

Summer 2020

No Ordinary Times: Reason For and Reactions During the First Red Scare.

Timothy Setter
Fort Hays State University, tjsetter@mail.fhsu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.fhsu.edu/theses>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Setter, Timothy, "No Ordinary Times: Reason For and Reactions During the First Red Scare." (2020).
Master's Theses. 3155.

DOI: 10.58809/JRSD2848

Available at: <https://scholars.fhsu.edu/theses/3155>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by FHSU Scholars Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of FHSU Scholars Repository. For more information, please contact ScholarsRepository@fhsu.edu.

NO ORDINARY TIMES: REASONS FOR
AND REACTIONS DURING
THE 1ST RED SCARE.


A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the Fort Hays State University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts

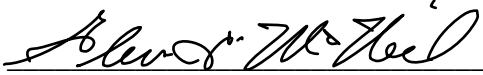
by

Timothy Setter

B.A., Fort Hays State University

Date 7/20/20

Approved 
Major Professor

Approved 
Graduate Dean

ABSTRACT

With American involvement in World War I a drastic change in United States domestic policy occurred. Through the use of wartime Espionage and Sedition Acts came the tool to begin a campaign of suppression of political radicals. This came as the compounding of earlier events like the Los Angeles Times bombing in 1910 occurred with a campaign of anarchist bombings, a growing number of strikes, and wartime propaganda created a setting allowing for government officials to carry out raids, arrests, and both a censoring and punishment of speech. Between the actions of groups and government officials this caused an escalation of events from 1914 through 1920 before finally dissipating as public support for policies and officials waned. The Red Scare was finally over when a bombing of Wall Street did not even reignite hysteria that had ravaged the previous years.

This thesis examines the both the causes for and actions during the First Red Scare on transnational, national, state, local, and individual levels. Through these various levels there is a transitioning from the traditional heavily focused narratives and events of the United States East Coast, to a larger national, yet more personal focused analysis. Within these varying levels of examination is an analysis of categories such as race, economics, gender, and other factors and the evolution of their repression throughout the Red Scare. By doing so, it shows that World War I provided the definitive turning point as it shifted repression and hatred and allowed for it to be acted upon by both the United States government and its citizens largely with impunity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I first would like to thank everyone who helped me through the process of writing this thesis. The Fort Hays State Department of History as a whole not only for helping me grow as a historian, but also as a person. They put up with my often endless and I am sure sometimes odd questions or conversations without ever turning me away. This is especially true of Dr. Daniel McClure, who not only fed into the weirdness but always provided great conversations be it over music, pop culture, or what was going on in the current season. I need to give thanks to my thesis committee members Dr. David Goodlett and Dr. Paul Nienkamp. They not only provided fantastic feedback through the process, but especially helped me fix my rough writing into something academic despite a pandemic taking place and dealing with the bureaucratic hassle of transitioning chairs. A special thanks has to be given to my advisor Dr. Marco Macias. Always providing support (possibly too much support), laughs, and guidance. You were the perfect advisor I could have asked for through this process and an even better friend.

I also have to thank everyone that I worked with in the graduate office. They always filled the room with conversation full of both thought and laughter regardless of topic. The music, be it Mongolian throat singing, Jackie's obsession with Disney songs, Bryans symphonies, or fist pumping to Queen, was always just as welcome. You provided a reprieve from both classes and whatever strange events occurred to me outside of the office be it through overexplaining jokes to Carly or beating Trevor in every competition but a foot race. While we started out as strangers by the end I felt as if you are not just my friends, but family and I thank you and everything you have done.

Finally, I want to give my thanks to a certain New York musical group whose music always got me through the long nights and tired days. As always, Wu-Tang is for the children.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1:	
“BIRTH OF THE RED SCARE”.....	10
CHAPTER 2:	
“NO ORDINARY TIMES”.....	38
CHAPTER 3:	
“HALLELUJAH I’M A BUM: STRIKES AND LEFTIST ACTIONS.....	68
CHAPTER 4:	
“MAGÓNISTAS AND REVOLTOSOS: THE MEXICAN ROLE IN THE RED SCARE”.....	87
CONCLUSION.....	102
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	106

INTRODUCTION

In November 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution succeeded, but the results reached farther than Russia. A consequence of the triumph of this revolution would be the beginning of a reactionary event in the United States of America known as the Red Scare, beginning in 1917 and lasting through 1920. This Red Scare resulted in heightened anti-communist, pro-capitalist, and nativist feelings of people and groups across the country. The Red Scare combined with contemporary ideas on eugenics, racism, and anti-Semitism resulted in a precarious situation where reactionary groups expanded in numbers that carried out raids, beatings, and lynchings. The carrying out of anti-radical actions influenced both unofficial and official policy of the U.S government between 1917 through 1920.

While nearly all examinations focus on the reactionary nature of the First Red Scare, this thesis argues that the conditions of and for the Red Scare existed prior to the 1917 or 1919 start dates generally given. An evolution of hate and fear implemented during World War I enabled conditions prior to this Red Scare, instead of what taking place being a purely reactionary movement towards communism. To accomplish this comes an examination of the causes, actions, and conditions of the Red Scare through the investigation of national, state, personal, and international cases. This is to determine differences and similarities found within states, a pre-existing national setting, the impact of World War I, the actions on an individual, group, and government level, and international relationships, and the factoring in of racism and sexism.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Sources that focus on the period look at it through different lenses. Theodore Kornweibel and Jan Voogd examine the actions of the United States government during this period and how it affected their relations and policies towards African Americans and African American groups.¹ Both authors are able to place African Americans' position in society and show the direct imprint, built upon previous prejudices and problems, that the Red Scare brought upon them, their communities, their way of life, and various groups they participated in of both a military and non-militant nature.

Not all scholarship traces race similar to the Kornweibel or Voogd approach. Several authors focus on the eugenics movement of the time. The wide acceptance of Social Darwinism illustrates how ingrained it was in both the political and social thought of the 1910s. Hamilton Cravens examines its impact in American society.² Looking at the science of the movement provides an in-depth context to the theories, feelings, and ideas that were central to many, mainly white Anglo groups, government officials, and individuals during this time, showing a major catalyst that would lead to the reactionary Red Scare.

Eugenics intertwined with preexisting American nativist groups.³ Reports from the government, such as the United States Congress Joint Immigration Committee or Dillingham Committee, which Robert Zeidel covers, provide some insight into actions of people individually

¹ Theodore Kornweibel, *Federal Surveillance of Afro-Americans (1917-1925): The First World War, the Red Scare, and the Garvey Movement* (Bethesda, Md: University Publications of America, 2011); Jan Voogd, *Race Riots and Resistance: The Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Peter Lang Inc, 2008).

² Hamilton Cravens, *The Triumph of Evolution: The Hereditary Environment Controversy, 1900-1941* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988).

³ With the strengthening and creation of new groups also came the reemergence of previously nearly dormant groups such as the Ku Klux Klan.

and in their capacity within the United States government.¹ John Higham largely focuses on the people and groups on the receiving end of these actions.² This is comparable to Pamela Vaughan Knaus showing results beyond the immediate aftermath of the Red Scare.³ While the range of dates are different in scope, both largely reach the same conclusions regarding the poor treatment of individuals deriving from a traditionally anti-immigrant feeling held by the United States government and many of its citizens.

Gender is a factor in the outcome of individuals during the Red Scare even when removing ideas of race due to incorporation in eugenics and Social Darwinism. Kim E. Nielsen brings this often under represented field into the equation by providing another lens from which government reactionary forces and groups acted upon the American citizenry, exposing a clear picture of just how wide and pervasive a reaction it would become.⁴ Erica J Ryan further expound on gender and those involved being more than the great men approach that propagated earlier historical works, intentionally or not.⁵ The author delves into the ideas of what encompasses sexuality, woman and manhood, family structure in America, and the disconnect that took place during the Red Scare as a backlash movement away from Victorian and other conservative ideals of the time. She largely dismisses and refutes much of the earlier work by

¹ Robert Zeidel, *Immigrant's, Progressives and Exclusion Politics: the Dillingham Commission 1900-1927* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2004).

² John Higham, *Strangers in the Land Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

³ Pamela Vaughan Knaus, *American Nativism, Immigration Policy, and the New Immigrants, 1921-24*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1996).

⁴ Kim E Nielsen, *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001).

⁵ Erica J Ryan, *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Americanism in the First Red Scare* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2016); The great man approach is a theory beginning in the 19th century, being attributed to Thomas Carlyle. The theory saw history as being represented through the lens of the actions of great men or "heroes," which had the effect of largely focusing the history on actions of great white men as they were the dominant individuals in society.

Samuel Saloman.⁶ In his 1922 book, dedicated to “my mother and all good women everywhere”, Saloman not only seeks to discuss how he hopes to explain both the theory and practice of socialists, but “stimulate the growing numbers of socialism.”⁷ He attempts to do this largely by critiquing other works like August Bebel’s *Women of Socialism*. While this version is incredibly biased, in more than just his anti-socialist notes that dot the chapters, he does, possibly unintentionally provide an idea not completely biased. This is done when he proclaims “Socialism is more than a politico-economic movement, as contended by some few unthinking or dishonest socialists. It is, rather, a philosophy of life, as such touching every phase of human existence.”⁸

By attempting to remove the factors of race, gender, and eugenics driven nativism, a number of books seek to present the causes, occurrences during, and results of the Red Scare largely through purely a political or class driven approach. Authors such as Robert Murray and Murray B. Levin both cover the political actions of the government as well as the direct effects on various left leaning groups, such as the International Workers of the World.⁹ Regin Schmidt further adds to these themes of government overreach and targeting of groups.¹⁰ Schmidt provides insight into the thought process and activities of the FBI during this time, as well as the results carried out on individuals or groups that were under surveillance or victims of their influence and harassment.

⁶ Samuel Saloman, *Red War on the Family*, (New York: Beckwith, 1922),

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Red War on the Family*, IX.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁹ Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1955); Murray B. Levin., *Political Hysteria in American: The Democratic Capacity for Repression*. (New York: Basic Book Inc, 1971); Hysteria while having controversial history as a sexist term, these authors, and this thesis use it as a broader term to mean uncontrolled actions or emotions among individuals and groups.

¹⁰ Regin Schmidt, *Red Scare: FBI and the Origins of Anticommunism in the United States* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010).

While much of the focus of authors is the reaction of the United States federal government, they were not the only culprits in committing overreaching actions. Officials at the state level of government had their own task forces, committees, and policies to target the demonized groups and individuals. Julian F. Jaffe presents the situation from the perspective of just a state without quite the overbearingness often directed at the federal level.¹¹ To go along with this New York-state-focused approach, Todd J. Pfannestiel shifts the idea slightly but keeps the light on New York, which is often the most examined state due to the Palmer Raids and wider activism taking place there.¹²

Three other works refocuses the subject in a different light than just a federal or New York central point of view. Rita Mae Breton's 1972 "Red Scare: A Study in Maine Nativism" is the earliest of these three works.¹³ Reducing the scope to the Northeast, particularly more rural and homogenous racial states than New York produces interesting insight. This particularly comes with the introduction of Christian Nationalism into the Red Scare providing insight as a heavily White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) region is laid bare. The narrative of the state level Red Scare again shifts with Nigel Anthony Sellers.¹⁴ Sellers provides an insight into a number of economic fields, classes, and regions that are ignored by other narratives. Diane North further examines some of these largely ignored fields using California.¹⁵ Together all of

¹¹ Julian F. Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism: New York During The Red Scare, 1914-1924* (National University: Kennikat Press, 1972).

¹² Todd J. Pfannestiel, "Rethinking the Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York State's Fight Against Radicalism, 1919-1923" (Ph.D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 2001).

¹³ Rita Mae Breton, "Red Scare: A Study in Maine Nativism." (master's thesis, University of Maine at Orono, 1972).

¹⁴ Nigel Anthony Sellers *Oil, Wheat, & Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World in Oklahoma, 1905-1930* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

¹⁵ Diane M.T. North, *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018).

these sources can provide an overview of the political dealings, actions, and results on a state level left unaddressed in most of the Red Scare's narratives.

Much of the same is true of Mexico and Mexicans during the time. While, it might seem counterintuitive to examine Mexico for a largely American event, it provides insight into both reasons and individuals intertwined within the Red Scare. Friedrich Katz exposes much of the government interactions taking place between the United States and Mexico during the latter's revolution. Katz explains both the impact the United States had on Mexico and its reciprocation.¹⁶ W. Dirk Raat adds to the two countries relationship by looking at the radical element as opposed to government relations.¹⁷ Instead of concentrating on just the exercise of foreign power within Mexico, Raat focuses on the Mexican presence as anarchists and other individuals involved in radical movements filtered into the United States. The problems that quickly follow show that between WWI, the Russian Revolution, and the Mexican Revolution, the Red Scare had a global element in it. Nicholas Villanueva Jr. brings the study to the borderlands by focusing on racial violence in the form of lynchings in south Texas.¹⁸

SOURCING

The primary sources for the period reflect the same approaches as the secondary sources that came afterward, due to the fact that the sources show a look into the past through a particular lens. That lens generally focuses on either a political viewpoint or an economic one. Other categories such as race or sexuality do exist, but not in as great numbers.

¹⁶ Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981).

¹⁷ W. Dirk Raat, *Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebel in the United States, 1903-1923* (College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 1981).

¹⁸ Nicholas Villanueva Jr., *The Lynching of Mexican in the Texas Borderlands*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017).

The majority of the sources come in the form of newspapers, articles, or political cartoons, as they were the main media of information for the masses at the time. Articles highlighted the fighting taking place in the arena that was American society. A *Washington Post* article from May 7, 1919, reported on a sailor firing and killing a man who would not stand or remove his hat for the national anthem at a victory loan pageant.¹⁹ Other news publications, such as *The Nation* reported on events such as the trial, and jail sentence of six months, of a salesman in Connecticut under the Sedition Laws for allegedly proclaiming Vladimir Lenin “the brainiest man in the world.”²⁰ More articles came from all over the country, such as a local paper in Oregon that detailed the attacks on a group of Wobblies and the eventual lynching of one Wesley Everett.²¹ The writing is often of vicious, anti-radical slant, and the number of such articles would only increase as the Red Scare continued. A celebration of the numbers from various Palmer Raids in cities such as Boston, Detroit, and New York in newspapers showed a victory over a mortal and foreign enemy.

The papers of the leftist groups and any that could be potentially critical of the policies of the time were the victims of attacks. Due to the previously mentioned raids, various laws and policies of the United State government, such as, the Sedition Acts, allowed for a crackdown on free speech, especially concerning any perceived threat. As a result, the majority of news consumed by the public surrounding these groups was reports of their various bombings and strikes or the raids targeting them by various government forces or local groups.²²

¹⁹ *Washington Post*, May 7, 1919, 2.

²⁰ “The Most Brainiest Man,” *The Nation*, April 17, 1920.

²¹ David H. Bennet, *The Party of Fear: The American Far Right from Nativism to the Militia Movement*. (New York: Vintage, 1995) 191.

²² More mainstream examples would include *The New Republic* or *The Nation*.

It was not just articles though that sought to tear down, shame, and discredit the perceived potential Bolsheviks who were plaguing the United States and preparing her demise. Cartoons often accompanied stories in newspapers, for example, “The Nice Red Apple” of the *Los Angeles Times* from April 19, 1923 invoked Bolshevism as a snake dangling a red apple of “liberalism” in the face of the United States.²³ With invocation of the imagery of the United States as a Garden of Eden of the world, it becomes clear that the news media was calling upon the Protestant history of much of America. Calling upon this history was largely an attempt to defeat the perceived godless communists hiding amongst the population, slowly corrupting and attempting to destroy the paradise that the God fearing, democracy loving, and eugenically focused Americans had created.

This political cartoon was only one of many. Others, such as “The Red Cloud” of a 1919 edition of the *Atlanta Constitution*, displayed much of the same as a looming cloud of Bolshevism sweeping to devour the great nation of the United States, while also linking it with the anarchist movements.²⁴ The cartoon also shows a combining of groups together, signifying how as the scare progressed, groups that often had little to no interaction became indistinguishable by reactionaries and labeled, “other” or simply “enemy.”

Despite the vivid imagery in use by newspapers, the focus remained on words, not images. There was a constant stream of scathing editorials as the United States redirected anger from the Triple Alliance towards internal enemies of the state even before World War I had ended. This could include items glorifying the various raids, or denouncements of bombings or other radical related activity. Papers never hesitated to use the words of officials to further this

²³ “The Nice Red Apple” *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1923.

²⁴ “The Red Cloud” *Atlanta Constitution*, January 19, 1919.

propaganda as one can see with President Wilson's comment regarding how communism was the "negation of everything that is America."²⁵

Film also made a foray into the discussion as individuals like Henry Ford, funding and created anti-radical, anti-communist, and pro-capitalist propaganda films. One such film entitled *Uncle Sam and the Bolsheviki-I.W.W. Rat* captured the resentment and fear provided by the various leftist groups and ideas.²⁶ Showing a strapping Uncle Sam guarding American institutions that came via the fruit of our labors against the rats labeled as Bolsheviks, with I.W.W. also presented in parenthesis. Again, this linking of labor groups and radical groups to Soviet Bolshevism and Anarchism only grew as the "Red Scare" dragged on and labor strikes and anti-war sentiment clashed more and more with the pro-capitalist and anti-radical doctrine of the United States government and a good portion of its citizens. This was not the only film funded during this time by Henry Ford, as he was a notable anti-Semite and anti-communist.²⁷

Sourcing is present from this time in varying degrees. The examination of many documents of the Palmer period, the economic situation of the time, and other factors are present in various texts like Robert K. Murray's *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*. Murray uses extensive amounts of primary sources to produce, what still serves as basis for a large portion of books and research concerning the Red Scare.

²⁵ While Wilson originally delivered the speech in Des Moines, it would be reported in the *New York Times* Sep 7, 1919. 2

²⁶ *Uncle Sam and the Bolsheviki-I.W.W. Rat*, (1919; Detroit, MI: Ford Motor Company), film preservation.org/dvds-and-books/clips/uncle-same-and-the-bolsheviki-i-w-w-rat-ca-1919, (accessed 7/10/20).

²⁷ Henry Ford would not only fund numerous films during this time warning of the evil of Communism and the I.W.W., but in 1918 Ford would purchase *The Dearborn Independent* and began publishing anti-Semitic material. The reasoning for this is Ford's anti-war feelings toward WWI combined with a deep-rooted anti-Semitism as examined in Howard Morley Sachar's *A History of the Jews in America*. 1993.

Eugenics primary sources are often in the form of a science journal or the writing of eugenicists themselves.²⁸ Charles Davenport is an example of these eugenicists as he was a leading figure in the field and organizations. Writing such books as *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics* details what went into this pseudo-scientific field and theories that dominated the American landscape for much longer than the Red Scare would last. Other books such as Henry H. Goddard's *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness* is a prime example of fearmongering and attempting to appeal to pedigree focused individuals.²⁹ Documentaries such as PBS's American Experience series often brings to light much of the writing and feelings of both the leaders and common domestic follower of the movement.

Nativist documents often go hand in hand with those of the eugenics movement during the time, just as they do with the secondary sources. For instance, Charles Davenport wrote "Can we build a wall high enough around this country as to keep out these cheaper races" and Madison Grant wrote the *Passing of the Great Race*, which saw the great white "Nordic" men of America being under attack by the rot brought by the lesser races.³⁰ This stemmed from the idea that his created "Nordic" race was still too fresh and would be overcome and corrupted by those of the perceived lesser races.³¹

The Red Scare was a political, economic, personal, sexual, psychological, racial, ideological, and classist event on a local, state, regional, national, and world scale. The primary

²⁸ A non-comprehensive listing would include titles such as *Science* (1883), *Popular Science Monthly* (1872-1915), *The Journal of Heredity* (1912), *The American Breeders* (1910-12), and *Scientific Monthly*. All in which provide a non-specialized or specific approach of eugenics in an approach to the nature vs nurture debate that was always at the center of the debate.

²⁹ Henry H. Goddard's *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness*, (New York: Macmillan, 1912).

³⁰ Grant Madison wrote the *Passing of the Great Race*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916).

³¹ PBS "American Experience: Eugenics Crusade" Season 30 Episode 11 <https://www.pbs.org/video/the-eugenics-crusade-jtaetc/> (accessed 7/19/20)

and secondary sources paint a clear picture of the political environment that was taking place at the time. Due to this abundance of information present throughout, a scene of chaos that would sweep across the American homeland is discernible. Because of the wide and unique array of sourcing, by drawing on these and other works with original research, this thesis examines both the Red Scare and its opposition through a different lens.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

With sourcing and methodology established, the following chapters reinforce ideas of first introducing a wider setting before deconstructing the Red Scare to argue conditions allowing the Red Scare to occur were previously in place and acted upon due to World War I. Chapter 1 establishes a national setting, the introduction of events, laws, and the role of World War I in shifting discontent towards Germans and communism in the United States. California and Alaska are two states utilized in providing a differing regional outlook. Chapter 2 focuses largely on the conservative and right wing officials, groups, and actions to explain the reasoning and actions from the position of the persecutors. The Alaska and California case studies appear again, building upon the previous use and reinforcing the complexity of the Red Scare geographically. The focus of Chapter 3 is on the persecuted. Labor movements, radical groups, and individuals provide a look at the receiving end of the actions. While national strikes provide a national narrative, Kansas, Oklahoma, California, and Alaska further show the complexity and differentiations within the Red Scare. Chapter 4 expands and narrows the narrative with a focus on both an international element, with examination within Mexico and the United States borderlands and individuals with analysis of the Magón brothers and Mollie Steimer.

CHAPTER 1

“Birth of the Red Scare.”

The *International Revolutionist* posed the statement and question of “Bolshevism...a baby born by the great world war already is the talk of the whole globe... If the baby causes such a stir, what will the man do?”¹ What that “man,” meaning the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), did was not only install a communist government in the USSR, but created an incredibly deep and chaotic environment that swept across the United States. On the surface this environment in the United States, might seem similar to those of the European or other postwar nations at the time, but vast differences emerged creating a unique setting. This chapter outlines the integration of economic, racial, and gender factors that allowed the Red Scare to take hold through multiple regions within the United States from war to post-war political oppression. The case studies of California and Alaska, two historically understudied states in terms of the Red Scare, provides further context surrounding the struggle of ordinary people against U.S. institutions.

President Woodrow Wilson was the height of idealism as he attempted to make the world safe for democracy. Wilson saw himself as a man who would decide the winners between internationalism and isolationism taking place in the United States. He oversaw the war between that which is American, a force of good, over that which was un-American, or evil. However, the problem with his idealism was its denial of realities. The situation would also soon become clear that the United States government and people were unprepared physiologically and psychologically for warfare in the world theater, as the U.S. had hardly seen the possibilities that

¹ *International Revolutionist* Vol., No. 1, February 1919.

