Anti-German Sentiment in Madison and St. Clair Counties: 1916-1919

Adams

DUE DATE

Anti-German Sentiment in Madison And

St. Clair Counties: 1916-1919

(TITLE)

BY

Frank Glen Adams

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1966
YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE

August 3, 1966
DATE

Donald F. Tingley
ADVISER

Aug 3 1966
DATE

DEPARTMENT HEAD

CONTENTS

PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is an attempt to review events in Madison and St. Clair Counties in Illinois which contributed to an anti-German feeling in these counties during the period 1916-1919.

Several minor events occurred during the period covered by this paper, but one outstanding occurrence seems to be a culmination of anti-German feeling during World War I in the two counties and in the state. No single occurrence caused so much concern in Illinois, the United States and Germany as did the lynching of Robert P. Prager, a German alien, in Collinsville, Illinois on the night of April 5, 1918.

The "Prager lynching" would not have been possible without a strong conditioning of the townspeople to foresake law and order for uncontrolled mob action in the name of justice and patriotism. The fact that most injustices to individuals during 1916-1919 occurred in the name of loyalty and patriotism gives an additional scope to this thesis. Patriotism is an attitude--a feeling one has toward his country, and it is difficult to measure a feeling until it manifests itself into an event.

Woodrow Wilson expressed a fear that a... "spirit of ruthless brutality" might infect... "the Congress, the Courts, the policeman on the beat, the man on the street."[1] The Wilson Administration, especially cabinet officers attempted to have Congress pass legislation to control every phase of American attitudes through laws to curb speech, press, and even to some extent religious worship, but to this writer the laws were found to be only partly responsible for the intensity of the anti-German feelings in the two counties studied.[2]

The urgency to have Germans Americanized might have been more successful had the process started earlier. In some ways the general situation which culminated in the lynching of Robert Paul Prager was not the only approach to alien problems, nor was it the most radical movement experienced in the two counties. It was at best a tardy approach to problems without recognition of local animosities.

The writer has used a topical rather than chronological approach to this paper, because many expressions of anti-

---

[1]Harry N. Scheiber, The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties: 1917-1921 (New York: 1960), vii.

[2]J. G. Randall, The Civil War and Reconstruction (Boston: 1937), 414-16; W. A. Dunning, "Disloyalty in Two Wars," American Historical Review, XXIV, (1919), 625-30. These works compare the intensity of Lincoln's and Wilson's wartime legislation dealing with civil liberties.

German attitudes followed no order, but were rather sporadic. Federal laws also influenced public opinion as did state laws, but on the other hand public opinion influenced legislation.

This thesis is the result of weeks of work at various libraries, newspaper offices, and through personal interviews with prominent individuals in the area. Whenever personal interviews were not possible the individuals were gracious enough to answer questions through letters. It is not possible to make a complete listing of every organization or individual who has contributed to my findings. However, several significant contributions were made by Leon Church, editor of the Lebanon, Illinois Advertiser; Mr. Ralph Adams, my father, and a member of Howard's Commonwealth Family for over ten years during 1919-1930; J. Dan House, Manager of Advertising, General Steel Industries, Incorporated, Granite City, Illinois, Staff: Criminal Records, Madison County Circuit Clerk, Edwardsville, Illinois; Mrs. Louise Ahrens of the Madison County Historical Museum; and Mr. C.A. Stickler, President, Alton Historical Society. Several organizations were very helpful in directing me to special cases to be studied. Among those most helpful were The Illinois State Historical Society, the library staffs at the Granite City Public Library, the East St. Louis Public Library, the Collinsville Public Library,

the Madison County Historical Society, the St. Clair County Historical Society, and the State Historical Library at Springfield. My gratitude goes out to my wife, Linda, who has shared the frustrations of endless hours of searching through mountains of data for this paper and to Mrs. Marlene (Beaumont) Kincaid who typed many drafts of this paper.

I

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE GERMAN AMERICAN ELEMENT

From the eighteen thirties until after the Civil War German immigrants poured into the United States. They were located throughout the northern portion of the country in a belt-like region stretching from Pennsylvania to the western boundary of Iowa.[1] They did not come in a constant stream, rather they came in fluctuating cycles depending upon the oppressiveness of the political and religious situation in Germany. In 1848 the immigrants were mostly made up of political exiles, including many men of unusual talents who almost at once captured the leadership of the German American element. These university professors, physicians, lawyers, newspapermen, and even a few aristocrats encouraged a sense of the past in the hearts of German Americans everywhere.[2] This new

---

[1] Edward Alsworth Ross, The Old World In The New, (New York, 1914), 46.

[2] Ibid., 47, 50, 52. Ross maintained that immigrants of 1848 were largely intellectuals who dreamed of a "Little Germany" in Illlinois, but those coming after 1870 lost themselves to the American political dream of personal freedom. Ross also proposed that the earlier immigrants, called Forty-Eighters because they arrived in 1848, were largely from Brandenburg, Prussia. They allegedly came to the United States to escape the political turmoil of consolidating all German principalities into one state.

"Renaissance" of German culture had a marked effect upon German communities throughout the United States as journalists printed German language newspapers, and cultural societies developed in almost every German American community.

The German element in Belleville, Mascoutah, New Baden, and Lebanon in St. Clair County, and East St. Louis, Alton, Collinsville, and Maryville in Madison County transplanted a great deal of the German culture in southwestern Illinois. By 1853 most of these German communities introduced Vereins, [singing societies], Turnevеins, [physical fitness clubs], Germania Bunds, [cultural societies], and German Catholic, Methodist, and Lutheran churches.[3] For the most part these immigrants had little choice in adapting the German culture, for until they came there was little culture to be found in the open prairies along the Mississippi river bottom. German parochial schools were well established by the time free public education took root in Illinois, and the German communities were well ahead of many others in providing a liberal education for young people. But along with this interest was the concentrated effort to retain the German culture for future generations. Schools and other institutions tried

---

[3]Bobbie Curelon Davies, German Migration to St. Clair County, Illinois, 1830-1865 (unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois, 1949), 5-6.

to copy Germany in every aspect of education, art, literature, and religion. It is not unnatural that many towns took on a particular German characteristic. Homes were built to open directly onto the streets while reserving as much ground as possible for the back garden. Each farm surrounding these trading centers showed the thrift of the German farmer--well kept barns and stock pens, and conservative farming methods.[4] Taverns in the towns served the "light" lagers of Bavaria and Bohemia rather than the stronger drinks, and they were marked by outside beer gardens. Names of towns, streets, and businesses all had a strong leaning toward the old country.[5]

By 1912 the German blood was accredited with running through the veins of one fourth of the population in the United States. Historians and politicians excused these German communities for their lack of Americanization and revered their contributions to the steady economic growth of the states wherein they resided.[6] J. S. Hoerner, in writing the Centennial History of Madison County observed that the Germans "are steadfast in their loved for the old country--

---

[4]Ross, 52.

[5]Ibid., 53.

[6]Belleville Advocate, October 16, 1914, 5; Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1913, 4. Illinois Senator Lawrence Yates Sherman, a critic of Wilson's, lauded the Germans of Illinois as law-abiding, industrious, thrifty, and most desirable as citizens. The recognition of Germans is suggested in Frank C. Lowden, "Illinois, The New Keystone of the Union," Review of Reviews LVII, (March, 1918), 271.

loving it as children love, respect and revere a mother; remembering it as the home of their happy childhood...." Yet, even though they loved Germany, they loved America "as the wife of their choice; and they[knew] that the wife does not blame the son who kindly remembers and honors the mother."[7]

The German element added nothing new to the civil and political liberties already adhered to in the United States, but in personal freedom of thought and conscience their contribution has been valuable as a voice of dissension even though they came under harassment from 1917-1919.[8] During a time when most Americans stifled under a "pall" of war hysteria, the German element refused to give up their traditions for the sake of patriotism, or loyalty. They could not believe that because Germany and the United States were at war all things German were undesirable in their communities. They had, during the 1870's survived charges of "introducing anarchism and socialism into this country, and they had proved themselves as loyal Americans."[9] They could survive the criticisms of irate groups again without changing their German character. But when the European War raged across France in

---

[7]J. S. Hoerner, Centennial History of Madison County (Chicago, 1912), 260.

[8]Ross, 57; Carl F. Wittke, German Americans and the World War, (Columbus, Ohio, 1936), 33-34.

[9]Ibid., 66.

1914, extremists would no longer permit a "little Germany" in the midst of loyal, patriotic Americans.

When the war finally drew the United States to the side of France and Britain in February, 1917, the attitude of the non-Germanic citizens rapidly evolved from admiration of German customs, to toleration, and finally to complete disdain for all things German. Of course, not all German Americans were completely loyal to the American cause. A small minority chose to assist the mother country rather than the wife; and since they were a part of the German element, their actions threw suspicion on all persons of German descent. Throughout the war years the majority were persecuted. In some cases very subtly, but in a few extreme cases at the hands of hysterical mobs. The public opinion, especially in Madison and St. Clair Counties, brought to an end the outward manifestations of the German culture that set it apart from typical American communities.

It was this kind of hysteria that might have infected Levi Mayer, a member of the Chicago Defense Committee, when he initiated a resolution to reduce Germans in the United States to prisoners in their own homes. Speaking before an Americanization Committee of the Department of Interior on April 3, 1918,[10] Mayer proposed that since Illinois Germans

---

[10]U.S. Department of Interior, Americanization as a War Measure, Bulletin No. 18 (Washington, 1918), 5-8. This conference was called to suggest action to promote Americanization through congressional legislation.

"are as much at home as they were in the countries they came from, except that they knew they are no longer in their native countries, but... in Illinois, the United States Congress... should have [all] foreigners in the country denied the right to follow their vocation, whether it be practicing law or practicing medicine, or carrying brick or mortar, or delivering newspapers, unless before a given date... they make application to become United States citizens."[11] Mayer further proposed that all German language newspapers be made to carry propaganda articles issued by the Office of Education and translated into German.

There is little question that German Americans in the United States--though only a minority were guilty--attempted to prevent war with Germany, or after this failed, they tried to prevent the full efforts of United States' participation. There were German Americans who were willing to actively participate in politics to prevent war with Germany; but most of the anti-war movement was a conglomeration of efforts by Germans, socialists, humanitarians, and isolationists which were so intertwined that purely German American efforts

---

[11] Ibid., 24-25. Mayer was quite out of the spirit of conference as outlined by Secretary Franklin K. Lane in his opening speech. "We are not gathered to speak bitterly of others or to speak boastfully of ourselves. We have come to talk together as Americans to find out how there might be made a greater America, a nobler America." Ibid., 13.

are very difficult to decipher from all the rest.[12] In the two counties studied, there were a few efforts by the German element to aid the Kaiser's cause. They were indeed minor movements of which a few examples will suffice to indicate their nature and scope.

In 1916 the newspapers in St. Clair County carried stories of relatives in Germany winning honors in the European War. The Belleville Daily Advocate went so far on January 8, 1916 as to publish a story of Corporal Frederick Meyer of Hamburg being personally awarded the Iron Cross by Emperor William.[13] Similar articles revered the German cause and spoke against the British propaganda agents' efforts to bring the United States into the war against their mother country. Financial contributions sometimes accompanied verbal sentiments. The Germania Bund of Belleville in 1914 organized a drive to collect funds for German soldiers on the front lines, and after considerable effort, the director, Mr. Charles F. Sieb of that city, sent a total of $600.00 to the German Consul in St. Louis, Missouri to be transferred

---

[12]Wittke, 84. German Americans met in Washington to "reestablish genuine American neutrality." The conference, made up of journalists, professors, and German-American congressmen from Missouri and Iowa vowed to support only candidates who "preferred American interests, to those of Britain."

