the theatre. The stage requires the audience to be far more engaged with the performance. Cheering, booing, and performers thanking the audience was regular practices at a play.

Unlike today, audiences during World War I felt the necessity to express their like or dislike with the picture on the spot. Occasionally, the filmmakers sat in on the premiere and were called on stage at the conclusion of the film. As the credits rolled and the orchestra played for the premiere of *Civilization*, Thomas Ince was reluctantly called on stage and spoke briefly about his pacifist sentiments.⁵⁵ Likewise at the premiere of *Hearts of the World* in April 1918, “spectators stood and shouted for Mr. Griffith until he appeared on stage.”⁵⁶ The show of admiration bestowed on the filmmakers extended to the actors and the film itself as well.

Reviewers frequently noted the outbursts of the audience when the character of the Kaiser appeared on screen. At the premiere of *Hearts of the World*, the audience hissed the first appearance of actor Erich von Stroheim as representing the Kaiser.⁵⁷ The Austrian-born actor made a living as the Kaiser in American propaganda motion pictures also appearing in *The Hun Within* (1918) and *The Unbeliever* (1918). Filmmakers seemed to know just how to provoke their audiences for the proper reaction. The review for *The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin* tells the story of the reaction received from a physical attack on the Kaiser: “The audience applauded wildly when a young German Captain, resenting an insult of the Kaiser, laid the monarch low with a right-hand uppercut to the jaw.”⁵⁸ Even the beautiful scenery of the French countryside in *Hearts of the World* incited an ovation: “Many times those in the theatre broke into applause just as some particularly beautiful landscape of rural vista [appeared].”⁵⁹

Some reactions, however, did not come as easily. At a screening for *Lest We Forget*, a film about the sinking of the *Lusitania* which actually starred one of the survivors, the reviewer notes how the audience barely had any reaction: “Only the American flag evoked any noise, and this was brought forward whenever possible.” The reviewer felt the audience’s stillness illustrated the film’s inadequacies: “Picture people will have several laughs at its shortcomings.”⁶⁰ Reviewers

often commented whenever they suddenly understood the film they were viewing was a propaganda feature.

The style of the reviewers' writing illustrated a hierarchy of comprehension about the directives of the film. The journalists held themselves apart from the audience, believing they could see through the thin veil of deceit many of the films tried to promulgate. One reviewer working for *The New York Times* reviewed a propaganda film called *The Spy*. Calling the film a "lurid tale," the writer reported, "the photoplay is typical of its kind. ... There could be no doubt, however, about last night's audience. It stays in rapt attention and all but gasped aloud."⁶¹ His reference to the audience as "it" and not "we" illustrates a concerted effort to separate himself from the mass of viewers. Another film, *Womanhood, the Glory of the Nation* headlined as a "feeble war film," and the article referred to it as "an inartistic and ineffective picture." The audience, on the other hand, responded very positively to the film and cheered and hissed as expected. While the reviewer believed the film to be ineffective, the reaction of the audience spoke differently. The reviewer disliked the film so much that he purposefully insulted the plot, which followed the idea of what might happen if the United States was invaded by outsiders armed with "wireless controlled 'firebugs,' which are full of an inflammable substance." Sarcastically, he wrote, "it is to be hoped that no enemy spies in the audience will send these secrets abroad."⁶² Other reviewers seemed less cynical and offered a more realistic perspective on the role the films played in the war effort. The *Variety* reviewer for *Hearts of the World* believed it to be an excellent "propaganda feature" and should be played "at reasonably popular prices" so that "it should prove a material aid to recruiting."⁶³ The reviewer understood that many films made at that time were not intended to be great donations to the artistic medium but rather nothing more than effective tools of propaganda. Additionally, the same author described *To Hell with the Kaiser* as a "wonderfully effective propaganda picture and is bound to arouse enthusiasm wherever shown." This realistic ideology concerned itself not with the films' contribution to the arts but rather with how successful of a propaganda film it would be. On 29 April 1918, *The New York Times* ran a telegram of protest from Morris Gest addressed to President Wilson complaining about censorship in film, a controversial issue at the time. In describing *Hearts of the World*, Gest believed "the entire picture constitute[s] tremendous propaganda of a patriotic nature arousing audiences ... to great pitch because of the absolute truth about the indictment against Germany." These articles help

explain the audience to which these films were geared. Filmmakers understood the role of propaganda film and, despite a few exceptions, so too did reviewers working for the major publications at the time. The films represented fodder for the common man and oftentimes the means of propaganda extended beyond the screen. Some of these means were even employed by the United States government.

Through its multiple departments, the United States Committee on Public Information (CPI) hid behind the façade of being an outlet of information to the public. Richard Taylor's definition of propaganda illustrates this façade. Taylor defined propaganda as "what the enemy engages in," whereas, "one's own 'propaganda' parades under the disguise of 'information' or 'publicity.'"⁶⁴

The primary objective of the CPI was the dissemination of "information" to the public about the war abroad. The mass public (those not receiving personal correspondence) was limited in methods of acquiring information about the war. The CPI worked to fill this void of ill-informed citizens through the use of motion pictures. Motion pictures became not only entertainment, but as one writer for *Moving Picture World* wrote in a 1915 article, "the motion picture is the university of the plain people."⁶⁵ The people who attended these films were susceptible not only to the film itself, but the CPI often employed speakers in between reel changes to speak about how members of the audience could contribute to the war effort. Films during the silent era commonly constituted between three and five reels and it took approximately five minutes to switch the reels out. These speakers were known as the Four Minute Men (sometimes referred to as the Five Minute Men).

The chairman of the committee, George Creel, claimed in his autobiography to have 75,000 Four Minute Men by the date of armistice.⁶⁶ Creel explained the process by which the men addressed the audience, "the form of presentation decided upon was a glass slide to be thrown on the theater-curtain, and worded as follows:

4 MINUTE MEN 4
(Copyright, 1917. Trade-mark.)

.....

(Insert name of speaker)
will speak four minutes on
a subject of national importance.

He speaks under the authority of:
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION
GEORGE CREEL, Chairman
Washington, D.C."⁶⁷

Topics on which the speakers addressed ranged anywhere from "Fire Prevention" to, ironically, "German War Propaganda."⁶⁸ These individuals appeared multiple times in the reviews for propaganda films. Two speakers were present at *Womanhood, Glory of the Nation*: "J. Stewart Blackton asked his audience to consider what a nation of 100 million Bryans would be as compared with a like number of [Teddy] Roosevelts."⁶⁹ The "Bryans" he asked to consider is based on William Jennings Bryan, a staunch pacifist who surrendered his seat as Secretary of State in 1915 due to what he believed to be America's hostile treatment of Germany. The other speaker, Burr McIntosh delivered a speech of general "preparedness" that night. McIntosh reappeared a year later at the screening for *The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin* in which "during the intermission ... made a patriotic address."⁷⁰ President Woodrow Wilson published his gratitude for the Four Minute Men in a letter that appeared in the *New York Times* on 25 March 1918. Referring to them as "spokesmen of the national cause," the President claims the country is in debt for their loyalty and service.⁷¹ The Four Minute Men represented a rare combined effort on the part of the private film industry and the government-sponsored CPI.

American propaganda motion pictures served two other major roles. The first found the most popular actors serving as a type of Four Minute Men outside the theater. Actors such as Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, and Charlie Chaplin traveled parts of the United States with the sole intention of selling Liberty Loans.⁷² The Liberty Loan Drives saw four waves of propaganda techniques in film including speeches, short films, and even saw Mary Pickford adopt a battalion if she met her Liberty Loan goal.⁷³ She presented them with a locket holding a picture of her inside.⁷⁴ Excitement abroad, headlines read, "Stirring Celebrations Help Speed Loan Drive" and "Will Arouse Nation in Loan Campaign."⁷⁵ Films included *The Great Liberty Bond Holdup*, which showed multiple stars in their traditional characters holding up a bank for Liberty Bonds, and Charlie Chaplin's *The Bond* (or *Some Bonds I Have Known*), showing Chaplin describing the many different types of bonds in the world – love, friendship, marriage and victory, but none so important as Liberty Bonds for the war.⁷⁶ The end of the film finds Chaplin hitting the Kaiser over the head with a mallet.⁷⁷ Actress Clara Kimball Young promised to present Liberty Bonds to members of the New York Giants who hit home runs against a match against the Chicago White Sox. *Photoplay* magazine reported, "she sustained no financial loss."⁷⁸ Studios even got in on the act

by issuing slogans such as "Kill Kaiserism — Buy a Liberty Bond" in theatre inserts for their films.⁷⁹ The second major purpose for propaganda films saw the films travel thousands of miles away, to where the action was really taking place.

Soldiers on the warfront enjoyed motion pictures for the same reasons most citizens did. However, viewing motion pictures gave soldiers a sense of normalcy in an abnormal time and place. Simply, it reminded them of home. An article for *The New York Times* reported that "if a vote of all the American men in khaki could be taken, both here and in France, probably they would list the 'movies' as their chief relaxation."⁸⁰ A French soldier explained, "It's like a smile, a magic smile that the screen gives, which brings back to us soldiers the faraway memory of happy times passed in the cinema when we were civilians."⁸¹ The types of films do not find consistency, however. The article for *The Times* claimed soldiers preferred either the propaganda films from home, or comedies, especially those starring Charlie Chaplin.⁸² Film Historian Larry Ward also claims the soldiers enjoyed propaganda films. "American military men in particular showed interest in screen propaganda. Not only had they attended numerous film screenings during the neutrality years, but they had, on occasion, given strong endorsements to films supportive of greater American military readiness."⁸³ This belief contradicts other reports from the front at the time.

Ernest A. Dench, a reporter for *Motion Picture Magazine*, claimed soldiers preferred to have their thoughts taken away from the "serious work in front of them."⁸⁴ In fact, soldiers vastly preferred romance stories according to one report from *Photoplay* magazine. Their idol was Mary Pickford and the war dramas did not draw the servicemen to the doors of the theater.⁸⁵ Gordon Seagrove, the author, claims the military men could not comfortably watch war films which they saw as poorly made. They saw their everyday life played out by actors and found this representation unfair and incorrect. Which films the soldiers preferred remains a mystery; however, one can easily ascertain that their popularity was undeniable. One soldier even sent a poem to the editors of *Photoplay* which they dutifully printed in their January 1918 issue. Entitled "Out Where," part of it read, "I sit with a 'Photoplay' captured by chance, And forget for a while I'm somewhere in France."⁸⁶ Whether war dramas, romance, comedy or other, Canadian Pvt. A. J. Anderson's poem reveals the infatuation soldiers on the front had for motion pictures, and especially wildly popular stars like Charlie Chaplin.