World War I brought when carrying out colonial and globalist actions as they did during the war in the Philippines following the Spanish-American War. This American unpreparedness and idealism were what led to push back and opposition to World War I. Those who were against the war saw the European conflict as a purported illusion in which the warring nations had already set out the reason for war, which was acquiring territory and war indemnities, not democracy.²

The beginnings of the transition into the larger Red Scare emerged out of the World War I. The Great War showed that European countries were not as advanced as they claimed to be as their differences over the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at the hands of Gavrilo Princip illustrate. It was preposterous that one man in a previously unknown group could set off what would be one of the most devastating events in human history. Of course, it was not just petty squabbles taking place, but a complicated mixture of nationalism, colonialism, capitalism, and centuries old grudges and treaties meeting on a new battlefield.

Austria-Hungary issued an ultimatum on July 23, 1914 that Serbia was willing to accept, except for one measure that led to the beginning of conflict. Five days later on July 28 nations and their coalitions began declaring war on each other. The Triple Entente of Russia, France, and Great Britain opposed the Triple Alliance of Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. What was supposed to end quickly with grand strategies, like the Schlieffen Plan, turned any hope of traditional war into a mechanized and trench-based war on the Western Front that consumed large accounts of lives and material for the gain or loss of as little as a few feet of territory. Even

² W. Anthony Gengarely, *Distinguished Dissenters and Opposition to the 1919-1920 Red Scare*, (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 2.

these minuscule changes coming only when the doomed soldier left their trenches at all as the inaction and boredom were as constant in the trenches as artillery barrages.

The United States originally avoided becoming involved in this war. This resistance to the war came despite the United States harboring negative connotations towards Germany and its people. Negative feelings towards the German people increased extensively upon hearing reported atrocities coming out of German-occupied Belgium, and with the sinking of ships such as the Lusitania. However, it was still not enough to get the public fully behind the war as it was proving to be a great boon for the American industries, such as banks, and manufacturing, and the GNP.³ To further complicate the situation, many of the working class tended to side with their nation of origins.⁴

German-Americans for example, often sought to remain neutral in the war as it became evident there was potential discrimination and negative treatment of German ancestry in other nations involved in World War I in some way or another. Despite harassment, pro-German activity was present, such as with groups of Chicago Germans who celebrated the kaiser's birthday. This celebration is notable due to it never having occurred before the war.⁵

Resistance towards entering the war would not hold the United States from the fighting in Europe. On January 16, 1917, the German foreign minister Arthur Zimmerman sent what would be known as the Zimmerman telegram. In this fateful communication, Germany promised funding to Mexico if they agreed that, should the U.S. declare war on Germany, they would go to war with the United States to help Mexico regain lands lost in the Cession of 1848 to the

³ Martin Horn, "A Private Bank at War: J.P. Morgan & Co. and France, 1914–1918.", *Business History Review* 74, no. 1 (2000): 85–112.

⁴ John W. Kendrick, *Productivity Trends in the United States*. National Bureau of Economic Research: 1–50. 1961.

⁵ Leslie V. Tischauser, *The Burden of Ethnicity: The German Question in Chicago, 1914–1941* (Garland, 1990) 21–23

United States. Unfortunately for the German Empire, British intelligence intercepted the message and turned over to President Wilson. This was only minor fuel for the hatred directed towards Mexicans and Mexican-Americans during the war. This incident also further added complications to United States and American relations already strained by the Mexican Revolution.

This telegram, along with the previous sinking of the Lusitania on May 7, 1915, and the reactivation of unrestricted submarine warfare by the Germans determined what the nation would do. The American Congress declared war on Austria-Hungary and Germany on April 6, 1917 in a vote that passed the Senate 82 for and 6 against and passed in the House of Representatives 373 for and 50 against.

Despite entering the war in 1917, it would not be until 1918 that American troops would enter the battle in any significant numbers. This addition of fresh troops was welcome because Russia was no longer in the war due to Bolsheviks seizing power in the Revolution of 1917 and eventually signing a peace treaty with the Triple Alliance. With the loss of an entire front, the Triple Entente was excited to receive needed desperately troops as German troops moved west, setting the stage for the end of the war.

In addition to joining the fighting in France on the western front, small numbers of American troops deployed to Russia itself, under orders not to interfere with the civil war that was taking place between the Bolsheviks and various other parties at the time. Stationed in both Siberia and Archangel the troops would see firsthand a brutal civil war that the communist Bolsheviks won. The US eventually decided to pull out altogether in 1920 as the explanation of

protecting the Czechoslovak legion and supplies sent to pre-Bolshevik Russia dissipated.⁶ Even with the occupation over, the U.S. and the newly formed Soviet Union's relations began rather rocky as a result. Not only did this event have a negative effect on the future relations of two superpowers, it would also further form anti-communist feelings among soldiers stationed there and the American populace. This grew as tales of atrocities carried out by both the Bolsheviks, and the combined forces of the White Army, carried out reached the United States. The US presence in Siberia and Archangel was in fact an attempt at influencing the outcome of the civil war against the Bolsheviks.

Despite the stationing of American expeditionary force in Russia, it was the fields of France that were the United States' focus. The war ended quickly after the addition of fresh American troops proved to be too much for the exhausted German forces to overcome. If World War I were the sole reason for the Red Scare with the end of the fighting in 1918, it would bring the end of fear, paranoia, and other negative actions taking place in the world. The reality however proved to be in fact much bleaker. Government officials and agents, various anti and pro groups, and the average citizen had begun to form a reactionary movement that to this day stands out not only as extreme, but also as uniquely American.

While the fighting overseas had taken place, in the homeland of the United States the paranoia and anti-isms had grown exponentially. The most prominent of these antis would be the anti-communist actions that began to take the center stage. *Speed Up*, a shipbuilding weekly newspaper, exemplified how to spot a communist to its readership. The newspaper proclaimed there were two types of communists. The first was in the open who advocated atheism and

⁶ Robert K Murray., *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1955), 41.

redistribution of wealth, which was a direct reference to what the world saw as happening in the Soviet Union. The other type was an unconsciously communist worker critical of their wage or the system as being unfair, or even seeing their boss and the corporation as evil.⁷

Possibly overlooked is while anti-communism might have been the central issue seen by many, it was rooted in other beliefs held by the United States and its citizens. With the devastation of World War I came an influx of immigrants wanting to flee their razed or destitute homelands. A portion of American saw the influx of immigrants as an invasion and attempted degradation of freedom and superior genetics as a vicious strain of nativism would come in to play during the scare on numerous levels.

Nativist and eugenics movements originally had separate backgrounds that became intertwined. Nativist groups have a stronger history in the United States than the various eugenics movements, as the former had been with America since its inception. The first groups that would emerge would be the “know-nothings” of the 1850s and the Immigration Restriction League that came about in the 1890s. Other groups would arise, such as the Ku Klux Klan, as various events took place in American history as well.

The rise and strengthening of these groups historically came with larger events and not just materializing out of thin air or simply the predisposition of individuals. While previously many had been for progressive ideas of helping immigrants, with programs like settlement houses and night classes, it largely ended with WWI. While not as overwhelming, the opposition to these programs and the individuals receiving help was present prior to World War I as well.

⁷Erica J Ryan, *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Americanism in the First Red Scare* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2016), 33.

Discrimination followed large influxes of certain groups, such as Irish-Catholics from the 1830s thru the 1850s, and the Japanese who were barred in the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907.⁸ Despite this agreement barring them, it also contained rudimentary protection for Japanese immigrants and residents. For instance, it did allow Japanese to attend white schools. However, under President Theodore Roosevelt their position became tenuous as it disallowed direct immigration from Japan to the United States and prevented Japanese from entering through Canada, Mexico, or Hawaii. An expansion of these harsh feelings came in 1913 when California passed the Alien Land Act, which prevented Japanese and Chinese individuals from acquiring land. The status and treatment of Japanese never reached a positive position, but it provides an important insight into labor and immigrants, as Japan received exemptions to immigration laws during wartime, as they were allies of the U.S. and needed for agricultural workers.

While a percentage of the hate for these groups and numerous others were from a previously held sense of superiority or simply a blatant racism towards others, factors such as economics, real and perceived, often come into play. Americans were feeling actual economic anxiety at the time as items such as David Bennett puts clothing prices increasing 120% and food costs rising by nearly 80% and the CPI shows yearly double-digit rates of inflation from 1916 through 1919.⁹ This can add further reasoning for targeting of groups like African Americans, who were moving north for jobs, besides the purely racial element that undoubtedly was present as well.

⁸ The Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 while not outright barring the immigration of the Japanese was an unofficial agreement that stated the United States would not restrict Japanese immigration as long as the Japanese government halted emigration to the United States. The official ending of the agreement came later due to the Immigration Act of 1924, despite only being an informal agreement.

⁹ David H. Bennett, *Party of Fear: From Nativism Movements to the New Right in American History*, (New York: Vintage, 1995), 187.

Different from the purely racial instances of discrimination towards Chinese, Japanese, and other Asians immigrants at this time became largely a labor issue. White Americans saw them as an influx of “others.” White individuals would go on to portray themselves as a victim of the Asians, as they saw them as backwards and built for mindless labor. This perception led to fears that the immigration of Asians and peoples of the Pacific would undermine pushes for unions and ruin wages. Discrimination against Germans, pre-World War I, was largely for attempting to be separate from “normal,” meaning white Anglo-Saxon Protestant American society. They came under immense scrutiny for being German, as well as, for differences in religion, and a preference to speak their native language over English. This happened just as it did for Japanese, Chinese, and other groups would experience indicating it was not simply anti-Asian sentiments. However, they were not outright banned like Asians, with the previously mentioned Gentleman’s Agreement and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Germans were even somewhat tolerated by most of American society, until the breakout of World War I. After World War I other racial groups would receive extra scrutiny as well. There was a higher level of discrimination felt by the Poles, Russians, Italians, Jews, Greeks, and various peoples of the Balkans and southeastern Europe.

The reason was not merely post-war hatred, as labor played a role in this just as it did for the Asian immigrants. This growing hate can also be partially attributed to the same reasoning that went into the increase in hate for other groups, derived primarily from Madison Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race*. In 1916, this book brought the eugenics movement’s ideas to new levels of acceptance. This book also provided nativist groups accepted rhetoric for the next twenty years.

Nativist groups without involvement in race and eugenics would also rise during this time resulting from World War I. Possibly the most powerful was the American Legion. Between the lobbying for English only, and the espousing of conservatism, the Legion had a great impact during World War I and the Red Scare.¹⁰

The First World War allowed for an escape from Puritan or Victorian lives many of the individuals experienced through childhood into their adulthood. This is another factor in the reactionary push for social conservatism as what had once been well-mannered boys came home with new hobbies like drinking, smoking, swearing, whoring, and gambling to name just a few vices. WWI provided an adventure, escape, and opportunity for many controlled tightly by either their parents, communities, or traditions.¹¹

While these conservative communities disapproved of new habits brought home, veterans and groups like the American Legion had a difference in the attitude towards the war itself. This differing opinion likely comes from the relative conditions American Expeditionary Force troops found compared to European counterparts. This is not to say they found some paradise, but the shorter times engaged in combat, smaller casualty numbers (influenza would take more lives than combat), and late coming to the war had effects. This was only one side of the war. Fighting in areas such as the Belleau Woods or Château-Thierry were not adventures. Those who saw combat still suffered disorders and disease, and witnessed death, and experienced the miasmas of the brutal warfare same as their European colleagues and counterparts.¹²

¹⁰ Stanley Coben *Study of Nativism: The American Red Scare of 1919-20*, (New York: Ardent Media Incorporated, 1991), 69-70.

¹¹ William Pencak, *For God & Country: the American Legion, 1919-1941*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 42-43.

¹² Ibid.

Despite the reality some faced, a poll carried out at the 1938 Boston Convention showed largely positive connotations. The results were that a staggering 38% of World War I veterans considered the war “a great experience,” 8% called it “the best time of their lives,” with an equal 8% “regretting to have served.”¹³ The positive attitude explains some of the feelings within the Legion that they were some type of savior, or as Alpha Kenna, a Chaplain of the Kansas Legion, put it, “We were really crusaders.”¹⁴ The Legion even considered naming itself *The American Crusaders* as members believed this generation of American patriots was the most daring and moral fighters since that period. This crusade angle could potentially tie the group back to the eugenics, or at least pro Anglo-Saxon, beliefs of some within the groups.

The reactionary movement was also afraid of changing family and sexual values. This was due to an outlook that saw bolshevism as not just theory, but behavior. Anti-modernism taking place was closely in ties with anti-feminism. Even when this fear and hatred of feminism was not outright present, there were still examples of bias, misogyny, and pro-traditional, male-dominated society and family.

Rumors of the Bolshevik run Soviet Union brought terrors to men and defenders of the traditional patriarchal family. These individuals feared they were not only allegedly lopping off the heads of those that opposed the revolution, but also that communists were abolishing the family. There was fear this new country was to be the materialist rejection of what Friedrich Engels had claimed in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, which argued that women are subordinate because of the patriarchy and private property. There was fear this

¹³ The rest of the stats would put 25% were not happy, but were glad to serve their country, 10% learned a trade, 11% attained self-discipline; Griffith Sanford, “Analysis of the Boston Convention,” 22-23, Fight for Freedom Papers, American Legion Folder, Box 1, Mudd Library, Princeton University; Pencak 44.

¹⁴ Interview with Alpha Kenna, Chaplain of Kansas Legion, quoted in Richard J. Loosbrock, *The History of the Kansas Department of the American Legion* (Topeka, 1968), 6.

government would provide for both women and children, rendering the male useless.¹⁵ In the early years, there was wider access to both abortion and divorce in the Soviet Union. Religion would no longer be a prerequisite or requirement as it largely had been in the Christian West.

Even worse than divorce or abortion, there were rumors of soviets making women property of the state, allowing free love, abolishing marriage, and that children never would know their parents.¹⁶ Not only did American men see a denial of their power, but also their property and progeny. Reactionaries saw a woman's sexuality having no restraints and loosening of societal structures surrounding motherhood and womanhood as potentially dangerous. With this came the fear a change in power would come to the United States. By doing so, not only was the family destroyed, but also males saw themselves as the true and ultimate victims due to emasculation and theft of what they saw as their right.

This fear only grew, as illustrated by the founding in 1916 of the National Women's Party (NWP) by Alice Paul. The anti-war movement and sentiments were seen as the same as feminist by the reactionaries. Women received no leniency in potential trials or actions against them. J. Edgar Hoover would go so far as to say that Emma Goldman, while jailed in 1919, was in fact one of "the most dangerous anarchists in this country."¹⁷ This is further witness in the various antifeminist and anti-suffrage movements that sprang up pre, during, and post war.

Not only would antifeminist groups and individuals participate in hindering any potential change in the status quo of women, but the United States government actively did as well. Due to a massive housing shortage, both during and post-World War I, the government established

¹⁵ Ryan, 45

¹⁶ Ryan, 56

¹⁷ Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1961), 215.

“Own Your Own Home” programs and loans. The recipients would only be working class men. This clear show of protecting working class family structure and males as both the head of the home and owner of private property as it solely provided them aid to combat rising costs of food, clothes, and housing. In practice it would also only be for white males, furthering racial inequality to already complicated economic and societal panorama.

The misogyny of this period would remain throughout American history in different forms. While Margaret Dreier Robins proclaimed, “there are times I rub my eyes and wonder if it is America” when witnessing pushback against feminism, there was progress against the traditionalistic reactionaries.¹⁸ With the protesting by the NWP and various other women’s movements, women would receive the right to vote with the 19th Amendment, passed in 1919 and ratified in 1920. After gaining, the right to vote feminism continued to develop through the 1920s producing the “flapper” for instance.

First came the most documented and often most criticized actions of the American Government. The beginnings of the anti-isms, such as anti-German or anti-communism, as well as pro-isms, such as various forms of pro-America or pro-war, that would take place in the United States would begin while World War I raged in Europe. The passing of laws such as the Espionage and Sedition Acts would be monumental. These initial acts, and later, various laws, and actions carried out by the government would shape the landscape that others would traverse in the coming Red Scare.

Barely two months after a declaration of war on Germany Congress passed the Espionage Act of 1917 on June 15. It was a set of laws to prevent the interference in things such as

¹⁸ Margaret Dreier Robins to Elizabeth Robins, November 30, 1919, Robins Papers, box 3, folder 21.

recruitment, insubordination in the military, and to crackdown on anything un-American during wartime. What occurred was a liberal use of the act on those left-wing groups and anyone or group deemed un-American both during and after the war. The most damning and powerful of the Espionage Act's sections comes under Title 1 section 3, reading:

Espionage Act title 1 section 3:

Whoever, when the United States is at war,... shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States... shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years or both.¹⁹

Anarchists, communists, socialists, immigrants, and in essence any non-Anglo-Protestant became a potential target for the government and concerned citizens of the United States. With the Espionage Act, a concentration of groups and people who were politically left of center occurred, just as Henry Ford's propaganda video, "Bolsheviki Rat," sought to establish, despite the vast differences between these groups and individuals. This law, despite being the fulcrum in the arrest of many lesser-known individuals would also allow the targeting of high priority individuals, such as the Socialist Party of American presidential candidate, and the face of socialism in America at the time, Eugene V. Debs.²⁰ Debs was a popular enough individual that after his years of politicking and leading strikes, such as the Pullman Strike of 1894, he would receive nearly a million votes for president in 1920 despite being incarcerated at the time.

¹⁹ Espionage Act title 1 section 3

²⁰ Bennet, 183

The Supreme Court upheld the case in 1919 with *Schenck v. United States* despite the unpopularity of the act by many, not just those who experienced abuse under it. In this case, Charles T. Schenk, a socialist and anti-war activist had his conviction upheld for distributing anti-war pamphlets to men eligible for the draft. The decision's impact was larger than the final vote, which besides upholding the lower ruling, established the rule of requiring a clear and present danger in order to be punishable.

Another court case similar to *Schenck v. United States* is *Frohwerk v. United States*. Frohwerk was a case that started in 1917 with the conviction of a newspaper writer under the Espionage Act for criticizing U.S. involvement in World War I. The conviction was upheld even after working its way up to the Supreme Court in 1919. The importance in the case relied on the decision by the court, written by Justice Oliver Holmes. He determined that criticism constitutes willful obstruction and did not fall under the First Amendment protections.

The reusing and reinforcing of these rulings appeared frequently during the Red Scare. The upholding of a conviction in *Abrams v. United States*, which circulated around a man distributing pamphlets opposing American intervention in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution had begun. Due to increasing reinforcement through court cases, the impact of the Espionage Act during the Red Scare contends for the most heavy-handed use by the United States government since the act's inception in 1917.

The enactment of the Sedition Act of 1918 on May 16 was an expansion of the preexisting Espionage Act of 1917. The Sedition Act was supposed to fill a void where the American government felt it was unable to prosecute speech it deemed undesirable by handing down sentences ranging from five to fifteen years. The undesirable language they were specifically attempting to root out and punish was any language deemed "disloyal, profane,

scurrilous, or abusive language.”²¹ The act also allowed for other expansions, such as allowing postmasters to refuse to deliver mail deemed inappropriate or that could be applicable to the act.

Despite enactment under the conditions that this act would only be applicable when the United States was in a declared state of war, repealing of the bill did not occur until December 13, 1920. Due to the timing of the passing and provision of requiring the United States be at war its use was both careful and only for a short period of time. Unique cases arose such as Mollie Steimer, an anarchist and labor-unionist, arrested for the distribution of leaflets that disapproved and spoke out against stationing of the United States in Russia and attempting to stop or influence the Bolshevik Revolution.²² The arrest and conviction occurring after WWI of Marie Equi was for giving a speech in an International Workers of the World (IWW) hall in Portland, Oregon; she received a fifteen-year, of which she would serve three years at San Quentin Prison.²³ Both of these women are prime examples of the application of the various acts at the times at levels other than nationally prominent figures such as Eugene V. Debs.

Institutions outside the Justice Department would utilize the Sedition and Espionage Acts. Postmaster General Albert Sidney Burleson used the opportunity to throw his political weight around. This was due to the strengthening of his power to investigate and confiscate printed materials according to his own estimation as detrimental. What this entailed was denying mailing rights and confiscation of any material deemed subversive, in other words leftist or

²¹ Sedition Act of 1918 <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/ushistory2os/chapter/primary-source-the-sedition-act-of-1918-1918/> (Accessed 3/24/2020)

²² Mollie Steimer would not go on to serve the total of her 15-year sentence as she would be deported to her native home of Russia in 1921 only to be later deported by the Bolsheviks in 1923 to Germany for her opposing Soviet treatment of anarchists.

²³ Marie Equi was not only a medical doctor but was known for her social activism at the time, such as providing birth control and abortions, when still illegal, and advocating for women’s rights.

radical leaning. This was in line with many of Burleson's actions, as prior to World War I he had banned cards or letters from the countries at war.

Another expansion of laws that brought trouble to individuals who called themselves communists, anarchists, socialists, as well many who did not so call themselves, would be the Immigration Act of 1917 and 1918. Despite the attempted removal of anarchists from society previously, such as with the Immigration Act of 1903, commonly referred to as the Anarchist Exclusion Act, it was the broadening of laws that gave the government teeth to begin deportations of political opponents.

The Immigration Act of 1917 passed by overruling President Woodrow Wilson's veto on February 5, 1917. This act required literacy tests for immigrants, barring those attempting to immigrate from Asia and the Pacific, as well as creating new categories of disallowed people who would not be able to immigrate any longer. The act added classifications of "alcoholics, anarchists, contract laborers, criminals, convicts, epileptics, 'feeble-minded persons', idiots, illiterates, imbeciles, insane persons, paupers, persons afflicted with contagious disease, persons being mentally or physically defective, persons with constitutional psychopathic inferiority, political radicals, polygamists, prostitutes, and vagrants."²⁴ The United States government was hopeful it could effectively bar any individual who potentially sought to destroy their democratic utopia.²⁵

These various acts and actions from groups, individuals, and the government played out differently. The majority of historical narratives examining these acts focus largely on New

²⁴ Immigration Act of 1917, Section 3.

²⁵ While the act lacked the classification of "moron," the various Eugenics movements and organizations of the period touted a process to quantify accurately the terms "feeble-minded, imbeciles, and idiots." The rest of the terms, seen by the Eugenics movement, were traceable genetically with varying results and due to this fact, the act was seen partially as scientifically focused move, albeit one with a racist and nativist undertone.

York and other cities in the east. This narrowing created problems of assuming that what occurred in the east portrays the national narrative and accurately reflects what was happening in other parts of the United States.

For the west coast, there are normally mentions of what was taking place in Seattle, regarding the general strike, and in Centralia Washington with the actions of the American Legion and Wesley Everett. While these are both events indicative of the Red Scare and its narrative, it does a disservice by not recognizing many of the actions taking place in other states, such as California and Alaska.