[13]Belleville Daily Advocate, January 8, 1916, 2.

to the German Red Cross in Berlin. Other organizations followed this example with contributions either to relatives back home or to the German Red Cross.[14]

On occasion, protests came from German leaders in Madison County. In 1917, Bishop Janssen, religious leader of the District Verband, condemned the United States for entering the war and was infuriated when Collinsville, Belleville, and East St. Louis dropped the German language from the local schools. He declared such actions a violation of the German American citizens' rights, and unpatriotic to people from Germany.[15]

Charles J. Reuter, president of the Lebanon Gesang Verein, seemed to sum up the German American feelings toward the United States when, shortly before the war, he published his views in the local paper. "Naturally, being a German by birth," he said to a Lebanon Advertiser reporter, "and having many near relatives in that country, I have had a deep

---

[14] Ibid., September 18, 1914, 7. The Germania Bund's contribution was followed by one from the Kronthal-Ledertafal Society of Belleville and East St. Louis for $25.00 to orphan children of Germany, and the German American Alliance donated $30.00 to the German Red Cross; see issues dated October 21, 1914, and October 23, 1917; Jacob Hass and Walter Van Der Wolk of Belleville returned to Germany to enlist as home guards in the army.

[15] Ibid., November 23, 1917, 2.

sympathy for the German cause in the European War."[16] Speaking as a representative of all German Americans in his community, Reuter believed emphatically that Wilson had badly bungled affairs with Germany, but he persisted "our sympathy for Germany in the European struggle has, and can have, no bearing upon our attitude should America and Germany actively break. As we [German Americans] repeatedly proved our loyalty in the past we will again demonstrate our Americanism in the future...."[17]

As the road to World War I continued, everything of the German tradition became suspect. But if the brief survey taken by the Lebanon Advertiser February 8, 1917 can be construed as a measure of the loyalty of the German Americans in Madison and St. Clair Counties, then most of the animosity against them was both unnecessary and unjust.

The paper surveyed over fifty German Americans in Lebanon with just four questions. Businessmen, professional men, farmers, skilled workmen, and laborers in the random sample were all German Americans.

---

[16] Lebanon Advertiser, February 9, 1917, 1; Reuter's views should be compared with those of the Chicago Peoples Council of America for Democracy which formed branch organizations in East St. Louis and Belleville. However, the American Protective League, and the Espionage Act of 1917 squelched pro-German organizations; see Belleville Daily Advocate, September 14, 1917, 2.

[17] Ibid., February 9, 1917, 1; Leon Church, Editor of Lebanon Advertiser to Frank G. Adams, December 18, 1965.

"1. Have your sympathies been with Germany in the European War?
2. Do you believe that present conditions warrant war between the U.S. and Germany?
3. If War between Germany and the U.S. should become necessary to preserve our national honor and to protect our people, would you favor it?
4. If such a war were declared would the fact that Germany instead of some other country was the foe, affect your loyalty to the U.S.?"[18]

The Advertiser found that 88 per cent of the German Americans favored Germany in the European War; 93 per cent believed the relations between the United States and Germany did not warrant war; but, 100 per cent of those questioned favored war... "if it did become necessary to protect America's honor and people."[19] One hundred per cent also stated they would remain loyal to the United States if America entered the conflict.

For the Germans in Madison and St. Clair Counties this survey marks the final attempt at a logical or objective view of the true feelings of the German American population in either county.[20] In the next few months, discriminating laws and mob violence allowed little room for objectivity.

---

[18] Ibid., 1.

[19] Ibid., 1.

[20] Ibid., 1. The February 9, 1917 issue of the Lebanon Advertiser was mainly devoted to German American opinion. German views on propaganda were illustrated in the East St. Louis Journal, February 19, 1917, 2.

II

LAWS AND ORGANIZED LOYALTY

In his war message Woodrow Wilson declared, "From the very outset of the present war, [Germany] has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce." He went on to issue stern warning to disloyal persons in the nation: "If there be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there without countenance except from a lawless...few."[1] The President's warning was quickly fortified by the Espionage Act passed by Congress two months after the war message. Later two additional laws were added to support the first.

The act had been carefully constructed by United States Attorney-General Thomas A. Gregory and introduced immediately after the President's war message by Representative E. Y.

---

[1]Scheiber, vii.

Webb of North Carolina and Senator Charles A. Culberson of Texas.[2] It was intended as a measure to prohibit the most flagrant attempts to obstruct or destroy the war effort. Penalties were set for conviction of those who "willfully conveyed false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies."[3] Under the broad scope of the law anyone who interfered with the military, the government, or the draft was subject to fines up to $10,000 or twenty years imprisonment or both.

The second major piece of legislation to affect the people of Madison and St. Clair Counties was the Sabotage Act of April 20, 1918 which provided penalties for the malicious destruction or injury to property, no matter how essential it was to the over all war effort.[4] This law was so broad that prosecutions could be made for the destruction of any property in the United States.

The third statute which resulted from anti-German feelings was the Sedition Act of May 16, 1918. The Sedition Act came about as amendments to the Espionage Act of 1917.

---

[2] Ibid., 55.

[3] Ibid., 55.

[4] Ibid., 56

Justice Department officials put strong efforts forth to convince Congress that this bill would "remove the causes of mob violence and vigilante justice."[5] Mob violence and vigilante justice had run its course in Madison and St. Clair Counties by July, 1918. By the time the law was fully in effect several persons had been tarred and feathered; one had been hanged; and one had committed suicide. Scores of others had been coerced into outward manifestations of patriotism. These laws gave the federal government the opportunity to hear cases that would otherwise been ruthlessly handled by street mobs. However, the laws were so broad in providing penalties against utterances or printed material opposing the United States or members of any government of the United States that federal district attorneys and United States Marshalls often found that some action had to be taken on each report of disloyalty, or local citizens would take matters into their own hands. Clyde Capron, Deputy United States Marshall for the two counties frequently visited sections of his territory to listen to accusations made by local citizens against persons of either German descent, or pro-German views.[6]

---

[5] Ibid., 56.

[6] East St. Louis Journal, May 11, 1917, 7.

Shortly after the Reserve,[7] a steam yacht of the Alton Naval Militia was blown up at the Alton dock, Capron paid a visit to that city. He heard numerous cases against pro-Germans but one incident on his visit stands out as a typical procedure for handling cases which had no real evidence to support them, yet, local citizens demanded action. C. F. Mureggenberg, formerly head of the German-American Alliance in the area was brought before Capron on charges that he supported the German government and belonged to anti-American organizations. Mureggenberg denied the charges declaring he resigned from the German-American Alliance over a controversy stemming from financial management, and that he had also discontinued his German language newspaper as an act of loyalty. Capron agreed not to press charges against him if he kept an American flag hanging outside his home at all times. Mureggenberg gladly agreed. Local citizens seemed satisfied, and Capron dropped the investigation.[8]

There were a few cases, investigated by federal authorities in the two counties which indicated a rise of sentiment against political organizations which seemed to have anti-American attitudes. The Collinsville Herald ran a series of

---

[7] Ibid., February 20, 1917, 2; May 2, 1917, 3. Two months after the Reserve sank Fred Shultz, a 23 year old German was arrested in Woodriver. He was an escaped German prisoner. The anti-German feeling increased in Alton after this date.

[8] Ibid., May 2, 1917, 3.

articles about the Industrial Workers of the World accusing the Industrial Workers of the World of spending money to cause strikes at the coal mines near Collinsville and Maryville.[9] Industrial Workers' agents were supposed to have sabotaged mine scales which caused delays while miners and owners haggled over correct weights of coal cars. During the summer of 1917 when miners struck for improved working conditions the Herald advocated federal intervention to prevent agents from interfering with the war effort. The official union for the miners was the United Mine Workers, and after an investigation federal authorities found no mismanagement within the union, or its method of operation.[10]

In Nameoki, Illinois, a community located near Granite City, federal agents were again called into an investigation of an incident involving the city mayor. Mayor Christain S. Kuennemann, a leader in southern Illinois politics was indicted by a federal grand jury for tampering with the operations of the exemption boards in Madison County. He was charged with having uttered several verbal attacks on local exemption boards and created dissatisfaction among Madison County draftees. Kuennemann's case was dragged on

---

[9] Collinsville Herald, August 3, 1917, 1.

[10] Ibid., August 10, 1917, 1.

for several months, and eventually dropped without a trial. Local citizens seemed satisfied that justice had been served.[11]

Throughout the war federal agents were called into numerous petty, misanthropic cases stemming from alleged violations of federal statutes. In East St. Louis federal agents were asked to prevent Professor R. G. Broaddeus from making a speech telling local citizens how they might cut the high cost of living. Broaddeus, a former purchasing agent for the Army, was suspected by local citizens of being an agent to delay military operations. Federal agents discouraged the speech, and Broaddeus quietly left the community.[12] A few months later federal officers were called to Belleville, the county seat of St. Clair County located twenty miles from East St. Louis. Local citizens demanded federal agents prevent saboteurs from poisoning the flour at the local mill. Finally guards were placed on day and night shifts around the mill. There was no evidence that poisoned flour existed, but the confines of the mill were placed off limits to German Americans in Belleville.[13]

Being restricted to certain areas of a city was nothing

---

[11] Ibid., August 2, 1918, 1; July 26, 1918, 2.

[12] East St. Louis Journal, April 30, 1917, 1.

[13] Belleville Advocate, December 1, 1917, 1.

new for German Americans in either county. Regulation of enemy aliens came at the outset of the war and by November 16, 1917 by an executive order from Wilson. Local authorities were requested to furnish registration cards for all aliens in their respective communities.[14] Granite City was so caught off guard by the request that registration was held up while local police learned the fine art of taking finger prints. In Belleville local authorities not only registered aliens but also adopted the "parole" system so local aliens could travel from one community to another. A parolee had to have at least one loyal citizen vouch for him and accompany him outside the limits of the city. During registration and parole aliens were informed of the restricted areas both in Belleville and surrounding communities. Despite the warnings they were given, several residents were arrested in St. Louis, Missouri for violating the restricted areas ruling or for forgetting their travel passes from Illinois to Missouri. All males fourteen years of age or older were required to register and acquire a guardian to vouch for them.[15] By June 17, 1918 these restrictions were

---

[14]Scheiber, 14; Belleville Advocate, June 28, 1918,1; Collinsville Herald, April 13, 1917, 1; Granite City Press-Record, January 25, 1918, 1. Press-Record stated, "all those not registered by January 25, 1918 would be arrested and interned for the duration of the war."

[15]Marguerite Edith Jenison, The War Time Organizations of Illinois, (Springfield: 1923), V., 73; Granite City Press-Record, February 6, 1918, 1; Belleville Advocate, February 25, 1918, 1: East St. Louis Journal, April 5, 1917, 1.

also including women. Most aliens went through the registration or elected to take up American citizenship as an alternate to registering as an enemy alien.[16]

The whole process of regulating loyalty became so complex that it often overlapped. On the state level Governor Frank O. Lowden proposed a state wide defense organization to regulate all phases of the war effort. The State legislature responded with an act establishing the Illinois Council of Defense. The statute called for three divisions in the council: (1) A series of state wide organizations to promote manufacturing, farming, and other means of production to aid the war effort; (2) Local councils consisting of Women's publicity, Conservation, Neighborhood Councils, and many similar organizations to assist local communities in all phases of the war effort; and, (3) National Committees to carry out the war effort as an extension of national programs.[17]

Within the National Committee division was the American Protective League, and the National Security League. In

---

[16] Ibid., 73; Belleville Advocate, April 26, 1918, 2; Granite City Press-Record, January 18, 1918, 1; Press-Record indicated that aliens "were really giving proof of their peaceful disposition and of their intention to conform to the laws of the United States." In Belleville, aliens included several nuns at local hospitals. See Belleville Advocate, June 18, 1918, 4.