The final war film released during World War I had its premiere 20 October 1918. The only noteworthy comedy relating to the war released during the war years, Charlie Chaplin's *Shoulder Arms* was triumphantly successful despite some initial wariness from his colleagues. Cecil B. de Mille, director of *The Little American*, which also eased into production, told Chaplin, "It's dangerous at this time to make fun of the war."⁸⁷ Undaunted, Chaplin took up the challenge of making the bloodiest war in recent human existence actually funny. Blending physical humor and the "little tramp" character that made Chaplin famous, *Shoulder Arms* was not inherently nationalistic but instead related the plight of one bumbling soldier on the war front. Chaplin was the only actor that could have pulled off such a masterpiece and his film represented an ideology that the world had grown weary of the war. For this reason, Chaplin's picture was not a propaganda film. The film's genuineness and comical value make it now considered the quintessential motion picture made during the Great War although it ran for only a few weeks during the actual war itself.

Film propaganda during the Great War came in many forms and served many purposes. Despite its relative infancy, films produced during 1917-1918 set the standard for propaganda on the screen for years to come. World War II saw an explosion of this style and its success can certainly be attributed to films like *The Little American*, *To Hell with the Kaiser*, *Hearts of the World*, *The Kaiser*, *Beast of Berlin*, and *Shoulder Arms*. Many of the films are gone, but through reviews and reactions, the memory of their impact on American society lives on.

Notes

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- 3 Leslie Midkiff DeBauche, "Mary Pickford's Public on the Home Front," in Karel Dibbets and Bert Hogenkamp, ed., *Film and the First World War* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 153.
- 4 Mould and Berg, 50.
- 5 Richard A. Oehling, "Germans in Hollywood Film," *Film & History*, 3 (1973): 1.
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- 7 *Ibid.*, 28.

- 8 "Donald Thompson's Famous War Pictures," *Moving Picture World*, 6 (February 1915): 812.
- 9 An example can be found at: Hew Strachan, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), illustration after page 148.
- 10 Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia & Nazi Germany* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1979), 29.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ward, 42.
- 13 Reproductions of the poster can be found in Kelly, 20.
- 14 "Ince Photo Pageant Shown," *New York Times*, 3 June 1916.
- 15 Kelly, 21.
- 16 Robyn Karney, ed., *Chronicle of the Cinema* (New York City: Dorling Kindersley Publishing, Inc., 1995), 118.
- 17 "Civilization," *Variety*, 9 June 1916.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture* (New York City: Simon Schuster, 1926), 728.
- 20 Kevin Brownlow, *The War, the West, and the Wilderness* (New York City: Adolf A. Knopf, Inc., 1978), 74.
- 21 "Ince Photo Pageant Shown," *New York Times*, 3 June 1916.
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- 23 Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in War-Time: Containing an Assortment of Lies Circulated Throughout the Nations During the Great War* (New York City: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1928), 180.
- 24 Although films were technically "silent," this meant simply there was no synchronous dialogue or sound effects. Orchestras regularly played the background music for the sound and, much like an opera, a singer was positioned off-stage. A reviewer makes reference to this technique in *New York Times*, 3 June 1916.
- 25 Ward, 54.
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- 27 DeBauche, 149.
- 28 Ibid., 151.
- 29 Ibid., 154.
- 30 Strachan, illustration after page 148.
- 31 "The Kaiser on the Screen," *New York Times*, 10 March 1918.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 "The Kaiser," *Variety*, 15 March 1918.
- 34 Peter Milne, "The Kaiser," *Motion Picture News*, 23 March 1918, 1767.
- 35 "The Kaiser on the Screen," *New York Times*, 10 March 1918.

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- 37 Ibid.
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- 40 <http://silentsaregolden.com/heartsoworldfeature.html> – (Viewed 3 March 2004). See Appendix 1.
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- 43 "The Little American," *Variety*, 6 July 1917.
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- 45 Charles H. Tarbox, *Lost Films: 1895-1917* (Los Angeles: Film Classic Exchange, Inc., 1983), 263.
- 46 "To Hell with the Kaiser," *Variety*, 5 July 1918.
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- 50 "The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin," *Motion Picture News*, 17 (1918): 2381.
- 51 "The Kaiser," *Variety*, 15 March 1918.
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- 59 "War Vividly Seen in Griffith Film," *New York Times*, 5 April 1918.
- 60 "Lest We Forget," *Variety*, 1 February 1918.
- 61 "'The Spy' a Lurid Movie," *New York Times*, 28 August 1917.
- 62 "Feeble War Film Shown," *New York Times*, 2 April 1917.
- 63 "Hearts of the World," *Variety*, 12 April 1918.
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- 65 "Right the War Tax," *Moving Picture World*, 20 November 1915, 1454.
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- 67 Ibid.

- 68 Ibid., 87.
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- 71 "Wilson Thanks Movie Men," *New York Times*, 25 March 1918.
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LeNie Adolphson

Cyclops, Wizards, and Dragons: The Ku Klux Klan in Williamson County

The Klan entered the First Christian Church in Marion in November 1922. Seventeen men dressed in Klan regalia marched down the center aisle. Filled with anxiety and curiosity the congregation sat in silence. The hooded intruders gave the evangelist a ten-dollar bill and a letter that read:

Rev Scoville, dear sir, please accept this token of appreciation of your efforts and great work you are doing for the community. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are behind this kind of work to a man, and stand for the highest ideal of the native born white gentile American citizenship which are: The tenets of the Christian religion: protection of pure womanhood, just laws, and liberty, absolute upholding of the constitution of the United States of America, free public schools, free speech, free press, law and order. Yours for a better and greater community, Exalted Cyclops¹.

In the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan arrived in southern Illinois, and wreaked havoc on the community of Herrin. The Klan descended upon Williamson County, with great fanfare. They courted Victorian ideology and pandered to anti-immigrant prejudice. Additionally, the Klan employed religious rhetoric that supported their white supremacist beliefs. Among other things they promised to restore morality and end the rampant vice in the area. In practice, however, the Klan created mayhem and bedlam. Their violent assaults included unauthorized raids. The Klan assumed control of the sheriff's department without any legal authorization and engaged in beatings and shootouts; they propagated falsehoods and created an atmosphere of violence and unrest. The Klan of southern Illinois disrupted the community and, much to the chagrin of Herrin's citizens, the town became the focus of negative national media attention. The Klan that emerged in Williamson County was

typical of other Klan organizations that flooded small cities and towns in the 1920s. The Klan rooted itself in small towns such as Athens, Georgia, and Herrin, Illinois, allegedly to restore order and purity; however, the Klan's notions of order resulted in brutal and unwarranted lynching, beatings, and suspicious house fires.²

During the 1920s, the Klan wooed American communities in the name of wholesomeness, respectability, and "One Hundred Percent Americanism,"³ yet it was keenly aware of its notorious past. The Klan no longer desired to be associated with lynchings and beatings as in the past.⁴ Therefore, it was imperative that the Klan change its image. The Klan did so when it invaded Herrin and Williamson County. The area was plagued with crime, and a sheriff's department that proved either unable or unwilling to stop the tide of rampant lawlessness. Crime and vice (gambling, prostitution, illegal bootlegging of alcohol) were the catalyst for the Klan to assume control. Therefore, the Klan stepped in as rescuer of Williamson County. The film *Birth of a Nation* graphically depicted this same type of rescue scenario. This landmark film by D. W. Griffith premiered in 1915 to massive audiences and rave reviews throughout America. It purportedly depicted Reconstruction and its failures due to roguish black people and opportunistic Northern white people. In the film, black men pursued white women, supposedly to rape and attack them. The Ku Klux Klan rode in, "rescued" white womanhood, and restored the government to white Southerners. President Woodrow Wilson, who viewed the film in the White House, hailed it as the best film he had ever seen.

Southern Illinois proved to be an excellent breeding ground for a vigilante organization such as the Klan because of citizen frustration with law enforcement's inability to control vice activity. The Klan used Kleagles (traveling salesmen) to scout communities and cities for members, which made a hefty profit for a salesman and Klan officials. For example, a Kleagle, Edward Young Clark, head of the Klan's Department of Propagation, visited southern Illinois. Clark, and his efforts were very successful and resulted in tens of thousands of new recruits throughout southern Illinois.⁵

The Klan used the power of the Protestant church and cleverly incorporated its rhetoric with bible-based sentiment against immorality. Yet, the vice that plagued Williamson County was not the only factor in the Klan's ability to assume control. Many of the residents of southern Illinois originally migrated from Arkansas and Tennessee and most brought with them nativist attitudes, sectional ideologies, Protestant beliefs, and affection for the Klan

that stemmed from the early days of the organization.

Moreover, labor problems in the coal mines had led to violence in southern Illinois. The violence erupted after coal miners brought in replacement workers during strikes. For example, Carterville was the scene of a race riot when mine operators brought African-American replacement workers to work mines. In Herrin, a strike took place that left 21 men dead. National papers such as the *New York Times* condemned the people of Herrin for failing to prosecute and convict the perpetrators of this ghastly massacre.⁶

In 1921, 200 Klegles arrived in Williamson County after Edward Young Clark's initial visit to establish strong bases of support. The first order of business for the Klan involved gathering support from Protestant ministers. The Klan gave ministers free memberships and complimentary subscriptions to the *Kourier*, a Klan periodical. Invitations were sent on typed personal stationery in order to feign their exclusiveness; they were mailed to Masonic groups, patriotic societies, and fraternal organizations to petition these organizations to support the Klan or join the hooded order.⁷

Klegles in southern Illinois utilized propaganda films such as *The Face at your Window*, which portrayed immigrants as dangerous. They arranged for Klan lecturers to speak on the principles of "One Hundred Percent Americanism." The Klan also ran a regular questionnaire in many southern Illinois newspapers entitled "Am I a real American?"⁸ The Klan propaganda program won thousands of new recruits in southern Illinois. In Johnston City, the Klan boasted 900 members.⁹ In Williamson County, Klan membership was estimated at 2,000 members and in Jackson County enrollment was over 700 men.¹⁰ The Klan garnered a huge amount of support from Protestant church members. Furthermore, the support and popularity of the Klan from Herrin's frustrated citizens contributed significantly to the success of the Klan, particularly in Williamson County.¹¹

The Klan appeared in Williamson County for the first time in an ostentatious manner. Armed with the support of the Protestant churches, the Klan campaigned to eradicate what it saw as the decadence that ruled Williamson County. In 1923, bootlegging dominated southern Illinois. There was an insatiable demand for alcohol in the bigger cities and the smaller towns.¹²