CALIFORNIA

California was a state under transformation during the war as there was a progressive presence during World War I. These progressives successfully pushed for reforms with women gaining the right to vote in 1911, and they campaigned for safer and utopian like society in California. Eventually these progressives began with programs for immigrant education but shifted towards Americanization shortly afterwards. This would escalate to actions such as using spies to infiltrate unions.²⁶

A question must be answered to determine what drove this rather dramatic change from progressive haven to anti-radical hunters that lasted through the war and into the Red Scare. While it is possible, there was already an authoritarian streak in the progressives the most obvious answer is World War I itself. The more in-depth examination points towards an escalating tension present before World War I that only intensified during the war.

²⁶ Diane M.T. North, *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018), 15.

As unrestricted submarine warfare was reinstated by Germany, death counts rose, and the Russian Empire waged a civil war, and the tensions increased in California just as it did elsewhere. Both government and civilians established numerous defense and civil councils. By March 1 with the release of the Zimmerman Telegram to the press, the papers were already creating an atmosphere of fear and anger. The *Los Angeles Times* put out an editorial attempting to have the readers “Get Together and Get Ready!” to resist potential threats during wartime.²⁷ Other publications like the *Los Angeles Tribune* proclaimed how “in the presence of the situation we now confront, all differences are extinguished, all racial prejudices obliterated, and the men and women of America unitedly support the President in the pride and strength of their common devotion to their country.”²⁸ The *Tribune*’s hopes did not come to fruition since the opposite occurred.

The first of these major fears came with the submarines. Citizens reported sightings of German submarines off the coast of California, but there were no confirmed cases. Despite this real fear of submarines and the size of the population, there were problems with enlistment. Large numbers of those sent before draft boards could not pass inspection. Nevertheless, California and Michigan soldiers who went into the AEF would, make up the majority of the men stationed in Russia.²⁹

Women would serve the war effort in numerous capacities as well.³⁰ The first women’s preparedness group, Women’s Section of the Navy League (WSNL), has a chapter established in 1915. By 1916, they began to host training camps in San Francisco to prepare women to receive

²⁷ *Los Angeles Times*. March 1st 1917.

²⁸ North 22; *Los Angeles Tribune*. March 1st, 1917.

²⁹ See: North Chapter 1 for both logistics, numbers, and stories, surrounding enlistment.

³⁰ See: North chapter 2 for more info on these women and personal stories.

domestic training, which consisted of first aid, food conservation, sewing, and knitting. Their training also went beyond the domestic. They had to adhere to military style discipline, while also learning ciphering, cod work, map reading, and various forms of telegraphy.³¹ This was not just to participate in pro-war activities, but to strengthen women's roles in both the family and society.

Crackdowns on draft dodgers occurred, just as they did elsewhere. Often it would lead to situations where a person risked arrest for resisting or speaking against the draft in anyway. Stories came out from California of men arrested for carrying letters against the draft. More bizarre stories emerged as well, like with the questioning of an alleged nun on her way to San Pedro whom a witness saw shaving her face in the night.³²

The military action for the other races is rather complicated due to the reinforcement of both personal and societal thoughts upheld through official and de jure policy. African Americans would be restricted to the 92nd division for draftees and the 93rd for National Guardsmen, both of New York. While both were combat units the 93rd would fight with the French forces as American leadership had engaged in prior French interactions with their colonial troops. Despite not serving shoulder to shoulder with white troops, African American troops would still serve and gain recognition, such as with the 369th Infantry Regiment, commonly referred to as the Harlem Hellfighters.

Mexican-Americans are even more difficult to track. This is largely due to two reasons, the first being government recognition as white, at least in some cases where the individual could pass as white. The second reasoning stemmed from Spanish surnames providing genealogy

³¹ North, 19.

³² North, 112-113.

separating them from Native Americans.³³ Other factors could have complicated the situation, such as citizenship discrepancies, a historically loose border, and constant migrations to and from the United States.

California sought to protect itself from both attack and saboteurs. This meant being vigilant and protecting mountain passes, coastal roads, manufacturing, and agricultural production. This push for militarization and anti-radical leanings grew stronger with the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco, as it changed attitude towards labor. Due to the bombing, labor unions and workers became the scapegoat and seen as no better than the more radical IWW or anarchists. With other incidents, such as an explosion taking place, at Holt Manufacturing Company in Stockton, California, fears only worsened. National Guardsmen would then surveil the facilities; consistent with the stereotyping of the day, the IWW was the imagined culprit. While this fed the fears of officials, the workers themselves would engage in violent activity. In one instance, several workers harassed one of their fellows by putting American Flags in his pockets throughout the day, which resulted in him throwing the flag to the ground. This act of unpatriotic behavior enraged other workers so much they beat him to death before attempting to throw his body into a furnace.³⁴

This fear of others, foreigners, or radical groups was due to similar feelings like other instances of systematic racism found in the United States, as Los Angeles and California grew exponentially from 1900 through 1920. By the end of Red Scare, California was the eighth most populist state, up from twelfth in the prior census. There were massive increases in the non-Caucasian populations. With these increases, particularly in the African American, Latino, and

³³ North, 123-124.

³⁴ North, 143-144.

Japanese populations, came an increase in fear and persecution of these groups. Previously the Chinese were the targets, but with the success of various acts limiting their ability to immigrate and find work in the United States, these other ethnic groups would receive the hate historically reserved for the Chinese. While a substantial amount of this hate came as result of historic racial negativities, the economic aspect was there as well.

As it often does concerning immigration rhetoric, disease heightened the fears of those abroad when the war waged, as well as on the home front. This fear, racism aside, was partly for good reason as fifty million estimated deaths occurred worldwide as over 500 million were victims of the influenza epidemic, this being around a third of the of the world population at the time. Between April 1, 1917 and December 31, 1919, 1,159,177 of 4,128,479 US military men would contract a respiratory disease, and over 25% rate of infection, resulting in over 44,000 US military deaths.³⁵ The civilian side faired nearly as badly with 850,569 American civilians dying of the disease between 1918 and 1920, thus creating another psychological factor further entering the minds of those at home.³⁶

ALASKA

Alaska presents a unique situation that both reinforces and challenges the popular narratives surrounding the Red Scare. While there are problems with the historiography, as documents can be difficult to obtain or are non-existent, there is merit to examination. Being physically distant from the rest of the United States territory created an isolation from the larger American government and society. Within Alaska, there is further isolation, as the terrain, weather, and lower populations allow for a more micro examination. The Alaskan territory was

³⁵ North, 203-205.

³⁶ North, 211.

what an individual of the time like former president Teddy Roosevelt would both love and fear, a place that allowed a man to live his life as desired, since it was the only remaining American frontier. However, Alaska was also the perfect situation for the labor disputes that Roosevelt despised and spoke against. The reason for this perfection was many of the same factors due to its physical distance and low population. Alaska was not the Wild West by any means. There were statutes, or at least access to awareness of them; it also had miner's councils and its own system of punishment and justice. As a territory, it was under the authority of different federal departments. The top official was a governor appointed by the president and management was under the Department of Interior, Customs, and the Department of Commerce, other departments also had power in territory along with competing private powers.³⁷

The scattered and intertwining legal system of Alaska was due its geographical extent, low population, and a commissar system. This let roughly 300 individuals to carry out the law in any way as long as a judge did not disagree. These individuals also had to work with and against other forms of government like miners' councils.³⁸ The punishment that came down from these groups or authorities was different from elsewhere in the country.³⁹ Prisons were primitive in Alaska. Most would not incarcerate individuals all 24 hours in rural areas, which was the majority of the state. A person would have to report by nine in the evening or risk being locked out in 50 degree below weather, which would likely be a death sentence. The cold would also

³⁷ Steven C. Levi, *The Great Red Scare in World War One Alaska*, (Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2010), 50-52.

³⁸ Fraternal organizations also played a large role as they would police members and provide community services that might not be available otherwise in Alaska at the time. These groups included, but were not limited to: the American Legion, the Artic Brotherhood, the Eagles, the Elks, the Moose, the International Order of Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, the Knights Templar, the Masons, the Pioneers, the Red Men, the Rotary Club, and the Shriners.

³⁹ In cases where individuals were found guilty the punishment was often much more lenient than in other parts of the country. For example, a roundup of slackers in Anchorage on October 23, 1917 created a situation in which 41 men were found guilty and only served 3-5 days. Others would serve sentences of either a day or only an hour.

work as a great deterrent to escape punishment as leaving a work camp meant almost certain death. Others, such as in the small town of Eagle, consisted of a tent of mosquito nets in the summer where the prisoners would have their clothes stripped and thrown in with the mosquitos serving as preventive measures to attempt escape. Prison sentences could be stiff as the few laws in towns like Nome were minimal and on public display. Instead of the chipping stones like the hellish Yuma territory prison, they would work in mining camps or chopping wood for the cities.⁴⁰ Violence and retaliation within prison occurred as well. Major M. Birkner, convicted under the Espionage Act, was tarred, feathered, and led around with a rope around his neck by the other 400 inmates of the state prison. This came despite the fact that while being German, he had lived within the United States for some 30 years.⁴¹

While the national population had grown massively prior to the Red Scare, a 27% increase from 1900-1910, and another 24% increase from 1910-1920, labor was hard to come by in Alaska. Abundance of natural resources and a lack of labor population theoretically made it prime real estate for labor groups. However, these efforts never materialized. Due to relatively high wages and trouble traversing the undeveloped and deadly territory, workers and companies often had decent relations.⁴²

There are similarities to the rest of the country. Small changes in society occurred, as sauerkraut became victory or liberty cabbage and dachshunds became liberty hounds. Teachers were forced to adhere to oaths such as: "Teachers shall by words and action reflect full-hearted, loyal Americanism and, as a means of instilling American ideals, shall require that pupils give

⁴⁰ Levi, 52-54.

⁴¹ "Five Hundred Convicts Tared, Feathered and Led Around Prison Former U.S. Army Officer Who Was Charged With Violation of the Law," *Ketchikan Progressive Miner*, April 18, 1918.

⁴² It should be noted in every Governor's Report from 1917 until 1921 labor shortages received explicit mention as problems within the territory.

the Flag Salute at least twice each week . . . and that [students] read and memorize patriotic utterances and writing by Great Americans, past and present.”⁴³ As a result, implantation of propaganda reached even the youngest citizens in attempts to instill a more fervent nationalism. Removal from the classroom was punishment for the educators who did not abide by the oaths.

Proximity to Russia, later the communist Soviet Union, provided ample tension surrounding border fears, but this only came after the fear shifted from Germans post-World War I. During the war, the navy sought to protect the Alaskan fishing fleet.⁴⁴ However, there is no evidence of Germany ever having submarines or ships in Alaskan waters. Despite this, there were instances like Mayor Saville in Haines wiring Governor John Strong over what he had heard was a German submarine landing in Juneau on April 16, 1917 and receiving 250 tons of coal. The governor wrote back that it was not true, but this case does show that disinformation spread quickly and early in the war. The case also goes to show how logic was completely abandoned as one would ideally have asked why a diesel submarine would have either the room or need for coal of that quantity, what it would be doing in Alaskan waters so early after the declaration of war, as well as many other logical or logistical questions.⁴⁵

The only activities the military were involved in were local incidents, such as how James A. Brennan was arrested in July of 1918 for sedition due to insulting naval officers in Petersburg. This town summoned naval officers to stop bootlegging and prostitution, as they were illegal and considered detrimental to the war effort. The officers instead partook in the bootlegging and prostitution.⁴⁶

⁴³ RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING SCHOOLS OUTSIDE INCORPORATED TOWN, TERRITORY OF ALASKA, 1918, Governors’ Papers, 125.

⁴⁴ “Navy Patrol is Established for Alaskan Coast,” Petersburg Weekly Report, June 28, 1918

⁴⁵ Levi 66-67

⁴⁶ “Brennan Arrested and Fined” *Petersburg Weekly Report*, August 9, 1918.

This ignoring of logic and paranoia led to Alaskans seeing spies everywhere just like the rest of country. The fear of spies would only rise as papers around the country estimated upwards of 20,000 spies in NY City alone⁴⁷ and 100,000 nationally.⁴⁸ This irrational fear explains why Alaskan Governor Strong established a council of defense to be “unofficial bodies for performing the work of the war,” operating largely like a civilian version of the military police.⁴⁹

“The mandate for these defense councils are as follows:

1st- To expedite the production of aeroplane material.

2nd –To expedite the utilization of the water powers of Alaska.

3rd – To expedite the coal production of Alaska

4th- To expedite the oil production of Alaska.

5th- To dismiss the unnecessary use of oil and coal.

6th- To encourage development in agriculture and gardening.

7th- To increase the output of fish products and, to that end, to protect the fish supply against destruction by predatory birds and animals, to establish a ready market for the less known species of edible fish, and to disseminate information regarding the preparation of such fish for the market and table.

8th – To establish a Labour Bureau for Alaska.

9th – To procure the appointment of local physicians to make physical examinations of applicants for enlistment in the service of the United States.

10th – To procure the establishment of an Intelligence Bureau charged with the duty of furnishing information to the government as to what Alaskans can do to supply government needs, and information to the people of Alaska which will enable them to utilize the resources of the Territory to their highest capacity; and also to furnish assistance in military matters either to the persons subject to military service or to the government, and to render such aid as may be possible for the Defense of the Territory should aid be needed.

11th – To educate the people on the issues of the war and the consequences of victory or defeat and, to that end, -

⁴⁷ “20,000 Spies Known by U.S. Secret Service,” *Seward Gateway*, March 6, 1917.

⁴⁸“German Spy System Under Investigation,” *Ruby-Reform-Citizen*, July 14, 1917.

⁴⁹ “Alaska Defense Council is Named,” (Skagway) *Daily Alaskan*, December 11, 1917.

- a) To send a speaker or speakers to the isolated mining and fishing communities to address them on the issues of the war and on what each can do to contribute victory; also to distribute suitable literature.
- b) To offer prizes in each Judicial Division for essays on fundamental principles involved in the war.
- c) To offer prizes at each High Schools in the Territory for essays on similar subjects.

12th – To displace importations by native products.

13th – To offer its services in coordinating the activities of all organizations assisting in the work of the war.”⁵⁰

Councils had no official power. Members often fought, which only hindered any efforts to carry out mandates. Despite that, these councils formed nationally and used many of the same mandates as the Alaskan councils referred to above.

“One Hundred Percent American” groups formed even in the far-off territory of Alaska just as defense councils and other patriotic groups did.⁵¹ The patriots in these groups pushed the flag and other nationalistic symbols upon the non-believers either in the wild or in court. In contrast to the individual who lost his life for refusing to salute the flag in Alaska, others such as John Schmidt of Haines went to trial in commissioner’s court for defiling the flag. The jury found him not guilty, but he was required to salute and kiss the flag before he could leave.⁵²

Governor Thomas Riggs Jr. of Alaska attempted to whip the states citizenry into a frenzy as 1920 began. Just like Seattle Mayor Ole Hanson, he told tales of the eventual Soviet uprising that would come with a general strike. Unlike the lower 48, few individuals believed this preposterous claim.⁵³ J. W. Ward of the *Alaska Dispatch* sent a response to Riggs’ claim to the

⁵⁰ “Local Councils Manifesting Interest in the Work of Territorial Councils of Defense,” *Alaska Bulletin*, March 1918.

⁵¹ Levi, 160.

⁵² *Alaska Daily Empire (Juneau)*, March 27, 1917.

⁵³ The lower 48 referencing the continental United States as Alaska and Hawaii were territories until 1959.

Seattle Post Intelligence. This response largely claimed that not only would people not be fooled by Riggs, but that mines in Juneau, and Alaska as a whole, were more peaceful than ever. He would then go on also to call for someone to gag Riggs. Ward was not alone in this thought as a number of other papers and Alaskan citizens joined in with this counterclaim.⁵⁴

This event demonstrates the beginning of the shift from Alaska being rabidly pro-patriot, anti-German, and anti-Bolshevik back to some sense of pre-war normality. Much like the rest of the country, people, newspapers, and groups would now turn their focus of dissatisfaction towards the officials and entities they had only just previously supported. There is also evidence of local infighting in areas such as Cordova, Alaska, in which two former members of the local Council of Defense would begin suing and verbally accosting each other.⁵⁵

What occurred during the war and Red Scare in Alaska appears largely similar to the larger nation. Fear of Germans transformed into fear of laborers, radicals, and foreigners. While the reaction was the same, those targeted were not because it was dependent on the makeup of present populations. While California would look suspiciously at Mexicans or Asians, Alaska looked questionably at Finns and Norwegians. It was not purely government implementing these actions or groups as the civil and defense groups of California might suggest. Upon close examination of the outlying Alaskan territory, it becomes clear that even without large levels of involvement by the federal government and larger number of groups, things got messy.⁵⁶

Several factors contributed to paranoia in Alaska: isolation, the psychology of those living in this frontier, small populations, lack of a federal government, fear of upsetting the crucial workforce,

⁵⁴ “Alaskans Brand Story as Canard,” *Seattle Post-Intelligence*, March 23, 1920.

⁵⁵ Levi, 162.

⁵⁶ The exception was the constant check of canneries, which would by the end of the Red Scare have occurred in every cannery found in Alaska according to the Governor’s Report in 1918.

opposition to overuse of authority or force within small communities, and large alien populations. Because of these factors, it becomes apparent that the national narrative largely rings true in what happened throughout the United States, but there were always local and isolated caveats that provide deeper insight and need examination.

CHAPTER 2

“No Ordinary Times”

Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory in 1917 said of dissenters, “May God have mercy on them for they need expect none from an outraged people and an avenging government.”¹ He was correct in assessing that dissenters received no love or mercy from their government or fellow citizens. Their lives consisted of fear and harassment, with no mercy. T.D. Evans, the judge for an anti-IWW case in November 1917, described the period simply as “No Ordinary Times.”² This comment, while correct, is a substantial understatement of what was taking place both prior to and during The Red Scare.

The postwar fears of increases in migration from those in Eastern and Southern Europe, already under attack from nativists and eugenicists, only grew, as they were most associated with anarchism and other radical groups. Groups such as the International Workers of the World, or Wobblies, through radical means and strikes sought to bring power to the workers, even at the cost of the ire of government and business owners. Large portions of businesses and government officials despised labor groups, particularly the IWW since its inception. Due to this hostility, the IWW received anti-war titles like the “Imperial Wilhelm Warriors” during World War I as a way to garner support against labor and radical groups.³

¹ H.C. Peterson, Gilbert C Fite. *Opponents of War, 1917-1918*, (Seattle: Washington Paperbacks Seattle University of Washington Press, 1968), 149.

² Nigel Anthony Sellers *Oil, Wheat, & Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World in Oklahoma, 1905-1930* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 107, *Industrial Worker*. November 17, 1917; It is worth noting that Evans was also mayor of Tulsa during the Race Riots of 1921.

³ This name for IWW is attributed to Sen. Harry F Ashurst, “The IWW Menace,” *Congressional Quarterly* 55 (1917): 6687.

With the names came rumors of sabotage. Before the IWW American officials saw them as fighting for workers, with entering WWI however, the government saw every action as an antiwar effort. Despite the IWW having been the major group receiving hatred, other groups soon found themselves seen as the same. This was due to the government seeing all groups as the same and all of them being German agents hired to sabotage the U.S. To maintain these beliefs, government officials and businessmen established rumors that radical and Bolshevik groups drove spikes into trees to ruin lumber mills, burn crops, or caused strikes, just as many accused the IWW of relentlessly doing prior to the war.⁴

While the use of the various acts shifted from originally liberally to reigned in in towards the end of the scare, it was not the only form of suppression and oppression the government was carrying out. Individuals such as George Creel and his Committee of Public Information sought to spread propaganda to the masses of the United States.⁵ This committee, established through Executive Order 2594 on April 13, 1917, lasted until its dissolution on August 21, 1919 with the declaration of Executive Order 3154. There was extensive work done by the offices despite being in operation for just over two years.

Though Creel, previously a journalist, always claimed that the office's enactment was to prevent censorship, and that materials produced were in fact not propaganda, it becomes hard to take the claim seriously.⁶ While Creel proclaimed that the committee's actions were practically censor free, and in fact expressive, they produced something identical to propaganda in every

⁴ Sellers, 78-79.

⁵ The Committee on Public Information has at times been identified as The Committee of Public Education as is done in texts such as David H. Bennett's *Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Far Right in American History*.

⁶ Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information; Page 1 is where Creel makes the plea that he was not creating propaganda, as it had become a dirty German tool. Instead, he was seeking to tell the truth and show both the justice and selflessness in America's actions.

way. They carried out actions such as talks titled “Four Minute Men” to push this propagandistic agenda.

The idea for the talks came from Donald Ryerson, a Chicago steel manufacturer, only two days after the establishing of the committee. These talks, totaling nearly 755,000 speeches throughout 5,200 different communities, consisted of selected volunteers giving four-minute speeches. These speeches always were to be positive and rhetorically driven. This rhetoric often portrayed Germans as a barbaric race of enemies at the gate in order to sell Liberty Bonds and keep patriotism high. By the end of the committee’s lifespan Creel estimated that these speeches had reached over 300 million listeners.⁷

The Committee of Information also performed other, more traditional forms of propaganda, such as having artists illustrate over 1400 posters, as with the speeches to solidify the presence of a vile enemy to sell bonds.⁸ The CPI brought in historians and writers to provide information and create pamphlets.⁹ The CPI estimated production of some 75 million pamphlets in a number of different languages for American readers and soldiers.¹⁰ The government formed separate divisions to deal with informing those within other individual countries. After establishing a paper, entitled *Official Bulletin*, the distribution guaranteed its sending to every post office, government office, and military base in the country.¹¹ The reach of the CPI was immense with circulation of over 100,000 copies per day.¹² The agency also went on to establish

⁷ Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, 22; It should be noted that the Population of the United States was 92,000,000 in 1910 census and 106,000,000 in the 1920 census so total population would lay in between these figures at the time.

⁸ Complete Report of the Chairman of the committee on Public Information, 2-4

⁹ George T. Blakey, *Historians on the Homefront: American Propagandists for the Great War* 1970, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970); Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, 2

¹⁰ Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, 2-4

¹¹ Thomas Fleming, *The Illusion of Victory: America in World War I*. (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 117.

¹² Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, 3.

the Division of Women's War Work under Clara Sears Taylor, for the sole purpose of energizing women by providing them with material and information.

The effect of the CPI's propaganda, though, was not introducing some new form of hate or discontent with groups into the American public. There was already an elaborately established tradition of dislike, be it groups, religions, ethnicities, class, or any number of other factors. What they did was create the avenue for government distribution and manufacturing of propaganda and information on a new scale in the United States, as use of print, word, and film grew more extensively than ever before.

That growth shifted from the war effort to anti-communist ideals. Because of the shift, the CPI laid the groundwork for the propaganda of the Red Scare even as the agency dissolved in August 1919. The CPI accomplished this with the support of the federal government, what had determined "the radical revolutionary elements in this country and the Bolshevik government in Russia have, therefore found a common cause in support of which they can unite their forces. They are both fanning the flame of discontent and endeavoring to incite revolution."¹³ With this fear firmly in control, it soon provided an easy shift from war efforts to anti-radical.