[17] Illinois State Council of Defense: Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois, 1917-1918-1919, (Springfield: 1919), 74; hereafter listed as Final Report; see Jenison, V., 23.

Illinois these leagues consisted of volunteers who reported disloyalty and pro-German views to federal authorities. These were largely in the Chicago area. The downstate area operated through volunteers in the Neighborhood Defense Committees. Each community had a Defense Committee which operated under the direction of the State Neighborhood Defense Committee. Most of the various committee under the State Defense Committee had very little to do with increasing anti-German attitudes. However, the main function of the Neighborhood Defense Committees was to stimulate patriotism in the state. Local Councils of Defense were organized to carry out patriotic meetings on the local level. Bond drives, flag day parades, and service flag raising were a part of the Council's functions. Many of these local councils frequently formed organized community vigilante committees to act as court in determining disloyalty in their home towns.[18] Shortly after the Defense Council of Collinsville was organized in March, 1918 and elected C. G. Dorris, the school superintendent, as its president, it found occasion to express its patriotism and add to the growing anti-German feeling in that city.[19] Louis Hilbert was brought before the Committee

---

[18]There were exceptions. In Granite City the Council of Defense formed a Patriotic Club for Young Women. The club functioned like a Young Women's Christian Association; Final Report, 182.

[19]Collinsville Herald, March 8, 1918, 1; March 29, 1918, 1.

charged with boasting his parents were German. The Committee discovered he was born in Kovno Province, Russia, and he had frequently sent money to his parents there. This seemed to add up to pro-German leanings because Russia had signed an armistice with Germany. The major objection the Defense Committee had against Hilbert was his statement that he could "lick" nine "yanks" at a time. He was fined $25.00 and ordered to buy a savings stamp each day, or more direct action would be taken against him.[20]

Quite often the introduction of a Local Defense Committee was also the beginning of newspaper accounts of unusual occurrences. In Lebanon, Illinois the situation became acute in June, 1918. William Ehrhardt, a 59 year old German American was arrested by authorities on information from the Local Defense Committee. The Committee claimed Ehrhardt made disloyal utterances quite frequently, and he would not explain why he kept a picture of the Kaiser in his home. He was finally convicted under the Sedition Act and sentenced to five years imprisonment at Leavenworth, Kansas.[21]

When men of draft age refused to register or apparently

---

[20]Ibid., August 23, 1918, 1.

[21]Lebanon, Advertiser, June 21, 1918, 7. There is no record in the newspapers, or local courts to indicate his remarks Verbatim.

had no job, they were dubbed slackers by Local Defense Committees. In Granite City, Madison, and Venice, Local Defense Committees were instrumental in catching up with several slackers.[22] A few were German Americans, but most were persons who had somehow avoided registering and made the mistake of discussing it publicly. The East St. Louis Council of Defense helped to "round up" many Negro slackers who had come to that city from the southern states but failed to register for any of the three draft calls.[23] Typical of the cases involving slackers was that of Sam Miller of Granite City who claimed to have had no occupation and boasted that he was thirty-eight years old and did not have to register. Local Committee members gave this information to the police and he was arrested. Since he could not prove his age, he was turned over to federal authorities for prosecution.[24]

Minorities were the most subjected to accusations of being slackers. In Belleville George Maclusio, an Italian naturalized citizen, was arrested and held without bail when

---

[22]East St. Louis Journal, June 18, 1917, 3; June 13, 1917, 1; June 14, 1917, 1. The term slacker came to mean draft-dodgers, unemployed, and even aliens who did not carry a registration card.

[23]Ibid., May 29, 1917, 3.

[24]Granite City Press-Record, January 29, 1918, 1.

he reported to the draft board one day late despite the fact he had a written statement that his employer would not permit him to leave work the day before his arrest.[25] On September 6, 1918 the Illinois Adjutant General instructed local authorities to hold city wide slacker round-ups. Collinsville police chief, Charles Saten, arrested twelve persons who either had no job or had not registered for the draft.[26] East St. Louis found more Negro slackers as well as a few German Americans, and Lebanon imposed an additional local ordinance on slackers. Anyone not registered for the draft or who professed to be a conscientious objector would perform farm work for the same pay as a private in the Army.[27] Fairmont City, a suburban area of East St. Louis managed to round up one hundred slackers consisting of a few German Americans, but most were Mexicans.[28]

On occasion slacker round-ups and draft drives were not carried on by local councils but by business and professional organizations. This was especially true in the larger communities. It is quite possible that these groups were respon-

---

[25]East St. Louis Journal, June 13, 1917, 1.

[26]Collinsville Herald, September 6, 1918, 1.

[27]Lebanon Advertiser, June 28, 1918, 1.

[28]East St. Louis Journal, June 17, 1917, 1.

sible for information leading to investigations by local councils of defense, but there is no information available to substantiate the activities of groups which assisted the local defense councils.[29]

Defense Committees continued to broaden their activities on charges of disloyalty, hoarding food, sabotage, and patriotic demonstrations so that federal authorities began to circumvent the local committees to curb their activities. Using the newspapers as a media of communication to residents, federal officers encouraged private citizens to report directly to federal officers any instance of hoarding crops, of high prices charged by grocers, of disloyalty, and of farmers who refused to produce as much as possible.[30]

Earlier in Alton and East St. Louis a comprehensive system for gathering information about pro-Germans was established. Officers like Capron visited areas heavily populated by Germans. Each citizen in the community was told he shared responsibility with the federal government in watching for utterances against the United States. In organizing a system of federal control over cases involving federal statutes the federal agents were able to curb the activities of local

---

[29]Collinsville Herald, May 26, 1917, 1.

[30]Ibid., January 18, 1918, 1; April 18, 1918, 2; Lebanon Advertiser, April 5, 1918, 1; April 19, 1918, 1; Denson, V., 322.

councils. The councils concentrated more and more on expressions of patriotism.[31]

Even though a great deal of planning went into patriotic demonstrations, genuine enthusiasm for the war overshadowed planned events on more than one occasion. William L. Nicols, a Lebanon farmer, became so enlightened after attending several organized patriotic meetings that he sold his farm of over 300 acres for $50,000 and invested the entire sum in United States Liberty Bonds.[32] Such patriotism could not be matched by many in the Lebanon community even though the students at a local Methodist College petitioned church leaders to establish a military training program on the campus. The program was finally established after students enlisted the aid of the faculty. East St. Louis also had true patriotic moments within its school system. After the Mayor made several trips to Springfield, the East St. Louis High School became the first in the state to allow graduation credit for military courses.[33]

When Woodrow Wilson addressed the Daughters of the

---

[31]East St. Louis Journal, April 2, 1917, 7.

[32]Lebanon Advertiser, June 1, 1917, 4; Nicols sold his farm to a German American, L. L. Pfeffer, who purchased it for his son. The son had recently graduated from the University of Illinois School of Agriculture, but was drafted shortly after graduation.

[33]East St. Louis Journal, February 7, 1917, 1; February 9, 1917, 1.

American Revolution's annual convention in 1917, many German communities in the nation had experienced zealous patriotic demonstrations. Still the President singled out aliens and naturalized citizens as objects of suspicion. He stated that he believed most foreign born citizens were loyal, but he said, "I am in a hurry for an opportunity to have a line up and let the men who are thinking first of other countries stand on one side and all those that are for America first, last, and all the time on the other side."[34]

From 1917 to the end of the war Madison and St. Clair Counties had their line up. In East St. Louis and Belleville naturalization offices had to put on a night shift to handle the requests for naturalization papers. During the spring of 1917 five thousand persons of Polish descent held parades and arranged for aliens to register for citizenship papers.[35] During the months of February and March, 1917 over one-hundred Germans registered for citizenship along with three-hundred Austrians.[36] Many chose citizenship to registering for alien

---

[34]Ray S. Baker and W. E. Dodd, eds., The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, (New York: 1925-1927), III., 379; see also Ibid., 102-3. Wilson sympathized with Germans who were persecuted without motive, but ended his note with, "Of course, if any person is dangerous to the Government or to the community in which he or she lives, that is another matter."

[35]East St. Louis Journal, May 28, 1917, 1-2.

[36]Ibid., February 9, 1917, 1; February 14, 1917, 2; April 3, 1917, 1.

enemy passes, but there were those who sought citizenship as a demonstration of their loyalty to the United States.

Beginning in the summer of 1917 and continuing until an influenza epidemic hit the area in the fall, patriotic demonstrations, parades, and speeches occurred in one or more of the communities of Madison and St. Clair Counties daily. East St. Louis and Alton held "Wake Up" marches in which over five-thousand adults and children and one-hundred automobiles, buggies, and wagons participated.[37] In Belleville the Daily Advocate sponsored a Tobacco Fund in which they collected funds to send 40,480 cigarettes, 1,185 cans of tobacco, and 135 plugs of chewing tobacco to American soldiers in France.[38] When Belleville was accused of harboring pro-German elements the Mayor proclaimed a day of demonstration, and on April 20, 1917 ten-thousand men, women, and children waving American flags paraded in the public square singing patriotic songs and listening to patriotic speakers.[39]

Every community had its branch of the Red Cross. Factories employing women turned out in a body to enlist as volunteers. Junior Red Crosses were established as well as

---

[37] Ibid., April 12, 1917, 2; April 20, 1917, 3; Collinsville Herald, April 6, 1917, 1.

[38] Belleville Advocate, December 7, 1917, 2.

[39] East St. Louis Journal, April 20, 1917, 1.

High School Red Cross Clubs. Any female who truly professed patriotism to the United States was expected to be a volunteer in one of the various local Red Cross divisions. Lebanon with less than two thousand inhabitants had over 900 in Red Cross Units by the end of the war.[40]

During the summer months of 1918 there was a falling off of patriotic demonstrations, and Local Defense Committees introduced "Service Flag Raisings"[41] on which occasion the family of a service man raised a flag with one star on it in his honor. Neighborhoods also had flags with the number of stars representing the men in the service from that area. These were followed by community service flags. It was quite possible for a family to spend their Sunday afternoons attending one flag raising after another. In addition to each of these celebrations the Mayors of the larger communities fortified these demonstrations by declaring a community day for flag raising--schools were dismissed, and a general day of celebration followed with speeches, bands, and awards given by the community to outstanding citizens.

The tempo of patriotism ran high throughout the war. Mayor Mollmann of East St. Louis felt the full effect of the

---

[40]Lebanon Advertiser, May 4, 1917, 1; July 6, 1917, 1; November 9, 1917, 1.

[41]Final Report, 100; Belleville News Democrat, April 4, 1918, 1; Belleville, Advocate, April 5, 1918, 5.

tempo when a crowd gathered outside the city hall to demand an explanation why the Mayor allowed the flag to fly at half staff. After shouts and insinuations that Mollmann's German ancestry had something to do with the flag's position, the janitor investigated the matter to find that the flag had become tangled in the lanyard.[42]

German and American saloon keepers offered space in their establishments for night classes to teach aliens the English language and prepare them for naturalization. These backroom classrooms worked well until several communities passed "blue laws" prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages on Sundays. Many of the saloon-schools were promptly closed with the explanation, "no beer, no school."

