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Perspectives in History is a semi-annual publication of the Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. Manuscripts are welcome from students and faculty.

Send all articles, essays and book reviews to:
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FOREWORD

Phi Alpha Theta's Spring 1989 journal serves as testament to the quality of Northern Kentucky University's academic community. The articles presented in the following pages reflect the dynamic intellectual atmosphere in this institution.

Thought-provoking topics stimulate the reader to learn more about the subjects being examined. The articles in this semester's journal deal with Western imperialism, the plight of German-Americans during World War I, pathos on the path of greatness and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The variety, as well as the uniqueness, of these articles exemplifies the authors' commitment to excellence. The editorial staff of **Perspectives in History** extends sincere appreciation for their excellent contributions.

As editor, I would also like to thank our faculty advisor, Dr. James Ramage, for his unending help with the journal. Dr. Ramage, as well Ms. Shirley Raleigh, Ms. Ivy Washington, and Mr. Keith Johnson, have helped make this publication a success.

Finally, I wish to invite our readers to submit articles for next semester's journal. Only with your enthusiastic support can **Perspectives in History** continue to be a respected academic journal of Northern Kentucky University.

Sincerely,

J. Scott Kappas

J. Scott Kappas
Editor

The German-American Population of Northern Kentucky during World War I: The Victimization of an Ethnic Group and Its Culture

by Lisa A. Stamm

The Greater Cincinnati area, by the advent of World War I, was populated by a significant number of German-Americans. This community of German-Americans had contributed much to the unique social, political, and cultural characteristics of the area; nevertheless, when war broke out between their country of origin and their country of choice, the members of the German-American communities in Cincinnati and northern Kentucky felt the effects of the strong anti-German sentiment which accompanied America's involvement in the war. World War I resulted in changes in the local German-American community—changes which would persist for many years following the war.

During the second half of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries, northern Kentucky and Cincinnati were virtually inundated with German immigrants. By 1910, there were more persons of German descent living in northern Kentucky than any other nationality. Information contained in the 1910 census reveals several significant facts about the local German population in the years preceding World War I.

By 1910, twenty-one percent of the total population of Campbell County and seventeen percent of the total population of Kenton County were either born in Germany or had parents who were both born in Germany.[1] Similarly, twenty-two percent of the population of the city of Newport was either first or second generation German. In Covington, eighteen percent of the population was in this category.[2]

These percentages are indicative of the high concentration of Germans living in the northern Kentucky area prior to the first World War. However, they probably do not reflect the *total* number of local persons of German descent. The 1910 census only included statistics regarding the number of people *born* in Germany and the number of people whose parents were *both* of German birth. No measure was taken of the *total* number of persons of German descent. (For instance, if a person had one parent of German birth and another of French birth, this fact would not be included in the statistics, even though such a person was actually of German descent.) The 1910 percentages, therefore, are clearly too conservative.

Don H. Tolzmann, in his book *The Cincinnati Germans After the Great War*, encounted the same difficulty in determining the number of Cincinnatians of German descent prior to the war. The 1910 Census reported that approximately 121,700 Cincinnatians out of a total population of 363,247 were either first or second generation Germans. This group thus represented nearly thirty-four percent

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of the population of Cincinnati. Tolzmann estimated that an additional 60,000 persons were of some form of German descent, bringing the total 1910 German element in Cincinnati to approximately 181,700—or *fifty percent* of the total population.[3]

The Cincinnati area was a prime destination for German immigrants for a variety of reasons. Many German language publications recommended Cincinnati. Also, the Ohio River valley reminded many Germans of the Rhine River in their home country.[4] For whatever reason, a large number of German immigrants chose to make their new homes in Cincinnati and the counties of neighboring northern Kentucky.

Once here, the Germans quickly earned the reputation of being "industrious, thrifty, and competent" in business.[5] The Over-the-Rhine area in Cincinnati contained many small savings and loan associations (called Bauvereine) in which Germans found a place to exercise their thriftiness.[6] Craft industries developed by Germans included beer brewing and musical instrument manufacturing.[7] German-language newsapers flourished. The two major ones were *Volksblatt* and *Freie Presse.* These two, which, in 1910, had a combined circulation of 92,000, were considered "the mouthpiece [sic] of the German community." They featured a combination of German and American subjects, and could be found in daily, weekly, and Sunday editions. In addition to these major papers, there were other, special-interest publications as well. One example is the *Brauer-Zeitung,* a newspaper written for brewery workers.[8] These newspapers were widely circulated in both southwestern Ohio and northern Kentucky.

In addition to business endeavors, Greater Cincinnati Germans also participated in unique social, religious, and cultural activities. There were more than one hundred "Vereine"—groups that encompassed everything from trade unions to singing societies. The largest Vereine was "Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein Von Cincinnati," a group established in 1869 to preserve German heritage for future generations. This organization had its own publications, and boasted nearly one thousand members.[9] There were a variety of religious institutions for Germans-many of which also had their own publications. Examples of such religious publications include *Der Christliche Apologete* (for Methodists) and *Die Deborah* (for German Jews). German plays were performed regularly in Over-the-Rhine. German-language books proliferated, with over two hundred being written by local authors.[10] In general, during the decades preceding World War I, the Germans of the Greater Cincinnati area thrived, establishing their own unique business, social, religious, and cultural climates. Carl Wittke describes the German immigrant in the following way:

> Mingled with this image of the industrious artisan and storekeeper was the stereotype of the German immigrant with a heavy beard, wearing a soft felt hat, loving his beer, smoking his long pipe, and sitting in a beer garden where a band or orchestra played the familiar tunes of the fatherland.[11]

On August 13, 1914, a Covington physician, Doctor J.R. Murnan, having just returned from a European trip, was interviewed by *The Kentucky Post* for his

reaction to the turbulent situation in Europe. He said most Europeans expected the war to "not last more than three or four months; that there will be one or two great decisive battles and it will be over. . ."[12] Not everyone shared this perception. Another Covington resident, Doctor Eckman, attended the funeral of the Crown Prince of Austria. He reported that "the general impression is that every nation in Europe will soon be engaged in a long and dreadful war, the greatest history has ever known."[13]

The latter prediction ultimately proved to be the accurate one, and the realization that this was to be the case slowly began to be reflected in the attitudes and opinions of northern Kentucky residents. At first reactions were mixed. *The Kentucky Post* reported that, while people in other cities had been "clamoring at libraries" for background information about the war, Covington residents were "undisturbed by the engulfing waves of European carnage."[14] In the beginning northern Kentuckians of German descent were unafraid to speak out in support of their homeland. Father Henry Tappert, pastor of Mother of God Church in Covington, had visited Germany several months before the war broke out. He claimed the German army was "marvelous," adding that a German victory would mean the "retaining of the world's civilization."[15] Anna Brunner, a native of Haselunne, Germany, claimed that the Germans did not actually want to go to war, saying:

> But even though the Germans are victorious, they are against warfare and are naturally a peaceful people. The Kaiser is a peaceful man and thoroughly despises war. But when aroused he will fight, and his soldiers and people are behind him with all of their strength.[16]

Mrs. J.H. Weber, who was in Germany when the war broke out, said England was ". . .to be blamed for everything. . . and the French are to be pitied, because they are about done for."[17]

Northern Kentuckians of other nationalities were not particularly hostile, either, toward the Germans. Colonel St. Clair, who had fought for the French in the Franco-Prussian War, believed that France would win; however, he claimed to feel only ". . .mild national antagonism" toward the Germans. He also numbered among his friends many prominent German citizens.[18] Although foreign banks had stopped issuing letters of credit to Covington banks out of fear of parting with needed money, financial experts pronounced that "no hard times are likely to be experienced by the local people."[19]

If the war had been, as Doctor Murnan anticipated, a short-lived affair, negative reaction toward the local German element might have been avoided. As the war in Europe continued, however, and as American involvement became inevitable, attitudes changed dramatically. The frustrations of the World War were to be felt at the local—even at the individual—level. These frustrations can be clearly seen in the events which occurred in the communities that constituted northern Kentucky during the period of 1917 to 1919.

On April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson went before Congress to request a declaration of war against Germany. The request was granted. Ten days later, Wilson issued a proclamation requiring all "alien enemies" (Germans) residing in the United States to turn over their firearms or be arrested. The "aliens" had twenty-

four hours to do so. Also, all wireless stations operated by aliens were required to be dismantled.[20] On April 12, the day of the proclamation, the feared "alien enemies" in Covington began turning over their firearms. The first to do so was an unnaturalized resident who turned over a package of shotguns.[21] This was not the first time, however, that northern Kentucky Germans had found themselves being perceived in an unfavorable light.

The firearms proclamation was one of the first official acts directed at the Germans; however, evidence of anti-German sentiment had already begun to emerge in the months before Congress declared war. In Covington, for instance, saloons owned by Germans were becoming a prime target for anti-German hostilities.[22] One popular establishment, Joe Jansen's "Germania Hall," which had been in operation for fifteen years, had its saloon's license revoked four days before the United States entered the war. The following reasons were given for the revocation of the saloon's license:

> The Saloon is the resort of characters of the worst kind in the cities of Covington and Cincinnati. Such places are an injustice to decent saloon keepers and to every citizen.[23]

The first concrete examples of anti-Germanism in the northern Kentucky area appeared early in 1917. After the declaration of war, it became increasingly apparent that discrimination had accompanied the war, and that the local German population would, for some time, be the target of this discrimination. As the summer of 1917 wore on, hostilities increased so much that, by autumn of 1917, anti-Germanism was no longer the subtle force it had been at the start of the war. It was now a powerful, even fear-inspiring, movement—one which made its influence felt in many areas of life.

Of all those who felt the effects of "anti'Teutonism," none were more severely affected than those referred to as "alien enemies." These alien enemies—actually unnaturalized residents—were, arguably, subject to the most bitter of all the war-related antagonism. In February, 1918, President Wilson supplemented his firearm confiscation proclamation with another order designed to restrict the activities of native Germans and Austro-Hungarians residing in the United States.