The governments reach extended to other areas as well. One of these areas was the railroads. Nationalized for the war effort by Wilson's proclamation of December 1917, they were supposed to become private within 21 months of a peace treaty. The newly established United States Railroad Administration (USRA) directed large amounts of appropriated funds into railways in order to upgrade equipment and facilities, and to put wages at a point workers did not threaten to strike as often. The efficiency they gained was minimal even without considering the

¹³ US., Congress, Senate, "Brewing and Liquor interest and German Propaganda and Bolsheviki Propaganda," 66th Cong., 1st sess., June 16, 1919, *Congressional Record LVIII*, 1145.

money invested. Other problems arose as the legality of the control became precarious when the United States did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Due to not being able to fulfill the peace treaty requirements, March 1, 1920 was when reinstatement of private control began after Congress passed the Esch-Cummins Act in February. This slight delay did not give the government any good will from the people as in only 23 months the government ran the railways into a massive deficit, raised costs, and upset labor with the reinstatement of private control.¹⁴

The Lever Act, officially the Food and Fuel Control Act, intended to improve control over the flow of food and resources for the war, but like management of the railroads, the reality was not as positive. Palmer used this act, after winning an injunction, to break up numerous strikes post-armistice. This angered the labor leaders, who had an understanding that the act was not in fact supposed to interfere with the ability to strike. Another use of the act was to control certain foodstuffs, specifically controlling the production of alcohol. This and setting wheat prices too low outraged many of the working class and farmers. While it angered these individuals and communities, it also set the stage for the Volstead Act, which passed in October 1919. With these actions the citizens' anger either shifted towards the government or largely dissipated, possibly aided by more sober heads.

Despite this pushback government officials perceived there was growth in other avenues. Between the mixing of nativism with the "science" of eugenics, the resulting creation was different from any reactionary event that was taking place during this time. Numerous reactionary groups arose with and without the government's aid to combat anti-radicalism and threats to the United States, both real and perceived. Between private and government raids,

¹⁴ John Stover, *American Railroads*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2008), 187-198.

killings, beatings, strikes, riots, demonstrations, laws enacted, and individuals involved, the result of the Red Scare was uniquely American.

Various groups acted where the government did not in a perceived bid to defend their homeland. The most well know of these groups was the Ku Klux Klan, re-established in 1915.¹⁵ With the rise of the new Klan came an expansion of their goals. No longer was the group's purpose solely aiming at oppression and harassment of African Americans, but it now included an expanded sphere of hatred, as goals aligned with eugenics and nativist feelings of the time. This new goal appeared clearly in Joseph Simmons's 1917 pamphlet entitled *ABC of the Invisible Empire*, which states, "to shield the sanctity of the home and the chastity of womanhood; to maintain white supremacy; to teach and faithfully inculcate a high spiritual philosophy through an exalted ritualism; and by a practical devotedness to conserve, protect and maintain the distinctive institutions, rights, privileges, principles and ideals of a pure Americanism."¹⁶ To accomplish these goals the Klan harassed anyone perceived to be opposed to their ideals. These groups went about this harassment by lynching returning African American soldiers, beatings, burning crosses, marching, or patrolling military bases to drive out those "infected with the IWW spirit."¹⁷

The Ku Klux Klan was not the only reactionary group during this time with these previously mentioned nativists and anti-radical goals. Other groups included the Knights of Liberty, A.M. Brigg's American Protective League, which had 250,000 members at its height, and even children's organization such as the Anti Yellow Dog League. These various groups

¹⁵ The attribution of the Second Klan's establishment is to D.W. "Forrest's Birth of a Nation" circa 1915.

¹⁶ Ku Klux Klan, *ABC of the Invisible Empire*, 1917.

¹⁷ Charles Alexander, "Invisible Empire in the Southwest: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas in 1920-1930 (PhD. Dissertation, University of Texas, 1962), 16, 18-19, 20-21.

and leagues went on to commit both nativist and violent acts during the period. While each group had similar themes, they went about their actions in different manners. The Anti Yellow Dog League was just groups of boys seeking out and reporting potential disloyal individuals, groups like the APL worked directly with the government.

Reporting was only the beginning of the APL and Knights of Liberty as they also worked to disrupt such groups as the International Workers of the World, often by breaking up strikes, providing beatings, and killings workers. There were instances of similar violence occurring, such as on November 11, 1919 in Centralia, Washington, when the Citizens Patriotic League attacked the local IWW reopening their hall, after their being run out of town the previous year for opposing the war. In response, some members of the IWW opened fire with their guns, killing three members. The result was the arrest of numerous Wobblies, but before any trial could occur, the kidnapping of a member named Wesley Everett from jail occurred and he was mutilated and lynched. Groups such as the Loyal Legion sought to help end the strikes that were becoming larger and more prevalent. To accomplish this goal, the Loyal Legion used pipes or other instruments to break the wrists or hands of striking steel workers as a fear tactic and to send a message that if individuals did not want to work, the group made sure they could not work. Not to be outdone by private groups, on June 9, 1917 the Mississippi National Guard attacked an IWW headquarters and charged individuals with disturbing the peace.¹⁸

The Palmer Raids are a glaring example of the utilization of these laws by government forces. These raids resembled the earlier slacker raids in the fall of 1918 in New York. The raid resulted in the rounding up of nearly 50,000 men by government squads with the help of 2000

¹⁸ Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall be All*, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 383-86, 405-408.

APL voluntaries and 2300 military auxiliaries. As a result, draft boards had nearly 1,500 individuals brought before them as delinquents.¹⁹

Raids began in November 1919, as Palmer was able to convince the government that the arrest and potential deporting of individuals was necessary. This was a drastic shift as Palmer initially had dissolved ties with the American Protective League and ordered the release of 10,000 enemy aliens.²⁰ After the bombing of Palmer's home, his demeanor, understandably, changed. He began his new crusade by creating the General Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Investigation. This went on to become the future Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) with Palmer's appointment of 24-year-old J. Edgar Hoover as head of the new department. With nearly unchecked powers from 1919 through 1920, the General Intelligence division essentially operated as the Cheka of the Soviet Union did in raiding and detaining individuals.

The generally accepted justification derived from the numerous bombings that had occurred both prior to and during 1919. Palmer received a bomb that resulted in an explosion outside his home that also worried his neighbor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Arrests and raids continued throughout the winter of 1919 and into the beginning of 1920. The raiding of various cities began, such as Boston with the arrest of hundreds of individuals followed by a parading through the streets for a jeering crowd. Detroit also experienced heavy raids and saw the arrest of 800 individuals, leading to their being held between three and six days, without food or water before receiving their release. Other cities saw similar raids like the arrest of 115 anti-radicals in Pittsburgh. While the treatment was often abhorrent, the problems and abuse of power did not stop there as Constantine Panunzio's study of 200 deportation cases dating from this period

¹⁹ Don Whitehead, *The F.B.I Story*, (New York: Random House, 1956), 37-39.

²⁰ Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 199-201.

cataloged the number of aliens arrested without warrants at 45%, as well as explaining how the holding by officials in a condition of unofficial limbo ranged from one to fifty-seven days.²¹

Due to Palmer's fictitious claims of revolution, never becoming true, hysteria began to rescind. The raids on both groups and individuals ended in 1920.²² Up until the end, officials were busy rounding up, and beginning to attempt to deport, individuals. Officials decided to send 250 of these aliens and suspected anarchists to the Soviet Union. On December 21, 1919 the deportees were put on a ship named the Buford (dubbed the Soviet Ark) and exiled from the United States due to their beliefs and actions. This ship carried a number of prominent enemies of the state and was great press for Palmer and the officials hell-bent on removing any internal threat. After this, Palmer began to ramp up the hysteria before calm returned to the United States. He went on to claim that a Bolshevik and worker revolution would take place on May 1, also known as May Day, of 1920 due to the designation as International Workers Day, and its place in labor history. For months, Palmer built up this potential event more and more. Nothing occurred on the fateful May Day. Discredited, Palmer fell out of favor and the nation returned to some normality. The nation saw that the perceived revolution was not actually a reality and the hysteria from the previous months quickly dissipated and was shifting from an anti-radical slant back to simply the pre-scare anti-immigrant and eugenically driven feelings.

The American Legion

The American Legion provides an introspective into the feelings of the time. With the motto "For God and Country," it becomes apparent what the goals of the American Legion were

²¹ Constantine M. Panunzio, *The Deportation Cases of 1919-1920*, (New York: Commission on the church and social service, Federal council of the churches of Christ in America, 1921), 27.

²² There is evidence of the Lusk Committee carrying on investigations through 1923. See: Todd J Pfannestiel "Rethinking The Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York State's Fight against Radicalism 1919-1923. (Ph.D. Dissertation, College of William and Mary in Virginia, 2001).

from the beginning. No other group exemplified the government and private relationship during this period as well.²³

Why the Legion was so obsessed with its idea of promoting their shared values and tradition shaping their enclave or community raises a few interesting points. The central ideal was freedom. However, what exactly was so difficult to define about freedom? While radicals saw it as freedom from government and norms, the Legion saw it differently. It was a political freedom from monarchies and aristocracies, not a WASP inspired federal government. This included freedom within the economic model, not an entirely new model for society or their communities as the Legion saw many of their leftwing opponents as advocating.

From the group's founding on March 15, 1919 in Paris by soldiers in the American Expeditionary Forces (A.E.F), the traditional American was always the desired individual.²⁴ What encompassed this desired American were ideas such as commitment to the community. How the application by the Legion to this commitment is evident is through the male centric ideas that developed by sponsoring Boy Scouts of America councils, Boys' State Camps, and baseball leagues. Other forms are present in activities like censoring textbooks, requiring loyalty oaths of teachers, quieting activists and speakers from expressing their views, and keeping parties, like the Communists, off ballots.²⁵ These activities continued past not only the First Red Scare, but well past its successor that came in the 1950s.

²³ For the inter-politics of the American Legion during their first year of operation within the United States see Pencak Ch 3 for in-depth analysis and characterization of the major figures, movements, and issues.

²⁴ William Pencak places the start a month earlier with formation by 20 officers as opposed to Wheat's date with the formation of the Paris caucus of soldiers and officers. Photo of Paris Conference in Appendix from Pencak 56-57.

²⁵ William Gellerman, *The American Legion as Educator*. 1972 as referenced by Pencak throughout the prefix.

The hate for the socialist, foreigner, or anything perceived as alien grew from the difference between the Legion's ideals and those of their perceived enemies. Nowhere is this as clear as with Legion Chairman Stephen Chadwick's statement following a poll in the winter of 1936. While the statement came later than the Red Scare, it encompasses nearly every action that the American Legion, even those appearing to be hypocritical, had carried out up to that point. The Statement read:

“Attitude to homeland; belief in the principles that created it and have supported it through every crises in peace and war, storm and stress; a sound educational system capable of creating a comprehension of these principles; an undivided and individual allegiance to these principle once they are understood and accepted; a firm belief in parliamentary tradition which is simply the right of the people to choose their own representatives and through them to make their own laws; a firm conviction that the law comes before and transcends men; cooperation on a grand scale that permits any of us to do as he will provided he does not thereby infringe on his neighbor's freedom to do likewise.”²⁶

Not all members of the American Legion and the Committee interpreted the statement the same way. Some thought it was fine, while others let their disdain be known before finally seconding the motion with, “the hell with it” further displaying internal division in not only their actions, but also the language use.²⁷ Regardless of division throughout their history, there is a largely united push towards using legal means to combat their would-be opponents, particularly the early history during the Red Scare.

The Legion championed ideas such as free speech, but only if it was within their own definitions. Free speech did not cover for the calls of the overthrowing of the United States Government. These kind of problems within the Legion's rhetoric while seeming counterintuitive do follow with the idea of legal means, as it appeared to them as a “clear and

²⁶ Pencak 5; “Minutes of the National Americanism Commission,” November 3, 1936, 40; May 5, 1937, 15-29, 39, 43, AL.

²⁷ “Minutes of the National Americanism Commission,” November 3, 1936, 40; May 5, 1937, 15-29, 39, 43, AL.

present danger” as outlined in *Schenck vs. United States*. Beyond this, the American Legion did not view those such as Eugene Debs or anti-war protesters as political prisoners, but prisoners deserving of their punishment. Following the legal precedent and focusing on the traditional outlook on American history, a Legion Lobbyist named John Thomas Taylor remarked that there had never been unrestrained free speech and never should be. Other Legion officials further reinforced these dismissive remarks.²⁸

With these feelings, and the *carte blanche* allowed to them during the Red Scare, the American Legion conducted a war on those deemed to want to defy them or ruin their idealized America. Fighting occurred in towns like the previously mentioned Centralia, Washington, but it was not an isolated incident. On November 22, 1919, the Legionnaires in Los Angeles openly declared “a war of extermination against members of the IWW and against Bolshevism” as they began to run these individuals from the city. The National Commander Franklin D’Olier simply referred to this as over-enthusiasm.²⁹ Despite this outright use and acknowledged of violence, to which the American Legion was supposedly opposed, no post ever received expulsion or censure during the period.³⁰

The Civil Liberties Bureau became the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920. Opponents of the American Legion sought to protect freedom as an unfettered right, not as a narrowly defined the Legion used. The animosity between these opposing groups, and the conflicting definitions of rights, has largely carried on into the modern day, as even when the groups or actors change, the ACLU branded the Legion as fascists, while the American Legion

²⁸ Pencak, 7.

²⁹ *Weekly People*, November 22, 1919, ACLU, vol. 64. 64, 65. Other instances of Legion willingness for the use of violence can be found in Pencak’s interview with Harry L. Foster, October 31, 1980. “Minutes of the National Executive Committee Meeting,” December 20, 1919, 44, 47, 50, AL.

³⁰ Pencak, 11.

counters with a decrying of its opponents as communists. To outright say the group is fascist is difficult even with examples of Commander Alvin Owsley going as far as saying “if ever needed, the American Legion stands ready to protect the country’s institutions and ideals as the Fascisti dealt with the obstructionists who imperiled Italy... Do not forget that the Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States!”³¹ These feelings, while not the entire groups, do show a worrying example, as the praise of fascists remained there and it even reached the point of the Legion inviting Benito Mussolini to speak in 1930. Despite these comments and fascist elements, it did not meet the criteria. It was nationalist and pushed for ideals but did not try to outright subvert the government or overthrow it in any fashion. It did quite the opposite in trying to protect a status quo. The economic elements largely differed from the National Socialists as well.

The men who joined were overwhelmingly middle-class, be it a business owner, a professional, or a skilled worker.³² This often contributes to often why the Legion’s strongest influences are in the Midwest and small communities, as the homogeny is often high. Many organizations themselves are not homogenous, and this was the case with the American Legion across cities and small towns as actions conducted varied by the individuals in positions of power. This largely confirms Alexis de Tocqueville’s historic observation that “Americans, of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions, constantly form associations.”³³

As the American Legion, and many other patriotic leaning groups, saw, the suspected communists had committed treason. Their crime was abandoning their communities and the

³¹ Speeches of Owsley and McQuigg in history file, AL, under their names and states (Texas and Michigan); Pencak 21.

³² Pencak, 16.

³³ Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Democracy in America*, tr. Henry Reeve (New York, 1945), 2, 106-7.

United States for the international community. Isolation from the war had remained strong, but it had just mutated into these newer feelings, ideas, and movements.

The Order of Cincinnati 1783, Grand Army of the Republic, and other veterans' groups organize as wars and need arises. There are three major reasons for the organization of the early order. First, they largely saw themselves as heroes and were determined to preserve what they fought for during peacetime. Second, patriotism was essentially to keep a pro-American fervor in society. Finally, they saw a need to organize to help, maintain, and shape their communities. These loose tenets continued to appear in many veterans' group in some form or another from this point, influencing their political organization and goals.³⁴ Historically, the participation ranges anywhere from twenty to fifty percent of a war's surviving veteran population. As Pencak points out, the population of the groups usually peaked at twenty years after the conflict due to many of the veterans being middle class, with families, and more established financially and socially at this point.³⁵ The increase in membership comes with little to no government help for disabilities or other problems, as veterans seek out those most similar to themselves.³⁶ With World War I the number eventually saw over one million men in a group, with that group being the American Legion.³⁷

With the rise in the association's population so did the similarities to the Grand Army of the Republic, which the Legion largely wanted to emulate. This emulation did seek to avoid creating a Republican or Northern group, however, and the Legion had interactions with confederate groups, such as inviting members of southern groups to come speak at various

³⁴ Pencak 25.

³⁵ Ibid., 26.

³⁶ Ibid., 26

³⁷ see Arthur Schlesinger Sr. 1944 article "Biography of a Nation of Joiners" for more information on this.

events.³⁸ Whether this was merely for numbers, or actually to create a more harmonized group of veterans, is difficult to tell. The chance for unification came with a focus on a foreign enemy however, as there was still the disdain and turmoil in the home front, and a threatened feeling. The redrawing of the line constituting what is a loyal American from the untrustworthy other, to include the South was substantial in that it was more inclusive to Southerners than even prior to the American Civil War.

The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) vehemently opposed the Pullman Strike of 1894. It nearly labeled the strike an outright rebellion against the United States. Members of GAR also spoke out against ideas such as anarchism and attempting to rigidify immigration laws. The parallels between the GAR and the American Legion become clearer when comparing their information and policies. Policies included a push for military instruction in schools to instill loyalty, just as the Legion's Boys State event attempted to instill principles of loyalty and citizenship. Other glaring similarities even permeated down to the topic of holidays. Just as the Grand Army of the Republic pushed, and established, what became Memorial Day (Decoration Day), The American Legion helped to push and establish holidays such as Constitution Day (Citizenship day), and had a closely knit relationship with establishing Veteran's Day (Armistice Day).³⁹ This was not just a desire to be another GAR by the Legion. They wanted to surpass it and the other groups in every way. They had pride in their large membership numbers, successful pushes for veterans' benefits (being implemented sooner than previously), and wanting to incorporate all veterans, unlike other groups, like the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW).⁴⁰

³⁸ Pencak, 27.

³⁹ Ibid., 26, 28-30.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 29-31.

The ideas of the American Legion go beyond just veterans and community patriotism. As with a substantial number of groups and individuals during its time, the ideals of the eugenics movement did make their way into the platform. The sponsoring of sponsored Junior Baseball was to promote sports, which was a way of keeping the race fit. The implementation of sports also is a key element of the previously mentioned Boys State events. It was with these ideas that the accused fascists, whether operating willingly or not, pushed for racial health in tandem with the tightening of a patriotic community.⁴¹

Groups that advocated for preparedness towards WWI included: The American Defense Society, the National Security League, The American Protective League, the Liberty League, the Terrible Threateners, Sedition Slammers, and Boy spies. The majority of these groups transitioned seamlessly into the post war period as the Red Scare developed and heightened.⁴²

On July 4, 1919 the American Legion began to publish its own journal called *American Legion Weekly* to counter the numerous radical information they saw as infecting the American landscape. This supplemented itself by ads bombarding the pages of a vast number of newspapers.⁴³ There was statewide support as the governors of Colorado, Kansas, Ohio, and Maine all headed their respective preliminary organizations before the Minnesota Conference could take place.⁴⁴ President Wilson and the War Department both backed the group as early as August 1919. Not to be outdone, Congress issued the group a federal charter, receiving no

⁴¹ Ibid., 32.

⁴² Ibid., 36.

⁴³ Ibid., 64-65.

⁴⁴ This Minneapolis conference is also where the major 6 points of the Legion were decided, with one being what was to be done about "bolshhevikism." The 5 other major issues, and the interpolitics can be found within Pencak Chapter 3 70-77.

debate in the senate and only a pattering of questions in the house. With this support, the full weight of the federal level also supplemented the Legion's actions.⁴⁵

As far as Caucasian America saw it, there was no room for African Americans in the Great War or wartime narratives. These feelings and thoughts were also present in the American Legion. Because of the fear of African Americans having a majority in particular southern states, as well as previously held racial beliefs, there was infighting for policy. The Legion eventually settled on an approach regarding African Americans as a states' rights issues. This was to avoid upsetting the white members, while still trying to incorporate African Americans into their conservative ranks.

EFFECT ON CITIZENS

With the establishment of both government and private groups targeting and harassing individuals, the examination of the individuals themselves is often largely absent in narratives. The actions and severity changed marginally throughout the nation. The themes behind the actions, however, were always consistent. This held true both during WWI crackdowns and the Red Scare itself.

Women who did not all go along with the war effort were subsequently were punished by the government. The conviction of Rose Pastor Stokes, a radical antiwar socialist, came for her letter to the Kansas City Star retracting a statement in support of the Wilson administration. Kate Richards O'Hare, a signer of the 1918 antiwar St. Louis Platform of the Socialist Party, was

⁴⁵ Pencak, 65.

found guilty for a statement in Bowman, North Dakota, where she allegedly called American mothers “brood sows,” raising “children to get into the army and be made into fertilizer.”⁴⁶

The teaching certificate of Katherine Bondhaeuer was revoked for using an IWW songbook while students in other classes burned similar books while singing “America” and “The Star Spangled Banner.”⁴⁷ The same action took place in states like Maine with the firing of substitute teacher Rose Allen.⁴⁸ It was clear that the government was willing to punish any disobedience by either student or teacher to maintain the firm grip over the ideas of future citizens. These cases of punishing women were harsher than male counterparts, like William E. Walz, the dean at Maine Law School who compared Bismarck to Lincoln.⁴⁹ This is because of having entire careers taken from them in a society that already limited the career choices of women.

These women received an additional layer of scrutiny due to American patriarchal beliefs. Fear rose in men, as conflicting reports reached the United States. Men heard how during the previous months the nationalization of women had been the policy by the Soviet Government. The Soviets allegedly proclaimed decrees related to marriage and divorce establishing a state of free love. Their effect had been to furnish a vehicle for the legalization of prostitution.⁵⁰ These rumors permeated every social class and, as a result, men were extra

⁴⁶ W. Anthony Gengarely, *Distinguished Dissenters and Opposition to the 1919-1920 Red Scare*, (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 7.

⁴⁷ *Harlow's Weekly*, January 23, 1918, 12; *Tulsa World*, Nov 1, 1918.

⁴⁸ Rita Mae Breton, *Red Scare A Study in Maine Nativism*, (master's thesis: University of Maine at Orono, 1972), 22.

⁴⁹ The accusation of the comparison came on March 10, 1918. Breton, 48.

⁵⁰ US., Congress, Senate, “Brewing and Liquor interest and German Propaganda and Bolsheviki Propaganda,” 66th Cong., 1st sess., June 16, 1919, *Congressional Record LVIII*, 1141, 1144.

careful in trying to prevent the radicalization of females. Put simply, the goal was to protect the family and prevent any more women from becoming like Emma Goldman.

On April 5, 1918 Robert Paul Prager, a German American living in Illinois, was the victim of a drunken mob. 200-300 men forced Prager from his home in Collinsville, making him walk barefoot and wrapped in an American flag along Main Street, where they beat and harassed him. The police took him into custody, but the mob gained control of Prager again, abducting him from the Collinsville City Hall and accusing Mayor John H. Siegel of being pro-German. Failing to find the resources to tar and feather Prager, as the workers had done to other victims, leaders of the mob used a rope and hanged him at a prominent bluff outside town.⁵¹ His plea was for his body to be “wrapped in the American flag for burial.”⁵² After Prager’s death, the jury acquitted those accused of the violent crime. Other incidents plagued the region, like, a crowd, of alleged Klan members that dragged Herbert S. Bigelow, a preacher and pacifist, out of his home in Newport, Kentucky before beating him.