A major figure in leading the Klan in southern Illinois was S. Glen Young, who enjoyed the support of several Protestant ministers. John L. Whiteside, leader of the Marion Klan, and Klansman Arlie O. Boswell, a candidate for States Attorney, were also key figures.¹³

Employed as an agent of the Bureau of Investigation, (Department of Justice), and placed in charge of pursuing draft dodgers in the southern states, Young received commendations and was known as a vigorous and forceful officer. After World War I, Young obtained a post as a special agent in the newly created Prohibition Unit of the Treasury Department. The agency was responsible for enforcing the Volstead Act.¹⁴ However, Young's forceful and aggressive manner led the department to dismiss him on the grounds that he did not exercise the caution and discretion of a government officer.¹⁵

There were other problems with Young. The government uncovered irregularities in August 1920. Young confiscated a roulette wheel, 500 poker chips, and \$157.50 in cash from a gambler in Tamms, Illinois, and never turned the property over to the agent in charge, despite the fact that he had been repeatedly ordered to do so. Finally, Young was accused of rape in December 1920; due to insufficient evidence the case did not go to trial. In addition, a young woman from Aiken, South Carolina, accused him of absconding with \$400 of her money. Yet, despite Young's obvious checkered past, southern Illinoisans warmly embraced him. Moreover, the Klan viewed Young as a suitable Klansman, and he supported the Klan and its ideologies.¹⁶

Young's relationship with the Klan evolved as they sought to garner support and power, and Young wanted supreme authority in southern Illinois. Therefore, the two joined forces to govern the area. Young and the Klan forged strong bonds with local ministers. The leaders of several Protestant churches such as the First Christian Church of Marion proved to be a key Klan ally, and this alliance paved the way for the Klan to play a major role in local government. During a rally at the courthouse in Marion, Illinois, Pastor A. M. Stickney, pastor of the Marion Methodist Episcopal Church, delivered a major speech requesting the mayor to appear. Bemoaning the vice in the area, Rev. P. H. Glotfelty then took the podium, and in a loud voice he declared that roadhouses and prostitution were operating openly and gambling and drinking were rampant. Glotfelty, another Protestant minister, told the crowd:

Its time to show that we're one hundred percent Americans. Foreigners, particularly those from Italy are to blame. The time has come to say to them and to a sheriff unwilling to disturb the bootleggers in their illegal occupation you must walk the line of Americanism. Williamson County will be cleaned up if we have to do it ourselves.¹⁷

The night after the speech 5,000 raucous Klansmen met in West Frankfort to initiate 200 men, the largest cohort up to that point. With local support from the ministers and many persons in the community, there was a vigorous crack down on bootleggers and other nefarious individuals. Rev. Stickney compared the United States to the Titanic, stating that "rapidly yet unwarily America was approaching disaster, foreign immigration would destroy the nation, the assassins of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley were all roman Catholics, the great majority of the newspapers were controlled by Catholic and Jewish capital." A. E. Prince suggested outright that vigilante Klansmen were more effective law officers than the local police. Prince stated, "That fine body of men composing the invisible empire would be excellent law men."¹⁸

With the preachers seething from the pulpit, the County Board of Supervisors (almost all Klansmen) called for law enforcement. At its first meeting in the Fall of 1923, the board repeatedly passed resolutions declaring that the county officials were derelict in their duty.¹⁹ The County Board of Supervisors and the Klan claimed that in every section of the county there were roadhouses where liquor was being sold, gambling taking place, and prostitutes operating. They claimed lawless organizations prevented enforcement and terrorized citizens who protested against the vice. After each meeting, the sheriffs conducted a few raids. However, the supervisors were disgusted with Sheriff Galligan and admittedly detested him. The supervisors refused to provide the additional deputies that Galligan requested to curb the lawlessness. By 1923, the Klan numbered many thousands and was very annoyed.²⁰

In June 1923 the Klan decided to deliver on the threat made by Pastor Glotfelty, who stated a year earlier that "Williamson County will be cleaned out if we have to do it ourselves."²¹ The first move was to appeal to Illinois Governor Len Small to send a prohibition agent. The Law and Order League, which included Herrin Klansmen John Smith, Marion Klansman John Whiteside, and Klansman Arlie O. Boswell, who was a candidate for States Attorney, went to Springfield where the governor rebuffed them summarily. However, the rejection did not stop the group; they traveled to Washington, D.C. While in Washington, the committee encountered Glen Young. The facts are in dispute as to exactly how Young returned to Williamson County. The Herrin *Weekly Herald*, an official Klan organ, asserted that Roy A. Haynes recommended Young. However, in a telegram to the *St. Louis Star* Haynes denied sending Young to Williamson County. Klansman John Smith of

Herrin stated, "The committee met Young accidentally while in Washington." In a statement to the *Associated Press*, Young stated, "Four years ago while I was a prohibition officer I raided Herrin and parts of Williamson County, and the people of Williamson County who were desirous of law enforcement were pleased with my work and sent for me."²²

Young's statements were not altogether truthful; in fact it was the Klan who sought out Young, not the citizens of Williamson County. The Klan chose Young because of his forcefulness and his propensity to dispense with civil liberties. Young had a proclivity to use violence on suspects. Young also came with a recommendation from United States Representatives Richard Yates and E.E. Denison, both from Williamson County. The congressmen asked Prohibition Commissioner Roy A. Hayes to send an agent from his force to Williamson County to deputize Glen Young along with 500 other Klansmen. Hayes agreed and sent three federal agents: Gus J. Simmons from Pittsburgh, and Victor L. Armitage and J.F. Loeffler from the Chicago office. Simmons read the oath deputizing each untrained man as a federal officer. Once Young and hundreds of Klansmen and several ministers were deputized, the raids on liquor trafficking commenced.²³

The first night of the raids the deputized officers left the hall and began raiding illegal liquor establishments in Marion, Murphysboro, Herrin, and Carbondale. There were several arrests and all of the prisoners were taken to Benton, Illinois, for arraignment before the United States commissioner. Two weeks later, on 5 January 1923, the raids continued. Two days later, 250 men who were deputized conducted raids in Herrin and smaller towns in the county. The raids resulted in 256 arrests.²⁴

The raids caused a major uproar from the anti-Klan forces, which included Catholics, and Italian and French nationalists. Moreover, bootleggers and gamblers did not want their activities interrupted. In Herrin, bootleggers and gamblers formed The Knights of the Flaming Circle. Its numbers were not as large as the Klan; notwithstanding, they were strong enough to form an armed resistance. Eventually, some individuals began to view the raids with suspicion and, later, with contempt when it was learned that the Klan not only raided the homes of bootleggers but the homes of Roman Catholics. Allegations of rough treatment, robberies, beatings, and planted evidence emerged. There was a small group of French nationalists in Johnston City and Italians in Herrin who made so many complaints that the French and Italian consular

agents in Springfield protested to the United States Department of State.²⁵

A Williamson County Grand Jury found the stories of mistreatment valid. On 14 March 1923 the Williamson County Grand Jury reported: "We find that during the so called raids by the Ku Klux Klan numerous people were beaten, robbed, abused, and in many instances imprisoned secretly without any legal process and wholly without justifiable cause."²⁶ Moreover, United States District Attorney Harold G. Baker of East St. Louis wrote on 11 February 1927 of the Klan raids to the Attorney General: "There is no doubt in my mind, but, what rights of citizens and the rights of property were totally disregarded in many cases."²⁷

There were a series of events between 1924 and 1926 that revealed the true nature of the Ku Klux Klan, and destroyed all notions of a kinder, gentler Klan. Young and the Klan began traveling around the county intimidating people and intruding into homes and businesses. Young pistol whipped a man for not raising his hands quickly enough. Many began saying the Klan was dirty and had mud on their sheets. On 23 December 1923, a Williamson County Deputy Sheriff arrested Wallace A. Bandy (who was also a Klansman) on a warrant issued by the States Attorney's office; released from jail on a personal recognizance bond, it would have appeared that the Bandy case would have been an insignificant footnote in Williamson County history. However, it led to an explosive situation in the county, which resulted in deaths and injuries and a major riot at the Herrin Hospital.²⁸

Two days after Bandy was released Young and other Klansmen dined at a restaurant owned by Paul Corder. Corder stated "Well, they got Bandy." Young replied that the case was a "frame-up." Corder replied that Young was a "smart son of a bitch." A major fight ensued, and Corder was severely beaten by Glen Young. Later, Corder pressed charges, which resulted in the arrest and arraignment of Young.²⁹

After Young's arrest, several hundred Klansmen entered the courthouse, armed with machine guns. Sheriff Galligan nervously feared the worst and ordered three militias to Marion.³⁰ A pro-Klan jury quickly acquitted Young. Cheering crowds met Young as he exited the courthouse. The acquittal brought more unrest to the area. Young brimmed with confidence since he had brutally beaten an innocent man and the jury nullified his actions. Moreover, the crowd's cheers validated Young and the Klan. Young shouted defiantly to the crowd that the raids would continue.³¹

However, Sheriff Galligan grew increasingly frustrated and feared Klan carnage; he feared the raids would lead to more violence. Therefore, Galligan sought to reach a compromise with the Klan. He agreed to remove the federal troops from Herrin, if the Klan would stop the raids. Galligan told the Klan that they were no longer needed, since he and the deputies would enforce the law.³² The raids did not escape the attention of W. W. Anderson, chief of prohibition, who telegraphed Galligan and ordered that all raids end immediately until further notice.³³

Upon Galligan notifying Young of the order from Anderson, Young refused to cease the raids. In a statement of belligerency, Young replied to the request by stating,

Klan leaders called me in and said they would stay with me to a man as long as I produced. With or without federal aid we are going to continue the raids, and I am going to lead them. The sheriff's gang tried to rule me out in the conference last night, but I produced results in the clean-up, and they assured me fifteen thousand others in the county were behind me as well. Upon thirty minutes I can gather thousands of other men to do my bidding in this drive, and in two hours I can get seven thousand Klansmen from Williamson County, and Franklin County.³⁴

At a meeting at the Rome Club, Galligan, in an effort to quell the tide of vigilanteism perpetrated by the Klan, appealed to saloonkeepers and bootleggers to tear down the bars and "find some other way to make a living."³⁵ However, Galligan's pleas were to no avail. The saloon owners stubbornly opposed prohibition. Only three of the 83 saloon owners agreed to close down their bars. The compromise increasingly fell apart, since neither the Klan nor the saloonkeepers proved willing to change its practices. In spite of the failure to reach a consensus, the mayor of Herrin, in an effort to appease the Klan, discharged his anti-Klan policemen and replaced them with Klan sympathizers. Additionally, Galligan and the mayor, anxious to prove they were sincere, promised to raid any place suspected of selling liquor. He further stated that he was willing to meet with any private citizen who believed he had evidence of liquor law violations. On 14 January 1924 his deputies made eight liquor raids, and in the next several days, accomplished 10 more. On 15 January the sheriff removed the troops as promised.