Beginning February 4, 1918, all male alien enemies fourteen and older were required to register with local police. In addition to registering, they were to be photographed four times and were to sign these photographs. They also received special cards which were to be carried with them at all times. Finally, each alien was to be fingerprinted. Failure to comply with any of these regulations carried a penalty of imprisonment for the duration of the war.[24] After registering, aliens were required to obtain the consent of either the Chief of Police or a United States Marshal before changing a place of residence. Records of all aliens, as well as descriptions of them, were kept both at the local police station and in Washington, D.C.[25] The same regulations were extended to female "aliens" in June of 1918.[26]

As a result of the criminal-like treatment of German and Austro-Hungarian

residents, there was, not surprisingly, a large increase in the number of persons of these two nationalities who sought to obtain United States citizenship. In both Covington and Newport, the vast majority of all persons requesting citizenship were of either German or Austrian birth.[27] In March of 1918, only one month after Wilson's proclamation, twenty-four persons from Campbell County asked to be examined by an agent of the governor in an effort to become citizens. Most of these were either German or Hungarian.[28] In Covington, in April of 1918, the majority of those seeking citizenship in federal court were of German or Austrian birth. The judge, A.M. Cochran, refused to grant citizenship to any person who was a native German or Austrian, saying that "he had no authority" to do so.[29]

Local patriotic groups embraced alien registration as another means of ending what they referred to as "pro-Germanism." A related incident makes this clear. During a mass meeting held by the Citizens Patriotic League of Covington, a speaker made allegations concerning John Drees, a detective in charge of assisting alien registration. The speaker claimed that Drees had registered an alien during the middle of the night, implying that the registration had been handled improperly for subversive purposes. Drees defended himself in an interview with *The Kentucky Post*, stating that the alien in question had, in fact, been registered during regular hours in the presence of witnesses. Drees said he had to defend himself to be certain that no one questioned his loyalty.[30]

The heavily publicized alien registration was partially responsible for converting anti-Germanism into a force largely condoned, if not practiced, by the general public. Another series of events—those surrounding the issue of German in the schools—would complete the process.

Prior to World War I, the German language was taught in nearly all northern Kentucky schools. German classes were very popular, and enrollment in them was normally quite high. In September of 1917, however, this situation began to change. As the new school term began, schools in Covington, Newport, Bellevue, and Fort Thomas all opened with German classes. But enrollment was down sharply.[31] Covington school Superintendant H.S. Cox lamented that Covington students were "forsaking the study of German," and that Spanish classes were chosen as an alternative.[32] At the beginning of the 1917-1918 school year, students were still allowed to decide whether to study what was by then being referred to by critics as "the language of the Huns." But by January of 1918, just four months later, there was a public outcry against letting students make this choice. The banning of German in the schools soon became a major goal of the anti-German activists.

During the second week of January, a petition was being circulated which read:

> We believe that Germany... has earned a place in history so detested by the present and future generations as no liberty-loving citizens will desire their children to be taught that language.[33]

This petition urged the Board of Education to stop teaching German in the schools immediately. According to *The Kentucky Post*, the petition was begun by a "large number of well-known men." Since the German teachers were contracted until the end of the term, the Board wanted to wait until then to discontinue German

classes. The citizens, however, wanted them to be dropped at once. They proposed that the teachers be used for other purposes.[34]

Schools in Dayton, Kentucky were the first to abandon the study of German. Bellevue schools were second, with school commissioners voting unanimously to ban study of the language. Before the ban, twenty-five percent of Bellevue students had been studying German. As the ban went into effect, these students were diverted into Spanish classes, while school officials reported that the students felt Spanish was a " much better language to study."[35]

The banning of German studies in Dayton and Bellevue occurred with little or no controversy. Similar attempts in Covington and Newport, though, were to meet significant opposition. The resulting controversy brought the effects of anti-Germanism clearly into view.

Despite the fact that petitions were being widely circulated in Covington, the Board of Education voted to continue the study of German until the end of the school term. The reason for the delay was that those students who were studying the language would lose credits if it were dropped prematurely. The Board was already planning to drop the classes at the end of the school year. In addition, Covington Superintendent Cox had received letters from several prominent educators urging that the study of the German language be retained despite the war. P.P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, in a letter to Cox, stated: "The U.S. is now at war with the imperial government of Germany and not with the German language or German literature."[36]

Following the actions of Cox and the Board of Education, a heated debate ensued. On February 3, 1918, five hundred citizens packed the courtroom where the Board was meeting. The crowd presented a petition which included the signatures of more than four thousand voters and demanded an *immediate* end to German instruction in the schools. The citizens made it clear that they would tolerate no "interference with their plans to oust the language of the land of the Hun." Local attorney John B. O'Neal, upon being asked to speak, said: "We have in our hands today the worst instrument of German propaganda, and, as an American citizen, I call upon you gentlemen to kill it."[37]

Another local attorney, Harvey Meyers, claimed that he had received a letter from the admissions director at the University of Cincinnati, in which the director claimed that no student would be denied entrance to college on the basis of lost German credits. In addition, the crowd produced the signatures of students who allegedly supported the ban.[38]

Pressure from the crowd proved overwhelming to the Board. One by one, Board members offered explanations about why they had voted previously to delay the ban, saying they had been mistaken. The vote was unanimous in favor of immediately discountinuing the study of German in Covington public schools.[39]

Only a few days later, in Newport, the events of the Covington meeting virtually repeated themselves. Newport school commissioners, like their Covington counterparts, had voted earlier to retain German classes until the end of the term. This decision was quickly reversed when a crowd of citizens descended upon a special

meeting of the school board, demanding that German be dropped at once. They said it would "not be good for U.S. soldiers over there to receive word that Kaiser Bill's language is being taught in the schools." The board passed the crowd's resolution unanimously. They also decided that all library books referring to the "Imperial Government" of Germany should be cast out.[40]

Within days, the Ludlow, Kentucky Board of Education unanimously passed a similar resolution. By February 8, 1918, German language classes in the public schools of northern Kentucky had been eliminated. The editors of *The Kentucky Post* praised the actions the citizens had taken to rid schools of the German language, stating that "public-spirited citizens of a great city had become wearied of waiting on public officials to do what they considered a stern necessity and a patriotic duty."[41] Those groups which had been largely responsible for the elimination of German from northern Kentucky schools—the Citizens Patriotic League of Covington and the Campbell County Council of Defense—were inspired by their local victories, so inspired that they decided to turn their attention to banishing German classes throughout the state of Kentucky.

There was, in March of 1918, a bill known as the Van Hoose Bill pending in the Kentucky state legislature which, if passed, would have prohibited any Kentucky school from teaching the German language.[42] A meeting was held at the Hippodrome Theater in Covington to raise support for the bill. Approximately five thousand people turned out for the meeting, but the building could accomodate only about two thousand. So many wanted to take part in the proceedings that, when the doors opened, there was a great crush to enter. There was so much pushing that many people were lifted from their feet by the crowd, although none were injured. The meeting was believed to have been the largest public meeting held in northern Kentucky up to the time.[43]

The resulting resolution cited two reasons for passage of the Van Hoose bill. First the German government was accused of using the teaching of the German language as a "potential agent in the dissemination of propaganda." And, German classes were not used for the purpose of teaching a second language; rather, they were used to promote disloyalty and sedition.[44] The resolution was signed and sent to the Kentucky legislature.

The Van Hoose Bill passed in the legislature, but not before it had been amended. The amendment, known as the Lewis Amendment, changed the bill so that only *public* schools would be forbidden to teach German. Far from being a state-wide ban, the bill was considered "weak" by its original supporters.[45] Proponents of the ban were further disappointed when the bill, passed almost unanimously in the legislature, was vetoed by Governor A.O. Stanley.

Stanley's veto prompted a series of protests and demonstrations in northern Kentucky. Reverend I. Cochrane Hunt, pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of Covington, said: "I am astounded beyond expression at the action of the governor. It was unwise, both from a political and patriotic standpoint." Citizens of Fort Thomas drew up a resolution denouncing the veto and sent it to the governor.[46]

In Covington, another mass meeting was held at the Hippodrome Theater. This time approximately one thousand attended. Reverend Hunt was the speaker. When, in the course of his speech, he denounced the governor, the crowd responded enthusiastically. *The Kentucky Post* reported that the crowd repeatedly interrupted Hunt and "with wild cheering, stood, waving flags and howling in delight, clapping, cheering, laughing, and stamping feet until the theater rang with the din." The meeting, supposedly held to encourage the purchase of Liberty Bonds, had turned into an "anti-Stanley demonstration." A resolution was written, approved, and sent to the governor.[47]

In Campbell County, two separate meetings were held by the Campbell County Council of Defense. Resolutions denouncing Stanley's veto were drawn up at both meetings. These resolutions claimed that the teaching of German in schools was a "principal weapon of the imperial German government in its dastardly campaign."[48] Many other groups drafted and sent resolutions to Stanley protesting his veto. These included the Men's Auxiliary of the Red Cross of Bellevue, the Congregational Men's Club of the York Street Congregational Church of Newport and the Campbell County Ministerial Association.[49]

The local debate over German-language instruction in the schools had been fought with a great deal of emotion. The furor which the controversy aroused is evidence that anti-German sentiment was extremely high in northern Kentucky by March of 1918. The events which occurred during the course of the debate were significant in that they were among the first instances of completely undisguised anti-Germanism. These events, in combination with the implementation of alien registration, mark the beginning of a period in which opponents of everything German sought to remove all traces of "Teutonism" from local communities.

One of the most visible signs of the anti-German movement in northern Kentucky was the elimination of German names. Name-changing was the fashion of the day, and involved everything from family names to food names.

German street names were among the first to be changed. In Covington, city commissioners voted unanimously to change "Bremen" and "Short Bremen" streets to "Pershing Avenue" at the request of residents. Other suggested names were "Wilson Street" and "Liberty Avenue."[50] Newport city commissioners decided to change "German Street" to "Liberty Avenue." Residents of this street were quick to point out that, even though their street name had been Teutonic, they were "100 percent American."[51] This particular name change involved a certain amount of controversy. One of the residents was actually investigated by the United States Justice Department after he allegedly circulated a petition protesting the proposed change.[52]

Name changing involved businesses, social organizations, and families, as well. The comptroller of the currency approved a request by the stockholders and directors of the German National Bank to change the name of the institution to "Liberty National Bank of Covington."[53] The German National Bank of Newport became known as the "American National Bank."[54] Social organizations known as "Verein" or "Turngemeinde" promptly adopted new names.[55] Families, too,

often felt obliged to alter their German names in order to avoid being considered pro-German. For example, a family living on Kyles Lane changed their last name from "Koenig" to the English version of the name—"King."[56]

Throughout northern Kentucky, sauerkraut consumption decreased—largely because of its German name. Dr. J. M. O'Maley, a health officer from Covington, discouraged this practice. He argued that sauerkraut was a wholesome food, good for digestion. "Change its name to pickled cabbage and use it," he advised. O'Maley also pointed out that, since sauerkraut was not needed by United States allies, while other foods were, eating more sauerkraut would increase the amount of food available to the allies.[57]

Many of the issues which emerged in the early months of 1918—including alien registration, German-language instruction, and name changing—might have been far less controversial, and certainly less public, were it not for the activities of certain "patriotic" groups, like the Citizens Patriotic League of Covington. This group was organized in 1917 by twenty-five charter members; by 1919, more than *one thousa*nd had joined. The group had many goals, including the elimination of German and all other foreign-language instruction in schools. The League also wanted to prevent the use of the German language in print media—including newspapers. "We believe that German propaganda must be destroyed and with it all the spawn which it has produced—social revolution, pussy-footing politicians who seek pro-German support, race agitation and agitators," they declared. Finally, they sought the deportation of any American of foreign birth who did not actively support the United States during the war.[58]