The government response to these events was not swift or reassuring. Wilson only spoke out against it three months later. John Lord O’Brian, assistant to the attorney general responded that he “wasn’t too worried because no report had come from a ‘Respectable citizen.’”⁵³ Lord O’ Brian also went on to claim boldly there was no such thing as political prisoners by proclaiming, “so far as this department is aware no person has been indicted or convicted primarily on the basis of his political beliefs”⁵⁴

⁵¹ Peterson and Fite, 194.

⁵² Prager was notably the only foreign national that was lynched during WWI.

⁵³ Peterson and Fite, 79, 206-207.

⁵⁴ ACLU file vol XCVIII, AMNESTY, 1918-1919, LETTER, Albert DeSilver to John Lord O’Brian, January 14, 1919; O’Brian to Desilver, January 20, 1919.

Despite this assertion, from May through August 1918, IWW leaders and members faced trial in Chicago. The judge found over one hundred members guilty on over 10,000 counts under the Espionage Act for opposing the war, but it was largely for simply being IWW members.⁵⁵ With sentences of up to twenty years, prominent members, like founder Bill Haywood, ultimately skipped bail and fled the country.

During 1919, the IWW and the AWIU met serious resistance beyond Chicago, with the jailing of over 1000 IWW members, 100 coming in Kansas alone.⁵⁶ A Wichita grand jury indicted 28 Wobblies under both the Espionage and Lever Acts on March 1918. They did not have their trial until December 1919. The jail conditions were terrible; overcrowded, unventilated, dank, and filled with sewage. One died, two went insane, and many others developed various diseases such as influenza, typhus, and the like.⁵⁷ Finally, when the verdict came in December 26 of the men were sentenced from 16 months to 9 years and taken to Leavenworth. Most of the prisoners had their sentences commuted in 1921, with the rest following in December 1923.

These judicial punishments came just two short years after the “Tulsa Outrage” that occurred on November 9, 1917. This incident occurred just before midnight, when a hooded mob, belonging to the Knights of Liberty, took sixteen IWW members under escort by nine Tulsa police officers from city hall to the county jail. Taking them by gunpoint, the IWW prisoners, suspected of bombing an oil official’s home in Tulsa, were beaten, whipped, and finally tarred and feathered.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Steven Parfitt https://depts.washington.edu/iww/justice_dept.shtml

⁵⁶ Sellers, 145.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 114.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1-2.

Bisbee, Arizona was another site of these type of mob retributions. What started with a mining strike in July 1917 escalated quickly. Law enforcement and a supporting posse rounded up some 1,300 miners and their supporters. They then put the striking workers into cattle cars and transported them over 200 miles, a 16-hour trip through the desert with no food and minimal water, to Tres Hermanas, New Mexico. The sheriffs delayed the release of the story of Bisbee for some time due to the prevention of outside communication by their prisoners. Eventually President Wilson became aware of the situation and even went so far as to declare the action illegal. Despite this condemnation, no convictions ever occurred for the mass kidnapers.⁵⁹ These escalating activities Lord O' Brian's claim that there were no political prisoners during the period loses all value.

While these stories provide a broad look into the repercussions some experienced, it does not provide the most in-depth picture. To supplement this, the examination that was taking place in American states and territories becomes integral, with the first source being California and the second the Alaskan Territory.

CALIFORNIA

The Military Intelligence Division created in 1918 focused on counterintelligence abroad and at home. Members were both paid operatives and unpaid volunteers. Not only did they perform observations and background checks for members of other intelligence groups, they carried out the organized harassment of pacifists, socialists, African Americans, and any others they viewed as enemies.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid., 100-101

⁶⁰ Diane M.T. North, *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018), 115.

A modern war policy developed in United States as the push for soldiers became more than the largely Caucasian policies of the Civil War. While the tolerance for non-whites was not very high, registration for the draft occurred for African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and even newly arrived immigrants. In California for instance, 21.7% of their draft registrations came from foreign-born individuals, often with little or no ability to read, write, or speak English.⁶¹

These new policies were one of the ways in which the government pushed Americanization. The government quickly began production of pamphlets to teach soldiers hygiene, what to expect during the war, and even reasons for U.S. involvement in Europe. English lessons accompanied these pamphlets. Despite acceptance of racial groups in registering for the draft, the military kept them separated, according to their identification during registration. Not only did the ideas of race at the time complicate things, but citizenship as well, particularly in the case of Native Americans. Citizenship status was determined for many by the agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Somewhere between 7,000 and 14,000 Native Americans served despite the tense racial setting and complicated history with the American military. Their reward for doing so though, was an offer of the chance to apply for citizenship by the government.⁶²

The need to instill patriotism flooded into classrooms. Boards of Education and Loyalty Leagues combined to create the perfect little patriots. To ensure this, there was removal of all signs of insubordination in both the students and, equally worryingly, in the teachers. Because of this, both were under constant surveillance by private groups, such as the American Protective

⁶¹ Ibid., 116.

⁶² Ibid., 117.

League, and the government. Teachers faced potential firings for instances as small as having German surnames.⁶³ States such as California halted all teaching of the German language and switched instruction to French, as that was where American soldiers were fighting and dying to protect against the autocratic Germans. This action occurred elsewhere as both Nebraska and Wisconsin took preventive stances against the teaching of the German language in schools.⁶⁴

ALASKA

Alaskan Governor Thomas Riggs Jr. wrote to the Territorial Representative of the Alien Property Custodian suggesting “to take over [a certain cannery in Alaska, the owners of which are Germans who we suspected were entertaining disloyal sentiments] for use of the Government, if evidence could be secured against them.”⁶⁵ Due to this letter, and a general concern by the federal government, the Bureau of investigation conducted investigations all through canneries in Alaska.⁶⁶

This was only the beginning of the actions the government and groups carried out in Alaska. As a result, the taking of property without evidence or accusations occurred, which wildly violated the fifth amendment. This letter only represented a sign of the trends that permeated the territory during World War I and the Red Scare.

A major point in the anti-immigrant and foreign-born came with the update of the Alien Act of 1789. German aliens over 14 had to register at local post offices between March 18 and March 23 of 1918 (later extended to April 12 to allow travel). They received identification cards

⁶³ Ibid.,252-253.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 255; This measure was later repealed following being deemed illegal in 1923 by the Supreme Court.

⁶⁵ Riggs to Lenoir, Governors' Papers October 31,1918, 52-60-0368-9.

⁶⁶ Steven C. Levi, *The Great Red Scare in World War One Alaska*, (Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2010), 84.

and could not be in possession of either firearms or cipher or signaling devices. The unregistered could not appear within a half-mile of any “Federal or state fort, camp, arsenal, aircraft station, Government or naval vessel, navy yard, factory, or workshop... of any producers for the use of the Army or Navy.”⁶⁷ If one did not register, the punishment was imprisonment.

In mid-April 1918 restrictions on aliens became worse. Attorney General T.W. Gregory informed marshals across the country that enemy aliens now needed a permit to change their place of residence. If they moved without said permit and all the formalities, they were subject to imprisonment.⁶⁸ With the threat of violations came the problem of what to do with those accused of crimes. The use of internment camps was the official solution. In Alaska, this created problems, as remote locations required internment within the communities.

The U.S. government required the registration of property and estates of the dead and in cases of inheritance the seizure of assets, even in the instance of the heir being in the community or territory. The implantation of this policy came with the idea in mind that the government prevented any asset from being potentially used by the German war machine.⁶⁹

While the government regularly investigated canneries and mines for any German involvement, the U.S. Alien Property officials accomplished little beyond investigations. Only one instance of seizing property took place. That event was in April 1919, five months after the war with seizure only occurring as both partners, a Greek and a Bulgarian, had drowned.⁷⁰

William E. Britt, a Norwegian and the Vice Consul of Norwegians in Juneau, was a naturalized citizen and pharmacist who came to Alaska for the gold rush. While there, though,

⁶⁷ 1917 Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States, 58.

⁶⁸ “Alien Enemies Takes Notice,” *Fairbanks Daily News Miner*, April 16, 1918.

⁶⁹ Levi, 88.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

he served the public in many capacities, such as Territorial Board of Pharmacy, the Territorial House of Representatives, and the Norwegian Vice Consul, which handled day-to-day difficulties that Norwegian immigrants experienced in Alaska.

He received a letter from Secretary of Alaska Labor Union, Jack Sutherland, asking if a Norwegian who filed an intent to become an American Citizen was required to register for the draft. He responded that while the United States military saw this as making them eligible for the draft, he did not, as intentions were changeable, as well as a way for Norwegian citizens to avoid the draft. Sutherland turned around and published this letter in the *Alaska Labor Union Bulletin* in January 1918. Government officials, particularly Captain T.J. Hunt, an executive officer under the governor and the man in charge of the selective service, declared this a clear violation of the Espionage Act. Britt publicly responded in *Alaska Daily Empire* on Saturday, April 13, 1918 calling out how “it is bad enough that we have this war on our hands, but it is still worse that we have people who, for political gain will misuse professed loyalty in order to ruin political opponents.”⁷¹

The reason for this targeting was that Britt was in the House of Representatives at the time and only one of two votes in opposition to making the territory dry. Regardless of the reasoning for the purpose of the attack, Britt’s rebuttal only escalated the situation. He decided to go to the Juneau Council of Defense to defend himself and attempt to drum up support during an election year. Talking with the council, made up largely of businessmen and professionals, Britt hoped to showcase to his peers his innocence and injustice perpetrated by Hunt and others.

⁷¹ *Alaska Daily Empire* April 13, 1918.

He went before a grand jury over the matter instead of a judge for a trial. The verdict deemed that this was largely a political smear against Britt who was looking to move up to the Territorial Senate from the House of Representatives. The fact that Britt was acting on orders from the Norwegian government, which was neutral, also played a part, as it granted diplomatic immunity. Hill did not give up on ruining this man, though, and wrote to the Attorney General as well as other high-level officials

The reason for an increased importance placed upon the draft was that the World War I's draft accounted for 67% of Army as opposed to other wars such as the Civil War, which only brought in 6%.⁷² Despite the importance, unique situations with the draft in Alaska arose concerning logistics and economics. It took anywhere from \$200 to nearly \$400 to send a single soldier from locations such as Nome or Iditarod. There was also the problem of in some cases it taking a 40 day venture by dog sled just to reach the coast.⁷³ Low manpower created other problems as it created increased tension because of the unique need in Alaska for every available individual to work.⁷⁴ Tensions rose in Alaska, as it is a place people attempted to escape to in order to avoid the draft. For instance, on April 1, 1918 came the arrest of 69 men while boarding a boat to travel to Alaska to avoid the draft.⁷⁵ The government as a result conducted regular searches of canneries for not just suspected alien agents, but draft-dodgers. In the end, 15,682 signed up for the draft but only 1,200 were actually drafted.

Citizens joined in the harassment of others as well. An anti-Norwegian "riot" took place in Ketchikan on October 4, 1917, when three Norwegians – Ole K. Hanson, Olaf Horgenson, and

⁷² Russell F Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), 357.

⁷³ "Voluntary Induction Cancelled" *Alaska Dispatch*, January 25, 1918; Levi, 107.

⁷⁴ Levi, 110.

⁷⁵ "Alleged Slackers Can't Come North," *Anchorage Weekly Times*, April 4, 1918.

Arne Sandvik – decided to return their citizenship applications instead of risking arrest for not registering for the draft. A crowd, decorated in yellow streamers, reading “SLACKER” seized the men and took them to the docks. Upon arrival, the men had to choose of whether to jump into the water or to receive dunking in the water by the crowd. The men chose to jump in on their own accord.⁷⁶

Retrieval of the men from the water did not stop their punishment. After their rescue, reports indicate their tying up and dragging by an automobile over the town’s plank street while being beaten, kicked, and abused by the crowd until they became unconscious. Only after becoming unconscious were their friends able to take them to the hospital for treatment.⁷⁷

There was no attempt to arrest, or even stop, those perpetuating the abuse. This is largely because the crowd that had gathered made up the majority of the town, and the municipal and federal officials that were present were largely in favor of the treatment. Ironically, Dawson Cooper, the alleged ringleader, went on to claim a draft exemption due to having a wife.⁷⁸

The United States Attorney for Ketchikan, James A. Miser, did not take these events lightly. He wrote Governor Riggs regarding the events and the difficulty of obtaining factual evidence due to the people involved having been for the actions.⁷⁹ This explains why the events he reported were different from the Norwegian Consulate’s received reports. To the Consul the events were instead over October 3, where the men’s forced jump occurred, and then their dragging not until October 4. In this story, the United States Commissioner William Mahoney

⁷⁶ “Two Slackers are Adorned in Yellow and Paraded Around,” *Ketchikan Progressive-Miner*, October 4, 1918.

⁷⁷ Rustguard to Nils Voll, Norwegian Consulate, San Francisco, December 8, 1916, Governors’ Papers, 64-5.

⁷⁸ Levi, 113.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

argued against the men's treatment. He then began fist fighting with a participant before pulling a revolver, resulting in the crowd dissipating.⁸⁰

Miser did charge seven men with incitement to riot. Of the seven, only two were citizens, which differentiate, largely from other incidents in the nation, as the aliens were openly acting against other aliens. The grand jury did not indict any of the accused men.⁸¹

The end of the war did not stop the persecution for activities, such as slacking. The post-war arrests of two men in Ketchikan, Henry Furlan, in January, who received an hour in jail, and Martin Jacobson in May, receiving a \$250 fine were two instances.⁸² Lewis Bartleson was a case of draft dodging in Fairbanks, his reasoning for this failure to register was, "I failed to register because I was foolish enough to listen to an IWW at Cache Creek last year."⁸³ However, this was not the sole reason for Bartleson's charge. The real reason for the charge coming a year after the war was due to being on trial for assault with the prosecutor deciding to throw any and every charge possible at the man.⁸⁴

Draft dodging convictions in Alaska were exponentially higher than the national rates. It only had 213 cases of failure to register within the territory compared to the 19,790 national cases. However, it only represented 0.005 percent of the population, but accounted for 1.1% of the cases. As for the conviction rate, Alaska accounted for 42% of the total convictions nationally.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Ibid., 114.

⁸¹ Levi 116-17; See chapter 5 of Levi for more on this situation and the complications between the stories

⁸² Levi 118; U.S. vs Henry Furlan, Ketchikan Criminal File 556, Box 11; U.S. vs Martin Jacobson, Ketchikan Criminal File 590, Box 12; U.S. vs. John Leren, Ketchikan Criminal File 593, Box 12.

⁸³ Levi, 118.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Sedition accusations sprang up with alarm. After hearing of a possible violation the officials held a conference with the individual, which upon being made public caused a social stir. The records of convictions are scarce because of the loose judicial system and the actions of commissioners. The first recorded case of sedition, however, was the arrest of William N. Waddleton in Juneau on June 6, 1917. Waddleton, described as a “colored man” was an unofficial lawyer accused of distributing a pamphlet created by socialists. The pamphlet encouraged resisting conscription and the draft and for working men to strike with the goal of embarrassing the government. Despite the material he was accused of distributing, the result was a hung jury.⁸⁶

Other cases popped up against potential aliens and enemies. A man named George Kinkela in Juneau was accused of claiming “I fight for the Kaiser.”⁸⁷ D.L. Squier claimed he wanted the Germans not only to win, but kill every American and Allied soldier.⁸⁸ Some left specifically pro-German rhetoric out of it, but kept the vitriol, such as, Ketchikan’s Conrad Mauritz Olsen Einnes, who allegedly said “This country took up a second hand war and I will not fight for no cock-sucking country and President Wilson ought to be hung.”⁸⁹

The January Raids conducted by Palmer would not be the only push against perceived criminals, foreign agents, and radicals. In Alaska there was the case of Charles Switzer, who fourteen months after the war ended was arrested on January 23, 1920 for espionage. He was accused of “unlawfully, willingly, contemptuously and disrespectfully utter and speak of and

⁸⁶ Levi 124; “Juneauite Held on Charge of Sedition,” *Chitina Leader*, June 9, 1917; “Jury Disagrees in Waddleton’s Case,” *Alaska Dispatch*, June 8, 1917.

⁸⁷ *Alaska Dispatch*, April 13, 1918.

⁸⁸ U.S. vs Squier, Fairbanks Criminal File 782, Box 35.

⁸⁹ U.S. vs Conrad Mauritz Olsen and Charlie Olson, Ketchikan Criminal File 531, Box 10.

concerning the flag and the government of the United States.”⁹⁰ This was due to a dispute of a claim over Coghlan Island in the Auk Bay. Switzer had a claim on the island, but it was the property of the United States. The real problem arose when being asked of the claim Switzer is that he said, “The United States government put me off that island and gave it to an Indian and I don’t give a fuck for the flag or any of the sons of bitches belong to it.”⁹¹ While the statement was allegedly uttered in December 1919, still a year after the war, it was not until another year later it came back to haunt Mr. Switzer. Though found not guilty under these charges, the loose and harsh application shows the callousness of both an increasingly authoritarian government, as well as its officials and citizens.⁹²

State and federal government officials took feelings held prior to the war by American citizens and combined them with those deemed desirable for the war effort. After establishing the conditions for the Red Scare to take place, the subsequent actions show both success and failure. While those opposed to the government and war, be they non-white or politically radical, were often the first targets, every race and ideology was victim to scrutiny in some form. This occurred to the point where white northern Europeans received the same suspicion reserved for Russians or Eastern Europeans in the continental United States. Therefore, while race did indeed play a role in the hysteria, it is not a lone factor in the actions of the government, numerous groups, or individuals. Regardless of the reasoning, the actions performed do show that after the conditions were set, a baseline of fear that is accommodating pre-existing American racial, social, gendered, nativist, economic beliefs, the Red Scare took place.

⁹⁰ U.S. vs. Charles Switzer, Juneau Criminal File 1397, Box 47.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

“Hallelujah I’m A Bum: Strikes and Leftist Actions.”

The Haymarket Affair of 1886 marks a suitable beginning point for examining the actions that led up to the Red Scare. The massacre, or riot, depending on the view one wishes to take, was a bombing that took place on May 4, 1886 in Chicago.¹ While the day began as a peaceful rally striking for an eight-hour workday, it quickly turned into chaos. It was already tense with police killing an individual and injuring several men the day before, when someone threw a dynamite bomb at police attempting to disperse the crowd. Gunfire quickly followed and when the smoke dissipated seven police officers and four civilians were dead with dozens of others injured. The arrest of eight anarchists followed.² Next came the dismissal of hundreds of potential jurors who spoke well of the men and eventually a bailiff picking the jurors. These jurors even admitted to being openly prejudiced against the men, but Judge Joseph Gary allowed the case to continue.³ Seven received death sentences with another receiving 15 years.⁴

The history behind both striking and labor violence shaped the feelings, attitudes, and actions of both sides. As the Red Scare took form, applications of preemptive feelings then transferred to the new mediums and opportunities individuals, groups, and government officials had at their disposal. To present this, first comes a broad national approach of case studies

¹ The strike in Chicago was only a part of the larger general strike that was taking place in other cities during this time, such as Milwaukee, Detroit, and New York.

² Dismissal for Captain Michael Schaack, the lead investigator, from the police came for fabricating evidence in this case. His reinstatement occurred in 1892; Robert Loertzel, : *Chicago’s Luetgert Murder Case of 1897*, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 52.

³ Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 262–267.

⁴ Two men had their executions commuted to life in prison and a third committed suicide on the eve of his execution by lighting a blasting cap he had placed in his mouth.

before regional examination of California, Oklahoma, and Alaska to show both similarities and differences of the evolving hate and actions.

The newspapers of the time took this story and sensationalized it. While most simply demeaned these individuals as ruffians, thieves, or assassins, others expanded on the act. The *Atlantic Monthly* played on middle class fears and tried to present these individuals as coming for their lives and wealth.⁵ This shows that before there was ever a Soviet Union to fear, economic tensions between classes had Americans on edge.

The Haymarket Affair was not the only event in the late nineteenth century to upset the delicate balance between the middle class, the upper class, and radical laborers. There were large-scale strikes, such as the General Railroad Strikes of 1877. Violence was nothing new as the Homestead Strike showed with strikers and private security forces. Despite the impact and results of all of these events, the Haymarket Affair is one of the two most transformative events during the time, highlighting that racial and economic problems within the United States.

The Pullman Carriage Strike of 1894 was the second. The strike started on May 11, 1894, as a wildcat strike, known as unauthorized or unsupported by their union, as almost 4,000 workers walked off the job. The reason for the strike was due to George Pullman's laying workers off and decreasing wages, all while refusing to lower rents on company housing. This provided the opportunity for Eugene V. Debs and the newly created American Railway Union needed to enter the scene. When the Debs-led boycott went into effect on June 26, 1894, nearly 125,000 railway workers refused to handle Pullman train cars or work.⁶ The strike spread as

⁵ George Frederic Parsons, (July 1886). "The Labor Question". *The Atlantic Monthly* 58: 97–113.

⁶ Nick Salvatore; Schneirov, Richard; Stromquist Shelton, *The Pullman Strike and Crisis of 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics*. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 137.

trains stopped all across the country. Racial problems only further increased tension, as many of the strikebreakers brought on were African American.

The rising tensions set the scene for violence to take place, but it was not until the intervention of President Grover Cleveland that it became drastic. With the influx of Army troops and U.S. Marshals the fighting and riots worsened until the strikes ended on July 20, 1894. In the end, the strikers did some \$80 million of damage and federal troops killed 30 while injuring 57.⁷ Eugene Debs' arrest came promptly and the A.R.U. dissolved. While the strike was a failure, it emboldened pro-labor groups and set the stage for newer, more radical groups to form.

The most prominent group to rise out of this failure was the International Workers of the World. On June 27, 1905 William D Haywood, while banging a two by four, called for the "Continental Congress of the working class" in Brand Hall of Chicago. Over the next 11 days, 203 delegates created the Industrial Workers of the World.⁸ Haywood, along with Debs, other socialists, and labor leaders of the time, led this group to infamy. While they were the most prominent, they were not the only group leading strikes following the turn of the century.

The evolution of radical American labor continued in June 1910 with a strike by the Los Angeles Iron Workers. It resulted in an anti-picketing ordinance and newspapers relayed the owners' anti-union views. In retaliation, the Los Angeles Times building was bombed on October 1, 1910. The explosion and fire killed 21 and injured 100 more. After weeks of no leads, the investigation led to charges being filed against John J. and James B. McNamara, both

⁷ David Ray Papke. *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America*, (Landmark law cases & American Society), (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1999), 35-37.