However, hopes of the Klan abandoning law enforcement quickly faded.³⁶

On the morning of 20 January 1924 the Klan's defiance of law enforcement's orders to cease and desist the raids escalated. The Klan had no intention of halting the invasions. A large contingent of Klansmen led by Glen Young raided 35 residences, mainly in the small mining camps. Sixty-six arrests were made, resulting in rebellion and conflict.³⁷ The Klan was riding high, and had no intention of ending its self-appointed law enforcement program. Ministers spoke for the hooded order, and passed a resolution denouncing "exaggerated press reports of conditions in the county" and denying that race or religion had anything to do with the crackdown by the Klan. The rumors of the Klan acting out of bigotry and racism stemmed from the fact that those arrested were Italians and a few African Americans who lived in the mining camps.³⁸

Armed with high approval ratings from many citizens in southern Illinois, Young was arrogant and supercilious. He announced in an interview with the *East St. Louis Journal* on 30 June after returning from a trip to Kansas City, Missouri that Marion and Herrin would be "cleaned up of all filth and undesirables." Young went on to reiterate the point that, despite being asked to stop the raids, the raids would continue and would be conducted independent of the Sheriff's Department.³⁹ On 31 January, Young spoke at the Rotary Club where he pledged that, not only would the raids continue, they would be conducted weekly, bi-weekly, semi-monthly, monthly, and daily if needed. Within 24 hours of the speech the Klan conducted their largest raid of the year. The raid of 1 February led to a murder, beatings, and several arrests. Between 1,200 and 1,300 Klansmen gathered at Reedman's Hall in Johnston City where the Justice of Peace issued state warrants.⁴⁰ Beginning at nine p.m. the Klan traveled throughout the county and raided for 24 hours. Altogether they discovered six stills, 27 barrels of wine, 54 gallons of white mule (whiskey), and 200 gallons of home brew. The Klan arrested 125 people, and took the prisoners to Benton, Illinois.

As a result of the Klan continuing to raid homes and businesses without the Sheriff's consent, the situation deteriorated significantly in Williamson County. Strife and rage consumed Herrin. The anger eventually boiled over after an anti-Klan meeting at the Rome Club on the night of 8 February 1924 when Sheriff Galligan and John Layman attempted to convince the anti-Klan element to exercise

restraint. Galligan appealed to the group to keep calm and warned that violence would not be tolerated. During Galligan's speech a man burst into the hall and announced that the Klan was coming. Several men with guns rushed for the door. The Klan turned out to be two members of the Herrin's new Klan police force, John Ford (the chief) and Harold Crain. When Galligan approached the hallway he discovered that Ford and Crain were unarmed. Yet, the two men faced a hostile group, among them Earl Shelton and Ora Thomas. Shelton screamed at Ford and Crain, "You dirty Ku Klux son-of-a bitch we've got you where we want you." Galligan attempted to restore order to no avail, a scuffle ensued, and shots rang out in the hall, John Layman was shot in the melee. The Rome Club disintegrated into chaos. Anti-Klan forces and Klan members engaged in a major gun fight. An unknown person shot Klansman Cesar Cagle who happened to be returning home from a movie theater. Later, beatings and shootings occurred all over Herrin between Klansmen and anti-Klansmen.⁴¹

All the victims of the shootings and beatings were taken to Herrin Hospital, which became the scene of a fierce riot. Hundreds of Klansmen sojourned to Herrin Hospital to kill John Layman and Sheriff Galligan, and all of the members of the anti-Klan organization, Flaming Circle. Dr. J. T. Black, the proprietor of the hospital, locked all of the doors to the hospital immediately. When Glen Young and the Klan arrived on the scene they banged on the doors of the hospital for hours. They threw rocks at the windows, and demanded to get into the hospital. In an annex to the hospital four Klansmen ordered several nervous employees into the basement. One of the Klansmen stated "We're going to blow the hospital to hell, and kill everybody we can get our hands on." Another Klansman stated "we don't want Layman, we want Ora Thomas."⁴²

Ora Thomas despised the Klan; the Klan suspected Thomas of playing a role in shooting Cagle. Klansmen continued to fire shots into the hospital for hours until the National Guard appeared. Major Robert W. Davis led his troops with rifles loaded and bayonets fixed. The troops walked into the attacking mob, and ordered the Klan to disperse.⁴³

The next day the community was stunned. Glen Young declared that he was now the Chief of Police; additionally, he deputized hundreds of Klansmen. Young arrested Sheriff Galligan and Mayor Anderson and charged Galligan with the murder of Cesar Cagle.⁴⁴ Major General Milton J. Forman took control of Herrin from Young.

On 11 February 1924 nearly 2,000 soldiers patrolled the streets with machine guns. The first act of Forman was to disarm the entire town.

Forman issued a decree that prohibited all except duly authorized officers of the law from carrying firearms. He declared, "Additionally, only such persons as are legally appointed will be permitted to exercise the functions of a deputy sheriff, police officer, or other peace officer. All appointments of special deputy sheriff and special peace officers are heretofore revoked and annulled."⁴⁵ It was obvious that this order was directed at usurper Glen Young. Forman went on to state that "Young and the Klan did not occupy any position justifying him in administering law and order in the state of Illinois."⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Young continued to occupy the Chief of Police position until the National Guard escorted John Ford, the legitimate police chief, back to the police station. Forced out by the National Guard, Young relinquished his coveted position. Sheriff Galligan and the mayor returned to their positions accompanied by the National Guard.⁴⁷

In the ensuing weeks Williamson County was under the control of the National Guard. Judge E. N. Bowen of the Herrin City Court issued an order for a special Grand Jury to investigate the events of 8 and 9 February. The judge sought an investigation of Young and the Ku Klux Klan. On 14 March 1924, the grand jury indicted over 100 individuals, 99 of whom were Klansmen, in connection with the killings of Cesar Cagle and the attack on the Herrin Hospital.⁴⁸ Ninety-five Klansmen participated in the hospital riot. Leading the attack was Young whose offenses included parading with arms, false imprisonment, kidnapping, conspiracy, assault with a deadly weapon, falsely assuming an office, robbery, larceny, riot, and malicious mischief. The Grand Jury also indicted anti-Klansmen Earl and Carl Shelton for assault with a deadly weapon, assault, and attempted murder.⁴⁹

The Grand Jury concluded its work with a stinging report which stated,

The events of 8 February and the days thereafter were a reign of terror resulting from the acts of the so called Ku Klux Klan. The attack on Herrin Hospital was entirely unlawful and without any justification whatsoever. It was the most amazing display of mob violence. S. Glen Young is a usurper who could not have acted legally as Chief of Police because he had

not resided in the state and county one full year, as the law requires. It seems clear that it was the said purpose of the S. Glen Young and those acting in concert with him to overthrow the civil authority in Herrin and Williamson County. They seized and imprisoned the mayor and sheriff and took it upon themselves the tasks of government without any legal authority whatsoever.⁵⁰

The Grand Jury's report infuriated the Klan. On 17 March 1924 the Klan held a large protest parade. Three thousand supporters gathered at the Christian Church in Herrin. The supporters all held small American flags. Yet, despite the huge turnout and words of support, behind the scene the leadership of the Klan wanted to distance themselves from Young because he was so egotistic and obviously craved individual power. Furthermore, there were some who said Young was reckless and impulsive. Young's clashes with the law did not endear him to Klan officials whose ultimate goals were to control local governments. Slowly and quietly, Klansmen began distancing themselves from Young, resulting in Young losing his salary in January 1924. In short, Young's corrosive personality created dissension and dissuaded white Protestants from joining the Klan. The Klan did not want a polarizing figure such as Young who reminded people of the old Klan. However, Young was still very popular in Williamson County.

As a result of the Klan removing their support, Young and his wife left Williamson County, declaring that "it was almost cleaned up, and now it was time to clean up East St. Louis."⁵¹ There were those in law enforcement who believed Young's departure would bring peace to Williamson County. Unfortunately, they were sadly mistaken, since the Klan still maintained residence in Herrin and desired to rule Williamson County. The Klan continued to cause problems in the county. In the primary election 8 April 1924, the Klan's candidates swept many offices. The very next night, thousands celebrated the victory with a motorcade that visited Carbondale, Marion, Johnston City, Dewmaine, and Herrin⁵².

In a newspaper interview, Sheriff Galligan, who had endured the brunt of the Klan's activities led by Glen Young, discussed the toll that the Klan's activities had on him personally. Galligan stated,

The chief figure at both sides was never far away from their guns. I slept, performed my duties, and ate my means with my pistols always within reach. There were always riot guns and high powered rifles available to repeal a Klan attack on the jail, and there were men awake at all hours acting as sentry men.⁵³

Sheriff Galligan's fears became a reality. The Klan continued to incite violence and mayhem. On 23 May, Young and his wife returned to Marion, ostensibly for a family visit. On their return home, anti-Klan forces shot Young and his wife. His wife was blinded and Young was wounded in both knees. As news of the shooting circulated, battles between anti-Klan forces and Klan forces resumed. Jack Skelcher, a bootlegger, was shot in obvious retaliation for the shooting of Young and his wife. The shootings sparked a new wave of violence. Many residents who despised Young because of his arrogance and ruthlessness now sympathized with him and his blind wife.⁵⁴

After the shootings Young and the Klan engaged in reckless behavior. Armed Klansmen in full regalia accompanied Young everywhere. Young finally went to court to face the charges brought against him by a Herrin grand jury. At the courthouse, he was joined by hundreds of Klansmen; after posting bond Young emerged from the court to an eager and cheering crowd. Young's release ignited a new wave of violence.⁵⁵

Eventually, Young and all the indicted Klansmen went to trial for the riot at the Herrin Hospital. Many of the charges were dismissed and a pro-Klan jury acquitted several of the 99 defendants. During the trial, the Klan held a picnic in late August at the Williamson County Fairgrounds. Over 5,000 people turned out to hear Klan speeches. Many of the speeches were laden with racist and incendiary language. Additionally, hundreds of people joined the hooded order after listening to Klan rhetoric.⁵⁶ Galligan gave an interview to several newspapers regarding the Klan's picnic/rally, in which he stated,

It's a shame that the Ku Klux Klan keeps stirring up trouble, instead of letting things get quiet, they stir up trouble with this parade. Two men can't get together on the street, but when they start talking about the Klan. They are ruining our businesses, churches, lodges, neighborhoods, and even brothers won't speak to each other because of this Ku Klux

business. Until the Ku Klux Klan is forgotten there will be no peace in Williamson County.⁵⁷