The Citizens Patriotic League used two primary tools: the mass meeting and the written resolution. Mass meetings were used for a variety of purposes. One of these was to raise support for its activities, via emotional rhetoric, from members of the community. A second purpose was to generate publicity in order to bring pressure on public officials. The final function of the mass meetings was the promulgation of many written resolutions, containing the opinions of the League. They were signed by the members and mailed to officials or groups involved. Ordinarily, the resolutions would be quoted, in part, in *The Kentucky Post.*

The Citizens Patriotic League was active in a variety of areas during the war. They were outraged when Governor Stanley vetoed the Van Hoose Bill. Many of them had gone to Frankfort to lobby state legislators, and had been instrumental in obtaining its passage. Although a resolution was sent to Stanley, the League's opposition to him did not end there. In 1918, Stanley announced plans to run for the United States Senate. League members, perceiving this as an opportunity to "repay" Stanley for his earlier veto, immediately began implementing a campaign designed to ruin his chances of being elected. They circulated literature denouncing the veto of the Van Hoose Bill, and quoted the governor as saying "I killed that bill deader than a mackerel." They also urged voters to vote against Stanley, arguing: "If Stanley has make his bed with pro-Germans, for God's sake let him now lie in it."[59]

In response to League accusations, Stanley ran political advertisements in

newspapers in which a letter from President Wilson was reprinted. In the letter, the President said that Stanley had sought his advice before vetoing the Van Hoose Bill, and that he (Wilson) had urged the Governor to proceed with the veto. He further explained that Stanley was not disloyal: rather, he understood that the country needed citizens who could speak the language of its enemies.[60] The League, in turn, sent a telegram and a letter to President Wilson, protesting his "interference" in local politics. Despite the fervent negative campaign waged by members of the Citizens Patriotic League, Stanley was elected to the United States Senate—by eight thousand votes.[61]

Members of the Citizens Patriotic League were especially passionate in their accusations of those people they described as "pro-German"—to them, that was anyone who did not *actively* support the United States' war effort. At mass meetings, speakers strongly denounced local pro-Germans. At one meeting, Judge Edward O'Hara said, in reference to pro-Germans: "If we cannot put them in jail we can proceed to put them out of business. If we can't hang them to the lampposts we can strike them through their pocketbooks and peace of mind until they wish they had not been born."[62] Another speaker, Covington attorney Stephens L. Blakely, warned: "Let's not be deceived by any pro-German reptile." Reverend John Hickey, a Catholic priest from Cincinnati, urged the "extermination" of any disloyalists found in Covington.[63] In order to spread further alarm, the League sent two hundred members to homes and saloons to hang posters warning of punishments to be inflicted upon pro-Germans.[64]

Meetings held by the Citizens Partiotic League invariably included descriptions of German war atrocities. At one meeting, Stephens L. Blakely claimed that German soldiers gas their enemies in the trenches, "gouge out their eyes," and cut off arms and legs.[65] League members took it upon themselves to spread "information" about German atrocities to the public. They formed a committee which was responsible for drawing up a proposal to be sent to the federal government, urging that all German war crimes be made public. The committee recommended that the government should photograph victims in France and Belgium and give the photographs the government seal. The pictures were to be circulated so that Americans would know what would happen if "the Hun" were permitted to "fight his way to this country."[66] The photographs were to be sent to every home in America. And, the committee recommended that groups of citizens should be organized to travel to all rural communities in order to present these "facts" by slide lanterns or moving pictures.

The League considered the final recommendation very important because citizens in agricultural areas did not, in the League's opinion, understand how cruel the Germans actually were. They felt this to be the case since agricultural areas had been purchasing only a small proportion of Liberty Bonds. They also felt that these recommendations would serve to convince German citizens that "the Germany of today is not the Germany they remember."[67]

In response to the League's suggestions, the Bureau of Public Information in Washington, D. C. agreed to send literature to all fourth-class postmasters. This

literature could then be placed in "every rural delivery mail box throughout the state." The League was ecstatic, declaring that it had obtained a victory in its attempts to "educate" rural Kentucky. "None of the facts are to be withheld," they promised.[68]

One of the stated objectives of the League was the elimination of the use of German in print.[69] They went to great lengths to achieve this objective. In July of 1918, League members hung posters throughout Covington "forbidding" the buying or reading of German newspapers. They also gave copies of the posters to the editors of the *Volksblatt* and the *Freie Presse*, two major German newspapers in the Cincinnati area. The bottom of the placards said "Verbum Sap"—the Latin equivalent of " a word to the wise is sufficient." The group claimed that this was "Notice Number One." They planned, if necessary, to send out one more notice; after this, action would be taken.[70]

The group *did*, in fact, "take action." On July 25, 1918, *The Kentucky Post* carried an article describing what happened. Members of the League painted "This place subscribes to a German paper" on the front window of the Newport grocery store of Joseph Scholtz. According to Scholtz, several men wearing Citizens Patriotic League buttons came to his store one night and ordered him to stop his German newspaper subscription. When he refused, they painted his window.[71]

The League's campaign against German newspapers was, to a large degree, successful. As a result of the threatening posters. Kenton County newspaper carriers "voluntarily" decided to stop distributing the *Volksblatt* and the *Freie Presse.* The only way readers could obtain the publications was through the mail.[72]

Covington gained a certain amount of notoriety as a result of the actions of its Citizens Partiotic League. A national magazine called *Manufacturing Record* featured Covington for having "set an example which it would be well for every community throughout the nation to follow." The magazine lauded Covington for its mass meetings and resolutions, reprinting the resolutions in full and encouraging other communities to hold mass meetings.[73]

The Citizens Patriotic League of Covington was the most visible, and probably the most powerful of local patriotic organizations; however, a number of others were active. The Campbell County counterpart of the Citizens Patriotic League was the Campbell County Council of Defense. It carried out actions in Campbell County communities which closely paralleled the actions of the Covington league. For example, the group actively investigated those persons they suspected of being pro-German. In one case, a delegation from the Council went to the home of John Bartell, a Campbell County farmer. They demanded that they be allowed to search his home. Upon doing so, they claimed that they found an oil painting of the Kaiser, "in a gilded frame," on the second floor of the house. Bartell, who claimed his son painted the picture in 1915, said it was in his barn, not in his house. Bartell was taken to a Council meeting at which members were being shown pictures of "German atrocities." When Bartell and his painting were brought in, the crowd, which was already somewhat "inspired," wanted to attack and destroy the painting. When Bartell's answers regarding the picture were found to be unsatisfactory, he was

taken to jail.[74] In other cases, members of the Council resorted to physical violence to intimidate suspected pro-Germans.[75]

Other patriotic leagues formed during the 1917-1918 period, but none were as influential as the Citizens Patriotic League or the Council of Defense. Other organizations included the Kenton County Council of Defense and the Central Covington Patriotic League.[76]

One of the primary activities of the groups was to investigate individuals suspected of having pro-German sympathies. In most instances, these investigations resulted in little more than the intimidation of the accused party. In some cases, however, the investigatory efforts of the partiotic groups led to much more. A number of people were brought to trial, and many received prison sentences. The most notorious of all of these cases were the so-called "dictograph cases."

In South Covington, presently Latonia, there was a shoe store owned by a man named C. B. Schoberg. In addition to being a shoe store, Schoberg's store was also a gathering place for local businessmen. During the morning hours, and sometimes in the late afternoon, six or seven men would usually gather to enjoy one another's company, and sometimes to talk about current events.

In July of 1918, Jesse de Rassett was arrested on a charge of violating the Espionage Act.[77] He allegedly violated the act by making statements about Red Cross nurses. In most cases involving Espionage Act violations, evidence was obtained through the testimony of other citizens who happened to hear the seditious statements. In de Rassett's case, however, the evidence was obtained in an unusual fashion. The statements de Rassett was accused of making had been recorded through the use of a dictograph,[78] which had been installed in a clock in Schoberg's shoe store. The dictograph had been installed and operated by the Citizens Patriotic League of Covington.[79]

Subsequent testimony revealed that sometime in the early part of 1918 the League hired a detective agency to install a dictograph in Schoberg's store, which was in the First National Bank Building in South Covington. In order to install the device an employee of the Union, Heat, and Power Company was hired. Under the guise of testing the voltage in the Schoberg store, this man installed the dictograph behind a large wall clock.[80] Operatives of the detective agency then sat in the basement of the bank building each day, recording the conversations taking place in the shoe store.[81]

After the detective agency had gathered what it considered to be sufficient evidence, the Citizens Patriotic League turned the evidence over to federal authorities. A "court of special inquiry" was convened for the first time ever in Kenton County in order to examine the evidence. This court determined that federal action was warranted, and trial dates were set. Eight men were arrested in connection with the dictograph evidence, including Schoberg. With the exception of de Rassett from Louisville, all of the accused men had been prominent in the local business community. J. Henry Kruse had been secretary and treasurer of the Old Bavarian Brewing Company, and even had a street named after him.[82]

The court cases drew national attention as the defendants were charged with

making seditious statements. For instance, Schoberg was charged with having said: "Germans as a rule are successful in business enterprises. Where would this country be without its German population?"[83] Another defendant, Mat Feltman, a wealthy tobacco dealer, allegedly said: "Don't you worry; the worst and the very worst that Germany can get out of it [the war] is a draw or an even break."[84] Kruse was accused of saying: "Wilson would make good yet if he would call back the Americans, but he is scared,"[85] Schoberg was accused of regularly singing two German songs. "Fatherland" and "Lorelei."[86]

Attorneys for the defendants argued that "honest opinion in a private place to private people under private circumstances" was not a violation of the law, and could not possibly interfere with the prosecution of the war.[87] They further argued that the Espionage Act was unconstitutional because it deprived citizens of the right of free speech. The judge overruled, stating: "Freedom of speech has nothing to do with the charges contained in the indictments. . ."[88] Of those men brought to trial, only De Rassett was found not guilty. Schoberg was found guilty and sentenced to ten years of imprisonment at the federal penitentiary at Moundsville, West Virginia. Kruse and Feltman were also found guilty, and were sentenced to five and seven years, respectively, at Moundsville.[89] The cases were being appealed, and were expected to be appealed as far as the Supreme Court, when the war ended in November, 1918.