⁸ Philip S. Foner. *Industrial Workers of the World*, (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 29-31; It should be noted that Foner has been the subject of claims of plagiarism by Mel Dubofsky and other historians; *The Industrial Union Manifesto of January 1905* reprinted in *Miners Magazine* 26, 1905.

members of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Clarence Darrow joined the defense reluctantly after the A.F.L. asked his assistance as organized labor had with Bill Haywood in 1906. Darrow convinced the brothers to plead guilty.⁹ James went on to claim full responsibility for the bombing. With their guilty pleas, James received life in prison and John received 15 years. While it might not be as drastic as *The Crime of the Century* labeled so by the *Los Angeles Times* issue on October 16, 1910, the implications were still far reaching.¹⁰ The event considerably worsened labor relations and caused an outright destruction of union capability in Los Angeles, while creating dire problems throughout both the nation and California.

Despite organized media being largely against the labor organizers, the unions still fought for their right to speak publicly in locations like San Diego in 1912 and Kansas City in 1913. While outwardly looking like marches or ordinary protest, there was a larger significance to these fights. These type of street performances were popular at the time as groups such as the Salvation Army did the same. Local organization could flourish in this environment. With transportation not yet being overwhelmingly the automobile, engagement was higher as crowds walked or rode buggies.

While the early labor and free speech fights were meaningful, they reached new heights with the start of WWI. As the Espionage and Sedition Acts respectively allowed the government to reign in speech and ignore any contrary laws, the same was true for other areas. The most relevant of these was labor, overshadowing the Clayton Act of 1914, which guaranteed unions

⁹ Darrow was being accused of juror tampering at the time, which reasonably could have led to wanting to settle court as quickly as possible as the evidence of this having occurred seemed overwhelming.

¹⁰ *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1910.

the right to organize, strike, and picket. As a result, crackdowns on labor became more prevalent and often more violent than before.

It was in Everett, Washington, where these fights came to some of its most violent times in 1916.¹¹ Initial arrests of IWW members in Everett came for intentionally speaking at a corner that prohibited public speaking. The IWW began intentionally provoking authorities in order to agitate them to the point of arrest and fill the jails as the organization paid members serving in jail. As the jails filled the union men became scapegoats for some of the fires the town had experienced, despite there being no evidence of a link between the two. Efforts on the IWW's behalf only grew as police allowed striking workers to be beaten, intervening only later in the day to rescue the strikebreakers when they came under a retaliatory attack. Enraged, the IWW began sending entire groups of protesters, whom the police promptly beat each time. The police escalated in turn on October 30, 1916 with forty-one union members forced to run through the park as citizens and law enforcement officials set up a gauntlet of beatings. In retaliation, three-hundred IWW members boarded the *Verona* and *Calista* in Seattle, sailing towards Everett to protest, and some assuredly looking for payback. However, the sheriff of Snohomish County and two-hundred or so armed citizens were waiting for their arrival on the docks. After some verbal back and forth between the sheriff and Wobblies, a shot rang out and all hell broke loose.¹² Which side fired first has never been clear, but both sides did fire upon each other, resulting in casualties. When the smoke had cleared, each side had nearly 20 wounded, two citizens dead, and between 5 to 12 members of the IWW dead.¹³ The Wobblies rode their boats

¹¹ The Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World, IWW) Documentary <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DCbOXOimY&t=3494s>. (Accessed 7/19/2020)

¹² Norman H. Clark, *Mill Town -- A Social History of Everett, Washington*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), 186-87; Clark 205; The Wobblies <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DCbOXOimY&t=> (Accessed 7/19/2020)

¹³ Clark, 207.

back to Seattle where the wounded went to hospitals and the police immediately arrested those who could stand. The acquittal of the men came after serving two months for attempted murder.¹⁴

Tensions rose in 1917 with riots in East St Louis, Illinois. These labor riots also featured racial elements as well as economic. Violence was not new to the industrial state as it had a history of labor disputes, and race riots had taken place in nearby Springfield barely a decade earlier. With the United States entering the war, men were drafted and domestic production needed to increase, allowing for those previously ignored or barred from working to gain more employment opportunities. One of the major ways African Americans were able to gain access was as strikebreakers. This only increased racial tensions within communities, as white men saw African Americans as inferior to themselves and destroying their jobs and livelihoods. High tensions resulted in emotions exploding on May 28, 1917 during a meeting to discuss the ongoing strike at Aluminum Ore Company, when the men decided the solution to their problems was violence. They then went into the community attacking any African American they found and damaging property.¹⁵ The governor quickly activated the National Guard and the violence dissipated.

This was just a sign of what came for African Americans of East St. Louis. On July 1, a black Model T drove through an African American neighborhood shooting a group of people. Later that day when another car drove through the same area a crowd of African Americans shot at it fearing the earlier car had returned. The car instead had two police officers and a journalist

¹⁴ The acquittals came as it was determined that the two deputies who had been shot, had been shot in the back by others firing at the IWW and therefore could not have been killed by any of the individuals on the boats.

¹⁵ Oscar Leonard, "The East St. Louis Pogrom," *The Survey*, Volume 38, Chicago: Survey Associates, 1917.

in it. One officer died instantly and the other received mortal wounds.¹⁶ The next day thousands of white citizens gathered at the site of the officers' murders, and in a rage began rioting and attacking African Americans indiscriminately, including women and children. The mob cut the fire department's hoses and set buildings and homes ablaze. The mob shot or beat the escaping inhabitants. When beatings or shooting were not their choice of violence the mobs resorted to lynching. The National Guard once activated once did not arrive until July 3. When the smoke had cleared, nine whites lay dead and anywhere from an estimated 39 to 250 African Americans had died.¹⁷

Labor and racial problems were nothing new in the United States. With the start of WWI, fear of radicalization and defiance further added to these prior conditions allowing society to reach new levels of violence. This escalation grew as the Red Scare progressed from its beginning at the start of the war to the postwar years that provided the hysteria driven climax.

The first of these large post war events is the Seattle General Strike. Seattle became the forefront of the shift in the nations fears from foreign to internal, as mayor Ole Hanson "called for trucks to take them all away" during the General Strike of 1919. Hanson had a well-known hatred for the IWW as he saw every strike as a practice run for a real revolution.¹⁸ Because of this and a chance to grandstand personally, he saw those wanting to strike as a communist uprising. He personally led federal troops and police officers with his car draped in an American Flag.¹⁹ From February 6 to February 11, 65,000 workers decided to strike, originally to back the

¹⁶ Danny Wicentowski,, "Remembering the East St. Louis Race War:" *Riverfront Times*, 28 June 2017.

¹⁷ Elliott M. Rudwick, *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917*, (Carbondale.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964); *The Crisis*, Vol. 14, No. 5. (September, 1917), 219-238; William M Tuttle Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*, (New York: Anteneum, 1970), 12-13

¹⁸ , Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in Nation Hysteria, 1919-1920*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 64.

¹⁹ Murray, 63.

shipbuilders in Seattle, without violence. During the period, a general council ensured the collection of trash, the continued production of power to the city, and there was no halting of other essential activities.

The strike ended solely due to union efforts and not Hanson's pageantry. Despite the peacefulness and scale of the strike, Ole Hanson sought to claim glory from his tough rhetoric of enlisting many officers to keep the peace and to crush the Bolsheviks' efforts in his city. The newspapers declared victory as if an invasion had been repelled.²⁰ The Overman Committee, a congressional subcommittee, also shifted its focus from German propaganda to Bolsheviks during this time, as they searched for signs of their fears coming true.

The imagined threat of bolshevism in labor and a personality emerging as a victor happened again in Boston. On September 9, 1919 the police officers of Boston decided to strike to obtain higher wages, better working and living conditions, and alleviation of a long list of other grievances, such as high equipment cost. With their requests denied, they collaborated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to unionize. The mayor of Boston almost immediately suspended those who held union leadership. With the backing of Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge, the men's suspension was not only upheld, but they were removed from the police force.²¹

The measure failed as at the rollcall on September 9, the police officers agreed to walk off the job, 1,134 to 2.²² What followed was hysteria. The city surrendered to madness as citizens and media labeled the actions of the police force as "Bolshevik."²³ That night

²⁰ Ibid., 64-65.

²¹ Ibid., 124.

²² Ibid., 124.

²³ Ibid., 125-126.

hooliganism was rampant in Boston as property destruction, theft, small scale rioting, and other crimes occurred. The next night there were cases of citizens shot, rioting grew in size, and businesses began sneaking their wealth out of the city.²⁴ Seeing a waning of popular support and having seen the loss suffered by labor in Seattle earlier in the year, other unions refused to institute a general strike to support the police officers. Despite the lack of a general strike, the police earned more than enough ire of their own. Officials in Washington were spreading fear that this was a sign of communism on American soil. They further warned that what was to follow is the replacement of democracy with a Soviet.²⁵ Seeing the outcry against the strike, decisions made by local officials, and with Coolidge's backing, orders of no arbitration and the police force not to receive reinstatement. Instead, the city recruited an entirely new police force to supplement the few who had remained on the job. Not only had the strike failed, the labor movement lost any credibility as large portions of the country and media saw it. As a result, of his handling of the situation, Coolidge was also able to use this as stepping-stone into the vice-presidency four years later.

Despite the failure of other labor strikes, there was a steel strike in September 1919. Just like Boston's former police force, the AFL led the strike. Pittsburgh officials, among others nationally, essentially barred the AFL from organizing and pushing for increased wages. Because of this harassment, the AFL scheduled a steelworker's general strike to take place on September 22, 1919. Even with the precedent of the police strike in Boston, the walkout went forward. An estimated 365,000 workers walked off the job when owners rejected their demands. The owners quickly began equating this to an attempt at a communist uprising, propagating lies,

²⁴ Ibid., 127-129.

²⁵ Ibid., 130.

such as how steelworkers made upwards of \$70 a day.²⁶ The propaganda did not stop there and escalated as violence became more prevalent in the strike. Local authorities deputized large numbers of individuals and showed no hesitation in using these men to punish dissenting workers.

Beatings were common in breaking up picket lines or protests. It went beyond just beatings, as there were instances of deaths, such as Farrell, Pennsylvania where law enforcement killed four strikers and injured eleven.²⁷ Exactly who was stirring up these violent events is hard to determine, as the use of labor spies and agitators was widespread. Despite which side was responsible, violence is what occurred in some areas with a prominent example occurring in Gary, Indiana. In Gary, violent rioting began on October 4, allegedly over companies bringing in African American strikebreakers.²⁸ The governor activated the National Guard, resulting in the filling of both hospitals and jails with strikers. Despite the influx of militiamen, rioting occurred the next day to the point where they could not put it down. The governor requested federal aid and General Leonard Wood subsequently arrived with federal troops and declared martial law. Even with Army intelligence forces combing through the towns radical sentiments and conducting a raid on October 15, the strike continued until January 8, 1920 when it ended as a complete loss for labor.

Other national strikes took place. Disputes between labor and both owners and government officials only escalated, as in 1919 there were 3,600 strikes involving some 4 million

²⁶ *Idib.*,143.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 146-147.

workers.²⁹ In November of 1919 alone over 400,000 coal miners left the mines.³⁰ When not outright striking workers carried out methods such as “soldiering”, which was Frederick Taylor’s description of IWW’s sabotage through passive resistance. Passive resistance meaning working slowly or badly, breaking items, seizing machines, telling customers products were poorly made, or just folding arms and not working, caused the owners to lose money, an idea based on French usage of sabotage.³¹ The IWW largely saw this as ideal and opposed radical means like burning down mills or destroying machinery, as it hindered their employment. It was with a conscious withdrawal of efficiency the labor fight would be won.³² Despite heavy affiliation with the IWW, most labor did this already, according to John R. Commons a labor researcher and Stanley Mathewson a management specialist.³³ These strikes not only failed, but also saw new measures used against them like Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer’s use of the Lever Act.

1919 became known as the Red Summer not only due to the unprecedented labor disputes, but racial violence. Dealing with oppression in many forms, James Weldon Johnson, field secretary of NAACP, spoke out against increasing the censoring of mail. This outspokenness came as censorship suppressed any protest by the 15 million black Americans. Despite the oppression of protesting by African Americans themselves, national attention focused on the anti-black feelings becoming more violent across the entire country.³⁴ Cities such as Chicago, Omaha, and Washington D.C. suffered severe riots, but also showed organized

²⁹ Todd J. Pfannestiel, *Rethinking the Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York State’s Fight Against Radicalism, 1919-1923*. (Ph.D. Dissertation, William and Mary in Virginia 2001), 9.

³⁰ Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 178-9.

³¹ Thorstein Veblen, “On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage.” *Dial* 66, April 5, 1919; Sabotage has its roots in the French workers throwing their shoes (sabots) into a machine when they were too tired to work.

³² The Wobblies, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DCbOXOimY&t=3494s>. (Accessed 7/19/2020).

³³ Nigel Anthony Sellers *Oil, Wheat, & Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World in Oklahoma, 1905-1930* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 26.

³⁴ W. Anthony Gengarely, *Distinguished Dissenters and Opposition to the 1919-1920 Red Scare*, (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 218.

counter-fighting by African Americans against white-supremacist attacks. Rural areas suffered too with Elaine, Arkansas recording the highest number of African Americans killed at somewhere between 100 and 240.³⁵

CALIFORNIA

California had more than a few reasons to be wary of labor and radicalization on the left. The Los Angeles Times building, and San Francisco Preparedness Day parade bombings mentioned previously in the chapter were serious points of tension. Anti-war unions became suspects of carrying out the San Francisco bombing. With 10 dead and 40 wounded, the search for the perpetrators became more important than the reasoning. Labor activists Warren K. Bilings and Thomas J Mooney were the scapegoats and spent years on death row before exoneration. The bombings in California continued with an attempt on the governor's mansion on December 17, 1917. The blame unsurprisingly fell upon the IWW.³⁶

Already angry towards unions as the suspects in bombings, relations worsened as labor disputes followed. Prominent strikes took place within California. The Bay Area Iron Trade Council called a strike in September 1917 as 24,000 shipbuilders and machinists demanded higher wages. The government and workers settled the dispute after only a week to prevent unrest for war efforts and a stop in production. The settlement determined decisions regarding wages were now under a board composed of the American Federation of Labor, led by Samuel Gompers, and The Emergency Fleet Corporation. This mild success did not see much repetition as rail workers in Los Angeles found out in 1919. Not only was their attempt to strike to obtain

³⁵ Teresa Krug, "A Rural Town Confronts its Buried History of Mass Killing of Black Americans." *The Guardian*. August 18, 2019, (Accessed 3/29/20); For context and in-depth analysis of the Red Summer of 1919 see William M. Tuttle Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*, (New York: Anteneum, 1970).

³⁶ Diane M.T. North, *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018), 254.

higher pay and shorter hours refused, but they were branded traitors in the papers and had armed guards put onto train cars to prevent any action by the union. The unions backed down from striking and workers eventually received their wage increase, but only after the war was over.³⁷

California saw the value of its oil rise due to the war both materially and economically. The result was an iron grip by the government following the Level Food and Fuel Control Act in August 1917. Just as it did with coal, from its removal to refinement, the government tracked oil. Fearing IWW sabotage, Pinkerton Agents and other members of private industrial spy networks embedded themselves in the oil process at all levels. Beyond just spying came the reality of violence, with the shooting of a Shell Oil employee as he allegedly he attempted to blow up a plant in June 1917.

OKLAHOMA AND KANSAS

Oklahoma and Kansas provide a deep insight into the plains of the United States. Until statehood in 1907 workers in Oklahoma were guests of Indian nations, which created problems with labor early on.³⁸ Emphasis on both agriculture and petroleum provided mixed results for labor and the IWW.

The National Farm Labor Exchange feared future IWW members' actions with farm labor, so they attempted in 1914 to prevent any problems. Their efforts to unionize ultimately failed and created labor problems throughout Oklahoma and Kansas.³⁹ Union organizations pushed conflicting ideologies in Oklahoma, with the AFL wanting wage and job condition for crafts and the IWW wanting reform for all working classes took. Ideological tensions between

³⁷ Ibid., 160-162

³⁸ Sellers, 9.

³⁹ Ibid., 47.

the two was not new in the region, as they had been fighting in Oklahoma since the 1911 streetcar strike, Oklahoma City showed fighting on the job between the IWW and AFL.⁴⁰

While the major labor groups were fighting among themselves, the first major agricultural labor issue was the Green Corn Rebellion of 1917. Members of the Working Class Union (WCU), a radical farmers' organization, ambushed the Seminole county sheriff and deputy, starting the rebellion as a resistance to conscription laws on Aug 2, 1917. They cut telegraph and phone lines, burned bridges, and dynamited oil pipelines. The next day they gathered to march on Washington D.C. to end the draft. A posse attacked the farm the union had gathered at killing 3 and arresting 450, followed by the conviction of nearly 150 rebels and sending them to state prisons in McAlester or Leavenworth.⁴¹

Agricultural issues continued in 1918. The 1918 harvest suffered from overplanting and labor shortages to the point that the hiring of African Americans, twilight crews consisting of businessmen working after hours, and inexperienced individuals occurred. Many labor groups saw an opportunity to push for unions as workers were in high demand. The following year's harvest was not stellar either, albeit better than 1918.

The push for unionization by the IWW and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (AWIU) met serious resistance. The arrests mentioned in chapter 2 show the direct side of this resistance. In addition to arrests, the organization was mocked and given monikers like

⁴⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁴¹ See Sellers chapter 4 for both more information and information regarding the historiographical issues of the Green Corn Rebellion.

“Imperial Wilhelm Warriors”, deemed appropriate by Sen. Harry F Ashurst, “I Won’t Work”, or “I Want Whiskey” by their political opposites.⁴²

Despite these negative names the IWW continued efforts to better the lives of workers. One of the ways to help workers was to beat up conductors, trainmen, and other rail workers who tried to extort migrant workers. The IWW went so far as forming a group to prevent hijackers from robbing workers and “greasing the rails.”⁴³ To do this they beat them just as they had the trainmen, but took it further by cutting IWW into their faces with razors.⁴⁴ Members of IWW allegedly wrote letters to threaten towns, such as Phineas Eastman in Augusta, Kansas, who threatened “dynamite and nitroglycerine” should the IWW be suppressed in any way.⁴⁵ Because of these types of actions between 1916 and 1917, the IWW’s membership skyrocketed from 40,000 to 100,000.⁴⁶ The largest membership was in building trades, printing, and railroad crafts. A majority of the recruitment problems came in oil boomtowns, where entrepreneurs ruled. There was no prior base of older towns there to support the workers.⁴⁷ Further problems came with the ignoring of the original call for accepting all colors, as the majority was white, mostly due to the unionized industries being white male dominated and holding nativist/racist views. Women’s roles and membership was also often limited.⁴⁸

What success in the organizing the oil fields largely came with Mexican and Eastern Europeans in Kansas and Oklahoma in the spring of 1917. Because of this boom the market was

⁴² Sen. Harry F Ashurst, “The IWW Menace,” *Congressional Quarterly* 55 (1917): 6687 I; The Wobblies, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DCbOXOimY&t=3494s>. (Accessed 7/19/2020)

⁴³ “Greasing the Rails” is a term for throwing an individual(s) from a train resulting in their being run over by the train.

⁴⁴ The Wobblies, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DCbOXOimY&t=3494s> (Accessed 7/19/2020)

⁴⁵ Sellers, 74.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 93; For further incidents between the IWW and Oklahoman authorities see Sellers chapter 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-19.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

unstable and wages were often at a point there was little desire for unions. Due to this, the focus was on camps instead of boom towns that had liquor, drugs, and prostitutes working as bribes or further compensation for workers. As the war dragged on, however, strikes became increasingly prevalent in Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, as oil sold to the government for \$3 a barrel while taking only 40 cents to produce. This disparity and need for oil resulted in the raising of wages and the workers gaining other benefits.⁴⁹

The heartland did not go as the IWW intended. The IWW made strides in agriculture and somewhat in oil, but drastic failures as a whole dominated when their welcome in the entire region wore thin. Large numbers of members and leadership were no longer just beaten or run out of town but ended up on trial in cities like Wichita that set the precedent for their death knell.

ALASKA

Alaska was both a reinforcement and strange outlier. Some cases in Alaska show that sedition was a loose charge as elsewhere with odd application at times. One instance was the arrest of H. R. Ramussen in Douglas. Arrested for sedition, the actual act had been beating his Indian wife, who worked for the Red Cross.⁵⁰ This appears to be another quirk of the Alaskan Justice system based on the commissioner wanting a longer sentence than what an assault charge could accomplish. The Red Cross came into these loose sedition charges on other occasions. Joe Janey and Bob Schmith were allegedly heard approving of the Kaiser and being opposed to

⁴⁹ *Industrial Worker*. February 24, April 7, 1917; *Solidarity*, January 15, 1916, March 24, April 7, 21, 1917; O'Conner, *OWIU-CIO History*, 5, 7; Parker "Life and Labor" 117.

⁵⁰ *Anchorage Weekly Times*, March 28, 1918.

the Red Cross's work.⁵¹ These types of accusations and the use of sedition intensified from just these types of activities, unfortunately, and the list of accused and charged only grew.⁵²

Some of the cases reached a much more intense and convoluted level, as illustrated by the case of labor leader B. R. Sawyer after being arrested for possessing inflammatory and seditious material. While he was not in town, an ensign from sub-chaser 409, a Deputy United States marshal, and a member of the United States Bureau of Fisheries searched his home. What they found was a manuscript titled *The Bolsheviks Are Coming* and a stack of pamphlets. These events occurred on May 25, 1919, six months after the end of World War I. Initially appearing to be an easy case for Assistant Attorney General Steve Ragan, it turned out to be literally fatal. On October 23, 1919, a logger named Patrick Shanahan in Ketchikan shot Ragan dead.

Shanahan carried this out by simply walking up behind Ragan, standing in front of a store, and firing once into the back of Ragan's head.⁵³ The authorities quickly began trying to tie the acts of Shanahan to Sawyer. This reached the point that Sawyer's case moved from its original case number of 596 to 627, which made it the case directly following Shanahan's case of 626.⁵⁴

Shanahan's actions lacked discernible reason, even with the investigation of many angles, such as his anti-government feelings and stint in a Canadian and Oregon asylums. Shanahan himself attributed it to something like hypnosis or ingesting a drug driving him to kill. When no direct ties were established and Sawyer's case finally went to trial, it was dismissed due to the government having such weak evidence.⁵⁵

⁵¹ *Seward Gateway*, January 3, 1918.

⁵² Steven C. Levi, *The Great Red Scare in World War One Alaska*, (Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2010), 127.

⁵³ "Meets Death at hands of Crazy Man," *Alaska Dispatch*, November 7, 1919; "Ragan Killed at Ketchikan," *Douglas Island News*, October 24, 1919.

⁵⁴ U.S. vs Patrick Joseph Shanahn, Ketchikan Criminal File #626, Box 13.