Further trouble emerged in Williamson County when States Attorney Delos Duty requested that the automobile involved in the Young and Skelcher case be examined for evidence. When Galligan and his deputies arrived at a well-known Klan meeting place to retrieve the vehicle, a major fight ensued between the deputy and the attendant. Charlie Reid, an innocent bystander, heard the commotion and entered the shop to act as a "peacemaker." While Reid and the deputies talked, a car passed slowly and the deputies recognized some of the individuals in the car as Klansmen and ordered them out of the car. Shots rang out and, in the end, six men were dead and several others were wounded. Klansmen Green Deeming, Newbold Dewey, and Charles Willard met their deaths in the garage. Reid, the peacemaker, was killed by Klansmen who assembled at the garage. Otto Rowland, an innocent bystander, lost his life in the crossfire. Bud Allison, the deputy sheriff, was also killed. Herman Phemister, a friend who accompanied Galligan to the garage, was seriously injured. Carl Shelton was shot in the hand. These events almost exploded into another riot. Sheriff Galligan called the National Guard once again. The 130th infantry arrived in trucks from Carbondale before the two groups could come to further blows.⁵⁸

The leaders and citizens of Williamson County desperately sought tranquility. Moreover, the residents of Herrin grew increasingly frustrated with the ongoing violence between the Klan and criminals. According to the *Harrisburg Register*, local citizens were beginning to say that the Klan was worse than the criminals. In a letter to the editor, an anonymous writer wrote that "The Klan has caused nothing but trouble in southern Illinois, everywhere they go they cause problems. Once the Klan is gone maybe we can have peace."⁵⁹ Many others shared these sentiments; a Herrin businessman who preferred to remain nameless also stated, "The joints were bad, but, I don't believe it was worth what it cost to get rid of them."⁶⁰

As a result of the carnage and pandemonium generated by the Klan, some citizens began to circulate ideas on how best to eliminate the Klan. Sheriff Galligan echoed the frustrations stating, "We've fooled with these Klansmen long enough, and you can say for me we're ready to fight it out."⁶¹ Yet, Rev. I. E. Lee of the Herrin Baptist Church told an investigative reporter from the *St. Louis Post*

Dispatch that the Klan was not the problem, but that the sheriff and the States Attorney needed to be replaced.

States Attorney Delos Duty later told the same reporter that the National Guard needed to seize all the weapons held by the Klan. Critical of local ministers, Duty rebuked them soundly by stating, "Every time they [ministers] get in their pulpits they ring in the Klan. They stir up trouble and hatred, and the people who listen to them come out inflamed."⁶²

The Klan decided that the infamous Glen Young had overstayed his welcome. The sympathy factor had subsided for Young's maimed wife, and it was time for Young to return to East St. Louis. Young interfered with the Klan's grand political ambitions. Therefore, the Klan paid Young \$1,000 to leave Williamson County and requested that he never return. What was once a grand alliance between Young and the Klan became a nightmarish association.⁶³ However, the Klan was unprepared for Young's defiance and belligerence. Young left the area, but returned three weeks later. Young's return proved to be a fatal mistake. Young had made many enemies and lost several friends. Consequently, his life was in danger in southern Illinois. The risk materialized itself in a cigar shop in Herrin on 28 January 1925. Ora Thomas shot and killed S. Glen Young.⁶⁴ Young's murder revitalized the Klan and its supporters. After the Young murder, Klansmen roamed the streets of Herrin and Marion in a menacing manner.⁶⁵ Young's slaying also turned out to be a tremendous boon to the Klan because the Klan received sympathy and support from many in the community.⁶⁶ Law enforcement and the mayor saw Young's killing as an opportunity to restore peace in the community. Herrin Mayor Anderson stated,

Now that the leader of the Klan and anti-Klan factions are dead from now on there will be peace and quiet in Herrin. Galligan made a conciliatory statement in hopes of peace, he stated, "Let us try more brains than bullets. I invite the cooperation and advice of all those who heretofore opposed me, and trust that the lives of those who died in the recent tragedies will be an incentive to peace and more friendly relationships and higher regard for human life and property."⁶⁷

In January of 1925, the Klan retained its popularity in Williamson County despite the chaos. Many blamed Sheriff Galligan and the States Attorney's office for the bedlam and congratulated the Klan

for its efforts to restore law and order. In the elections of 1925, many of the newly elected officers such as the mayor, states attorney, several judges, and county board positions were Klansmen or men sympathetic to the Klan.⁶⁸ Yet, even with Young and Ora Thomas dead, and pleas from the sheriff and mayor to cease the violence, several Klan members threatened to kill the Chief of Police, Matthew Walker. Additionally, the Coroner's Jury report regarding the three Klansmen killed at the garage angered active Klansmen since it stated that it was inconclusive as to who killed the three other individuals.⁶⁹

The Williamson County Board in desperation sought an end to the endless wave of aggression. A decision was made that Sheriff Galligan would resign and turn his office over to his deputy, Randall Parks, who would have complete authority. Second, the County Board would take steps to revoke all gun permits and induce citizens with arms to surrender them. Finally, only elected officials would conduct liquor raids.⁷⁰ Yet, even these tactics to eliminate Klan aggression proved unsuccessful. The Klan continued its reign of terror through intimidation and vigilante justice. Even after Sheriff Galligan left the area in a compromise with the Klan, it maintained a stranglehold on the area.

Publisher and Editor Hal Trovillion of the *Herrin Journal* had struggled in frustration for months to devise a strategy that would force the Klan out of Williamson County. Trovillion had heard of Evangelist Harold S. Williams, who was preaching in Cairo, Illinois. Williams had won a reputation as a minister who successfully transformed troubled communities. In desperation, Trovillion wrote Williams and begged him to come to Williamson County. In this powerful letter Trovillion stated,

If your bible has all the pages in it, if the commandments are there intact of Paul's great essay on love, if the Sermon on the Mount is there and you preach these things, please come to Herrin posthaste. If you can do a little thing, you will have done great good to Herrin. Make us believe that God is love, that we really should love our neighbors, not hate them, not carry guns, to kill them with, if you can get people to simply greet each other with a simple good morning, surely you will have accomplished a thing which we have all failed to bring about with long and patient effort."⁷¹

Amazingly, Williams decided to go to Williamson County and

preached in Herrin and Marion. Williams held nightly revivals and many people turned out to hear "love preaching." The Klan was conspicuously absent from these services. Additionally, the Klan was not praised for its efforts during the sermons. The nail in the Klan's coffin was the suspension of the Klan newspaper, the *Herrin Herald*. As the revival drew to an end, the *Herald's* creditors forced the newspaper into bankruptcy, and the sheriff attached the property.⁷²

Local citizens refused to have contact with the Klan holdovers. It appeared the Klan was dead in Williamson County after 1926. A group of Illinois legislators visited Williamson County and a staff member from the *New York Times* arrived to investigate the transformation. All concluded that Evangelist Williams performed a miracle. However, the Klan briefly resurged during the election primaries of 1926.⁷³

Election Day was 14 April 1926 and everyone was on edge as Klansman John Smith challenged all Catholic and immigrant voters in an attempt to prevent them from voting. Anti-Klan watchers objected to the obvious bigotry directed at Catholic and immigrant voters. Later that night a car full of anti-Klansmen, angry at what had occurred earlier at the polls, shot and killed three Klansmen. John Smith was with the three murdered Klansmen and he was seriously injured. Again, the National Guard was called in to restore order. The murders were unsolved and John Smith, who survived the shooting, moved to Florida and denounced the Klan.⁷⁴ After the murders in 1926, Klan members slowly left Herrin or slipped into obscurity. Sheriff Galligan moved back to Herrin and resumed his duties. Traumatized and apprehensive, Herrin's citizens gradually returned to normal. Many in Herrin speculated that Governor Duncan's warning of placing Herrin under indefinite martial law inspired the demise of the Klan in Williamson County. On 16 July 1926, the few remaining National Guardsmen left for home. The Klan war had finally come to an end. However, the Klan left a traumatized community in its wake.

In the end, the Klan in Williamson County represented itself as a Christian association committed to American values and law enforcement. The Klan pretended to be a "new Klan" that eschewed violence and hatred. However, the Klan capitalized on old fears and prejudices. The Klan was neither moral nor wholesome; it certainly did not embody tolerance and acceptance. The Klan in Williamson County, as in other localities, convinced the public that the elected representatives were incapable of enforcing the law. Furthermore,

the Klan engaged in a campaign of vigilante justice for three long years. This campaign resulted in deaths, injuries, embarrassment to the community, and a hospital riot which a Grand Jury called "A reign of terror by the so called Ku Klux Klan." Ultimately, the Klan could not escape its legacy; they could not become a respectable civic organization based on social reform and enhanced morality.⁷⁵ The Klan was inextricably linked to its history. By clinging to racism, xenophobia, religious hatred, bigotry, and a warped sense of religion they truly allowed history to repeat itself. The Klan reemerged in the 1920s masquerading as a benevolent law-abiding organization. However, behind the mask lay the heart and soul of a Klansman.

Notes

- 1 Paul M. Angle, *Bloody Williamson: A Chapter in American Lawlessness* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc. 1969), 134-9.
- 2 For information on the Klan in Athens, Georgia, see: Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994), 170-1.
- 3 This was an ethnocentric doctrine propagated by the Klan in the 1920s; it was also an attack on immigrants and immigration.
- 4 John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: Third Edition* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 443-9. The Klan originated in 1866 as a social club for confederate veterans. However, led by Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Klan went on to become an extremely violent, white supremacist organization that killed and terrorized thousands of African Americans and Republicans.
- 5 "Carbondale Men here joining the Ku Klux Klan Order," *Carbondale Free Press*, January 1922, 4.
- 6 "Massacre in Herrin," *The New York Times*, 24 June 1922, 1.
- 7 Klan recruits thousands in Southern Illinois: *Herrin Herald*, 1 May 1922, 1.
- 8 "The Question to ask yourself, Am I a real American? The test is simple" *Herrin Herald*, 2 July 1924, 7.
- 9 "Ku Klux Klan Hold Meeting in Court Yard," *Vienna Times*, 24 September 1924, 1.
- 10 "Open Air Meet in Carbondale," *Herrin Journal*, 5 August, 1924, 1.
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- 12 "Bootlegging a la Piggly Wiggly," *Harrisburg Daily Register*, 2 February 1924, 1.
- 13 "Young Employed by the Ku Klux Klan," *Herrin Journal*, 25 January 1924, 1.
- 14 On 28 October 1919, Congress passed the Volstead Act, providing for enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified nine months earlier. Known as the Prohibition Amendment, it prohibited the "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors" in the United States.
- 15 Angle, 158.