The dictograph cases represent the tragic culmination of the anti-German movement in northern Kentucky. Although these cases were the most highly publicized of the espionage trials of 1918, there were many others as well. Individuals voicing their own opinions to other individuals in private situations were quite often held accountable for these opinions in a court of law. That anti-German activists and "patriotic" jurists were able to use such unrestricted power is, from a modern perspective, horrifying.[90] Injustices committed by groups such as the Citizens Patriotic League were approved of, if silently, by the majority of people. Communities that had only recently been proud of their German heritage became convinced that everything German must be purged from their way of life, lest they appear to be disloyal to their county's cause.

The war ended November 11, 1918, but the horrific effects of anti-Germanism did not. Libraries had been emptied of all German publications and schools were devoid of German classes. German street names were gone, as were many German family names. In Cincinnati, a city which had experienced conditions very similar to those in northern Kentucky, the city would be well into the 1920s before the effects of war hostilities would subside.[91] "Germanophobia" was slow in dying.[92]

Gradually some normality returned. In Cincinnati, societies were revived and festivals were held. Churches once again held German services, and libraries brought German books out of their basements.[93] Northern Kentucky also began to return to a more normal state. The Citizens Patriotic League no longer made headlines. A few schools even started offering German classes again.[94]

Such wide-spread discrimination against one ethnic group was not to occur again in northern Kentucky—not even during the Second World War. Henry

Kamlage, who immigrated from Germany to Covington in 1923, recalls that during the Second World War local Germans were treated quite well.[95] World War II undoubtedly had some detrimental effects on local German heritage. But, fortunately, anti-German sentiment did not become rampant as it had in 1918. According to Edwin Zeydel, "In our generation the role assumed by German culture in America is well-nigh impossible to analyze, so much has it became a part of the very woof and fabric of that life."[96] Had World War I not occurred, or had it been short-lived, northern Kentucky localities might be more "German" than they are. And yet, despite the war and all of the discrimination and persecutions that accompanied it, northern Kentucky is rich in its German heritage. A visit to Mother of God Church, a walk down Covington's Main Strasse, the celebration of Maifest and Oktoberfest—all of these are confirmation that the German legacy continues. That this legacy survives, despite the events of World War I, is a tribute to the enduring quality of the German tradition, and to the importance which the people place on their German origins.

Endnotes

1. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken In the year 1910: Population Reports By States* (Washington, D.C.: Goverment Printing Office, 1910), 730, 738.
2. Ibid., 752.
3. Don H. Tolzmann, *The Cincinnati Germans After the Great War* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1987), 204.
4. Ibid., 4.
5. Carl Wittke, *The Germans in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 10-11.
6. Tolzmann, *Cincinnati Germans*, 9.
7. Wittke, *Germans*, 10-11.
8. Don H. Tolzmann, ed., *Festschrift for the German-American Tricentennial Jubilee* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982), 94.
9. Ibid., 93.
10. Ibid., 92-94.
11. Wittke, *Germans*, 10-11.
12. *The Kentucky Post*, August 13, 1914.
13. Ibid., August 3, 1914.
14. Ibid., August 10, 1914.
15. Ibid., September 9, 1914.
16. Ibid., December 28, 1914.
17. Ibid., October 12, 1914.
18. Ibid., August 6, 1914.
19. Ibid., August 13, 1914.
20. Ibid., April 12, 1917.
21. Ibid., April 13, 1917.

22. Personal Interview with Henry Kamlage, April 4, 1989.
23. *The Kentucky Post*, March 29, 1917.
24. Ibid., January 15, 1918.
25. Ibid., February 4, 1918.
26. Ibid., June 7, 1918.
27. Although *Kentucky Post* articles frequently referred to aliens as either "Austrian" or "Hungarian," these people were actually natives of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, which had been in existence since 1867.
28. *The Kentucky Post,* March 15, 1918.
29. Ibid., April 2, 1918.
30. Ibid., March 26, 1918.
31. Ibid., January 18, 1918.
32. Ibid., September 11, 1917.
33. Ibid., January 9, 1918.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., January 10, 1918.
36. Ibid., January 19, 1918.
37. Ibid., February 4, 1918.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., February 5, 1918.
41. Ibid., February 4, 1918.
42. The only exception to this ban would have involved the University of Kentucky. The bill contained a provision which would have allowed students at the University of Kentucky who were eligible for military service to study the language for military purposes. This provision was included by writers of the bill primarily to avoid any potential disapproval on the part of federal authorities. See *The Kentucky Post*, March 13, 1918.
43. *The Kentucky Post*, March 13, 1918.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., March 20, 1918.
46. Ibid., April 1, 1918.
47. Ibid., April 4, 1918.
48. Ibid., April 8, 1918.
49. Ibid., April 9,12,17, 1918.
50. Ibid., February 28, 1918.
51. Ibid., March 19, 1918.
52. Ibid., March 15, 1918.
53. Ibid., January 19, 1918.
54. Ibid., August 4, 1986.
55. Ibid., August 15, 1918.
56. Personal Interview with Edward Stamm, March 9, 1989.
57. *The Kentucky Post*, June 17, 1918.
58. Ibid., August 4, 1986.

59. Ibid., October 24, 1918.

60. Ibid., October 23, 1918.

61. It is interestring to note that, although the Citizens Patriotic League was mostly comprised of Democrats, they still vehemently opposed Stanley, who was the Democratic candidate.

62. *The Kentucky Post*, March 13, 1918.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., June 6, 1918.

65. Ibid., March 13, 1918. Henry Kamlage of Covington, a retired painter who immigrated to this country from Germany just after the war, tells of the effect which such propaganda had. His former business partner, Ben Gieske, also a German immigrant, had served during the war in the German army. When he came to the United States (some time after the war had ended), people were intitially afraid of him. He received more than a few inquiries as to whether or not he had "cut people's tongues out." Kamlage Interview.

66. Kamlage claimed that many of these pictures were circulated, but that some of them were not "real." He says that, in many cases, two different pictures were "put together" in order to look like something else.

67. *The Kentucky Post*, April 2, 1918.

68. Ibid., April 19, 1918.

69. Ibid., August, 4, 1986.

70. Ibid., July 10, 1918.

71. Ibid., July 25, 1918. Scholtz, who subscribed to a German newspaper because he could read German better than English, added to the sign: ". . . also Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps."

72. Ibid, August 1, 1918.

73. Ibid., April 22, 1918.

74. Ibid., August 2, 1918.

75. Ibid., July 22, 1918.

76. Ibid., July 18, October 24, 1918.

77. The Espionage Act, passed on June 15, 1917 and amended on May 16, 1918, prohibited persons from saying or doing anything which would interfere with the prosecution of the war.

78. According to an expert witness who testified at a subsequent trial, dictographs worked by taking up "scarcely audible words and magnifying them so that they can be very distinctly heard by the operator at the receiving end." *The Kentucky Post,* August 28, 1918.

79. *The Kentucky Post*, July 10, 1918.

80. Ibid., August 27, 1918.

81. Ibid., The dictograph merely *amplified* voices; it did not *record* them; therefore, the possibility exists that the alleged conversations could have been fabricated. The court did not consider this.

82. When Kruse become involved in the case, Covington city commissioners voted unanimously to change the name of the street. *The Kentucky Post*, July 9, 1918.

83. Ibid., September 5, 1918.
84. Ibid., September 2, 1918.
85. Ibid., September 6, 1918.
86. Ibid., August 28, 1918.
87. Ibid., August 27,1918.
88. Ibid., September 14, 1918.
89. Ibid.
90. In modern cases involving wiretapping, violations of privacy are an issue. In 1918, the "planting" of the dictograph on Schoberg's property was not questioned as being an infraction of individual rights.
91. For a detailed account of Cincinnati events during and after the war see Tolzmann's *Festschrift For The German-American Tricentennial Jubilee* and *The Cincinnati Germans After the Great War.*
92. Tolzmann, *Festschrift*, 95.
93. Ibid., 96.
94. *The Kentucky Post*, August 4, 1986.
95. F.B. I. agents came to Kamlage's neighborhood to ask his neighbors "a few questions" about him and his activities, but, according to Kamlage, "that was as far as it went."
96. Tolzmann, *Festschrift*,102.

Pathos on the Path to Greatness

by James A. Ramage

In 1963 I was an undergraduate at Murray State University, studying under Dr. Frank Steely, my great mentor and Northern's first president. I was young and the sun was shining on Kentucky Lake.

I was taking Dr. Sidney Moss in the second half of American literature. Dr. Moss had published a book on Edgar Allan Poe, and his manuscripts were on display in the library. He was an outstanding teacher, and he was teaching his heart out. However, I could see that he was becoming frustrated with the class discussion.

Then we came to T.S. Eliot's poem *The Waste Land.* Dr. Moss was calling names and requiring us to interpret passages, and it was one of those rare occasions when you see a professor gradually losing control of himself. His facial expression and body language changed from frustration to total exaspiration. Suddenly, he slammed his textbook and said, "It's hopeless. You students don't know what it means to suffer," and he fled from the room. I dedicate this paper to Dr. Moss, who returned the next class and taught as though nothing had occurred.

Columnist Lance Morrow suggests that suffering contributes to gravitas, the mysterious phenomenon which makes certain leaders more attractive than others. "Gravitas," Morrow wrote, "is a secret of character and grasp and experience, a force in the eye, the voice, the bearing. Sometimes—as with, say, Winston Churchill—it announces itself as eloquence, and sometimes it proclaims itself as a silence, a suspension full of either menace or Zen. The Japanese believe a man's gravitas emanates from densities of the unspoken."[1]

Some of our greatest, most attractive leaders have experienced an uncommon level of pathos. Thomas Jefferson lost his beloved wife Martha after ten years of marriage. Stricken with grief, he walked incessantly back and forth in his room for three weeks. "When at last he left his room," his daughter wrote, "he rode out and from that time was incessantly on horseback rambling about the mountain in the least frequented roads and just as often through the woods." He never remarried.[2]

Theodore Roosevelt was twenty-five years old when his mother and his wife, Alice, both died within fourteen hours. "The light has gone out of my life," he wrote.[3] Resigning from the New York state legislature, he moved to the Dakota Territory and lived as a cowboy for two years. Then he returned to New York and eventually remarried .

Thomas Edison had a serious hearing loss in childhood, and when he went to a bank on Wall Street with the check for his first important invention, he had never been in a bank before. "The teller yelled out a large amount of jargon," he recalled, "which I failed to understand on account of my deafness." He came to the

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conclusion that the check was worthless, that the New Yorkers were playing a trick on the hayseed. He hurried back to the Western Union office, where the secretary explained that the teller was probably requesting identification.