⁵⁵ A note to further add to the saga are two of the individuals who were given jury notices were F.H. Bold, a man who had helped pay Sawyer's bail and Burt R. Libe. Both of these men had been tried for sedition just a year

Sawyer's case dismissal did not grant him freedom. Arrest came almost immediately again, this time for desertion, a charge discovered when going through the deceased Ragan's notes. Sawyer finally left Alaska for Fort Lawton, Washington, for this new trial.⁵⁶ The ending of this strange saga shows how the charge of sedition in Alaska, as in other parts of the nation, was a loosely defined charge abused by authorities. This was most likely to find something more definitive as authorities can levy charges, such as resisting arrest in order to discipline or provide opportunities for more definite or legal charges.⁵⁷

Despite what seemed if not a healthy relationship at least a working one, the Socialist Party of Alaska had complaints. These complaints outlined in their 1914 platform warned of the nightmare of capitalism that would infect and eventually control the Alaskan Territory.⁵⁸ They warned against unchecked exploitation, as it led to the extraction of all the resources making capitalists rich, while the worker's paradise of Alaska became resource devoid, and more important, a jobless hell as a result. The Socialist Party in their crusade attempted to make many of the same changes as elsewhere by trying to remove corruption, both in the system and in particular personnel.

Unfortunately, the Socialist Party fought with the local IWW, as it had done in other parts of the United States. While fighting in other regions such as Oklahoma was about how to organize labor and fight for elections and laws, Alaska had a local feel to it. This is evident in cases like the construction of a meetinghouse in Juneau.

earlier. Only Libe went on to serve on the jury. "Sawyer Freed by the Judge," *Alaska Dispatch*, November 21, 1919.

⁵⁶"Sawyer Arrested Again," *Wrangell Sentinel*, November 20, 1919.

⁵⁷ Levi, 138-145.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 166.

The local IWW drew up a contract to construct the hall, in exchange for access to it on a regular basis for meetings. However, the go-between for the groups, referred to by Steven Levi as “Comrade Dorwaldt,” was a member in both groups.⁵⁹ After lying to both groups, and embezzling funds that were supposed to pay for work, and later to pay for construction outside the IWW labor force, he instead used the funds to procure the deed for the property for himself and not the party. Upon discovery, he refused to sign over the deed to the Socialist Party and records indicated him as the sole owner until 1916. With this events conclusion, major hostilities between the labor and business groups ended what little fighting that had been present in Alaska.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 168.

CHAPTER 4

“Magónistas and Revoltosos: The Mexican Role in the Red Scare.”

While the Red Scare narrative largely centered on the United States, there is a missing element in historical narratives and examination. That element is the transnational relationship it has with individuals ending up in Mexico and that who in the United States during or resulting from the Red Scare. This relationship is one of pre-existing problems. Racial violence rampant across the borderlands, socio-economic differences, and problems created by the Mexican Revolution and World War I drive the events that occur during the Red Scare.

There were historically two different kinds of hatred for Mexicans at this time, one simply for racist beliefs held by whites and the other for ideological differences. Caucasian Americans saw Mexicans as non-white, non-citizens prone to violence and crime when it came to their nativist arguments.¹ Treatment in the United States of ethnic Mexicans was more complicated than other races. Skin color was only a single factor; others like fluency in English and social class created unique situations and treatment across regions.² This existed even before tensions peaked during the Mexican Revolution there were more than 150 lynchings of Mexicans in the United States.³ On top of these lynching events like when thousands watched Antonio Rodríguez, accused murder, being tied to a tree, doused in kerosene, and burned him alive. The Texas Rangers carried out many killings during the 1910s resulting in the period dubbed as the *La Hora de Sangre* (the Hour of Blood). What occurred was throughout the borderlands, Rangers attacked Mexicans suspected

¹ Nicholas Villanueva Jr, *The Lynching of Mexicans in the Texas Borderlands*. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2017), 1; The NAACP definition of lynching is that a murder must occur, there must be three or more perpetrators, it must occur extralegally, and it must have been committed in the name of tradition or vengeance.

² Villanueva Jr, 26.

³Ibid., 4.

of being revolutionaries, or for being suspected of crime, such as, in Porvenir, Texas where 15 Mexican men were rounded up and executed. While *La Hora de Sangre* ended in 1918, William Carrigan and Clive Webb estimate that at least 500 Mexicans were hanged, shot, and executed without trial by the Texas Rangers.⁴

The Mexican Revolution exacerbated the already tense relationships between Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. There is little shortage of bad blood between the United States and Mexico, but the events most influential on the Red Scare began during the Mexican Revolution in 1910, lasting until 1918 with U.S. involvement in WWI. Between these two events came a mixed form of economic, political, and racial cases resulting in complex and evolving interactions between Mexicans and Anglo-Americans.

Before the revolution, Porfirio Díaz and his group of positivist politicians known as *científicos* had governed Mexico since 1876. The rise of Diaz to power brought stability and the ability to attract foreign investors. While his policies helped modernize the nation, it also garnered favor with American politicians, with Theodore Roosevelt proclaiming Mexico a nation deserving of “the white man’s burden” in 1907.⁵ Many had already begun carrying out the self-proclaimed burden as nearly 75,000 Anglo-Americans were already living in Mexico by this time working in many industries like mining or railroads.⁶ The increased dislike of Anglo-Americans only intensified because of the inequalities between them and Mexicans, as in 1909 only 2% of the Mexican population owned land in Mexico, only half of homes were fit for human habitation, and life expectancy was 20 years shorter than in the United States.⁷

⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁵ Roosevelt to Carnegie, 5 April 1907. Raat, Dirk W. *Revolosos: Mexican’s Rebels in the United States, 1903-1923*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000).

⁶ Timothy Neeno, “The Mexican Revolution and US Intervention 1910-1917,” *Military History Online*, (2010).

⁷ Villanueva Jr, 42; S. Lee *Mexico and the United States*, 301, 723-24.

This finally came to a head with individuals like William C. Greene, who upon starting Greene Consolidated Copper Company in 1899, became one of the wealthiest businessmen in the world by 1905.⁸ His ventures quickly spread into ranching, railroads, and manufacturing, as he eventually owned nearly a million acres of Mexican land.⁹ With Porfirio's appointed governor allowing Greene to have carte-blanche within the state of Sonora, local unrest by Mexicans was prevalent.

The amount of freedom and power assured to foreign investors and Greene in particular, played into the 1906 Cananea strike. The strike began due to low wages, and unfair treatment of Mexicans by Greene, his company, and American foreigners in positions of power. Unlike the successful strike by the American workers 3 years prior, the Mexicans were unsuccessful. The strike failed and no demands were met, as both Federal troops, Greene's private police force, and a group of Arizona Rangers came over the border under the governor's orders to put a violent end to the riot.¹⁰

While the strike leaders received imprisonment, the real fault of the strike fell onto the *Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM)*, a radical group founded by Ricardo Flores Magón in 1905. The formation of this group caused problems during the fading Porfirio era, as they were agitators, outspoken against his presidency, and often helped organize strikes. More strikes opposed foreign ownership, as well as involvement in railroad strikes and the Río Blanco strike of Orizaba, Mexico. Like the Cananea strike, Federal forces violently oppressed the striking Mexican laborers to satisfy foreign investors.

⁸ Marvin D Bernstein, "Colonel William C Greene and the Cananea Copper Bubble," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* (1952); Raat, 189.

⁹ Raat, 187.

¹⁰ For comprehensive examination of the Cananea Revolt look to Raat Ch 3.

In 1910 dissatisfaction with Porfirio Díaz and the Mexican government went beyond just strikes and protests. The Mexican Revolution began when this discontent mixed with Francisco Madero's challenge for Díaz office ending in defeat due to rigged results. Madero ultimately won the initial struggle and took office in 1911. Because of economic interests and Madero's initial support for the anarchist idealized PLM, the United States began to become wary of his presidency. The main reason for increased suspicion of support for the PLM was that often those in the borderlands belonged to the IWW as well, resulting in a transnational anarchistic organization of individuals. His earlier Plan of San Luis Potosí, calling for Mexicans in San Antonio, Texas to rise up and help him against the regime in power further intensified racial and ideological wariness. Support for Madero also suffered due to the president in power, as the Díaz administration previously held considerable favor with President William Howard Taft, even to the point of requesting the United States government to extradite Madero back to Mexico. The United States, despite having enormous economic stakes seven of the largest businesses were either U.S. owned or had American stockholders in 1910-11, in order to remain neutral did not rule the revolution a war.¹¹

Remaining neutral became increasingly difficult as the revolution progressed, due to constant violence, especially on the border. On the American side of the border, Mexicans and Anglo-Americans flooded into the country to escape violence. While mercy and aid were given to the white refugees, even the previously disliked Mormons, the Mexicans would be discriminated against and receive only hate, suspicion, and violence. All of the Anglo fears grew further in February 1912, as Ciudad Juárez was the scene of fighting. With the fighting came yellow journalism across the country claiming, El Paso had fallen to Pancho Villa. While the claims were

¹¹ Raat, 13.

untrue, businesses suffering economic losses did occur.¹² Anglo-Americans became displeased with not only Mexicans, but Texas Governor Oscar Branch Colquitt during his term of 1911-1915. His constant pardoning of African American and Mexican prisoners created distrust by Anglo-Americans as they called for action and harsher punishment towards non-whites. This reached the point that some white citizens wrote Colquitt's office attacking his masculinity and claiming that in ten days they could be ready for a war against Mexico and promising to kill a Mexican with every pull of the trigger.¹³ Despite the claims of being soft and too sympathetic to non-whites, he went so far as to tell the commander of the Texas Rangers to "shoot straight if necessary" in regards to violence on the border.¹⁴

Fear of action coming from Mexico was a reality, albeit exaggerated. Ranch and border raids did happen, but not on the imagined scale the white Americans feared. They saw every Mexican as a soldier preparing to carryout Basilio Ramos Jr.'s, "Plan de San Diego" calling for the uprising and retaking of Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, California, Nevada, New Mexico.¹⁵

Violence on Mexican soil, even when not against fleeing whites, caused American suspicion. On May 10 1911, PLM and IWW forces took control of Tijuana and Mexicali from Porfirian forces.¹⁶ After the victory, Madero sent Jesús Magón, now a recanted anarchist and member of the Madero government, to make peace with the occupying force. While both Ricardo and Enrique declined, the rest of the PLM accepted. Citizens and officials of the United States eventually took action with aid given by the U.S. ambassador Henry Lane Wilson. With Lane

¹² Villanueva Jr, 95.

¹³ Ibid., 96-97.

¹⁴ "Texas Governor Wires Texas Ranger Captain to Shoot Straight if It Is Necessary." *El Paso Morning Times*, January 31, 1913, 1.

¹⁵ Villanueva Jr, 112-13.

¹⁶ Raat, 57.

Wilson's blessing, Victoriano Huerta had Madero assassinated and replaced him as president in late February of 1913. Lane Wilson's support of the coup later led to tension between President Wilson and the Mexican government, as he was opposed to the actions taken. The fighting in Mexico continued until 1920, and while the United States went as far as invading Veracruz in 1914, their attention largely remained on the border as shown by the Punitive Expedition of 1916.

Due to the Border War, American opinions of Mexico deteriorated further as continuous fighting, regime changes, and displacements of populations created problems within America. Despite this, the racial violence largely began dissipating towards Mexicans as the United States increased their involvement in World War I. The shift away from violence towards Mexicans is complex and for to different reasons. The first reason was the labor shortages coming from the draft, and Mexicans fleeing violence in the U.S. towards a country with a civil war still raging. This reached the point that clauses of the 1917 Immigration Act were waived in order to attract Mexican agricultural workers until March 2, 1921.¹⁷ Next there was increased investigation into violence towards them by individuals such as the lawyer José T. Canales in 1918, which led to a Texas Senate Committee conducting interviews of witnesses of the violence.¹⁸ In addition, there was a chance for displays of loyalty such as Mexicans joining the military, with over 200,000 Hispanics, mostly Mexican, joining the military.¹⁹ Finally, the increasing stability in Mexico also contributes to the decline in violence towards Mexicans.²⁰

This came as a clear shift from 1916 when large-scale anti-Mexican rioting broke out in El Paso, with over 40 Mexicans hospitalized, after the killing of 18 American miners in Mexico.

¹⁷ Villanueva Jr, 153.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 137-38.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 136.

Rioting subsequently began across the river in Ciudad Juarez. Governor James Ferguson went so far as to ask Mexicans for a proclamation of loyalty to receive protection from the anti-Mexican actions.²¹ He would also warn Mexicans from coming to the U.S. if they were going to cause problems and even offered Texan Mexicans rewards for informing on disloyal Mexicans.²²

While the hatred for Mexicans saw a reduction, it was more of a transferring onto the Germans due to WWI. Even when violence due to racial ideas decreased, the disdain for radical ideologies of some Mexicans remained. This continued and grew as the Red Scare escalated, hatred being most prominently directed against the Magón brothers.

MAGÓN BROTHERS

The Flores Magón brothers are an example of Mexican involvement within the Red Scare. Cipriano Ricardo Flores Magón and his youngest brother Enrique Flores Magón are the two associated with Mexican anarchism. While Gaspar Jesús Flores Magón was more moderate, serving in Francisco Madero's cabinet and returning to Mexico upon Porfirio Díaz's death is another reason the mention of the Magón brothers largely focuses on Ricardo and Enrique.²³ Despite the focus on Ricardo and Enrique, Jesús still contributed to both the magazine they all started, called *Regeneración*, and their own school of thought: Magónismo, or anarcho-communist.

Jesús was born in 1871, Ricardo in 1874, and Enrique in 1877. Coming of age with the regime of Porfirio Díaz, they experienced firsthand the injustices of Díaz and his officials. These early years shaped the Magóns' ideals of radical anarchistic communism going directly against the order and progress prescribed by Díaz's positivist cabinet. When suppression failed and dissidence

²¹ Ibid., 148.

²² Ibid., 151.

²³ The reason for Gaspar's return to Mexico came when he was a cabinet position as he had remained in the United States until 1915. This coming despite the fact that Díaz had not been in Mexico since 1911 and died in Paris.

remained, individuals were subject to imprisonment or death. The Flores Magón brothers received these same threats of imprisonment or death threats before eventually being forced into exile for speaking out against the regime. Officials arrested them in 1902 for publishing anti-Díaz propaganda. After their release from prison in January 1903, they immediately began publishing anti-Díaz just as before. The breaking point came in April 1903 when they and others took over a pro-Díaz event and began shouting for the assassination of Porfirio Díaz. This resulted in their imprisonment yet again. This time, however, their punishment was not only be jail time, but also a ban on publishing. The brothers all fled to the United States in a de-facto exile and Jesús separated from them, his moderate ideals remaining, while his brothers progressed further towards their anarchist ideals.

Because he was not causing either the United States or the Mexican government significant trouble, Jesús returned to Mexico in 1910. Previously a lawyer, he collaborated with the new Mexican government headed by Francisco Madero. Because of his success in reintegrating into the Mexican political system, Jesús visited his brothers in Los Angeles and invited them to return to Mexico. He left after they declined his offer and just hours before the police raided their home and arrested them. Jesús went into exile again when Victoriano Huerta overthrew Madero in 1913. He returned for good in 1920 after Venustiano Carranza's assassination, retired from political life and practiced law until his death in 1930. Despite the minor hiccups that Jesús experienced, this was still one of the most peaceful interactions that someone associated with anarchism between the United States and Mexico experienced during the Red Scare and Mexican Revolution.²⁴

²⁴“Magón Opposed to Socialist Plans.” *Los Angeles Times*.

Ricardo and Enrique moved across the country often. To hide themselves they also employed the use of false identities. Despite the use of deception, Ricardo began publishing *Regeneración* again in 1905 from St. Louis, Missouri. Both Enrique and Jesús continued to contribute to the newspaper even as the brothers occasionally lost contact as they moved across the United States.

Despite constantly moving and the use of aliases, the brothers still managed to upset individuals from both their former and current homes. One of the earliest examples of the trouble that Enrique and Ricardo got into occurred in St. Louis. Their arrests were because of libel in St. Louis on October 12, 1905, this only coming after the governor of Oaxaca appointed Manuel Esperón de la Flor, who travelled to St. Louis and personally accused the Magóns of producing libel and inciting people against the Mexican government.²⁵ The reason for choosing Esperón, a political *jefe*, was in an article of *Regeneración* that spoke out against his corrupt actions in Pochutla and Oaxaca. The case seemed as if would be unsuccessful until Esperón's wife entered the courtroom dressed in black and proclaimed she had her reputation besmirched as well by the article and Magóns. The court quickly swayed and set the brothers bail at \$10,000 they remained in jail until January 1906.²⁶

After their release and due to their constant separations, Ricardo's legacy from this time goes deeper than his two brothers. While his exploits, and crimes, often caught up his brothers, particularly Enrique, it was either alone or with his wife and daughter that most of the events took place. Even at times when Ricardo was not the actual person calling for revolution, trouble found

²⁵ "No Revolution for Mexico.: Editors of Regeneración at St. Louis Arrested." *Los Angeles Times*, October 13, 1905; "Lese Majeste." *St. Louis Post – Dispatch*, December 17, 1905. B5 provides context surrounding the arrests.

²⁶ Francie R. Chassen-López, *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca: The View from the South, Mexico 1867-1911*, (University Park: Penn State Press, 2010), 452.

him. In 1906 for instance, a mere three years after arriving in the United States and only months after leaving jail in St. Louis, letters linked him to riots that took place in Douglas, Arizona.²⁷ These riots sought to answer the call to eliminate all Americans that were working the mines there.²⁸ Ricardo was extradited to Tombstone to stand trial for his involvement.²⁹ Upon arriving in Tombstone, he and his con-conspirators received guilty verdicts before serving eighteen months in a territorial prison in Arizona.³⁰

This would be only the first of the numerous involvements with the law that Ricardo experienced. However, it was after this run in with the law that Enrique and Ricardo split for the first time. While Ricardo became involved in more trouble, Enrique remained in St. Louis and helped create the platform of what became the *Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano* (PLM). This organization was an offshoot of the Mexican Liberal Party that the three Magón brothers had belonged to in Mexico. The two groups shared the same goals of trying to overthrow the Díaz government.

The formation of this group's ideology and platform satisfied Enrique for only so long. He eventually moved to El Paso, Texas. While in El Paso, run-ins with the law resumed. Enrique received scrutiny from the public and U.S. government during this time with the finding of a letter from his brother Ricardo after a riot. This letter contained a great deal of disdain for the American government and its citizens. Enrique did not end up in jail however during this time. Instead, he

²⁷“Letters of the Junta: How St. Louis Fellows Urged on Mexicans to Make Trouble.” *The Austin Statesman*, September 21, 1906 shows a connection between Ricardo and the charging of six men with inciting a revolution in Douglas, Arizona.

²⁸ “Conspirators in Arizona, Examination of Plotters, Dupes of Magón Expected to Concerted Uprising, Labor Agitators at Bottom of the Trouble.” *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1906. 13 provides further details surrounding the uprising.

²⁹“Plan to Send “Reds” Away: Arizona Wants Revolutionary Agitators for Trial.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1907.

³⁰“Arizona’s Turn at the Rebels: Warrant for Mexican Villareal and Companions.” *Arizona Republican*, September 18, 1907, 5. “Jury Finds Mexican Anarchists Guilty.” *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1909, 11.

focused largely on writing *Regeneración* and coordinating the PLM's actions. However, the calm did not last forever. Authorities arrested both Enrique and Ricardo, in Los Angeles for conspiracy to violate neutrality laws because of their involvement in the Battle of Tijuana.³¹ Enrique and Ricardo received a sentence of twenty-three months of hard labor on McNeill's Island in 1912. With the release of the Magón brothers in January 1914, as the pattern from previous actions between the two had shown, they were soon back in trouble with the law.³²

This period was not a time for the Magóns to relax. Even as Madero's revolution had succeeded in Mexico, there were new rounds of tension rising in the United States. The reason was the beginning of World War I taking place in Europe. While the United States did not get involved for three years, the public and government began to have increased scrutiny towards anyone that was foreign or in any way associated with socialism or anarchism.

The Magóns' calls for an uprising only compounded the increased scrutiny that the political scene was presenting. Calls such as speeches given Los Angeles in 1915 were what brought so much scrutiny from Americans. These speeches not only called for an uprising of anarchists in California, but also for the annexation of Mexico's former lands once they had succeeded in overthrowing the American government in southern California.³³ These speeches created tension as now open calls for revolution melded with the residual fear and hatred of anarchists resulting from the 1910 Los Angeles Times bombing. This call did not fall on deaf ears, for at least one side. With the mailing of *Regeneración* deemed indecent materials by American government officials, the Magón brothers were arrested in February 1916. With their arrests, they also received

³¹"Federal Fist Crushes Nest of Reds; Four Leaders Now in Jail." *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1911, 3

³²"Magóns at Hard Labor." *Los Angeles Times* July 17, 1912.

³³"Plan Uprising of Anarchists" *Los Angeles Times*, September 20, 1915, III

beatings from police, as they and other writers put up a fight during their removal from the *Regeneración* office.³⁴

The problems from this incident only grew as their bail rose and other problems met them in court.³⁵ There were attempts during the appeals that the words of the Magóns were to be treated as jokes and in no way serious in order to avoid punishment.³⁶ The idea that the Magóns' calls for murder, arson, and assassination as mere jokes however did not work in the court. Despite this plan failing the brothers and their co-conspirators verdicts were not guilty.³⁷

The lives of the Magón brothers did not get any easier after this case. Despite being placed under surveillance by the American government, they and their followers continued speaking out against the governments of both Mexico and the United States. While Mexico was not seeking extradition or having them followed, as the Díaz administration had previously done, the United States increased surveillance efforts. Surveillance combined with new laws, such as the Espionage Act of 1917 and Sedition Act of 1918, provided government officials with stronger methods to both target and prosecute political dissidents like the Magóns.

With the hardline application of these laws Enrique and Ricardo Magóns' arrests again came. Ricardo's arrest on sedition charges came in 1918, not as part of the Palmer Raids but use of the Espionage Act. After Ricardo Magón's arrest, he spent the remainder of his life in his Leavenworth, Kansas jail cell, dying in 1922 under somewhat suspicious conditions.³⁸ Enrique served three years before his release in 1920.³⁹ Following the death of his brother, Enrique finally

³⁴“Red Agitators in Cells Again” *Los Angeles Times*, February 19, 1916, II, 1

³⁵“Like Jack’s Bean Bail Bond Grows.” *Los Angeles Times*, February 20, 1916.

³⁶“Magón Appeals Called Jokes.” *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1916.

³⁷“Pair of Reds Found Guilty.” *Los Angeles Times*, June 7, 1916.

³⁸“\$50,000 to get Magón.” *New York Times*, June 13, 1911, 3

³⁹“May Deport Mexican Red.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 12, 1922.

returned to Mexico in 1923, where he largely avoided jail time, politics, or controversy that had followed him throughout his life.

MOLLIE STEIMER

The Magóns were not the only victims of these raids in the United States. Another such individual caught up in the unique narrative surrounding America's Red Scare and the political situation in Mexico, both pre and post Revolution, was Mollie Steimer. Mollie Steimer, originally Marthe Alperine, was born on November 27, 1897 in Tsarist controlled Russia. She emigrated to the United States in 1912 at the age of 15. Upon arriving in America Mollie began working in a garment factory in New York. Mollie experienced exposure to American trade unions during this time. Exposed to these movements, she started to become personally involved in the various labor movements and activities.