- 16 Ibid., 159.
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- 22 "Glen Young Employed to Clean up the City," *Harrisburg Daily Register*, 16 February 1924, 1.
- 23 "S. Glen Young Heads Raiders in New Activities of Dry Forces," *Herrin Journal*, 21 January 1923, 1.
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- 25 "Italian Consul Visits Herrin, Says Foreigners Were Mistreated," *Herrin Journal*, 11 January 1924, 1.
- 26 "Grand Jury Issues Report," *Carbondale Free Press*, 15 March 1923, 1.
- 27 "Klansmen Aid Raiders, by Drys at Herrin," *New York Times*, 23 December 1923, 3.
- 28 "Troops Find Sheriff Barricaded in the Herrin Hospital After the Fight," *New York Times*, 31 August 1924, 1.
- 29 "Young Arrested on Assault and Battery Charges," *Herrin Journal*, December 1923, 1.
- 30 "State Troops Ordered to Marion Today," *Mount Vernon Register*, 9 January 1923, 1.
- 31 "Young Says Raids Will Go on With or Without U.S Warrants," *Herrin Journal*, 10 January 1924, 1.
- 32 "Sheriff Tries to Compromise with Klan," *Mount Vernon Register*, 10 January 1924, 1.
- 33 "Liquor War is Raging in Williamson County," *Vienna Times*, 10 January 1924, 1.
- 34 "Interview with S. Glen Young," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, 12 January 1924, 5.
- 35 Angle, 150.
- 36 "Klansmen Aids Raiders, by Drys at Herrin," *New York Times*, 25 December 1923, 3.
- 37 "Herrin on a Carouse Defies Drys," *New York Times*, 26 December 1923, 25.
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- 39 "Interview, Glen Young," *East St. Louis Journal*, 30 June 1924, 1.
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- 41 "Martial Law for Herrin," *Harrisburg Daily Register*, 9 February 1924, 1.
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- Register*, 9 February 1924, 1. p.1: "Hell in Herrin," *Chicago Tribune*, 10, February 1924, 1; "Chaos in Williamson County," *Vienna Times*, 10 February 1924, 1; "Sheriff and Men Besieged in Hospital: State Rushes Troops to Rioting Town," *New York Times*, 12 February 1924, 1.
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- 65 "S. Glen Young Murdered," *Vienna Times*, 28 January 1925, 1.
- 66 "4 Slain in Herrin, Glen Young Victim," *New York Times*, 25 January 1925, 1.
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- 69 "Troops sent to Herrin," *New York Times*, 25 January 1925, 30.

- 70 "Herrin Sheriff Will Leave County as Means of Peace," *New York Times*, 6 February 1925, 1.
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Dana L. Prusacki

In the Shadow of Liberty: German-American Internment

On 3 November 1944 the Attorney General of the United States, Francis Biddle, ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to take Lambert Jacobs into custody and intern him at Ellis Island, giving Jacobs no explanation as to why he was being arrested. Jacobs had immigrated to the United States from Germany in 1928 and had made Brooklyn, New York, his home. There he and his wife were raising two sons, both of whom had been born in the United States.

Jacobs had originally arrived at Ellis Island in 1928 looking for a better way of life in “the land of the free.” It is ironic that only sixteen years later he would be interned at that same location. When one thinks of Ellis Island, it is usually perceived as a haven for immigrants coming from poor or war-torn European countries looking to make a better life for not only themselves, but also for their children. During World War II, however, there was a dark side to Ellis Island. It was the site of internment for Germans who had been arrested and were considered “enemy aliens.” Lambert Jacobs’s story is only one example of the imprisonment many Germans and German Americans encountered during World War II. The internment of Japanese Americans has overshadowed the fact that over 10,000 Germans and German Americans were also interned. They were detained in over 50 camps located throughout the continental United States during World War II.¹ Internment caused most people to lose their homes, personal possessions, their sense of family, and their jobs. The process of arrest and internment, specifically at Ellis Island, drastically changed the lives of German Americans not only during the war, but afterward as well.²

The topic of German-American internment has been studied, but it has been on a very small scale. While over 40 books have been written on the internment of Japanese Americans, there have been only a handful of books written on German-American imprisonment. The sources that proved to be most helpful for this project were *Undue Process* by Arnold Krammer, *America’s Invisible Gulag: A Biography of German American Internment & Exclusion in*

World War II by Stephen Fox, and *The German American and World War II: An Ethnic Experience* by Timothy J. Holian. Many of the secondary sources researched for this paper gave an overall account of internment. Most used interviews of former internees as well as government documents and newspaper articles. In this respect, the sources used for this paper are the same. However, none of the books researched focused on just one camp. This paper will explore the events acted out by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the United States Government that led to the internment of German Americans. It will also explore the conditions and environment of one camp, Ellis Island, and the effects it had on the people who lived through the experience of internment.

Even before 1941, when the United States joined the allied powers in World War II, the loyalties of aliens from Axis nations living in the United States came into question. In 1939 a letter from J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI at the time, to all the Special Agents in Charge (SACs) stated,

The Bureau is, at the present time, preparing a list of individuals, both aliens and citizens of the United States, on whom there is information available to indicate that their presence at liberty in this country in time of war or national emergency would be dangerous to the public peace and the safety of the United States Government.³

The government thought that some aliens could be spies, sending information back to their native country and possibly debilitating the United States during wartime.

President Roosevelt put forth Executive Order 2526 on 8 December 1941, which stated, "All enemy aliens shall be liable to restraint, or to give security, or to remove and depart from the United States for observed conduct broken."⁴ This order gave unclear directions as to what German Americans could and could not do. The only specific law that was outlined in the proclamation was that Germans were to "refrain from crime against the public safety."⁵ Only one month later in January 1942, President Roosevelt put forth Executive Order 2537, stating that all enemy aliens were required to obtain identity cards: "Under new regulations, each of the 1,100,000 German aliens in the United States, who are 14 years old or more, will be required to obtain next month an identification card carrying a photograph, signature, and index fingerprint."⁶ Both of these actions hindered German Americans from carrying

on with their normal lives because of the restrictions being placed on them.

Besides these orders put forth by the President, the FBI had been collecting information on German aliens even before the United States was attacked by the Japanese on 7 December 1941. The FBI obtained lists of members of over 60 German organizations. These lists included "both organizations which are considered to be inherently dangerous and those considered to be innocuous in character."⁷ When German Americans were taken in for questioning, it was very common for them to be questioned as to what their relationship was to a certain organization. In the case of Eberhard Fuhr, he was questioned as to "my attendance at Coney Island German American Day and German American picnics in 1939 and 1940. They even had glossy photos of me from the picnics."⁸ The FBI suspected that some of the people's loyalties to the United States could be questioned by attending these events that proclaimed their German heritage.

After obtaining these lists and locating where these German Americans lived and worked, the FBI often arrested them and took them in for questioning. The FBI often searched the homes of the German Americans they were arresting. At times, the FBI would go to a house two or three times looking for something that would identify the people as dangerous or as Nazis. The family of Lambert Jacobs were victims of numerous visits by the FBI. When thinking about the visits from the FBI, Arthur Jacobs recalled, "The agents not only searched our home, they also ransacked it! They threw the clothing and other articles out of my dresser and made a shambles of my room. Clothing and other articles were scattered all over the house."⁹ If there was no evidence of Nazi paraphernalia found, such as pictures of Adolf Hitler, but something as simple as a radio was in the home, it was reason enough to intern them because German Americans were not allowed to have them. "[Attorney General Francis] Biddle declared that willful failure to surrender radios and cameras would result in arrest, which is ordinarily followed by internment in an Army concentration camp for the duration of the war."¹⁰ Attorney General Biddle ordered that enemy aliens could not have items such as radios or cameras because of the possibility they might be spies: "Issuance of the radio and camera order came after Army reports that unauthorized radio messages were being received and sent in the Pacific Coast area and that aliens were using cameras freely."¹¹ These items as well as any others presumably would enable them to send information to the enemy.

When arresting German Americans for questioning, the FBI told them they would only be at the station for a few hours. Even though they were told this, sometimes the German Americans were held for days or they would be interned immediately after questioning. One internee, Werner John, knew that he might be held for more than a few hours. His brother was told that he would only be questioned for a few hours and would be home the same day, but that was not true. By the time Werner was arrested, his brother Heinz had already been at Ellis Island for a few months. When the FBI came to arrest Werner, he had a suitcase already packed:

When we walked out, I said, "You don't mind if I take this [his suitcase]?" They were kind of surprised at that, and they said, "What for? You're going to be back tonight." I said, "My brother was going to be back 'tonight,' but he's been there now for a couple of months, so I'd rather be prepared, even if I do come back 'tonight.'"¹²

Often times, the man of the household would be arrested first, leaving the women and children to fend for themselves. Wives, along with their children, would go visit their husbands as often as they could, which was usually only once a week. In order to visit, however, a visitor pass had to be filled out and approved. If packages were being brought to internees, they would be checked before taking it into the camp. When Lambert Jacobs's family went to visit him at Ellis Island, his wife's packages were searched before she was allowed to enter. Arthur, Lambert's son, recalled, "After we had walked about fifty steps or so, a guard stopped us. He rifled through my mother's purse, and checked the package of cookies and cakes that she brought to my father."¹³ When visiting, the internee and his family were separated by a partition, much like the ones used in prison today. Arthur Jacobs recalled these partitions when he visited his father for the first time at Ellis Island: "Inside the room there were tables with partitions. On one side of the partition sat the visitors and on the other side were the internees."¹⁴ No touching was allowed between wife and children and their husband/father.