Edison went back to the bank and cashed the check for small bills. It was $40,000. He stuffed the money in his clothes and went home to his boardinghouse in New Jersey and sat up all night guarding his treasure and fearing that some thief would murder him. The next day his friends patiently explained banking, and he opened a deposit account.[4]

Franklin D. Roosevelt contracted polio at the age of thirty-nine and thereafter could move about only in a wheelchair or in people's arms. It was quite a production getting him on stage. The audience would be electrified as his aides bustled around him; then would break through the awkwardness and tension by flashing his radiant smile and gesturing vigorously with his arms.[5]

Pathos enabled Roosevelt to understand his followers, to feel their hopes and fears, articulate their concerns, and dream their dreams. It gave him the ability to sense the mood and touch the soul of the people.

When Roosevelt broadcast his fireside chats on the radio, people throughout the country, from coal miners in Kentucky to Wall Street brokers, said: "He is speaking to me." This special bond of communication is evident in public speaking, and I want to focus on pathos in the lives of three great public speakers: Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Patrick Henry of Virginia was the greatest speaker in Revolutionary America. He was tall, straight and rugged. There was a Roman cast in this profile: his nose was long, his forehead high and straight, his long eyelashes and heavy dark eyebrows made his penetrating blue eyes appear black. When he rose to speak, he looked abashed and awkward. Then, suddenly, his voice would become lofty, his face would light up, and his eyes would flash. He had a strong, musical voice, which he raised and lowered. His speeches made your blood run cold and your hair stand on end. John Randolph of Roanoke said: "When Henry was speaking one felt like whispering to his neighbor, 'Hush, don't stir, don't speak, don't breathe!' "[6]

One of Henry's speeches at the Constitutional Convention lasted seven hours; yet, on the floor and in the galleries there was a perfect stillness. He had the power to make people shed tears and flush with indignation. When he finished and sat down, you felt as if you had just been awakened from an ecstatic dream.[7]

Patrick Henry had paid his dues. Instead of attending college, at age sixteen he opened a country store and it failed. His father, a prosperous planter and judge, wondered if he would ever amount to anything. At age eighteen, he married Sarah Shelton and farmed and operated another small store. Three years into the marriage, their house burned, and two years later he studied law and passed the bar exam. "Adversity toughens manhood," he said, "and the characteristic of the good or the great man, is not that he has been exempted from the evils of life, but that he has surmounted them."[8]

As a lawyer, he was very successful—in the first three years he managed 1,185 suits (395 lawsuits per year). He charged moderate fees, managed his money well,

and died leaving a fortune. He and Sarah had six children, and after the sixth was born, when Sarah was thirty-two years old, she lost her mental health. She could only be restrained from self-destruction by a strait jacket. He was forced to lock his beloved young wife, the mother of his children, in a room in the basement, in the care of a slave. There was a trap door in the hall near the front door, and he would go downstairs to feed her. The family doctor said: "Whilst his towering and master-spirit was arousing a nation to arms, his soul was bowed down and bleeding under the heaviest sorrows and personal distresses."[9]

After four years in the cellar, Sarah died (1775) and her memory was so painful that he got rid of every object which reminded him of her. Within two years, he married Dorothea Dandridge and they had eleven children—giving him a total of seventeen! (Perhaps he was the father of our country, not George Washington.) They had a saying in the neighborhood that a Patrick Henry's house, "the cradle is rocking, always rocking."[10]

Henry's most famous speech was at St. John's church in Richmond on March 23, 1775. He predicted correctly that news of the outbreak of the Revolution would arrive from New England any day—it was less than one month before Lexington and Concord. He moved that the colony of Virginia call out the militia. "It is in vain, Sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

Abraham Lincoln is not generally regarded as an accomplished platform speaker. However, according to a new book by Waldo Braden, from 1854 to 1860, he was a great stump speaker with a national reputation. He patterned himself after Henry Clay, his political ideal. Lincoln wrote that Clay's eloquence came from within and truly touched the "chords of human sympathy."[11]

The more I research the Civil War, the more my respect for Lincoln grows. Historians have interpreted the Emancipation Proclamation as a political move, freeing the slaves in the area in rebellion, so that England would not intervene and the North would win the war. Still, I have come to admire the courage it took to stand against slavery. Some Northerners, including many in Kentucky, hated Lincoln because of the Emancipation Proclamation.

I am presently researching the life and career of John S. Mosby, the Confederate cavalryman from Virginia. Mosby was fighting guerrilla warfare behind the lines in northern Virginia, and soon after the Proclamation, a huge man walked into town, unarmed and in the blue uniform of the 5th New York Cavalry. He said he was Union Private James F. Ames. Mosby's guards asked what he wanted, and he said that he wanted to join the Confederate army. "Why?" they asked. Because he had been fighting for the Union, he said, and now that freeing the slaves was involved, he could no longer fight for Lincoln.[12] In Kentucky, when Lincoln began recruiting

black troops, the governor and other leaders resisted bitterly.

When Lincoln entered public life in Illinois, he was burdened with a freakish physical appearance. He was 6 feet 4 inches tall—almost a giant—his legs and arms were too long, and he had about the saddest face you can imagine. Cartoonists and jokers ridiculed him. At Gettysburg, in the procession to the cemetery, he rode horseback on a large horse, but the jesters in their jokes put him on a small pony, with his long legs dangling to the ground. According to one tale, as Lincoln passed, a local man on the sidewalk howled: "Say, Father Abraham, if she goes to run away with yer, you just stand up and let her go!"[13]

He approached the young ladies reluctantly. At the age of thirty, he was still single. Then, he met Mary Todd. She knew Henry Clay, and was unusual for a woman—she could discuss politics. They were engaged, but the Todds disapproved of Lincoln, and he broke the engagement. He said that he realized he was not good enough for them. After all, God spells his name with only one "D", where it took two "D's " to spell Todd.[14]

Lincoln descended into melancholy—two weeks of depression. "I am now the most miserable man living," he wrote in a letter. "If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on earth. Whether I shall ever be better I can not tell; I awfully forbode I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible; I must die or be better, it appears to me."[15] He had depression periodically, giving himself therapy through work in the law and telling jokes.

Eventually he and Mary married and had four sons. They were proud of Robert—he went to Harvard and was on General Grant's staff, standing on the porch when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox. Edward or "Eddie" died at the age of four in 1850 in Illinois. Thomas they called "Tad," because when he was born he had a large head and squirmed like a tadpole. Tad was hyperactive and had a speech defect and learning disability.[16]

The most promising was Willie, an intelligent, spirited child with the sense of humor of his father. Willie died of typhoid fever at eleven in the White House in1862. He lapsed into a coma two days before he died, and this robbed Mary of a consolation sought by nineteenth—century mothers. In the sentimental fiction of the period, the dying child described heavenly scenes and assured the mother that they would be reunited in a better place. Eddie had died too young to make such observations and now Willie died without any assurances.[17]

Spiritualism was very popular, and the spiritualists claimed that only a slight veil separates us from dead loved ones. Mary's biographer Jean Baker tells how she held seances in the White House to contact Willie. "He lives, Emilie, " she told her sister. Yes, "he comes to me every night, and stands at the foot of my bed with the same sweet, adorable smile he always had; he does not always come alone; little Eddie is sometimes with him. . . .You cannot dream of the comfort this gives me." On Thursdays—the day Willie died—Lincoln locked himself in Willie's room, commemorating the child's death day in solitude.[18]

Mary took extravagant shopping trips to New York, returning with boxes of

gloves (eighty-four pairs for the second inauguration), gowns, cashmeres and shawls. By the election of 1864, she had charged $27,000, and Lincoln feared someone might mention it in the campaign.[19]

There were reports of assassination plots and Lincoln had frightening dreams. In one he awakened to the sound of weeping, and wandering through the halls he came to the East Room. There he saw a coffin, guarded by soldiers. "Who is dead in the White House?" he asked. "The President," came the reply.[20]

As a speaker, Lincoln turned ridicule of his appearance into an advantage. To heighten his ungainly, countrified aura, he wore his pants and shirt and coat sleeves too short. He wore a stovepipe hat to make him seem even taller. And he carried a battered carpetbag and a faded umbrella and shawl. He looked plain, persistent and honest.[21]

He had an Indiana accent, and his voice was highpitched. Nevertheless, it carried extremely well—those on the fringe of large crowds could hear him clearly. He would feel the crowd responding and the deep sadness would fade from his face; it became radiant and glowing, his voice became harmonious and melodious.[22]

A Chicago reporter gave an eyewitness account in 1854: "Mr. Lincoln was in his shirt sleeves when he stepped on the platform. I observed that, although awkward, he was not in the least embarrassed. He began in a slow and hesitating manner, but without any mistakes of language, dates, or facts. It was evident that he had mastered his subject, that he knew what he was going to say, and that he knew he was right. He had a thin, high-pitched falsetto voice of much carrying power, that could be heard a long distance in spite of the bustle and tumult of a crowd. . . . Gradually he warmed up with his subject, his angularity disappeared, and he passed into that attitude of unconscious majesty."[23]

Before his first presidential campaign, he spoke before a cultured New York audience at the Cooper Institute. His talk was interrupted several times with cheers and shouts, and when he finished they "gave him a standing ovation, waved hats and handkerchiefs" and rushed forward to congratulate him. After his election, under the heavy reponsibility of saving the Union, he retreated into silence and gave few public addresses.[24]

He did accept the invitation, however, to give " a few appropriate remarks" at Gettysburg because he realized it was a significant occasion, and he had something he wanted to say. Lincoln had studied American history. On his father's farm in Indiana, plowing corn, at the end of the row he would halt to rest the mule, and sitting on the beam of the plow he would read about George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. He studied the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and developed a fundamental appreciation for democracy. The war had turned out to be more bloody than anyone expected; and he may have felt the burden of the suffering more than anyone. He wanted to say something about what all the sacrifice of human life meant.[25]

He prepared carefully, and after Edward Everett's two-hour oration, Lincoln spoke for two minutes. The crowd heard him, but the speech was not long enough for him to get his outdoor voice. He finished and as the crowd applauded a reporter

leaned forward and asked: "Is that all?" "Yes. . . , for the present," he answered. It seemed a failure, but by the time his train reached Washington the telegraph informed him that he had succeeded in his goal of reaching an audience wider than the men and women standing in the cemetery that day. Lincoln had spoken to the people of all ages, including our generation and future generations: "A new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. . . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom. . . . and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."[26]

And Martin Luther King, Jr. experienced pathos. He was born in Atlanta, the son of a successful Baptist minister, a stubborn, and proud man. "M.L. " was a sensitive child, and the humiliation of segregation caused him great pain. One day his father took him downtown to purchase the child a new pair of shoes. They sat down in empty seats near the front of the store. Soon, a young clerk came and explained that they would have to move to the back. "There's nothing wrong with these seats," Rev. King said. "We're quite comfortable here." Flustered, the clerk said, "I'm sorry, but you'll have to move." Rev. King snapped: "We'll either buy shoes sitting here, or we won't buy shoes at all." They left and the father said: "I don't care how long I have to live with this system, I will never accept it."