The wave of patriotism in 1917 and 1918 fanned the flames of anti-German feelings. The subtle pressures placed on German Americans caused a rapid change in schools, businesses, and religious institutions. More violent acts increased these changes until German Americans renounced the German heritage for the appearance of being "pure" Americans.

---

[42]East St. Louis Journal, March 5, 1917, 1.

III

RESPONSE FROM GERMAN AMERICANS AND INCREASED VIOLENCE

Response to community pressures for rapid Americanization was a difficult task for aliens to achieve, especially German Americans. Prior to the war they were held in high esteem for their characteristics. Now they were scorned for holding onto those aspects of Germany that a few years before made them welcomed members of many communities. Some German Americans tacitly upheld their German heritage while others made efforts to change in order to seem patriotic.

There were two policies followed by most communities. One was an attempt to encourage change through the efforts of the State Americanization Committee headed by Harold L. Ickes. The other was open intimidation by street mobs, vigilance committees, and nefarious individuals. The Americanization Committee tried to bring about changes by sending workers to communities with a heavy German population to encourage local leaders to introduce the English language into their institutions. They suggested changes in cultural societies, and encouraged

---

[1] The State Americanization Committee was one of the many organs of the Illinois State Council of Defense. While local defense committees seemed to have an adverse affect on German Americans, the Americanization Committee was a real asset in preventing anti-Germanism in Madison and St. Clair Counties.

naturalization. In East St. Louis the movement became so popular that saloon keepers established backroom classes to teach German Americans and other aliens the English language and to prepare them for naturalization.[2]

In a report issued after the war the Illinois State Council of Defense summarized its intentions:

> "The use of the German language, particularly in churches, schools, Sunday schools, etc., has been a constant source of agitation, notably in those counties of the state which have a considerable population of German origin. In dealing with this question we recognize that little had been done prior to the war in the way of discouraging the use of foreign languages and that as a result many of our citizens of German birth had very slight knowledge of English and depended on German for their religious, political and social knowledge and intercourse."[3]

The Americanization Committee urged the use of the English language wherever young people were concerned. It also urged that German language newspapers, periodicals, and church services be used as an instrument for patriotic education and for "the stimulation of a higher standard of American citizenship."[4]

German organizations caught the spirit of adverse public

---

[2]East St. Louis Journal, February 7, 1917, 1.

[3]Final Report, 93.

[4]Ibid., 93094.

opinion and changed, in varying degrees, the language, or function of the organization. The Lebanon Gesay Verein went so far as to remove the Kaiser's picture and donate an award it had received from the Kaiser to the local Red Cross unit. The award was solid gold, and when sold it added considerably to the fund for bandages sent to American soldiers in Europe.[5]

Quite often such patriotic gestures were preceded by the introduction of the national anthem at all club functions, or, at the very least, the organization made a practice of publicly endorsing the president. One organization, the German Landwehr Benevolent Society of East St. Louis and Belleville, which consisted of 53 prominent German Americans, made a practice of endorsing Wilson at each meeting.[6] Some societies such as the New Athens Verein Vorwaerts only changed their name to something more American while others entered into open conflicts among themselves on which society was truly loyal. Many of these interorganizational disputes did not subside until after the war. The Turnvereins of Smithton carried on a dispute with several of the Belleville organizations until an open feud was narrowly avoided by a joint committee composed of members from each organization which met

---

[5]Lebanon Advertiser, June 21, 1918, 1; the Kaiser awarded German societies in the United States with a Gold medallion after twenty-five years of existence. The Gesay Verein donated its German award to illustrate its American patriotism.

[6]East St. Louis Journal, April 26, 1917, 1.

in Belleville and resolved their differences.[7]

The German language suffered a great deal in the Americanization movement. On February 12, 1917 in Belleville, the German American Alliance adopted a resolution to publish all its records in English, and all two thousand members elected to support Wilson in "whatever action [he] proposed to take" against Germany.[8] By November 14, 1918 the Belleville Liederkranz Society changed its language and written records to English. The "loyal" New Athens Verein Vorwaerts began carrying on its business in English on April 19, 1918 and changed its name to the New Athens Singing Society. The Belleville Turnevelns, shortly after the New Athens Organization changed, voted to call themselves the Belleville Turners.[9]

Debate over the English language started as early as January 11, 1915 when the Holy Cross German Lutheran Church congregation in Collinsville dedicated its new church in both English and German. When the suggestion to change reached Saint Paul's Episcopal church of Belleville in 1916, the

---

[7]Belleville Advocate, October 22, 1919, 1; November 3, 1919, 1.

[8]Belleville News Democrat, February 12, 1917, 1; see comments in Belleville Advocate, February, 1917, 2.

[9]Lebanon Advertiser, April 19, 1918, 1; Belleville, Advocate, May 14, 1918, 1.

church leaders voted to retain the German language. In Alton only one of the churches changed before the war, but several Methodist, Lutheran, and Catholic churches changed their language from German to English between 1917 and 1918. The small German community of Alhambra, Illinois, which was one hundred per cent German, continued to have a monthly German service until 1930. There was also no violence in that community.[10]

Many schools were affected by the anti-German attitudes of their communities. Lebanon voted out the use of German and the teaching of German as a course of study in August 15, 1918. Belleville dropped all courses in German six months earlier and replaced them with studies of "community and national life." In Collinsville the Lutheran Parochial school discontinued religious instruction in German in 1918.[11]

County governments also were influenced by the Americanization movement. The proceedings of the St. Clair County

---

[10]Leon Church to Frank G. Adams, November 6, 1965; C. A. Stickler, President, Alton Historical Society to Frank G. Adams, August 19, 1965; James D. Traboue, St. Clair County Historical Society to Frank G. Adams, August 14, 1965; see also Belleville Advocate, November 14, 1918, 2; Collinsville Herald, June 11, 1915, 1; East St. Louis Journal, March 26, 1917, 2.

[11]Lebanon Advertiser, August 16, 1918, 1; Collinsville Herald, August 23, 1918, 1; Belleville Advocate, January 24, 1918, 3; East St. Louis Journal, May 16, 1917, 3; one teacher was suspended because she admired one of Wilson's critics--Senator Lafallete of Wisconsin.

Board of Supervisors were prohibited to the Belleville Post Zeitung in May, 1917. The Supervisors prohibited the proceedings from being translated into the German language.[12]

It was quite obvious during 1917 and 1918 that "things" German would not be tolerated. Many cooperative responses from German Americans came as a result of the persuasive action of the Americanization Committee. It must be noted, however, that this was also the first active interest the state government had in Americanizing Germans, and this was also true of local governments. It is difficult to estimate the affect of the Americanization Committee because so much intimidating occurred. It is impossible to determine which organization changed as a result of persuasion and which from coercion.

On April 17, 1917 sheriff Jenkin Jenkins of Madison County issued a proclamation that Germans in his county would be granted the same liberties as other American citizens. However, throughout the war years, county and city officials were unable to prevent violence against suspected pro-Germans. Shortly before Jenkins' announcement a vigilante committee met in East St. Louis to activate a semisecret society that had not been in use since 1870. The committee publicly

---

[12]Belleville Advocate, August 29, 1917, 1.

announced that it was being formed to "rid East St. Louis of certain undesirable elements."[13] Undoubtedly the aim of this committee was not directed at German Americans, but against the many Negroes who had recently moved into the area. Still, its demands on German Americans to be more patriotic increased the general anti-German feeling in St. Clair County.

During 1917-1918 vigilance committees and mobs plagued local law enforcement officers. Their activities were sporadic, and rarely was there an indication that an outburst of anti-German sentiment was forthcoming until it occurred. In many areas very minor outbursts were followed months later by more extreme action. In Staunton, Illinois, a mining town located in the northern portion of St. Clair County, on April 2, 1917 the school superintendent created an impossible situation when he called in Secret Service agents to investigate a family whose son had failed to salute the American flag during a school ceremony. The boy and his father were questioned first by the school board, and later by federal agents. When the boy agreed to administer a proper salute to the flag before the student body, he was allowed to return to school. The

---

[13]East St. Louis Journal, January 14, 1917, 1; Collinsville Herald, April 27, 1917, 1; a brief account of the conditions in East St. Louis is made in Edgar Bernhard, Pursuit of Freedom: A History of Civil Liberties in Illinois, 1787-1942, (Chicago: 1942), 67.

father was held by federal agents for encouraging his son not to salute.[14]

This should have been an indication to local authorities that anti-German sentiments were running high. With such a tempo of patriotism it would seem likely that other outbursts might occur. For a year nothing unusual occurred in that community, but on February 15, 1918 violence occurred that shocked the county. During a United Mine Workers meeting one Severion Oberdan petitioned the members for $100.00. Oberdan was a mine worker from Nokomis, Illinois who had been accused of passing Industrial Workers of the World pamphlets to miners. He and his lawyer, Howard Metzen, of Chicago asked for the funds to be used for expenses in defending Oberdan. At first the miners agreed, but the president of the local refused to endorse the check because he believed it was a pro-German attempt to involve the United Mine Workers in a conspiracy against the United States government. It was not long before the meeting turned into a brawl. It might have lasted for some time if the Staunton Vigilance Committee had not interfered. The Vigilance Committee had been waiting for Oberdan and Metzen outside the hall. They seized the two while the miners were settling their differences and quickly

---

[14]East St. Louis Journal, April 2, 1917, 8.

marched them outside of town where tar and feathers waited. After both men were thoroughly tarred and feathered, they were forced to kiss the American flag several times, and escorted farther out of town with a warning not to return.[15]

On an earlier occasion, during a patriotic celebration in East St. Louis on April 8, 1917, a mob of irate citizens attacked a German carnival band. Judge Daniel W. Maddox of Litchfield, who led the antagonized crowd, kicked in the bass drum and warned the band not to return until they could correctly play the national anthem. The band lost many of their instruments in the scuffle that followed Maddoxes' warning. The crowd was too much for them and they were partly pushed, and partly carried, out of town.[16]

Not only was there violence from mobs, but on several occasions newspapers promoted anti-German feelings. The Collinsville Herald reported an incident on April 13, 1917 which is indicative of the popular mood.

> "Joel Zumbald, well known conductor of the Interurban was given a wholesome lesson in patriotism early this week by one of his fellow employees. The school of instruction was held at the car sheds in Maryville. Zumbald, it is reported, has been more appreciative of the yellow and black of the Kaiser's excutcheon than the red, white, and blue; so much admired

---

[15]Granite City Press-Record, February 15, 1913, 1.

[16]East St. Louis Journal, April 8, 1917, 1.

> by the other interurban employees. An argument as to the relative merits of the two emblems resulted in motorman Blackstock, a wiry Kentuckian, decorating Joel's left eye in his favorite colors. It is also reported that had not bystanders interfered the job of decorating would have been more thorough. Too bad!"[17]

As the war continued mob action resulted from the most minor utterances against the United States. In Dupo, Illinois, a city south of East St. Louis, James Meyer, a 42 year old blacksmith of German descent, met with misfortune over the weather. Meyer, an employee of the Iron Mountain Railroad yards, speculated on the weather to his fellow employees. "If it was cloudy April 7, 1918," said Meyer, "the Kaiser would win the war, and if it was clear the United States would win." The utterance on the war and weather was made shortly before quitting time on Friday, April 6. The next day the Dupo Vigilance Committee met and determined that Meyers should be taught a lesson. On Sunday afternoon a crowd of nearly one-hundred citizens appeared at the Meyers' home. Meyer was "captured" with little resistance from himself, or his family, and after kissing the American flag several times, and declaring publicly he was truly a loyal citizen, the crowd dispersed.[18]

---

[17]Collinsville Herald, April 13, 1917, 1.