Mollie's involvement in these movements caught up to her as World War I began, however. With the passing of the previously mentioned Espionage and Sedition Acts Mollie became a target as she was distributing anti-war information surrounding American involvement in Russia during this period. The arrest of Steimer came in August 1918 in New York because of her speaking against the United States. The sentence she received was for fifteen years in a federal penitentiary in Missouri.

Despite receiving a fifteen-year sentence, she went on to only serve three years. She instead faced deportation to the Soviet Union in November 1921 after the American government forced her aboard the S.S. *Estonia*. However, this exile to the Soviet Union did not last. This stemmed her exile by the Soviet Union due to protests surrounding the treatment of anarchists by Bolsheviks. Once again kicked out of what she called home, she moved to Germany. Her luck

ran out again when Adolf Hitler came to power, she and her partner fled to Paris, France. Still her situation only worsened. After her arrival in France, she was briefly placed in an internment camp. Eventually she escaped and made her way to Mexico. The reason for the fleeing to Mexico in the 1940s was due to the acceptance of the anarchists and other types of revolutionaries to showcase how Mexico could not only survive a revolution but continue to thrive as a country filled with dissidents from all over the world.

Because of this Mollie interacted with other exiled individuals in Mexico, such as Leon Trotsky or refugees who had escaped the Civil War in Spain. What this transnational journey does to show, though, is how the opposite effect of the Magón brothers as an anarchist was able to find a home in Mexico, as opposed to only removal from it. Another similarity is the treatment of Mollie as compared to the Magón brothers while in the United States.

CONCLUSION

The role of Mexico in the Red Scare, while not often present in white and American-centric narratives, is a substantial one. Racial and ideological hatred for Mexicans evolved through World War I and the Red Scare in the United States. While racially the setting went from initially bad to worse, with the 1910's experiencing the highest amount of violence, it dissipated with U.S. involvement in WWI as Mexicans were no longer the main target in the borderlands. State officials even made efforts to retain Mexicans in Texas and other states, largely due to labor needs. With radicals and anarchists like the Magóns and Mollie Steimer, the opposite occurred. Those with ideological differences, such as adhering to anarchism or communism, were never popular with U.S. officials or policies, but were initially tolerated, with treatment worsening leading up to and throughout the Red Scare. Whether the treatment improved or worsened, the individuals the treatment was given to by Anglo-Americans and U.S. officials had immense consequences on the

Red Scare. These transnational consequences came by providing labor, being part of racial, economic, and labor tensions, being outspoken against and becoming political targets and martyrs of both the U.S. and Mexican governments.

CONCLUSION

The end of the Red Scare came as the fear dissipated and some form of rationality with the law came back into existence. The history of labor in the United States is not a peaceful one. There have been large numbers of bombings and strikes. While the earlier Homestead and Pullman strikes stoked animosity, it was McKinley's assassination and the *Los Angeles Times* bombings that pushed any tolerance for radical or anti-capitalist movements out of many Americans' realms of possibility. Despite the growing hatred, there was no real justification to punish or retaliate against these groups on a large scale, at least legally. As a result, it was during the period following the start of World War I that it did become actionable. Public opinion slowly became pro-war, or at least anti-German, before exploding into the dominant public consensus. It would then become anti-foreign, and anything perceived as anti-American. The Red Scare slowly began with the Espionage and Sedition Acts and World War I, it escalated.

Three big IWW trials occurred between 1918 and 1919 in Chicago, Wichita, and Sacramento. Labor increasingly lost ground as the Red Scare escalated in scale over time. While the government and individuals overreacted, there are clear examples of why there would be a fear, albeit reaching irrational levels quickly, that made it apparent why there was fear over potential May Day rioting in 1920. The latent fears received further stoking by individuals like Mitchell Palmer and J. Edgar Hoover.

There was pushback against these men and their agendas to root out the communism and opposition they saw in every radical's shadow. On March 6, 1920, Louis F. Post became acting Secretary of Labor due to President Wilson's sick leave. He decided to reign in Palmer by re-examining 1,600 cases, ordering 460 aliens deported, and cancelling 1,140 deportations.

warrants.¹ Not content to simply reexamine cases, Post also reinstated previous rules for deportation that had been suspended, like providing counsel for an individual at the beginning of the process. This was a welcome return for many as no longer would they receive counsel only at the hearing when it had largely already been determined what was in the governments best interest regarding the individual.²

Previously content to punish labor or radicals in many circumstances, the courts returned to normal behavior, this coming as early as February 12, 1920, when Judge George Bourquin in a Montana district court upheld *Whitfield vs Hanges* in the case of John Jackson. Following Jackson's arrest, the police ransacked his home without a proper warrant in the hopes of finding some radical material to deport him for. Throughout the Red Scare this had become largely accepted practice with the obtaining of warrants coming after the arrests. However, lawfully admitted residents in the U.S. are protected by a universal principle that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process and his hearing inherent in due process of law.³ With this case it was no longer just Louis Post putting a hold on the shenanigans of those attempting to deport radicals, rights be damned.

The May Day Riot (revolution) predicted by Palmer and Hoover never occurred and any momentum the Red Scare still had was truly over. Palmer did not conduct any further raids and had any hopes of a presidential run soured by a government and populace that had become

¹ Louis F. Post, *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-twenty: A Personal Narrative of an Historic Official Experience*. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company Co-operative, 1923), 90.

² Charles Gordon, , "Right to Counsel in Immigration Proceedings" (1961). *Minnesota Law Review*. Vol 45:875. 882-83.

³ W. Anthony Gengarely, *Distinguished Dissenters and Opposition to the 1919-1920 Red Scare.*, (New York: Mellen Press, 1996), 263.

skeptical of his ramblings of supposed revolution. Hoover went on to form the F.B.I. and serve as its director for nearly 50 years.

While the *L.A. Times* bombing of 1910 had set the stage to fear and target radical bombers it did not last through the scare. Even with the bombing of Wall Street and the J.P Morgan building in September 16, 1920, where a horse drawn wagon exploded with 100 pounds of dynamite and 500 pounds of metal shards into a crowd, killing 40 and wounding 300 did not reignite the fear of Bolshevik revolution as even the strikes in Seattle or Boston had.

Many of the individuals most associated and targeted by the Red Scare were no longer threats either. Despite the release of many arrested or persecuted individuals from prison, the leadership of nearly all movements was gone. The fleeing of Bill Haywood of the IWW and deporting of Emma Goldman resulted in their living in the Soviet Union. While some would remain in their new communist homes, others would eventually make the journey back to North America. Emma Goldman settled in Canada, but many chose Mexico, due to its status as a safe haven, or at least gathering point, for former persecuted radicals. While many members of the PLM also returned home to Mexico, their figurehead receded from the movement due to suffering the fate not of deportation, but imprisonment in Leavenworth Prison until his death.

Anti-immigration continued throughout the following decades as groups such as the Ku Klux Klan went through further transformations after the revival of the Second Klan. These negative feelings compounded during the economic hardships of the Great Depression, just as it had after World War I with repatriations and discrimination being present in American society and policy. The targets of Anglo-American racism went through an evolution, as Germans became the primary target of hatred due to WWI. Mexican racism peaked before receding; white

Europeans saw racism in areas like Alaska, and black Americans saw relations deteriorate due to economic and social issues culminating in the 1919 Red Summer race riots.

The fear of communism still bubbled beneath the surface as those suspected were blacklisted or suffered other social consequences. This second high point took place through the late 1940's into the 1950's under the direction of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Like Palmer, eventually the public and government turned on him and the discrediting ruined any political ambitions.

The precarious relationship with the Soviet Union complicated matters in how to handle communism and radicals in the United States as it transitioned from former ally into Cold War enemies. Unlike the previous scare, the government did not have the actions of large strikes and bombings or leverage the threat of an ongoing war that was the scale of WWI. Because of this, there was not a chance of allowing government agencies and officials to conduct raids and arrests as previously done at least not illegally in the open.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Books

Coben, Stanley, A. *Mitchell Palmer*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Goddard, Henry H., *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness*, (New York: Macmillan, 1912).

Madison, Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

Panunzio Constantine M., *The Deportation Cases of 1919-1920*. New York: Commission on the church and social service, Federal council of the churches of Christ in America, 1921.

Post, Louis F., *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-twenty: A Personal Narrative of an Historic Official Experience*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company Co-operative, 1923.

Saloman, Samuel, *Red War on the Family*. New York: Beckwith, 1922.

Newspapers

Alaska Dispatch, April 13, 1918.

Alaska Daily Empire (Juneau), March 27, 1917.

Alaska Daily Empire April 13, 1918.

Anchorage Weekly Times, March 28, 1918.

Harlow's Weekly, January 23, 1918, 12

Industrial Worker. February 24, April 7, 1917.

Industrial Worker. November 17, 1917

Los Angeles Times. March 1, 1917.

Los Angeles Times, October 16, 1910.

Los Angeles Tribune. March 1, 1917.

New York Times, Sep 7, 1919.

Solidarity, January 15, 1916, March 24, April 7, 21, 1917.

Seward Gateway, January 3, 1918.

The Industrial Union Manifesto of January 1905 reprinted in *Miners Magazine* 26, 1905

Tulsa World, Nov 1, 1918.

“20,000 Spies Known by U.S. Secret Service,” *Seward Gateway*, March 6, 1917.

“\$50,000 to get Magón.” *New York Times*, June 13, 1911.

“Alaskans Brand Story as Canard,” *Seattle Post-Intelligence*, March 23, 1920.

“Alaska Defense Council is Named,” (Skagway) *Daily Alaskan*, December 11, 1917.

“Alien Enemies Takes Notice,” *Fairbanks Daily News Miner*, April 16, 1918.

“Alleged Slackers Can’t Come North,” *Anchorage Weekly Times*, April 4, 1918.

“Arizona’s Turn at the Rebels: Warrant for Mexican Villareal and Companions.” *Arizona Republican*, September 18, 1907.

“Brennan Arrested and Fined” *Petersburg Weekly Report*, August 9, 1918.

“Conspirators in Arizona, Examination of Plotters, Dupes of Magón Expected to Concerted Uprising, Labor Agitators at Bottom of the Trouble.” *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1906.

“Federal Fist Crushes Nest of Reds; Four Leaders Now in Jail.” *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1911.

“Five Hundred Convicts Tarded, Feathered and Led Around Prison Former U.S. Army Officer Who Was Charged With Violation of the Law,” *Ketchikan Progressive Miner*, April 18, 1918.

“German Spy System Under Investigation,” *Ruby-Reform-Citizen*, July 14, 1917.

“Juneauite Held on Charge of Sedition,” *Chitina Leader*, June 9, 1917

“Jury Disagrees in Waddleton’s Case,” *Alaska Dispatch*, June 8, 1917.

“Jury Finds Mexican Anarchists Guilty.” *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1909.

“Lese Majeste.” *St. Louis Post – Dispatch*, December 17, 1905.

“Letters of the Junta: How St. Louis Fellows Urged on Mexicans to Make Trouble.” *The Austin Statesman*, September 21, 1906

“Like Jack’s Bean Bail Bond Grows.” *Los Angeles Times*, February 20, 1916.

“Local Councils Manifesting Interest in the Work of Territorial Councils of Defense,” *Alaska Bulletin*, March 1918.

“Magón Appeals Called Jokes.” *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1916.

“Magóns at Hard Labor.” *Los Angeles Times* July 17, 1912.

“Magón Opposed to Socialist Plans.” *Los Angeles Times*.

“May Deport Mexican Red.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 12, 1922.

“Meets Death at hands of Crazy Man,” *Alaska Dispatch*, November 7, 1919.

“Navy Patrol is Established for Alaskan Coast,” *Petersburg Weekly Report*, June 28, 1918.

“No Revolution for Mexico.: Editors of Regeneración at St. Louis Arrested.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 13, 1905.

“Pair of Reds Found Guilty.” *Los Angeles Times*, June 7, 1916.

“Plan to Send “Reds” Away: Arizona Wants Revolutionary Agitators for Trial.” *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1907.

“Plan Uprising of Anarchists” *Los Angeles Times*, September 20, 1915.

“Ragan Killed at Ketchikan,” *Douglas Island News*, October 24, 1919.

“Red Agitators in Cells Again” *Los Angeles Times*, February 19, 1916.

“Sailor Wounds Pageant Spectator Disrespectful to Flag” *Washington Post*, May 7, 1919.

“Sawyer Arrested Again,” *Wrangell Sentinel*, November 20, 1919.

“Sawyer Freed by the Judge,” *Alaska Dispatch*, November 21, 1919.

“Texas Governor Wires Texas Ranger Captain to Shoot Straight if It Is Necessary.” *El Paso Morning Times*, January 31, 1913.

“The Most Brainiest Man,” *The Nation*, April 17, 1920.

“The Nice Red Apple” *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1923.

“The Red Cloud” *Atlanta Constitution*, January 19, 1919.

“Two Slackers are Adorned in Yellow and Paraded Around,” *Ketchikan Progressive-Miner*, October 4, 1918.

“Voluntary Induction Cancelled” *Alaska Dispatch*, January 25, 1918.

Articles

International Revolutionist Vol., No. 1, (1919).

The Crisis, Vol. 14, No. 5. (1917),

ACLU, *Weekly People*, (1919), vol. 64.

Leonard, Oscar, “The East St. Louis Pogrom,” *The Survey*, Vol. 38, (1917).

Ashurst, Sen. Harry F., “The IWW Menace,” *Congressional Quarterly* 55 (1917): 6687.

Veblen, Thorstein, “On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage.” *Dial* 66, (1919).

Parsons, George Frederic, "The Labor Question". *The Atlantic Monthly* 58, (July 1886): 97–113

Film

Uncle Sam and the Bolsheviki-I.W.W. Rat, (1919; Detroit, MI: Ford Motor Company),
filmpreservation.org/dvds-and-books/clips/uncle-same-and-the-bolsheviki-i-w-w-rat-ca-
1919, (accessed 7/10/20).

Documents

1917 Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States.

ACLU file vol XCVIII, AMNESTY, 1918-1919, LETTER, Albert DeSilver to John Lord
O'Brian, January 14, 1919; O'Brian to Desilver, January 20, 1919.

Creel, George. *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information*.

Foster, Harry L., October 31, 1980. "Minutes of the National Executive Committee Meeting,"
December 20, 1919, 44, 47, 50, AL.

Ku Klux Klan, *ABC of the Invisible Empire*, 1917.

Margaret Dreier Robins to Elizabeth Robins, November 30, 1919, Robins Papers, box 3, folder
21.

RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING SCHOOLS OUTSIDE INCORPORATED
TOWN, TERRITORY OF ALASKA, 1918, Governors' Papers.

Rustguard to Nils Voll, Norwegian Consulate, San Francisco, December 8, 1916, Governors'
Papers.

"Minutes of the National Americanism Commission," November 3, 1936, 40; May 5, 1937.

US., Congress, Senate, "Brewing and Liquor interest and German Propaganda and Bolsheviki
Propaganda," 66th Cong., 1st sess., June 16, 1919, *Congressional Record LVIII*, 1141,
1144.

U.S. vs Conrad Mauritz Olsen and Charlie Olson, Ketchikan Criminal File 531, Box 10.

U.S. vs. Charles Switzer, Juneau Criminal File 1397, Box 47.

U.S. vs Henry Furlan, Ketchikan Criminal File 556, Box 11

U.S. vs. John Leren, Ketchikan Criminal File 593, Box 12.

U.S. vs Martin Jacobson, Ketchikan Criminal File 590, Box 12

U.S. vs Patrick Joseph Shanahn, Ketchikan Criminal File #626, Box 13.

U.S. vs Squier, Fairbanks Criminal File 782, Box 35.

Secondary Sources

Books

Avrich, Paul, *The Haymarket Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Bennett, David H., *Party of Fear: From Nativism Movements to the New Right in American History*. New York: Vintage, 1995.

Blakey, George T., *Historians on the Homefront: American Propagandists for the Great War*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970.

Clark, Norman H., *Mill Town -- A Social History of Everett, Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970.

Coben, Stanley, *Study of Nativism: The American Red Scare of 1919-20*. New York: Ardent Media Incorporated, 1991.

Cravens, Hamilton, *The Triumph of Evolution: The Hereditary Environment Controversy, 1900-1941*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Chassen-López, Francie R., *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca: The View from the South, Mexico 1867-1911*. University Park: Penn State Press.

Drinnon, Richard, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1961.

Dubofsky, Melvyn, *We Shall be All*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969.

Fleming, Thomas, *The Illusion of Victory: America in World War I*. New York: Basic Books, 2003.

Foner, Philip S., *Industrial Workers of the World*. New York: International Publishers, 1965.

- Gengarelly, W. Anthony, *Distinguished Dissenters and Opposition to the 1919-1920 Red Scare*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996.
- Higham, John, *Strangers in the Land Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002.
- Jaffe, Julian F., *Crusade Against Radicalism: New York During The Red Scare, 1914-1924*. National University: Kennikat Press, 1972.
- Katz, Friedrich, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Kornweibel, Theodore, *Federal Surveillance of Afro-Americans (1917-1925): The First World War, the Red Scare, and the Garvey Movement*. Bethesda: University Publications of America, 2011.
- Knaus, Pamela Vaughan, *American Nativism, Immigration Policy, and the New Immigrants, 1921-24*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1996.
- Levi, Steven C., *The Great Red Scare in World War One Alaska*. Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2010.
- Levin, Murray B., *Political Hysteria in American: The Democratic Capacity for Repression*. New York: Basic Book Inc, 1971.
- Loertzel, Robert, *Alchemy of Bones: Chicago's Luetgert Murder Case of 1897*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- Loosbrock, Richard J., *The History of the Kansas Department of the American Legion*. Topeka, 1968.
- Murray, Robert K., *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1955.
- Nicholas, Villanueva Jr., *The Lynching of Mexican in the Texas Borderlands*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017.
- Nielsen, Kim E., *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001.

- North, Diane M.T., *California at War: The State and the People during World War I*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018.
- Papke, David Ray, *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America*, (Landmark law cases & American Society). Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1999.
- Pencak, William, *For God & Country: the American Legion, 1919-1941*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989.
- Peterson, H.C., Fite Gilbert C., *Opponents of War, 1917-1918*. Seattle: Washington Paperbacks Seattle University of Washington Press, 1968.
- Raat, W. Dirk, *Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebel in the United States, 1903-1923*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981.
- Regin, Schmidt, *Red Scare: FBI and the Origins of Anticommunism in the United States*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2010.
- Rudwick, Elliott M., *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964.
- Ryan, Erica J., *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Americanism in the First Red Scare*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2016.
- Salvatore, Nick; Schneirov, Richard; Stromquist Shelton, *The Pullman Strike and Crisis of 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Sellers, Nigel Anthony, *Oil, Wheat, & Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World in Oklahoma, 1905-1930*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.
- Stover, John, *American Railroads*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Tischauser, Leslie V., *The Burden of Ethnicity: The German Question in Chicago, 1914-1941*. New York: Garland, 1990.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Democracy in America*, New York: Henry Reeve, 1945.
- Tuttle Jr., William M., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*. New York: Anteneum, 1970.

Voogd, Jan, *Race Riots and Resistance: The Red Summer of 1919*. New York: Peter Lang Inc, 2008.

Weigley Russell F., *History of the United States Army*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967.

Whitehead, Don, *The F.B.I Story*. New York: Random House, 1956.

Zeidel, Robert, *Immigrant's, Progressives and Exclusion Politics: the Dillingham Commission 1900-1927*. Northern Illinois University Press, 2004.

Unpublished Works

Alexander, Charles, "Invisible Empire in the Southwest: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas in 1920-1930." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, 1962.

Breton, Rita Mae, "Red Scare: A Study in Maine Nativism." Master's thesis, University of Maine at Orono, 1972.

Pfannestiel, Todd J., "Rethinking the Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York State's Fight Against Radicalism, 1919-1923." Ph.D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 2001.

Articles

Bernstein, Marvin D., "Colonel William C Greene and the Cananea Copper Bubble," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* (1952)

Gordon, Charles, "Right to Counsel in Immigration Proceedings" (1961). *Minnesota Law Review*. Vol 45:

Kendrick, John W, *Productivity Trends in the United States*. National Bureau of Economic Research: 1-50. 1961.

Martin Horn, "A Private Bank at War: J.P. Morgan & Co. and France, 1914-1918.," *Business History Review* 74, no. 1 (2000): 85-112.

Neeno, Timothy, "The Mexican Revolution and US Intervention 1910-1917," *Military History Online*, (2010)

Documentaries:

PBS “American Experience: Eugenics Crusade” Season 30 Episode 11

<https://www.pbs.org/video/the-eugenics-crusade-jtaetc/> (accessed 7/19/20)

The Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World, IWW) Documentary

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DCbOXOimY&t=3494s>. (Accessed 7/19/2020)

Newspapers

Teresa, Krug, “A Rural Town Confronts its Buried History of Mass Killing of Black Americans.” *The Guardian*, August 18, 2019, (Accessed 3/29/20)

Wicentowski, Danny, “Remembering the East St. Louis Race War:” *Riverfront Times*, 28 June 2017

Fort Hays State University
FHSU Scholars Repository
Non-Exclusive License Author Agreement

I hereby grant Fort Hays State University an irrevocable, non-exclusive, perpetual license to include my thesis ("the Thesis") in *FHSU Scholars Repository*, FHSU's institutional repository ("the Repository").

I hold the copyright to this document and agree to permit this document to be posted in the Repository, and made available to the public in any format in perpetuity.

I warrant that the posting of the Thesis does not infringe any copyright, nor violate any proprietary rights, nor contains any libelous matter, nor invade the privacy of any person or third party, nor otherwise violate FHSU Scholars Repository policies.

I agree that Fort Hays State University may translate the Thesis to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation and access. In addition, I agree that Fort Hays State University may keep more than one copy of the Thesis for purposes of security, back-up, and preservation.

I agree that authorized readers of the Thesis have the right to use the Thesis for non-commercial, academic purposes, as defined by the "fair use" doctrine of U.S. copyright law, so long as all attributions and copyright statements are retained.

To the fullest extent permitted by law, both during and after the term of this Agreement, I agree to indemnify, defend, and hold harmless Fort Hays State University and its directors, officers, faculty, employees, affiliates, and agents, past or present, against all losses, claims, demands, actions, causes of action, suits, liabilities, damages, expenses, fees and costs (including but not limited to reasonable attorney's fees) arising out of or relating to any actual or alleged misrepresentation or breach of any warranty contained in this Agreement, or any infringement of the Thesis on any third party's patent, trademark, copyright or trade secret.

I understand that once deposited in the Repository, the Thesis may not be removed.

Thesis: No Ordinary Times: Reasons For and Reactions During the 1st Red Scare

Author: Timothy Setter



Signature: _____

Date: July 21, 2020