When he was in the eleventh grade, Martin and his female speech teacher went on the bus to a distant town in Georgia to a speech contest. On the return, the bus became crowded and the driver came back and told them they would have to stand. King refused to move. The driver threatened him and called him names. Finally he gave in; he and his teacher stood the remainder of the trip. "That night will never leave my mind, " he said. " it was the angriest I have ever been in my life."[27]

The summer he was fifteen he worked on a tobacco farm in Connecticut. Returning home to enroll in Morehouse College in the fall, he took the train. Through New York and New Jersey he ate in the dining car with the other passengers, but when he sat down in the same car in Virginia, the waiter ordered him to move to a rear table and pulled down a curtain to separate him from the white passengers. He stared at the curtain, unable to believe that other people found him so offensive. "I felt," he said, "as though the curtain had dropped on my selfhood."[28]

He graduated from college, studied at Crozer Theological Seminary, and earned a Ph. D. at Boston University. There he met Coretta Scott, a student at the New England Conservatory of Music. Their first date was for lunch and on the way home he declared: "The four things that I look for in a wife are character, intelligence, personality and beauty, and you have them all. I want to see you again." Astounded, she replied that she would have to check her calendar.[29]

King's reading and studying convinced him that Gandhi's nonviolence was the only way for oppressed people to resist collective evil. Rejecting hatred, he combined nonviolence with the love of Southern black religion. "The chain of hatred must be cut," he reflected, "when it is broken, brotherhood can begin." He became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery in 1954, and

fifteen months later emerged as the leader of the boycott of city buses.[30]

The city buses in Montgomery were the only means of transportation for thousands of local black people. The white bus drivers would make black people pay at the front of the bus, step off, and reboard through the back door. Sometimes, the driver would take off and the bus would roar away before they could get on again. The first four rows were reserved with a "Whites Only" sign. If all the front seats were taken and more white passengers entered the bus, blacks in the unreserved section had to turn their seats over to them. If a white took a seat beside a black, the black person had to stand, because bus company regulations prohibited white and black passengers from sitting together. If a black found the unreserved section full and the white section empty, he had to stand in the aisle, staring at the empty white seats. A city ordinance enforced all of this, and violators were to be fined and jailed.[31]

Late in the afternoon on Thursday, December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a tailor's assistant in a department store was on her way home. She had gone shopping after work and was tired. She sat in the black section of the bus. The white section filled and the driver ordered her to stand and give her seat to a white man. She refused and was arrested. What King later called "The Miracle of Montgomery" had begun. Black leaders organized the Montgomery Improvement Association and elected him president.[32]

Four nights after Rosa Park's arrest, the association held a mass meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church. There was not an empty seat in the sanctuary; the crowd spilled into the aisles and through the doorways in back. There were preliminary songs and speeches and finally King stood at the pulpit, looking out over a row of television cameras at the sea of expectant faces.[33]

"We're here this evening for serious business," he said. "We're here in a general sense because first and foremost, we are American citizens, and we are determined to acquire our citizenship to the fullness of its meaning. We are here also because of our deep-seated belief that democracy transformed from thin paper to thick action is the greatest from of government on earth."[34]

Then he recounted what had happened to Rosa Parks, seated on the platform behind him, and he told how blacks had suffered abuses and indignities on the city buses for years. "But there comes a time when people get tired. We are here this evening to say to those who have mistreated us so long that we are tired—tired of being segregated and humiliated; tired of being kicked about by the brutal feet of oppression."[35]

According to Taylor Branch in the recent biography *Parting the Waters*, a flock of "yeses" rose in the crowd. Then, "suddenly, the individual responses dissolved into a rising cheer and applause exploded beneath the cheer—all within the space of a second. The startling noise rolled on and on, like a wave that refused to break, and just when it seemed that the roar must finally weaken, a wall of sound came in from the enormous crowd outdoors to push the volume still higher. Thunder seemed to be added to the lower register— the sound of feet stomping on the wooden floor—until the loudness became something that was not so much heard as it was sensed

by vibrations in the lungs. The giant cloud of noise shook the building and refused to go away. One sentence had let it loose somehow, pushing the call-and-reponse of the Negro church service past the din of a political rally and on to something that King had never known before."[36]

He continued speaking, calling for unity, nonviolence and love for white people. His voice was falling on the assembled throng, but like Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, and other great American leaders he was speaking to a larger audience. Pathos enabled him to speak for oppressed people everywhere. "If we protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in the future, somebody will have to say, 'There lived a race of people, of black people, of people who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights. And thereby they injected a new meaning into the veins of history and civilization.'"[37]

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J. Edgar Hoover: America's G-Man

by John Prescott Kappas

During a heated controversy with Governor Grant Sawyers of Nevada, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stated, "As long as I am Director of this Bureau, any attack upon an FBI employee who is dutifully carrying out his official responsibilities will be considered an attack upon me personally."[1] This eloquent refutation of the governor's criticisms perhaps best exemplifies Hoover's commitment to the men he led. FBI agents were set apart from the average nine-to-five bureaucrats employed in most other agencies of the government. They belonged to an elite corps that was dedicated to federal law enforcement and the preservation of America's traditional values. FBI men were expected to follow their leader's own forceful directives regarding hairstyles, dress, actions and morals. These aspects reflected Hoover's intense belief in the maintenance of the conservative image so often equated with time-honored American attributes. This standard's effect on the FBI's overall public image played a major role in the agency's subsequent development.

A chronological study of the FBI parallels the life of its most renowned and successful director, J. Edgar Hoover. Born into a middle-class Washington, D.C. family on January 1, 1895, Hoover grew up in the last decade of the Victorian era. At this time the nation's capital was a sleepy southern city of approximately 250,000 inhabitants.[2] Almost everyone in Hoover's immediate family had, at one time or another, worked in the federal bureaucracy. Edgar's father, Dickerson Sr., was a printer for the Coast and Geodetic Survey office. Hoover's older brother, Dickerson Jr., was a supervisory agent for the Steamboat Inspection Service.[3] After graduating with top honors from Central High in 1913, young J. Edgar also purused a career with the government. Hoover served as a clerk at the Library of Congress while working his way through George Washington Law School. This eventually led him to a position as an administrative assistant with the Justice Department in 1917.

As a result of his law degree and recently formed government connections, Hoover quickly rose from a clerical position in the wartime Alien Enemy Bureau of the Justice Department to an office in the recently formed Bureau of Investigation. After becoming assistant director in 1922, Hoover successfully managed several crucial investigations. In the South, for example, a resurgent Ku Klux Klan was threatening the civil liberties of blacks, and employing intimidation tactics against unfriendly white politicians. Hoover quickly evaluated the situation and found that certain constitutional rights were indeed being violated. This led Hoover to take legal action against the guilty parties. Southern grand juries, however, refused to indict the accused individuals. Sensing a roadblock, the resourceful

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Hoover turned to investigating the sexual habits of the Klan's Imperial Kleagle, Edward Y. Clarke. This action revealed Clarke's extensive involvement in an interstate white slavery operation. Hoover quickly realized that Clarke could be prosecuted for violations of the 1910 Mann Act. This federal law made it a crime to participate in any action that promoted the transportation of women across state lines for immoral purposes. On March 10, 1924, Clarke was convicted for violations of this Act and fined $5,000.[4] Some historians contend that the sexual aspects of this incident were instrumental in shaping the character of future civil rights investigations.[5] In later cases involving civil rights issues, Hoover would usually order an investigation of a suspect's sexual habits if all other avenues of prosecution were exhausted.

Hoover's early career witnessed a wide assortment of corruption in the Bureau of Investigation. One particular agent epitomized the department's venal record. Gaston B. Means was an unscrupulous opportunist when he joined the bureau in 1921. His early life included several scandals and one alleged murder. Means also helped the Harding administration spy on various political opponents, including those who were involved in the Teapot Dome investigations. In violation of Prohibition laws, he sold "B permits" to bootleggers and thus allowed them to trade impounded liquor overseas.[6]

When Harding died in 1923, much of Mean's influence was beginning to wane. Attorney General Daugherty was fired by President Calvin Coolidge on March 28, 1924, and Bureau chief William Burns was forced to resign by the newly appointed Attorney General, Harlan Fiske Stone. On May 10, 1924, twenty-nine year old Hoover was appointed to replace Burns as Director of the Bureau of Investigation. One of his first acts upon assuming office was to fire Gaston Means, a move that would be repeated with steady frequency whenever an agent violated Hoover's strict code of conduct.

Hoover's ascendency to the top position in the bureau resulted in a drastic restructuring of the organization. Corrupt agents were fired, political appointments were eliminated and a merit-based personnel system was formed. These actions mirrored Hoover's personal belief in the Protestant work ethic and scientific management. No longer would the bureau be a depository for political hacks and corrupt bureaucrats. Instead, out of the ashes of the Harding administration, an agency rose that was dedicated to the preservation of internal security through the application of clean, efficient law enforcement techniques. With this unity of purpose firmly in place, the image of America's incorruptible crime fighter, the G-man, was born.

The FBI's war against the Midwestern bandits of the 1930s reinforced this image through its personification of the G-man as a "gangbuster." The most famous outlaw of the period was the notorious killer John Dillinger. This "public enemy" represented everything that was evil to J. Edgar Hoover. Not only did he rob banks, he also killed any bystander who stood in his way. From September, 1933, until July, 1934, Dillinger left a trail of bloodshed and destruction through the heart of the Midwest. He was responsible for the murder of ten men and the plun-

dering of four banks and three police arsenals.[7] Dillinger openly flaunted his contempt for authority by recklessly using his Tommy gun to gain the release of incorrigible prisoners from three correctional facilities.

Dillinger's violation of the 1919 Dyer Act, which made interstate car theft a federal offense, initiated the FBI's investigation of his case in early 1934. Relentlessly pursued across several states by the FBI's Midwest bureau chief Melvin Purvis and the nationwide director of the "Dillinger squad," Inspector Samuel Cowley, Dillinger remained at large until July 22, 1934, when he was fatally shot to death by FBI agents outside Chicago's Biograph Theater.[8]

Incidents like this restored public confidence in the federal government's ability to uphold law and order. It also allowed Hoover to build the FBI into the effective law enforcement agency he always envisioned. On May 19, 1934, partly as a result of certain incidents occurring in the still unresolved Dillinger case, President Roosevelt signed the first six in a series of crime bills that dramatically increased the bureau's ability to enforce federal laws.[9] These acts allowed FBI agents to exercise broader powers, and also inspired the public to embrace the full aura of the *G-man* persona. Hollywood produced an avalanche of movies that heralded the noble deeds of Hoover's "fair-haired boys." The most popular was the 1935 crime drama *G-man*, starring James Cagney. This film cast Hoover in the light of "Public Hero No. 1," leading the fight against outlaws like Dillinger and also battling Congress for more federal crime bills.[10]

The infamous John Dillinger affair was not the only case that helped build the FBI's public image during the 1930s. The bureau's apprehension of the brutal kidnapper George "Machine Gun" Kelly gave FBI agents the popular title of "G-men."[11] According to official FBI history, agents apprehended Kelly and his wife in Memphis, Tennessee on September 26, 1933. The FBI had been tracking the couple for their part in the July 23 kidnapping of Oklahoma oil man Charles Urschel. When agents entered the house where Kelly and his wife were hiding, the trapped criminal pleaded for mercy and screamed "Don't shoot, G-men! Don't shoot!"[12] From this point on, G-man, an abbreviation of the term "Government man," quickly became a Hollywood synonym for FBI agent.