[18]Belleville News Democrat, April 8, 1918, 8.

Mayor Maxer of Millstadt, that same Sunday, narrowly avoided having a riotous mob invade the afternoon Liederkranz concert. Most of the Millstadt citizens had attended a Liberty Bond rally on the main street of the city and were on their way home when the concert began. A crowd from the rally gathered near the Liederkranz Hall where German music was being played, but the mayor declared the concert cancelled. The crowd, however, remained until the band folded its instruments and hurriedly left.[19]

On February 23, 1918 in Steelville, a community south of Madison County, the local vigilance committee marched in a parade to the German Lutheran Church to demand that the minister abandon the practice of delivering his Sunday service in German. Fearing mob violence from the townspeople, the city council on April 2, 1918 passed an ordinance forbidding the use of the German language on streetcars and in "other public" places. The vigilance committee was not satisfied. On the following Sunday, Easter, several members of the vigilance committee attended the German Lutheran services only to find the minister delivering his sermon in English, and a small American flag standing next to the pulpit.

A few weeks later, citizens of Belleville became aroused by the district meeting of German Methodist ministers held in

---

[19] Ibid., April 15, 1918, 1.

the Belleville German Methodist church on May 14, 1918. The Methodist Bishop was present, but later said he did not understand the prayers offered since they were in German. Two German ministers from southern Illinois were accused of offering prayers for the safety and success of the Kaiser's armies over Europe. One person reported to the East St. Louis Journal that a young girl, wearing an American flag in her lapel, was told by a "spinster, pro-German woman" to remove it. Many other rumors floated about the city until a few days later the congregation held a mass meeting. They voted to not only change the language of the church, but also, the name of the church.[20]

Not all instances were quite as open as those thus far mentioned. In Lebanon, community leaders offered a chautaugua during the summer for the education and interest of local citizens. During the summer of 1918, the week long lecture and arts festival featured William Jennings Bryan. Bryan chose to speak on the true nature of American patriotism. When Bryan's train arrived, he was met by several citizens who urged him to select a less controversial topic. He did, but local citizens stated it was lacking in enthusiasm so typical of the speaker. He later delivered another address to the local Methodist College, and again, was asked to steer

---

[20] Ibid., April 2, 1918, 1-2.

away from anything on the war or German Americans.[21]

Seemingly isolated occurrences such as these would not form a pattern of anti-German feelings in every community. However, these episodes of mob, or vigilance committee violence did condition the people to accept greater infringements on peaceable communities. Rumors and accusations sporadically ran rampant. For instance, William W. Winklemann, Dean of the Belleville Bar Association, was nearly discharged from his duties because of a local rumor that he was an enemy alien. Like Winklemann, others suffered from rumors and attacks, which were not violent but added to the over all anti-German feeling.[22] A bond salesman in Lebanon was accosted by local citizens as being pro-German because he dressed in an old, German made suit. At the time, he was on his way to Silver Creek to fish and wore the old suit as a protection against briars. He was nearly drafted by local authorities for one of the work crews repairing the street. On another occasion, a German farmer was so afraid that local authorities would attack him that he jumped into Silver Creek and subsequently drown.[23]

---

[21] East St. Louis Journal, May 15, 1918, 1.

[22] Lebanon Advertiser, April 5, 1918, 5; June 28, 1917, 3.

[23] Leon Church to Frank G. Adams, November 7, 1965, Lebanon Advertiser, September 17, 1918, 2; Belleville Advocate, February 25, 1918, 4.

Such activities were not restricted to the two counties studied, nor to Illinois. There seemed to be a national rising against German Americans, or for that matter anyone opposing the war. On July 16, 1917 in Flat River, Missouri foreign miners were rounded up and escorted out of town by "patriotic" citizens because "foreigners were taking jobs away from Americans."[24] Sometimes the situations in other states were quite similar to those of Madison and St. Clair Counties. For instance a year before William Ehrhardt of Lebanon was convicted,[25] an Iowa Lutheran minister named Wilhelm Schumann had a similar fate. Schumann a native of Germany was arrested on charges of violating the Espionage Act during a Sunday sermon. He allegedly stated that the war was a capitalist class struggle and buying War Bonds was a "great big humbug."[26] Schumann was sentenced to five years at Leavenworth, Kansas. Another case occurred in North Dakota where a German minister was sentenced to two years at Leavenworth for allegedly saying prayers for a German victory.[27]

---

[24]H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War (Madison, Wisconsin, 1957), 84; hereafter cited Peterson.

[25]See above, 20.

[26]Schumann V. United States, 258 Fed. 233 (8th Cir. 1919), as cited in Peterson, 84.

[27]Fontana V. United States, 262 Fed. 233 (8th Cir. 1919), as cited in Peterson, 85.

Though these are only a few examples cited outside of the areas studied many occurred that expressed the nations tendency toward persecution of any anti-war or pro-German views. Professor Frede Casteberg, of the University of Oslo, describes the United States during 1916-1918 as a period when, "both the authorities and the people reacted violently... against everything which might weaken the country's war effort or threaten its security."[28]

Certainly the activities of some government agencies helped to condition these feelings. By November 1917 several agencies had created situations which seemed to "hog tie every disloyal German American, feed every pacifist raw meat, and hang every traitor to a lamppost to insure success in [the] war."[29] The committee on Public Information which was created on April 14, 1917 at the request of Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, who believed "censorship and publicity [could] be joined in honesty"[30] named George Creel, a progressive journalist, chairman. Creel geared propaganda to persuade the American people that every German soldier was a violent beast and every German a spy. He promoted the idea

---

[28]Frede Casteberg, Freedom of Speech In the West, (New York: 1960), 161-162.

[29]Scheiber, 27.

[30]Ibid., 30.

that spies and saboteurs "lurked behind every bush."[31] There were several articles relating to loyal citizens capturing spies printed in Madison and St. Clair County papers from 1917-1918. Many were continued stories which were reprints from novels or short stories.[32] Also, it was the Creel Committee that dubbed Saurkraut liberty cabbage.[33] Special Assistant Attorney General John Lord O'brian remarked in 1919: "No other one cause contributed so much to the oppression of innocent men as the systematic and indiscriminate agitation against what claimed to be an all pervasive system of German espionage."[34]

The Creel Committee was at least partly responsible for this agitation by creating an atmosphere that everywhere innocent people were in danger of the enemy. Even Attorney General Gregory was critical of these activities. He complained that the Department of Justice was constantly being hampered by "supposed unpunished alien enemy activities" which he thought untrue but investigated them to prevent

---

[31] Ibid., 16.

[32] Granite City Press-Record July 15, 1917, 1; the article was a short story about a loyal citizen who captured a spy. Other stories appeared in the East St. Louis Journal. Though these were not the work of Creel's Committee they had the same tones presented by the Committee.

[33] Scheiber, passism.

[34] Ibid., 16.

"public controversies."[35]

O'brian's evaluation of the general condition of the hysteria of communities was discussed before the New York Bar Association in 1919. An extract of that discussion follows as an illustration of the many false stories originating from newspapers, defense committees, patriotic societies and even some members of Congress.[36]

> "A phantom ship sailed into our harbors with gold from the Bolsheviki with which to corrupt the country; another phantom ship was found carrying ammunition from one of our harbors to Germany; submarine captains landed on our coasts, went to the theater and spread influenza germs; a new species of pigeon, thought to be German, was shot in Michigan; mysterious aeroplanes floated over Kansas at night, etc. Then there were the alleged spies themselves--Spoermann, alleged intimate of Bernstorff, landed on our coasts by the U-53, administrator of large funds, caught spying in our camps, who turned out to be a plumber from Baltimore. Several other alleged spies caught on the beaches signaling to submarines were subsequently released because they were, in the several cases, honest men, one of whom has been changing an incandescent light bulb in his hotel room, another of whom was trying to attract the attention of a passerby on the beach, etc. There was no community in the country so small that it did not produce a complaint because of failure to intern or execute at least one alleged German spy. These instances are cited, not to make light of the danger of hostile activities, nor to imply that incessant vigilance was not necessary in watching the German activities, but to show how impossible it was to check that kind of war hysteria and war excitement which found

---

[35]Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Free Speech in the United States (Cambridge: 1954), 66.

[36]Ibid., 64.

> expression in impatience with the civil courts and the oft-recurring and false statement that this government showed undue leniency toward enemies within our gates."[37]

The fears expressed by O'brian's description were especially strong in Madison and St. Clair Counties. A belief that the federal government might not give a suspected spy his just due was staunchly believed by state and local leaders, and undoubtedly, by local citizens. By the spring of 1918 law enforcement melted away in Collinsville while three hundred persons expressed their vengeance on an unfortunate German suspected of spying.

---

[37] Ibid., 65, Chafee points out that 93 per cent of all reported pro-German plots did not exist.

IV

ROBERT PAUL PRAGER: MARTYR OR SPY?

The editor of the Collinsville Herald on September 28, 1917 captured the mood of his readers when he published a warning to German American citizens. In bold-type he wrote, "The mass public sentiment in Collinsville at present is in no humor to listen calmly to light or insinuating remarks about America or the war."[1] Collinsville's attention, just six months later, was focused on the nation's first lynching of a German which occurred outside that city on April 5, 1918.

During the early morning hours a mob of several hundred people marched a German alien a few miles outside the city and ceremoniously hanged him. The victim, Robert Paul Prager, was a squat man about thirty-three years old with one glass-eye and a handlebar mustache.[2] He had come to Collinsville from Chicago to work in the coal mines, but found no employment until Bruno's Bakery offered him a job as baker's helper.

---

[1]Collinsville Herald, September 28, 1917, 2.

[2]Belleville News Democrat, April 5, 1918, 6.

Prager had had experience as a baker at the Indiana State Reformatory[3] where he spent a year for stealing a suit of clothing. He took a room in an apartment house near Bruno's with a friend, John Pohl, another German alien. The friendship between Pohl and Prager was brief. Once when Pohl objected to Prager's obsession to be an American, Prager turned him in to authorities and Pohl spent 32 days in jail.[4]

Prager had lived in Illinois since 1905. When war with Germany was imminent, he tried to join the Navy but was rejected because of his glass-eye.[5]

After a few months at Bruno's, Prager obtained a job at the Donk's mine outside Maryville, Illinois. Working as a night shift laborer was not the kind of work Prager desired and he tried to join the United Mine Workers in order to improve his working situation. At this point the life of Robert Prager changed considerably. Because miners believed he was a socialist, he was rejected by the president, James Fornero, and Prager verbally attacked the president in

---

[3]Ibid., April 15, 1918, 6; Collinsville Herald, May 3, 1918, 3.

[4]Belleville News Democrat, April 12, 1918, 6.

[5]Belleville News Democrat, April 6, 1918, 4-6; Jenison, VI, 350.

an open letter to the miners.[6]

"Dear Brothers:

In regard to affairs last night, I am compelled to make this statement to you. My name is Robert P. Prager of 208A Vandalia Street, Collinsville, Illinois. The statements uttered by your president of your local No. 1802, Mr. J. Fornero, and also the action taken by him to take away my daily bread in such a manner as herein stated, is not the action or will of your people as a workingman's union.