Often, the women left behind after their husbands were interned did not have jobs outside the home. This was the situation in which Guenther Greis's mother found herself. Guenther recalled, "Without Dad, we had no source of income. My mother did the best she could, but eventually applied for welfare. She was told that she had four boys at home and they could work."¹⁵ In many cases,

the wife would get her children together and voluntarily enter an interment camp to be with her husband. In February 1945, Arthur Jacobs's mother finally decided to join her husband at Ellis Island by voluntarily interning herself. Arthur Jacobs recalled, "What I remember most about that particular February, is that Mom made up her mind. She was going to join her husband with or without permission from the Immigration and Naturalization Service."¹⁶

Personal possessions were often lost because many women decided to leave their homes and go into an internment camp. Only a certain amount of belongings were to be brought to Ellis Island. One former internee recalled, "We were only permitted to take along several boxes measuring 2'x 2'x 4'. We left behind most of our belongings, furnishings, clothes, and irreplaceable family memorabilia."¹⁷ Many families lost everything when they were interned, except for what they could take with them to the camp. Most did not have a home left after they were released from Ellis Island. When Eberhard Fuhr was interned "it was the last time we ever saw the house. The contents were later looted: pictures, stamp collections, violin, piano, furniture, keepsakes, irreplaceable family memorabilia — all treasured by my mother and gone forever."¹⁸

There was always a question as to how long the internees would be held at Ellis Island. Ellis Island was most commonly used as a stopping point on the road from arrest to a large camp that was set up for the purpose of internment. "Often overcrowded, it served as a multi-purpose facility, used both as an intake processing center for new internees from the east coast, and as a collection point for internees waiting to be relocated after another internment facility was closed."¹⁹ The majority were only held at Ellis Island for a few months before being sent to a "family" camp, but some were held there for as long as three or four years. Many internees held at Ellis Island for long periods of time had resided on the east coast, mainly in New York and New Jersey. From 7 December 1941 to 30 June 1945, 2,291 German Americans from New York and 756 German Americans from New Jersey were interned there.²⁰ Even after the war had ended in 1945, Ellis Island was still used for internment purposes. Some people were still interned and would eventually be released to enter back into society. Others were sent back to Ellis Island from camps throughout the United States because they were to be deported to Germany.

Ellis Island was not ready to hold internees when it first began being used as an internment camp in 1941. When first arriving at Ellis Island, people were ordered to sit in the Great Hall and wait

for their orders. Ina Gotthelf Kessler remembered her first few days at Ellis Island as follows:

We were all put in the large waiting room, and there you sat. There was a balcony going around that room, and off that balcony were the bedrooms, like dormitories, which held six to eight people. In the morning you had to take everything down, because we were treated exactly like the immigrants, who usually only spend one night on Ellis Island. You sat in that waiting room all day, and then you went up again at night.²¹

The majority of men and women were held in separate quarters. There were a few rooms that were for couples, but there is no evidence that these couples were given special treatment. The men's sleeping quarters were located in what today is known as the "Great Hall" at Ellis Island. When Werner John first arrived at Ellis Island he recalled going into this room. "Then it was known as the 'ORE,' which meant 'on the red floor' [Old Records Floor]. It had red tiles, and there were 300 of us in there in double decker bunks, with maybe three feet of space on each side."²² Women's quarters were located upstairs above the men's quarters. One former internee remembered the women's quarters as being horrible. "Our beds were saturated with urine from refugees who came from European countries. We were ten women at the same time and had to share one room. As for cleanliness, there were many roaches, big roaches."²³

Mothers were often separated from their male children during internment. If a woman had sons they were most likely kept in the men's quarters, but were allowed to visit their mothers at some point during the day. Even though mother and child could visit, they could not do so in her quarters. They were required to visit in the open space of the Great Hall, where the guards watched them. When remembering his visits with his mother, Arthur Jacobs stated, "Our entire visit was always under the watchful eyes and the listening ears of the matrons and/or guards. I suppose no one wanted my mother and I to plot an escape."²⁴

The period of time that German Americans were held in internment camps put a strain on each person that was held as an enemy alien. People were confined to a small place with limited opportunities. For some, the effect of being held prisoner was too much to handle. After being strong for her family during the process of internment, Franziska Greis finally had a nervous breakdown.

Guenther Greis recalled, "After years of being our family's strength, my mother had a nervous breakdown. We were very worried about her, but not surprised at her collapse. She was not the only woman to suffer in this way. Mothers were under incredible stress."²⁵

The quality of food was also poor at Ellis Island. Because most of the former internees interviewed were children or young adults at the time, the quality of food was often talked about. Max Ebel, who had emigrated to the United States in 1942 to get away from Nazi Germany, was taken into custody as an enemy alien shortly after his arrival. Ebel was only at Ellis Island for a short period of time before being sent to Fort Meade, another internment camp in Maryland, but he remembered Ellis Island for two things: "If you wanted privacy, you had to hang a blanket down from your bunk ... and the food was terrible."²⁶ Ruth Becker Hood had the same sentiments for the food at Ellis Island. "The food [on Ellis Island] was awful! One macaroni dish was the most tasteless thing I ever had. A kid would remember that. Everybody rebelled: we all turned our plates upside down on the table and walked off."²⁷

There was also very little opportunity for exercise and other activities while being held at Ellis Island. Because the internees were fenced in, the men would often walk the perimeter of the camp to take up time during the day. On the ferryboat ride to Ellis Island, Arthur Jacobs recalled seeing his father walking around the compound. "I kept staring at my father and the men who were walking with him on the blackened oval in the fenced compound. It was a cold and dreary day, and I thought it strange that these men were walking in circles."²⁸ Women also walked for exercise, although they were kept separate from the men. Before being given their own yard, women exercised in the international seamen's quarters:

As for exercise, at the beginning we were escorted through the international seamen's quarters to go to their yard for exercise. That didn't last long as they were very obnoxious — indecently exposed, masturbating, etc. Finally, we were given our own yard to walk around in and that is where I walked for exercise.²⁹

The possibility for other activities on Ellis Island was also limited. There was a library in the camp, so many internees read to keep themselves busy. Others kept busy with hobbies such as making belts and jewelry cases. Still others played checkers and

chess. Many did anything they could think of to keep their minds off the fact that they were being held as prisoners. Eberhard Fuhr recalled,

At Ellis Island you were confined to this big room. It was a real, total bore. We did a lot of talking and a lot of card playing and a lot of waiting. I painted for ten cents an hour because I needed that for cigarettes, but above all because you needed to keep yourself busy. Otherwise you'd go daffy.³⁰

In addition to the lack of exercise and activities available to the internees, education was not available to the school-age children at Ellis Island, even though the records show different: "According to the official record formal school was conducted for school-age children on the Island, but it was not available to me."³¹ One former internee recalled his education being interrupted during his stay at Ellis Island: "Classes for children did not exist during my stay there. Each day was a no-school day."³² Another one stated, "I don't recall any kind of schooling: we just 'hung out.'"³³

The effects of internment did not end with the release from Ellis Island, however. The shame and embarrassment of being held prisoner as an enemy alien stayed with German Americans for many years. After serving four and one-half years as a prisoner, Eberhard Fuhr remembered the effect internment had on him. "An internee must suffer humiliation, stigmatization, and suspect 'friends' who may have given damning 'evidence' to the FBI, like whether one said something about Hitler at age 12."³⁴ For others, the fact that they were interned hindered some from getting on with their normal lives afterward. For the Greis family, it was very difficult to get their lives back to normal. Guenther Greis remembered,

It was very difficult to start over again. They had little or no money and felt stigmatized by their internment. My mother was never the same after her ordeal. My father had a hard time finding a job doing anything but menial labor. He was refused reemployment at his old job as a chemist.³⁵

While most German Americans had to get back to life in the United States after their imprisonment, some had to start over in Germany. Enemy aliens that were still held in internment camps after the war had ended were to be deported, according to President Harry S. Truman in July 1945.

All alien enemies now or hereinafter interned within the continental limits of the United States ... shall be deemed by the Attorney General to be dangerous to the public peace and safety of the United States ... shall be subject upon the order of the Attorney General to removal of the United States and may be required to depart there from in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe.³⁶

Lambert Jacobs and his family were victims of this order. On 17 January 1946 the Jacobs family departed Ellis Island on the S. S. Aiken Victory for Germany. In Germany, the family moved in with the family of Lambert Jacob's wife in Bremen. Twenty-two months later, Arthur and his brother Lambert had an opportunity to return to the United States because of Mary Simmons, whose husband was a member of the Army Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC). Mary had met Arthur while he was working at the CIC office in the mechanic's garage. She contacted friends she knew in Kansas who agreed to take in the Jacobs brothers. Both returned to the United States and settled into life as Americans. Eleven years later, Arthur finally saw his parents again.

Internment during World War II totally changed the lives of the German Americans who were considered enemy aliens to the United States. Many lived in suspense during the early years of the war because of the possibility that they would be arrested. Once they were interned their lives were changed forever. The stability that families once had was gone. The conditions at Ellis Island were less than ideal and the stay there changed lives forever. Even after being released, it was hard to return to everyday life. Unlike Japanese internment, German American internment has yet to be fully recognized by the United States government. In order to do this, "German Americans and our organizations must insist that our government finally acknowledge the wrongs committed against our people because of our ethnicity."³⁷ It is the only way their story will be told.

Notes

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- 34 Fuhr, *My Internment*, 2-3.
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Melissa Ciesielski

Energy, Illinois

Southern Illinois's historical and economic development owes much to coal mining and the early rail system that brought in labor and supplies and transported the community's goods and products. After the discovery of the area's rich coal fields, communities, villages and towns sprung up overnight. As fortunes were made and lost, specific areas became centers of industry and commerce. The town of Herrin, Illinois is one of these fortunate communities, while the small village of Energy, Herrin's neighbor to the south, though having tried to reach success in the coal industry, was not so fortunate. The odd combination of these two settlements, over time, has produced an oddity worthy of historical investigation and research. After nearly a century as neighbors, Herrin has completely surrounded the village of Energy creating, in essence, a town within a town.

The historical and economic factors that have motivated and encouraged Herrin to surround the village of Energy prove to be a fascinating study of southern Illinois's economic and cultural development through the twentieth century. In order to survive and thrive in its rapid growth from the coal industry, Herrin needed to move closer to Route 13, which required that they either incorporate or find a way around the village of Energy. In the end, the best option proved to be offering residents and businesses in the surrounding area the opportunity to be annexed by Herrin or remain a part of the village of Energy. With this gradual annexation of land, the town of Herrin began to engulf the village of Energy. In spite of the many benefits and advantages to annexation, Herrin did not accomplish this growth without a fight. Even today the village of Energy still seems like a village on the defense, as if they are hanging on to the last threads of their small town ways.

The township that is currently called Herrin was first owned by a man named David Herrin, who had received 600 acres of land from the government and, after the death of his wife, split the land between his heirs. The land was then sold off in pieces to other homesteaders and was incorporated into a village named Herrin's

Prairie in 1898. In 1900 the village of Herrin's Prairie became the town of Herrin. Around this time some villagers discovered coal and, three years later, the Chicago and Carbondale railroad was constructed with Herrin as a stopping point. Within three years six more mines were established within Herrin's city limits.¹ The prosperity of the coal mines and the introduction of the railroad system allowed Herrin to grow into a strong economic center in southern Illinois.