The other bandits of the 1930s, like Lester "Baby Face" Nelson, Charles Arthur "Pretty Boy" Floyd and "Creepy" Alvin Karpis, further typified the FBI's struggle against the purveyors of immorality and un-American ideals. This conflict was eventually expanded into a broader context with the arrival of World War II. The passage of the Smith Act in 1940 allowed the FBI to crack down on communist and fascist subversives in ways that were not previously possible. The Smith Act made it unlawful to support the overthrow of the United States government or to belong to any group that advocated such aims.[13] Much of the success of the FBI in keeping the nation free of sabotage before and during the war lay with the bureau's diligent attempts to enforce this law.

During this period the FBI developed its image as a "spycatcher" unit. Hoover saw to it that FBI counter-espionage efforts operated smoothly and effectively. FBI agents were the last line of defense in a world seething with totalitarian ideologies.

Hoover stressed this point again and again so that people would appreciate the homefront contributions of the FBI.

One particular incident that epitomized the G-man's success in combatting foreign espionage was the capture of the Long Island German spy group. In June, 1942, a German U-boat landed eight Nazi saboteurs on a Long Island beach. The contingent had orders to spread confusion and disrupt industry along America's East Coast. Within days of the group's landing, the FBI was aware of their presence. One of the German agents, George Dasch, apparently realizing the futility of continuing the operation, surrendered himself and the rest of the group to FBI authorities.[14] One of the few German espionage teams to successfully penetrate U.S. borders during World War II had been soundly crushed.

This episode coincided with another FBI triumph which occurred before the United States actually became involved in the war. In September, 1939, a German-American named William Sebold agreed to work with the FBI in capturing Abwehr agents operating in the United States. For almost two years prior to the nation's entry into World War II, Sebold made contacts with certain espionage agents who were trying to pass information back to Germany. Unbeknownst to the spies was the fact that Sebold and the FBI were patiently compiling a list of all agents who made contact with Sebold. The G-men used a hidden camera to film every covert information transfer that occurred at Sebold's office on 42nd Street. By June, 1941, the FBI had amassed enough evidence to arrest thirty-three German agents, the largest spy roundup in American history.[15]

The portrayal of these incidents in movies like *"The House on 92nd Street"* reinforced the public's image of G-men. FBI agents stood toe-to-toe with home-grown renegades like Dillinger, while also holding their own against skillfully trained foreigners operating illegally in the United States.

Following World War II, G-men began to fill a more defined role in the counter-espionage context. They were involved in extensive investigations and subsequent screenings of federal employees who were suspected of having disloyal tendencies.

In 1947, Hoover delivered a masterful presentation before the House un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) that denounced "liberal indifference" to the communist threat.[16] He further stated that the diminutive size of the American Communist Party was of no consequence to its relative menace. During the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, there was one communist for every 2,277 persons living in Russia. By contrast, in the United States of the late 1940s, there was one communist for every 1,814 persons.[17] This sobering statistic clearly illustrated the severity of the communist menace to American society. It also gave Hoover the necessary leverage he needed to enforce the provisions of the Smith Act against Communist Party members. By the mid-1950s, the American Communist Party had been soundly crushed as a political party and removed to the status of a "foreign agency," thus destroying any constitutional protection it once enjoyed.

Most Hoover biographers view this period in FBI history as the point in which Hoover was able to resurrect his old fight against the communists. This conflict had been dormant since the Palmer Raids of 1919, and Hoover was anxious to

reestablish his predominance in this area. In 1958 he published a book entitled *Masters of Deceit* which told the story of communism in America and suggested ways to fight it. In the text, Hoover presented much of the information on Communist Party tactics he had compiled during his early days as a clerk in the Justice Department. He pointed out the effectiveness of communist influence in front organizations and their attempts to infiltrate key positions of authority in the government.[18] To most Americans of the era, this book was the definitive source of information on the bureau's fight against subversion.

As indicated earlier, Hoover viewed the Cold War as a moral conflict between the forces of good and the forces of evil. As such, G-men were expected to follow a strict moral code in terms of both actions and appearance. Much of this behavior was inculcated at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, usually referred to as the West Point of law enforcement.[19] Agents were taught to always follow the proper points of etiquette in manner of dress, style and social interaction.[20] All G-men were required to wear dark, conservative suits with white shirts and matching ties. Shoes were always to be kept shined and hair was to be freshly trimmed. Although agents were permitted to smoke in the office, the public display of any vices such as smoking, drinking, gambling or womanizing was frowned upon by Hoover. In fact, the movie industry was encouraged to portray G-men in a way favorable to Hoover's wishes. Most actors that played the part of G-men had to first be approved by Hoover. This selection process ensured the accurate representation of FBI agents in America's popular film culture.

The generally conservative period of the late 1950s was a conducive time for Hoover. The FBI's domestic intelligence operations were well-received by the public and the image of the G-man that Hoover had worked so hard to build remained virtually unblemished. In 1962 Hoover published *A Study of Communism*, an updated expansion of his previous book *Masters of Deceit*. He highlighted the contrast between the freedom Americans enjoy and the oppression communist society implements.[21] Hoover also elaborated on his perception of the Cold War as a battle between light and dark.

The Kennedy years ushered in a period of inter-governmental political friction for Hoover's FBI. Attorney General Robert Kennedy's failure to follow accepted administrative protocol caused Hoover to develop a pronounced dislike for any aspect of the infant sixties youth culture. Agents were censured for not wearing hats (evidently a countermeasure to John Kennedy's refusal to wear a hat at official gatherings) and needing haircuts.[22] Hoover insisted that his agents keep themselves above the growing popular fads and remain loyal to traditional norms. He viewed both Robert and John Kennedy as threats to his agency's public image. Having men with the questionable backgrounds of the Kennedys in positions of power irritated Hoover. He was constantly reminded of the affair John Kennedy had during World War II with a suspected Nazi agent named Inga Arvad.[23] The written transcripts of the FBI surveillance records indicated that Kennedy openly discussed military affairs during his illicit sexual encounters.[24] This blatant breach of security led Hoover to regard Kennedy with a suspicious eye during his tenure in the White

House.

The conflict between Hoover and the Kennedys symbolized an even greater schism in American society. The early 1960s witnessed a decline of traditional middle-class values and their replacement, at least in the federal government, with a culturally relative perspective that advocated the implementation of immense social welfare programs designed to aid the poor. This particular mindset found support from the theories of Lloyd Ohlin and Richard Cloward, authors of *Delinquency and Opportunity*. Their study held that crime was the result of the poor aspiring to reach the status of middle-class Americans. The general premise of this theory was strongly defended by the New Frontier liberals in the Kennedy administration and certain intellectuals in academia.[25] J. Edgar Hoover viewed the ideological basis for such an idea as inherently un-American and thus dangerous to societal order.

To combat the forces of change, Hoover exercised more control over the private lives of agents.[26] This was an attempt to preserve the elitist image of the bureau and stress to the public the FBI's unwavering commitment to traditional norms. Hoover insisted that FBI regulations governing G-men's marriage plans be rigidly enforced along with rules relating to an agent's social life. Conservative traditionalists quickly adopted Hoover as their official role model. To them, as well as many other middle Americans, Hoover symbolized consistency in an ever-changing world of turbulence.

During the late 1960s, the public image of the G-man suffered devastating attacks from violent anti-establishment forces. New Left groups like the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Weather Underground increased the frequency of their verbal assaults on what they termed "America's secret police."[27] Instead of being seen as guardians of freedom, FBI agents were continually saddled with unfair and caustic labels. "Gestapo" and "storm trooper" were just two of the many knee-jerk cynicisms used by opponents of the bureau. William Sullivan, director of the bureau's domestic intelligence operations, saw these insults as indicative of the New Left's attack on symbols of American authority.[28] Businessmen, policemen and most government officials were also targeted for the same type of abuse.

Despite the criticism dealt by certain sectors of society, network television maintained the G-man's flawless image through shows like ABC's *The FBI*.[29] The popular series starred the handsome and conservative actor Efram Zimbalist Jr. in the role of FBI Inspector Louis Erskine. His character personified all the positive qualities Hoover sought to promote about FBI agents. Erskine was quick-witted, polite, moral and traditional, attributes that were admired by a large part of the viewing public.[30] The show successfully ran for nine years and attracted over forty million weekly viewers. It stood as testament to the public popularity of the traditional G-man image.

Hoover's death in 1972 signaled the end of an era for FBI agents. During most of the 1970s, the bureau's reputation was tarnished by baseless charges emanating from vindictive media sources and post-Watergate Congressmen. An emasculation

of the FBI's responsibilities and powers precipitated a decline in the G-man mystique. Critical Hollywood productions tried to reshape the overall public perception of the bureau.

Yet, even with this superficial decline in status, the FBI continues to maintain its image as an effective law enforcement agency. G-men are slowly regaining the public adulation they once enjoyed under Hoover. Perhaps this legacy is what distinguishes the FBI from most other government departments. It is an agency that not only embodies the essence of Americanism, it also retains the character of its greatest leader.

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IMPERIALISM[1]: SOME OBSERVATIONS

by W. Frank Steely

A.J.P. Taylor, Britain's best known historian since the death of Toynbee, has written, "Imperialism is as old as civilization."[2] In fact every high civilization that arose in ancient times practiced imperialism. From China and India in East Asia to the nations of the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile Valleys in the Mid and Near East, the more powerful tended to absorb their weaker neighbors. If we wished, we could discover similar expansionism on the part of pre-historic cultures such as the Mayans, Aztecs and Incas (not to mention the Iroquois) in the pre-Columbian Americas. Before European powers carved up Africa, native tribes imposed their rule on each other.

All of the preceding is simply by way of saying that imperialism is not an aberration, as George Kennan thought it was, for America in her turn-of-the-century acquisition of the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, and as many dreamers in the Western World would imply, of the West's imposition of its rule on Asian and African peoples in the nineteenth century. It is the absence of imperialistic practices on the part of powerful states which constitutes aberrant behaviour.