I have respect for your officials if on legal duty and will obey their commands to the letter. I have been a union man at all times and never once a scab in all my life, and for this reason I appeal to you an honest workingman as myself is entitled to a fair hearing of your committee. I ask you in the name of humanity to examine me to find out what is the reason I am kept out of work.

I have kept the union informed from the very beginning of my employment at the Maryville mine. I have put in and signed two applications, the first with Mr. Wilheim, and the second with Mr. Ben Kettle. I have also had my application signed by three of your good standing members who have worked with me at various mines.

I do not claim to be a practical miner, but do claim to have worked over four years in mines as a laborer, most of this time as a timber man. In regard to my loyalty, I will state that I am heart and soul for the good old U.S.A., I am of German birth, which accident I cannot help, and also have declared my intention of U.S. citizenship. My second papers are due to be issued very soon if I am granted same. Please give this appeal due consideration and allow me to return to work.

Yours in respect,
Robert P. Prager

I further wish to state that I was branded a liar in public by your president, James Fornero. By

---

[6]Edgar Bernhard, Pursuit of Freedom: op. cit., 112. Hereafter cited as Pursuit of Freedom. See "Editorial," Belleville News Democrat, April 5, 1918, 4-6.

> him I was branded a German spy, which he cannot prove. Also, this gentleman tried to have me arrested at Edwardsville, Maryville, and Collinsville, Illinois, and did not succeed in any of these places. Mr. Fornero tried to have an angry mob deal with me. I also was informed by him to leave my home at once and never again come to Maryville if I knew what was good for my health. Also, please state to your union for what reason you have kept a brother workingman that is honest, lawbidding and loyal and take his bread away--Robert Paul Prager."[7]

The angry mob Prager referred to attempted an attack on him in Maryville on the afternoon of April 2, 1918. Prager had declared himself a socialist to several Maryville businessmen and if Rose Johnson, the District Representative for the United Mine Workers had not interceded Prager, at the least, would have suffered a beating. There is no relationship to the Maryville episode and Prager's attempted union membership.[8]

Prager's letter must have reached Mr. Fornero because a committee from the union came to Prager's apartment about nine o'clock on April 4, 1918. They forced him into the

---

[7]Belleville News Democrat, April 12, 1918, 6; Pursuit of Freedom, 112-113.

[8]Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 1. There is some indication that Prager made a speech to Maryville citizens. The reference to the speech seemed lost during the trial. He may have made a "socialist" speech, however, only broad references were found, nothing was found as to its content. Pursuit of Freedom, 112; Collinsville Herald, "Extra," April 5, 1918, 1.

street where they took off his shoes and socks and paraded him around main street with a flag draped over him. Motorcycle patrolman, Fred Frost, broke up the foray and took Prager into protective custody. The committee, with others, soon regrouped and chased officer Frost and Prager until they reached the safety of the jail.[9]

Soon a mob gathered outside the city jail to see what was "going on." Rumors spread that the police had captured a German spy. No one mentioned that Prager was in protective custody. The Union Committee were the only people involved before Prager's arrest and it is likely they were also the instigators of the rumor. Curses and shouts to see the spy brought Mayor Siegel from his home to break up the mob. Several drunks were among those milling around the jail--Siegel promptly closed all forty saloons in the city. This proved to be a miscalculation since more people joined the mobs from the saloons. Many of these were also drunk. One of those later tried for Prager's murder said he did not know about Prager until the police closed the saloon where he had been drinking.[10] The mobs anger increased when the

---

[9]Reports on when Prager was first mobbed conflict. Some stated at the Suburban Y near his home. Others, more frequently stated in his apartment on Vandalia; Collinsville Herald, April 5, 1918, 1; Pursuit of Freedom, 112; Belleville News Democrat, April 15, 1918, 6.

[10]Belleville News Democrat, April 15, 6; Collinsville Herald, April 15, 1918, 1.

Mayor refused to present the spy.

In a newspaper report published two days later Mayor Siegel described the mob:

> "Mob leaders are slick. They had two little boys of nine or ten leading the lynch mob parade. When I made supreme efforts to induce the mob to disband, one of the mob leaders stepped up to me and, pointing to the flags held by the two little boys, in a warning voice declared: 'Mr. Mayor we dare you to defy that flag.' This hint was sufficient for me. I felt that I could not let the mob raise the cry of disloyalty or pro-Germanism against me."[11]

By 11 o'clock the mob had grown to over three hundred persons including women and children. They became more and more abusive, shouting and threatening the Mayor. Finally, one of the officers passed the word that Prager had been secretly taken to federal authorities in East St. Louis to be held for trial.[12] Momentarily this seemed to satisfy the mob and many disbanded. Then someone recalled that the building had been completely surrounded making it impossible for Prager or the officers to leave. "Let's get him or go home,"[13] several shouted, and the mob stormed the station. Mayor Siegel who believed Prager was securely on his way to U. S. District Attorney Karch in East St. Louis

---

[11] Pursuit of Freedom, 113; Carl Wittke, German Americans And The World War, (Columbus: 1936), 195-196. Hereafter cited Wittke.

[12] Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 4.

[13] Ibid., April 12, 1918, 4; Pursuit of Freedom, 113.

allowed the mob to enter the jail.

At first the Collinsville Herald printed a story that the mob upon entering the jail bound the four officers and began a search for Prager who was found hiding among stored tile in one of the empty cells. Later, other accounts of the mob storming the jail indicated the police suggested Prager be taken out of the city limits where they had no jurisdiction. The latter story might be true since the officers were also prosecuted, but in a separate trial and not for murder.[14]

On the way out of the building Prager was knocked down from a blow in the face, but he was hauled to his feet again. Joe Regiel and Wesley Beaver each held one of Prager's arms and the mob proceded down the center of Main Street.[15] Several times the victim was forced to sing the Star Spangled Banner and give three cheers for the "red, white, and blue."[16] Twice streetcars were halted while Regiel and Beaver held Prager before the light of the car for everyone to see.

---

[14]A valuable source for the mob scene comes from Joe Regiel's testimony before the grand jury. The Collinsville Herald published much of his testimony verbatim, but the actual transcript was not available; Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1; see also Illinois Versus Regiel, Beaver, et. al., Madison County Circuit Court, Docket 8, 209-216; hereafter cited, Illinois vs Regiel, et. al.

[15]Ibid., April 12, 1913, 1.

[16]Ibid., April 12, 1913, 1; April 15, 1913, 1.

Finally someone suggested Prager remove his shoes again.

Regiel later reported that they did not know exactly what they were going to do with him, but somewhere along the way out of town they stopped at a parked car and asked him if he wanted to write anything. He indicated he did, and a young boy provided him with paper and pencil. Regiel, who could read German took the note Prager wrote to be sure there were no tricks.[17] The note read:

> "Father, Carl Henry Prager,
> York Street, Dresden,
> Germany,
>
> Dear Parents, I must this day, the fourth of April, 1918, die.
> Please pray for me, my dear parents. That is my last letter or testimony,
>
> Your dear son and brother,
> Robert Paul."[18]

Near Maurer Hill, two miles south of the city on the St. Louis Road, one of the mob climbed a tree and flung a rope over a limb. One end was attached to the bottom of a telephone pole, the other over the limb and around Prager's neck. Several men hoisted him approximately ten feet off

---

[17] It was Joe Regiel who gave the letter to the editor of the Collinsville Herald. The Herald later turned the letter over to the State Department.

[18] Collinsville Herald, April 5, 1918, 1. See editorials by Belleville News Democrat, April 5, 1918, 4; April 8, 1918, 4; April 12, 1918, 4-6 for a liberal view of Prager's last months.

the ground, but released him again. Prager dropped to his knees and prayed. Someone later reported that, "in his prayer Prager had the earnestness of a dying man, praying for forgiveness for his sins and declaring his innocence."[19]

Again he was drawn ten feet from the ground, and after a short while, someone twisted at his toes and declared him dead. Three times more the mob lowered and hoisted the body with a jerk, shouting each time: "One for the red, one for the white, and one for the blue."[20]

Two hours later the mob released the officers at the jail and they cut Prager's body down. It was taken to Schumacker's Funeral Home in Collinsville. A few days later the Odd Fellows of Collinsville announced that they would see that Prager received a proper funeral since an Odd Fellow membership pin had been found in his coat lapel. Several hundred local citizens attended the funeral. The coffin was draped with an American flag and Odd Fellow members recited the Pledge of Allegiance to the United States.

On April 5, the same day Prager was lynched, Madison County Coroner Ray A. Lowe and State's Attorney Joseph Streuber and Illinois Attorney General Edward J. Brundage began initial

---

[19] Ibid., 1.

[20] Ibid., April 12, 1918, 6; April 19, 1918, 1; Prager died at approximately 12:35 a.m. April 5, 1918.

proceedings for an inquest. Postmaster James E. Simpson of Collinsville was present and informed Brundage that the United States Attorney General had wired him that Justice Department investigators were on their way to Collinsville to assist in the investigation.[21]

That same day the Herald received a wire from Governor Lowden which included a message to the people of Collinsville:

> "I have had a conference with the Attorney General and our offices are working in perfect co-operation to the end that the guilty ones shall be punished. I have sent a deputy to the scene and a representative of the Adjutant General has accompanied him.
>
> Some weeks ago, I made a statement to the sheriffs and peace-officers of the state urging they prevent violence against suspected pro-Germans, fearing this very thing. I am in touch with the officials of Madison County and have informed them that if I am unable through regularly constituted peace officers to have the law respected, there will be nothing left for me to do but to declare martial law. This I am prepared to do promptly.
>
> I think I can say for the Attorney General's office and my own that every power with which we are vested will be used to the limit to punish those responsible for the violence in Collinsville."[22]

On April 12, Coroner Ray Lowe held Joe Regiel, Wesley Beaver, Richard Dukes, Jr., Enid Elmore, James Porlla, and William Brockmeier without bail until a grand jury could be called. By May 3, the date set for the grand jury, police had also arrested Calvin Gilmore, George Davis, John Hall-

---

[21] Ibid., April 12, 1918, 6; Ibid., April 5, 1918, 1; Ray S. Baker, Life and Letters, op. cit., VIII., 72.

[22] Ibid., April 12, 1918, 1-4.

worth, one of Collinsville's most prominent citizens, and miner, Frank Flannery, 19 year old neighbor to Prager, and James Dematties, Cecil Larremor, and Charles Crommer, all young coal miners.[23]

At the Coroner's inquest and again during the grand jury proceedings Regiel described in detail his part in the lynching. When Mayor Siegel closed the saloons, he and Wesley Beaver joined the crowd to see who the German spy was.[24] Though he was drunk he recalled that it was he and Beaver who discovered Prager hiding among some cartons in the unused cell. Regiel was one of those who held the spy as they marched down the Main Street of Collinsville. Once they reached the tree Regiel stated things happened so fast that no one really suggested they hang Prager; they just did it. It was Regiel who turned Prager's letter over to the Herald editor to be sent to his parents in Germany.[25]

During the grand jury testimony several statements were made that indicated Prager feared for his life. Walter Clark, the Donk's Mine Superintendent, said Prager had come to him

---

[23] Illinois vs Regiel, et. al., 209; Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 1.

[24] Regiel's testimony before the grand jury; Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 5.