Just two miles south of Herrin was a small village that was also trying to find economic success in the coal mining industry. In 1910 the town of Fordville was located approximately two miles south of Herrin.² Fordville, named for Wiley Ford who built the first subdivision in the village, was incorporated in 1904, and played a significant role in the local coal mining industry. Fordville was located on the site of the "Y," which was the streetcar route upon which ran the Coal Belt Electric Railway. This railway ran north to Herrin, southeast to Marion, and southwest to Carterville. Because of Fordville's location, it was a convenient place to live for the many miners and their families who rode the streetcar into work. In 1913, the Taylor Coal Company asked that Fordville's name be changed to Energy, because the company wanted the town to become their trademark. For about 40 years the village of Energy thrived, but in 1946 the town decided to ban strip mining inside the village limits and Energy lost most of its residents due to unemployment.³ As all this was happening, the nearby town of Herrin was growing at a fast rate.

The growth of Herrin has been significant over the last 50 years. At the beginning of the period, the town of Herrin and the village of Energy were clearly distinct.⁴ However, when one considers Herrin's ever-growing population and industry, it is no wonder that the city fathers wanted to gain more land and that it would be faced with the obstacle that was Energy. Up until 1986 Herrin was isolated from any major highways and this was hurting the town economically. The city council members realized that, in order to increase revenue and attract more business into the town, they needed to move south towards Illinois Route 13.⁵ The City Council of Herrin decided that the best way to reach Route 13 would be to annex the entire town of Energy into Herrin and then move south from there. Howard Rushing, the chairman of the Annexation Committee explained in an interview, "The Committee first tried to annex the entire village of Energy into the town of Herrin, but Energy refused the offer." The Village authorities were afraid that

they would lose their local identity as well as their small town feeling.⁶ This did not help to solve the problem; Herrin still saw a need to move closer to Route 13. Rushing referred to this need in an article in Herrin's local newspaper, *The Spokesman*, where he said that, if Herrin were closer to Route 13, "new business maybe even small industries would locate in the area. That would not only mean more money for the area towns but also more jobs."⁷ When the Village of Energy refused the Annexation Committee's offer, the committee came up with another plan. They decided that they would offer the properties surrounding Energy the opportunity to be annexed into Herrin. In an article dated 5 December 1984, *The Spokesman* declared, "Nearly a month ago, Herrin City Council incorporated areas near Route 13 as the city fathers approved annexing several parcels of land."⁸ This was the start of a major project to annex as much property as possible into the town of Herrin in order for the town to move south to Route 13.

One of the first residents to apply for a petition for annexation into Herrin was Clyde Brewster. When looking at the Brewster's Plat of Annexation one can see that his property covered a large area from Railroad Avenue to Sewer Lagoon,⁹ a strip of land about a mile long and half a mile wide.¹⁰ With the acquisition of the Brewster property the Annexation Committee had a starting point. They decided to use the Brewster property, which was located on the southwestern portion of Herrin and also Herrin City Lake, which was located south of Energy near the Carterville blacktop, as reference points. The idea was to "fill in the dots between the lake and the Brewster Place," explained Rushing.¹¹ Some of these dots included seven new businesses such as Point Pest Control, Carbondale Ready Mix, and Gene Webb's Used Cars, who all agreed to annexation in December of 1984.¹² By 1986 the Green Acres Golf Course had also decided to petition for annexation into the town of Herrin. Herrin gained 160 more acres of land with the annexation of the golf course.¹³ Now that the businesses were moving in, the next step for the Annexation Committee was to get more residents to follow the lead of Clyde Brewster and of the area businesses.

Rushing explained that after the Brewster place was annexed, the committee members began calling residents that lived between Herrin City Lake and the Brewster Place.¹⁴ When calling the residents Rushing would explain to them the benefits of having their property annexed into Herrin.¹⁵ Although there were some disadvantages to annexing property into Herrin, such as the higher property tax in Herrin versus the property taxes in Energy, there

were many more advantages of which the former residents of Energy could partake.¹⁶ One of these advantages was the difference in the water rates between the two towns. Vic Ritter, the current mayor of Herrin, explained in an interview that Herrin has a cheaper water rate than Energy because Energy receives all of its water from Herrin. Therefore, the residents of Energy have to pay an additional fee for the use of the water as well as the current water and sewer rate.¹⁷ Currently, the rate of water in Herrin is \$10 per every 2,000 gallons of water, while in Energy it is \$10.95 per every 2,000 gallons of water.¹⁸ Mayor Ritter also said that another advantage to annexing property into Herrin would be a better insurance rate based on Herrin's fire rating which is a level four.¹⁹ A level four fire rating is considered one of the best fire ratings when looking at insurance rates. This is because Herrin has a Fire Department while Energy does not; they have to use Herrin's fire department for protection.

Not only were there advantages to the residents of Herrin, but there were also advantages to the town of Herrin in general. As Rushing noted, "We can offer more services. We can increase employment if there is a tax base to support it and you gain that tax base through annexation. Our ultimate goal is to drop our city tax down to the bare minimum!"²⁰ In 1986 Mayor Edward Quaglia of Herrin was enthusiastic about the continuing annexations.²¹ In an article appearing in the Herrin *Spokesman* on 13 August 1986 Mayor Quaglia said, "Annexation would bring more sales tax revenues and property tax revenues into the city thus expanding its tax base. It would mean additional revenues for the city."²²

Tax revenues were not the only advantage to the annexation. The Bank of Herrin agreed to annex in exchange for "the right to zone the property the way that the property owners want it."²³ Zoning laws are very important to the landowners who want to build apartments and new subdivisions, and Energy does not have any zoning laws.²⁴ There were quite a few people who annexed into Herrin because of the zoning laws that were enforced there. In 1986, the Bandy family annexed 41 acres into Herrin on which they planned to build a subdivision. When the land was in Energy, the Bandys did not have any restrictions placed on them. They recalled in an interview, "We could have placed a trailer on the property but we didn't." Instead of upsetting their neighbors with trailers or shacks, the Bandys have decided to build homes that resemble others in the neighborhood. Not only will the incorporation of the new property keep property values the same, it will also create

new housing, which is an advantage to the town of Herrin and all who have agreed to annexation. Mayor Quaglia was quoted in the *Herrin Spokesman* as saying, "The city can benefit economically with the development of Bandy's Subdivision as there is a shortage of housing in the city."²⁵ The new housing would provide homes for the people who worked in Herrin. With more people living in Herrin, there would be more people spending their money in Herrin.

Even with all of the advantages, there were still some residents of Energy that did not see the annexation as a good idea. In fact, there were even some people in Energy who called the annexations a "midnight raid."²⁶ The Mayor of Energy at the time, Bob Jeralds, was very upset when he learned of Herrin's plans to begin annexing property. He felt that the leaders of Herrin had kept the whole plan a secret from Energy. In a *Spokesman* article, Mayor Jeralds stated, "They kept this real quiet. Nobody knew anything about it. They knew that we would object."²⁷ He also went on to say that the annexation would benefit Herrin in many different ways. One such way is that, "it would get the people of Energy out of their hair."²⁸ Although the people of Energy were angry at first, some of them soon came to the realization that it might be better to annex into Herrin. The benefits to some seemed to outweigh the disadvantages, and so the annexations continued.

It is interesting to see how the actual boundaries of Herrin and Energy have changed. In 1982, Herrin and Energy were just two neighboring towns.²⁹ By 1984, Herrin had extended its borders south and southwest. These sides include the northern border, the western border, and some additional land on the southern border of Energy.³⁰ In 1986, with the annexation of more land into Herrin the borders begin to change. The most noticeable of these is the southern border.³¹ It is clear that the Annexation Committee's plan to annex properties around the village of Energy has been accomplished. By 2004 Herrin had completely surrounded Energy on all four sides.³²

Herrin's success in extending its boundaries to a major highway did not come without a price. A lawsuit filed against Herrin when it tried to annex property that Energy considered within their corporate limits became, according to John Brewster (the son of Clyde Brewster) very expensive and very ugly.³³ Feelings ran deep as each town took sides. The Village Council of Energy was already upset over what they thought was a violation of trust. Mayor Jeralds already considered the annexations a midnight raid on Energy so,

when he was informed of Herrin's plan to annex 10 acres of land near Brewster Road, he decided to challenge the boundaries and claimed that the land belonged to Energy. In the lawsuit, Herrin had to prove otherwise. At this time Randy Patchet, Energy's lawyer, discovered that there was never an actual plat made of Fordville. Although this information seemed to destroy Energy's legal case, it did not. Energy could not prove the land was legally theirs, but Herrin could not prove that it was not. To this day, many in Herrin believe that Energy does not have a legal boundary. In the end Herrin agreed to go around the plot of land near Brewster Road and allowed Energy to keep the property that they claimed was theirs.³⁴ This resolution of the lawsuit did not ease the bad feelings between citizens of Energy and Herrin.

Most would be quick to claim that there are no hard feelings between the two towns today. John Brewster explained that after the lawsuit, the two mayors "decided to get along and to overcome the lawsuit and the hard feelings and try to get back to the way things were."³⁵ However, looking at the architecture of the town's city halls it seems that Energy may still be on the defensive side. Herrin's City Hall is an open building where anyone can walk in and speak with someone face to face. There is a feeling of home with comfortable armchairs to relax in and a warm decor. Energy's Village Hall, on the other hand is very sterile and sober. One walks in the front door into a small entryway. A sliding glass window and buzzer calls someone to the window. The contrast between the public faces of the two towns is visible and may demonstrate Energy's defensiveness toward outsiders, in general, and toward Herrin, in particular.

When examining the historical and economic factors that led Herrin to surround the village of Energy, one might wonder if the annexations have stopped or if further plans are in the making. There has been talk in the past about incorporating the entire village of Energy into the town of Herrin. There are even some people who think that this will happen. Robert Browning, an Alderman for the town of Herrin, is quoted in 1984, "A lot feel (Energy residents included) that someday down the road Herrin and Energy will come together."³⁶ He also seems to think that a merger of the two towns would be beneficial to both communities.³⁷ For now one can only speculate about the possibility of a merger between Herrin and Energy. What is known is that, in 1984, the Herrin City Council launched to expand the town in order for it to reach a major highway, in this case it was Route 13. The expansion allowed the

town of Herrin to increase its tax base and the sales tax revenue by bringing in more businesses. More businesses means more jobs, which means more residents; this is an age-old idea to the growth of a community. As an additional advantage, Energy's annexation would help to increase the property tax revenue for all involved. Although Energy was against the annexation at first, some of the Village's residents are beginning to see the benefits of annexation. No longer a rail stop or thriving coal community, both Herrin and Energy might, in the near future, join together in an economic partnership that will be beneficial to both Herrin and Energy. Until this partnership occurs there exists in southern Illinois an oddity: a small village called Energy that has slowly been surrounded and consumed by the town of Herrin.

Notes

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