In modern history there have been two major imperialistic eras, both of them consisting of European expansion onto other continents. The so-called "Old Imperialism" may be dated from 1492 to 1776. The dates indicate the events marking the beginning and the end of the era. They also indicate that the areas taken by European powers were North and South America. It was the American Revolution which marked the beginning of the end of the Old Imperialisim.

Since the language a people speak is the most important characteristic of their entire culture (it brings in its train other elements such as literature, religion, and law) it may be said that all of the New World was Europeanized. Every nation in the Americas speaks a European tongue; we are entirely Westernized – a part of Western Civilization, even though all substantive characteristics of the old European imperialism have disappeared from the hemisphere. (There is here a new imperialism we shall note later.)

In the nineteenth century we had the era of the "New Imperialism" of Western Civilization. Africa and Asia were carved up. Independent states, save for Ethiopia and Liberia, disappeared from the African continent. In China spheres of influence were staked out by the expansionists. Elsewhere in Asia old colonial holdings were consolidated, such as British India and the Dutch East Indies; and some new powers, America and Japan, staked claims.

By the end of the 19th century European enthusiasm for imperialistic adventuring was very much on the wane. Woodrow Wilson's call for "self-determination" of peoples (one of his 14 points) was reflected in such developments as the League

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Mandate system in the post World War I period. In the 1930s the United States committed itself to independence for its major colony, the Philippines. Although older European powers dragged their feet, until long after World War II in some instances, it was clear to the Roosevelts and the Mountbattens, if not to the Churchills, that the nineteenth century had ended. Americans, even our chief imperialist Teddy Roosevelt, had lost their stomach for imperialism almost as soon as we acquired the spoils of the Spanish-American War.

Only the totalitarian powers bred by fascism and communism undertook to give old-fashioned imperialism a new lease on life in this century. Militiaristic Japan led the way with the seizure of Manchuria from China in 1931.[3] Later in the decade and in the 1940s Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, and the Soviet Union would absorb and carve up most of the rest of Eastern Europe while Nippon promoted its "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." With the defeat of the Axis Powers in World War II, the communist expansion remained the only remnant of the totalitarian imperialisms hatched in the 20th century.

Having attempted to define imperialism and to sketch its history, albeit in a ridiculously brief fashion, it is appropriate at this point historically to examine, also briefly and in general, its nature. The historical approach to knowledge is always a good way to attack a problem, so one should ask what caused imperialism in the first instance.

Ancient writers may have been as sophisticated as any later commentators when thousands of years ago they listed greed, fear, and covetousness as motives for aggression against one's neighbors. We know that the Roman Empire conquered some areas to secure her borders. This search for border security can be a never ending project; as was said of the Soviet Union after World War II, she wanted "friendly neighbors of friendly neighbors of friendly neighbors on her border." To her the only "friendly neighbors" were communist satellite dictatorships. United States imperialism in the late 19th century involved a number of motives. There was the desire for insular possessions as coaling stations for a new steam powered navy. Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan told us we must have these in his epochal work, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon World History.* His direct influence upon Teddy Roosevelt is well documented.

Protestant missionaries wielded great influence as they sang Lowell Mason's hymn: "Shall we whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high/Shall we to men benighted the lamp of life deny." Let it not be forgotten that Americans sought to liberate Cuba from Latin, Catholic Spain and place her under the Protestant, Anglo-Saxon United States. President McKinley told a group of ministers that he prayed about keeping the Philippines, and that God told him that we ought to "take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died."

It is sometimes difficult for a secular world, and today's academic community is often militantly secular, to understand the religious motivation of medieval crusaders, Jesuit torturers of Protestants, Puritan witch-burners, and Methodist

imperialists like McKinley. However, one can never understand history until he is able to recreate the way of thinking of other peoples in other climes– the "climate of opinion" as Carl Becker described it.[4]

Unfortunately sometimes mixed with the missionary impulse was racism. Can you even believe in the sincerity of racists while you condemn their prejudices? Kipling talked about "taking up the White Man's burden" to civilize "lesser breeds without the law." He meant by this last categorization any people beyond "the channel," including the French and Americans! As a newlywed he had lived for a short time in New England. Perhaps if he had lived in the Southern states he would have felt more kindly toward us.

Certainly part of our motivation to claim distant lands is to be found in the very fact that it was the fashion of the age of the late nineteenth century. Other countries were doing it. Although our continental expanse was too great to encourage us to seek more square mileage just for the sake of making a bigger splash on the world map, we were concerned at the expansion of other countries, especially the two new powers whose rise parallelled ours in the century: Germany and Japan. Had we not taken the Philippines we had reason to believe one or the other of those powers would seize them. Our concern for the Caribbean area in the immediate pre-World War I period was motivated by the swashbuckling behaviour of Imperial Germany and its be-mustached, sabre-rattling Kaiser Wilhelm II. We bought the Virgin Islands because we sought to have defensive insular possessions to protect our new Panama Canal. Our concerns in the Caribbean were basically strategic rather than economic.[5] If the United States was motivated by economic factors or devoid of altruistic motives why did we get out of Cuba in 1901 and again, after a three year interval, in 1909? We went into the Caribbean to stabilize, not to exploit.

It would be naive to fail to see the *varied* reasons for imperialism throughout history, to assume a monistic interpretation. At the same time it would be equally naive to fail to credit the importance of that most often advanced monistic view, the economic factor. After all, the most common reason governments gave for colonial acquisitions in the era of the "Old Imperialism" was the mercantile theory or mercantilism. The argument was advanced that a nation's wealth consisted in the surplus gold and silver accumulated through international trade. To accumulate more you founded colonies which produced goods you could not produce at home and would otherwise have to buy from rival nations.

All thirteen of the original English colonies in North America had some economic basis for their founding. Note the role of joint stock companies; and remember the tendency of the British Parliament in pre-Revolutionary debates to equate the colonies with joint stock companies, a characterization which is certainly suggestive.

But can anyone discuss English motives for colonizing and omit Roger Williams, or Cecilius Calvert, or William Penn? Try to find economic motivation in "The Bloody Tenent [sic] of Persecution" if you will.

Few scholars these days embrace the theory of V.I. Lenin in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* when in 1916 he reasserted Rosa Luxemburg's idea

that Western capitalism had prolonged its life by expanding into colonial areas. He said capitalism would perish if deprived of its colonial domains.[6] It was believed that capitalism led to monopoly, which led to overproduction. Colonies (imperialism) were necessary to market this surplus. Also labor was cheaper in the colonies and therefore profits were greater. Industrial nations might need the colonies to provide certain raw materials and as places to invest surplus capital. Disciples of Lenin believe that it is important to "liberate" colonial peoples as this will cause capitalism to perish in industrial states which exploit the colonies. The Soviet Union has never renounced its right to aid "wars of national liberation."[7] Their aid inevitably takes the form of attempting to gain military and political control of the country in revolution. Observe the inconsistency of practicing imperialism themselves in order to destroy imperialism![8] It is ironic that the most rigorous denunciation of imperialism today comes from the one country which is the last of the old-fashioned imperialist powers, Russia. Fewer than half the people of the Soviet Union are Russians. In addition to obvious Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and other European peoples whose countries they occupy, there are some 50 million Moslems and untold Mongolian and other Asiatics in the Asian portions of the Soviet Empire.

To level the charge of economic motivation at the imperialism of Western powers in the 19th century is to ignore an emphasis of Professor G.A. Shepperson that "contemporary agents of European expansion often gave an economic construction to their motives. Sometimes this was done consciously as a veil for political and nationalist aims, support for which could only be obtained from reluctant but influential groups whose main spur to action was the appeal of economics."[9]

Leninist interpreters of imperialism should take time to reread more carefully Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations.* The founder of classical economics was certainly anti-imperialist in his views. He insisted that imperialism never benefited the entire nation which practiced it. Perhaps a few profited, but not the nation as a whole. It is equally instructive to examine the attitudes of business groups toward wars, in this case toward the most imperialistic of American wars, the Spanish-American. The national chamber of commerce was strongly opposed to our entry into that conflict. And remember the War of 1812 in which the center of commerce in the young nation, New England, threatened secession over "Mr. Madison's War." This is not to mention the threat of New York City to secede from the Union over the commerical losses she suffered in the Civil War.

In reality modern Western capitalistic society is the only major civilization in history to oppose war and its sometime concurrent development, imperialism. Throughout history, only the middle class fathered a pacifist movement! Lenin was wrong and contemporary communists are wrong when they see capitalism as fathering imperialism and war. Communism like Fascism is a throwback to a less civilized age; the possession of private property encourages man to desire peace with his neighbors, tranquillity rather than foreign adventurism.

Endnotes

1. Definitions of imperialism as considered in this article were chosen from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*. The first cited is "... extending rule over foreign countries ... acquiring and holding distant dependencies." The second calls imperialism "... the seeking or the acquiescing in the extension of the control of nations by the acquirement of new territory or dependencies."

Implicit in these definitions is the rejection of the idea that capitalistic investments in poor nations by rich nations is *prima facie* "imperialism." If such definition were acceptable the United States was a part of the British Empire at least until World War II. Obviously, when military intervention follows economic penetration you then have "imperialism." This author often defines an empire as a political entity in which outlying areas do not have the same political and other rights which are possessed by the original territory. By this definition the United States evolved as a republic rather than an empire when the Congress of the Articles of Confederation enacted the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

2. A.J.P. Taylor, "The Meanings of Imperialism" in William Roger Louis, *Imperialism* (New York, 1976), 197.

3. Akira Iriye in "Robinson and Gallagher in the Far East: Japanese Imperialism" in Louis, *Imperialism*, 225, characterizes the Japanese aggression as "a momentous event in the history of interactions among peoples. Hitherto basically a unilinear movement of men, ideas, and influence from the West to the non-West, imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century took new turns. Asia became a land where Western imperialism met its non-Western counterpart."

4. Ernest R. May, "Robinson and Gallagher in American Imperialism," in Louis, *Imperialism*, 227, notes the role of anti-Catholic Protestant ministers and Cuban propagandists in getting us into the Spanish-American War.

5. Ibid. The United States worked only to assure that Americans were not excluded in the race for colonies.

6. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Collected Works, XIX, 1942).

7. If the tyranny instituted by communist "liberators" is compared with the tyranny they displace most impartial observers would choose the old tyranny as the more bearable. As was said of the Czarist regime, it was at least "tyranny tempered by inefficiency."

8. This is a bit like Teddy Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine; it used a doctrine originally written in opposition to intervention to justify our intervention in several Caribbean states.

9. G.A. Shepperson, "Africa, The Victorians and Imperialism," in Louis, *Imperialism*, 165.

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