[25] Ibid., April 12, 1918, 1.

for protection and to get help in joining the union. Mose Johnson, the District Representative of the mine workers stated he had agreed to escort Prager to Edwardsville in order to seek protection from Maryville citizens. By May 10, 1918 a total of eleven members of the mob were indicted for the lynching.[26]

The trial began on May 13 in the Circuit Court at Edwardsville, Illinois. During the first few days it seemed that presiding judge, Louis Bernruster was going to have a difficult time holding court. The eleven defendants, wearing red, white, and blue banners on their lapels, were periodically encouraged by flag wavers among the spectators.[27]

The two attorneys, defense counsel Judge J. M. Brandy of Collinsville, and State's Attorney Joseph P. Streuber of Highland, had their problems too. During the first few weeks, 742 talesmen were questioned before twelve jurymen were selected. After Streuber questioned 256 talesmen he asked that Sheriff Jenkin Jenkins be removed from his duty of selecting talesmen. Streuber believed Jenkins was deliberately selecting only those who were partial to the defendants.[28]

---

[26]Illinois vs. Regiel, et. al., 210-214; Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 1.

[27]Pursuit of Freedom, 113, Collinsville Herald, April 26, 1918, 1.

[28]Collinsville Herald, May 31, 1918, 1.

Streuber presented many witnesses. One testifed that Regiel had placed the rope around Prager's neck. Another unnamed witness stated Regiel jerked the body several times.[29] This seems to be the only eye witness testimony to the lynching. Other witnesses stated they were among the mob, but did not know who might have actually been responsible for the hanging. Hallworth was the only defendant who could prove his innocence. After Mayor Siegel announced Prager had been taken to East St. Louis, Hallworth had returned home.[30]

The chief witness for the prosecution, Paul Anderson,[31] a reporter for the St. Louis Post Dispatch was not allowed to appear. A court ruling that no witness be allowed in the court room until he was called prevented Streuber from calling Anderson. Anderson was covering the story for his paper, and was among the spectators. During the grand jury proceedings a few weeks earlier, Anderson had secured a confession from Regiel that he had participated in pulling the rope that hanged Prager. Regiel later testified that he

---

[29] Ibid., May 29, 1918, 1; Regiel's wife made a statement to the Herald that Regiel had fought with several local citizens and beaten her. "She hoped he hanged;" Ibid., April 12, 1918, 1.

[30] Hallworth was among the original committee members to attack Prager, but returned home; Ibid., May 3, 1918, 1.

[31] Collinsville Herald, May 29, 1918, 1.

was among the mob but it was too dark and he was too drunk to know what actually happened.[32]

Defense counsel Brandy opened his case with a new interpretation of murder. He pleaded "patriotic murder." "The definition of murder," Brandy told the jury, "is the unlawful killing of a human being within the peace of the people and with malice aforethought."[33] He declared Prager, being a German spy, was not within the peace of the people and since officers of the law were not doing their duty the people became the law. Brandy's witnesses partially substantiated that Prager was believed to be a spy by most of the miners. Mose Johnson testified that "every miner works under constant dread of being caught someday in a trap--a cave-in, a fire, an explosion. One spy could do a great deal of damage in a mine."[34] Johnson said he was convinced that Prager was a spy when he [Prager] asked "which kinds of explosives caused the most damage to a mine."[35] Jim Fornero stated that when

---

[32]Pursuit of Freedom, 113.

[33]Collinsville Herald, May 17, 1918, 1; June 7, 1918, 7; Pursuit of Freedom, 113; see also "First War Lynching," Literary Digest, LVII, (April 20, 1918), 16-17; "Lynching: An American Kulture?", New Republic, XIV, (April 13, 1918), 311.

[34]Collinsville Herald, April 5, 1918, 1. This news article was Johnsons' original statement from the inquest which was repeated at the trial; see also Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 1.

[35]Ibid., April 12, 1918, 5.

he heard about Prager's discussion on explosives he tried to have him arrested by county sheriff Jenkin Jenkins but did not succeed. Both Fornero and Johnson testified that had Mayor Siegel left the saloons open the mob would not have been so large or so prone to react.[36] Walter Clark, an official of the Donk's Mine said Prager's life was in danger all the time after several Maryville businessmen attacked him on April 2.[37]

Newspapers show that continuous testimony was given by minor witnesses establishing the eleven defendants as members of the mob. However, the court records, the transcript of the trial can no longer be found. It has been suggested to this writer that the trial proceedings may never have been written down.

Judge Bernruster gave final instructions to the jury on June 3, charging them that "whatever his [Prager] offense it was murder nonetheless when he was taken from the hands of peace officers and lynched."[38] The jury took 42 minutes

---

[36] Ibid., April 5, 1918, 1.

[37] Ibid., 1.

[38] Pursuit of Freedom, 113; H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War, 1917-1918, (University of Wisconsin Press: 1957), 208-212; see also an undated New York Tribune clipping in the American Civil Liberties Files, LXXX, 1; the clipping was probably from June 3 or 4, 1918 paper since it discusses the event and trial.

to return a verdict of not guilty for all eleven defendants which was greeted with shouts and cheering from the packed courtroom. A farmer from Poag, Illinois, a small community southwest of Edwardsville, stated from the jury box, "Well, I guess nobody can say we aren't loyal now. We've done justice of the right sort for Madison County."[39]

The effect of the Prager lynching was felt all over the nation as well as in Germany. German newspapers played on the Prager lynching as a typical occurrence in the United States.[40] However, propaganda was not the concern most voiced in Madison County newspapers. Several editors indicated fear of reprisals from Germany. On one occasion, it was recalled, when the British Admiralty declared U-Boat commanders criminals of war, the Germans starved several British officers.[41] The Collinsville Herald published a speech made by Lord Northcliffe of the English Ministry who stated "the mid-west is so patriotic [I] wouldn't be surprised if the enemy was misdirected and gave itself vent in attacks on

---

[39] Pursuit of Freedom, 113. There are no other accounts of the words of the Poag farmer. Since the courtroom turned into a jubilant expression of patriotism after the verdict, it is probable such statements were made.

[40] "A Federal Campaign Against Mob Violence," Survey, (May 25, 1918), XL, 225.

[41] Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 4.

persons of known German sympathy."[42] Governor Lowden was appalled as he denounced the verdict as a "deplorable miscarriage of justice."[43] United States Attorney General Thomas Gregory speaking to the American Bar Association urged a campaign against lynch law. Gregory said a new approach was needed to educate and legislate to prevent lynchings. "We must set our faces," he said, "against lawlessness within our own borders.... For us to tolerate lynching is to do the same thing that we are condemning in the Germans."[44] Illinois Senator Lawrence Yates Sherman joined officials in the state in condemning the lynching. "The mob was filled with patriotism from the brewery not the heart," Sherman stated in the Senate. ... "The poor drunken loughts," he continued, "who couldn't speak proper English language themselves thought they were doing the nation good."[45]

Mayor Siegel, who had taken the brunt of the criticism, telegramed Senator Lee Slater Overman of North Carolina,

---

[42] Ibid., 4.

[43] Jenison, V., 7; see also Jenison, VI, 352 and Wittke, 195-196.

[44] Belleville News Democrat, April 18, 1918, 5; Survey, XL, (May 25, 1918), 225.

[45] Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 4. Several interesting, but biting editorials appeared in the Belleville News Democrat, April 5, 1918, 4; April 8, 1918, 4; April 12, 1918, 4-6; June 4, 1918, 4-6.

Chairman of Legislative Committee that the laws were too lax.[46] Siegel believed that had the laws been more stringent Prager could have been arrested earlier thus saving him from the mob. Representative L. C. Dyer of St. Louis, Missouri[47] took an opposing view when he introduced the National Anti-Lynch Bill in the House of Representatives. The bill, if it had passed, provided for a fine of $5,000 to $10,000 on any county in which a lynching occurred and investigation showed the local officials had not tried to prevent it. The bill would also make lynching a federal crime and investigations would be carried out by federal officers.[48]

In Madison County the Prager case did not end with the eleven defendants. The four police officers who were "over powered" by the mob were held for trial for dereliction of duty and giving out false information to their superiors. Mayor Siegel as it has been pointed out had not known Prager was hiding in the unused cell. When officers reported he

---

[46] Ibid., 4.

[47] Representative L. C. Dyer, "Mob Violence in the United States," Survey, XL, (April 27, 1918), 102. George Creel, Chairman of the Public Information Committee has an interesting view to contrast to Dyer's proposed bill discussed in Survey. See George Creel, "Our Aliens--Were They Loyal or Disloyal?" Everybody's Magazine, (June 26, 1918), 36-38.

[48] Collinsville Herald, April 12, 1918, 4.

was taken to East St. Louis, Siegel permitted the mob to enter the jail without a struggle. The four were suspended from duty.[49] The three union members who signed Pragers membership papers were fined $50.00 each by the United Mine Workers and warned that another such occurrence would mean the loss of membership.[50]

St. Clair County churches denounced their sister county for a gross miscarriage of justice. Members of St. Luke's German Catholic Church of Belleville were the most vocal. Besides the denunciation, church members actively supported Dyers' National Anti-Lynch Bill.[51]

The Prager lynching was outstanding in that it demonstrated to what lengths mobs would go to vent their patriotism angle. Prager was not the only person lynched in Madison and St. Clair Counties during 1916-1919, but he was the first German to be lynched in the United States, and the only one in Illinois.

The appalling circumstance of the lynching is that at no time had Prager made a disloyal utterance, or attack an American patriotic activity. The statements he made in his

---

[49] Ibid., May 3, 1918, 1.

[50] Ibid., April 19, 1918, 1.

[51] Collinsville Herald, May 3, 1918, 8; Belleville Advocate, May 2, 1918, 1.

open letter to the Mine Workers Union, the situation which ruined his friendship with John Pohl, and his attempt to join the Navy indicate that his feelings were contrary to what was accepted by the rumor which swept through the Collinsville mob.

Collinsville Police Chief R. A. Staten came very close to reality when he said, "If [Prager] had been spirited away by the police, I believe the mob would have vented its rage by hanging two or three Collinsville persons who have been suspected of disloyalty."[52]

The fact that the defendants were freed and the apparent lack of objectivity shown by the jury became a minor issue in the aftermath of the trial. An overwhelming number of Congressmen, newspaper editors, and even Governor Frank O. Lowden discussed the case more in the light of criticizing the "weak" federal statutes than the obvious miscarriage of justice. The Literary Digest found in a survey of leading newspaper editors that most did not condemn the Prager lynching or any other but rather the laws for being too lax.[53] The Christain Science Monitor declared that mob lynchings would occur as long as state and federal courts failed to

---

[52]Belleville News Democrat, April 8, 1918, 4.

[53]"The First War Lynching," Literary Digest, LVII, (April 20, 1918), 16-18.

deal with the problem of disloyalty.[54]

On April 5 when Prager was lynched the Senate was debating a Sedition Bill which would provide harsh penalties for utterances against the United States.[55] Before the bill succeeded through the Congress several states had adopted laws providing severe penalties for seditious speech. California passed a bill providing a death penalty for certain kinds of disloyalty, and Nebraska provided penalties up to twenty years in prison for persons convicted of disloyal acts or utterances.[56]

It is too bad that this kind of national attention should be aroused by the Prager lynching because Prager had not made disloyal utterances, neither was he formally accused of spying, nor were Collinsville citizens really interested in Pragers alleged crime. Prager's death was not simply the result of a desire to punish a spy, but rather, a means through which the mob could dramatically express its patriotism. No member of the mob ever asked what act of spying or sabotage Prager committed. None of the eleven accused of the crime knew anything about Prager's activities, but rather demanded to see what a "bona fide" spy looked like.

---

[54]Peterson, 212.

[55]See Chapter II.

[56]Peterson, 213.

The Prager lynching, then, represents the culmination of anti-German attitudes in the two counties which were nurtured by the presence of federal agents in the community, by federal administrators, by loyalty days set aside for demonstrations, by the flag raisings, by the acceptance of vigilante justice for a court of law, by the nature of these laws, and by successfully forcing German institutions to change their language, or activity which to a hysterical population was an admittance to sponsoring anti-American ideas or activities. The lynching cannot be compared with any other single death resulting from mob violence in the history of Illinois. Elijah P. Lovejoy died in Alton, Illinois on November 7, 1837 because he believed in the abolition of slavery and set up a newspaper to advocate this belief which infuriated a mob who killed him. The Negroes who died in the East St. Louis race riot of July 2, 1917 represented a threat to the economic status of union members and Negroes were assisting strike breakers or gaining employment at the expense of whites which perpetrated the riot. In every other act of mob violence a deed by the persecuted individual preceded the violence. Prager, however, represented to the mob all the hatred for a national enemy that they were unable to express through the hundreds of demonstrations, speeches, and flag raisings. The ultimate in defending the nation from an enemy

is to physically engage him in combat, and to the mob what better way to combat the nation's enemies, and demonstrate ones high standards of patriotism than to "capture" and punish a spy? For three hundred Collinsville residents on April 5, 1918 there was no better way.[57]

---

[57]An interesting sidelight occurred when Mayor Siegel and Governor Lowden accepted an invitation from the German Government to pay the cost of Prager's funeral. When Lowden informed the United State's Department of State that a bill for $197.00 had been sent to the Swiss legation for funeral costs, he received a heated note from the State Department and subsequently announced that the State of Illinois would pay for Prager's funeral. See Pursuit of Freedom, 112; Belleville Advocate, May 2, 1918, 3; Jenison, VI, 352.

V

GRANITE CITY: PATERNALISM PREVENTS ALIEN PROBLEMS

Despite the pinnacle of anti-German hysteria reached in Collinsville in April, 1918, it can not be construed that every community was as anti-German as Collinsville, East St. Louis, or Belleville. In Edwardsville, New Baden, Mascoutah, and Smithton, which are all heavily populated with German minorities, few anti-German eruptions occurred, and in Alhambra, a small community almost entirely German, there were no occurrences.

In Granite City, one of the larger industrial communities of Madison County, efforts to Americanize aliens began a decade before the declaration of war in 1917. Granite City began changing from an agricultural shipping center to an industrial city as early as 1892.[1] In that year William F. and Frederick G. Niedringhaus, both sons of a German immigrant,

---

[1] Granite City History 1896-1946, (Granite Ctiy Council: 1946), 14-15. This publication was released by the city Council in 1946 as a bi-centennial of Granite City. The Prefatory note indicates research for the pamphlet was done by the local library staff. Hereafter cited Granite City History.

founded the St. Louis Stamping Works[2] (later named National Enameling and Stamping Company),[3] and the Granite City Realty Company.[4] Shares of stock in both companies were distributed among the Niedringhaus family including Congressman Frederick G. Niedringhaus who, with the aid of William McKinley, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, succeeded seven years before in getting Congress to adopt a high tariff to protect American manufacturing, especially, tin plated and enameled steel.[5] The Niedringhaus family not only owned the St. Louis Stamping Company which produced steel cookware, but also 3,500 acres of land which was subdivided into tracts for homes, industries, and businesses.[6] By 1895 the St. Louis Stamping Company was not only producing stamped cookware, but

---

[2]Granite City Press-Record, September 4, 1962, 13. The issue was a cooperative venture with the Alton Evening Telegraph, and the Edwardsville Intelligence to celebrate the Centennial of Madison County. See Appendix A.

[3]Granite City History, 19.

[4]Ibid., 16-17. The Niedringhaus brothers once decided to abandon the project when Eugene Debs was arrested July 7, 1894. Fear that labor troubles might eventually reach their factory caused much concern in Granite City (then called Pinderhook). The Niedringhaus brothers were at this time attempting a project along the lines of George W. Pullman inventor of the Pullman Palace Car. Pullman not only owned the factory but every house and "stick and stone in town."

[5]Ibid., 14.

[6]Ibid., 15-16.

also rolling its own steel from ninety-pound ingots manufactured from iron ore and scrap steel. The Niedringhaus brothers invented a new process in cookware--enameled steel. The new enamelware increased sales tenfold, and new additions were added to the steel mill which was by 1900 a separate plant from the St. Louis Stamping Company. The mill, named the Granite City Steel Company was soon producing more rolled tin plate than the St. Louis Stamping Company could use, and the Niedringhauses began a nation-wide sale of rolled tinplate.

In describing the growth of the city in 1900 the authors of the History of Granite City wrote:

> "Granite City throve beyond the hopes of its founders. A late comer among cities, it abounded with opportunities. Lines of endeavor with no apparent saturation point lay open on every side."[7]

With the increase in industries there was a natural demand for workers. The Niedringhaus brothers foresaw the demand and built several brick tenements, despite the fact that the area was swampy and malaria was an everyday occurrence among the city's population. A roaring community nonetheless developed as workers hurried,

> "lest the lot or house they wanted should be sold to someone else on the morrow. Scores of mill

---

[7] Ibid., 19.

> employees forgot their fears of malaria and established homes in Granite City. The real estate market waxed bullish. An acute housing shortage developed. Even sleeping rooms became scarce, although Phillip Lauff, John E. Molthrop, and F. Krakenbring opened new hotels. Many single men lived in saloon-boarding houses where they could squelch their thirst of an evening and ward off loneliness with hours of shop talk. These establishments went by such names as the Yellow Dog, the Blue Goose, the Black Bear."[8]

It was during this period of the city's history--1900-1910 that Czechs, Poles, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Bohemians, Germans, and Austrians found their way to the lower west side of Granite City.[9] By 1907 they numbered nearly 5,000, and the Federal Immigration Commission included Granite City in its survey of "melting pots" in the nation. These east European immigrants formed a ghetto on the west side and there fell victim to the cupidity of Macedonian and Bulgarian "kings."[10] The kings owned cottages and mercantile houses in which most of their countrymen lived. The Federal Immigration Commission described the cottages:

> "Each cottage usually had three rooms, although some scattered here and there have four rooms. In each of these cottages twelve to sixteen men live, paying a rent of from $14 to $16 per month. Multiplying these amounts by twelve to get [each man's]

---

[8] Ibid., 20.

[9] Ibid., 24.

[10] Ibid., 24; Albert Field Gilmore, Fellowship: The Biography of a Man and a Business, (Chicago, 1929), 29.

> annual rents, they are found to be $168 and $92 respectively. The cottages are very similar to but not so good as those for which [southern] cotton mill operatives pay rent of $3 to $4 monthly,"[11]

It is little wonder local residents referred to the ghetto as "Hungry Hollow."[12] Ninety-one per cent of these "foreigners" earned no more than $300 a year, and twenty-one per cent earned less than $200 a year.[13] By 1911 housing conditions due to the influx of both foreign and American laborers, were difficult in the entire city, but they were appalling in Hungry Hollow. Hungry Hollow was segregated from the rest of the west side by the American Steel Foundry's property, The National Enameling and Stamping Company, and a new factory, the Commonwealth Company, whose property squeezed into the ghetto backyards. The fact that a young steel worker, M. E. Kirkpatrick, running on an independent [socialist][14] ticket became mayor in 1911 did not ease the difficult situation in the Hollow.

---

[11] Ibid., 25-26.

[12] Ralph Adams to Frank Adams, June 1, 1966. Ralph Adams has been a resident of Granite City for the past forty-two years; Granite City Press-Record, (June 2, 1916), 1; Granite City History, 29.

[13] Granite City History, 24.

[14] Ibid., 27. Roster of Mayors located in the Granite City Municipal Building shows M. E. Kirkpatrick holding office in 1911-1914, 1917-1918, 1927-1930, 1937-1945. Only during 1911-1914 was he referred to as a socialist. During other elections he is listed as an Independent.

Kirkpatrick was able to promote a modern sewage system, prevent gambling houses from opening, and improve certain tenement conditions for most of Granite City, but he did little to improve upon conditions in the ghetto. As a result the ghetto was left to suffer in silence a safe distance from the residential section of the west side.

In 1904, inventor-manufacturer Clarence C. Howard and Harry M. Pflager came to Granite City.[15] They bought a faltering stove manufacturing company and proceeded to introduce cast steel locomotive frames to the bulging industrial city. Much of the process required semi-skilled and unskilled workers which fitted perfectly the abilities of foreigners in Hungry Hollow. Through the years that followed until the outbreak of the war several thousand men from the ghetto obtained employment at Howard's foundry. By 1917 no less than three thousand, or slightly over one-third, of the employees were foreigners, many of whom neither had taken out citizenship papers nor were able to speak or understand the English language very well.[16]

Clarence C. Howard was no ordinary factory owner. A Christian-Scientist, he was deeply concerned for the welfare

---

[15]Granite City Press-Record, September 4, 1962, 13.

[16]Gilmore, 28.

of his employees--especially those of foreign birth. The Company, named The Commonwealth, was only one of many channels through which Howard strove to embody his religious convictions into the business world.[17]

By 1922 Howard had realized the completion of his Commonwealth Plan. "When I purchased this plant in 1904," he said, "I decided to operate it on the basis of this psalm verse,[18] 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh in vain.'"[19] During the intervening years he initiated far reaching progressive programs such as an eight-hour day, profit sharing, cafeterias for employees, a commissary where food and clothing were sold at cost, a visiting nurse for employees and their families, a plant dispensary for employees, and a multitude of other benefits for his workers.[20]

At first his employees, especially foreigners, were suspicious and uncooperative. Two years passed before any program could be established because "men from other lands seemed unable to understand the spirit of fellowship and the

---

[17]Granite City History, 38.

[18]Ibid., 35.

[19]Ibid., 35; also Psalm 127:1 King James Version.

[20]Gilmore, 25-26, 39; The Commonwealth Steel Company, The Commonwealther, May, 1915, 2; August-September, 1915, 4; January, 1916, 4.

desire of the management to befriend them."[21]

Seeking cooperation from his workers, Howard called a meeting of all employees on January 19, 1906. He urged them to establish an organization, [not a labor union], in which both management and labor could freely participate in the betterment of the plant atmosphere and efficiency. A Commonwealth Fellowship Club was agreed to with some officers elected by employees, and some appointed by Howard. Almost immediately Howard's program of "fellowship" was accepted as employees were granted more responsibility in planning their own welfare programs.[22] For eighteen years Howard, through the Fellowship Club, established projects that added more and more to the well-being of the workers. At first the Fellowship Club concentrated on the improvement of workers. A vocational school was started in 1907 for all employees under twenty-two years of age. The students attended classes for one or two mornings a week and at night. English language classes with volunteer teachers began that same year for foreigners. The classes taught English and prepared the student for American citizenship.[23]

---

[21] Ibid., 28.

[22] The Commonwealther, February, 1915, 2.

[23] Ibid., February-March, 1916, 4. Plant newspaper was irregularly published by company officials. Its motto: "Published Every Little While" explains the irregular dating of Publications, see Appendix C.

Meanwhile a frame Fellowhip Club Hall was built on Company property with Howard supplying the materials. (It was replaced a few years later, after World War I, with an all brick building with classrooms, auditorium, and game rooms.) The original structure maintained a poolroom and auditoriums. Later a service station and shoe repair shop were added. Almost daily the club was involved in an activity--baseball teams were organized; basketball tournaments sponsored; family picnics, fish fries, and card parties were a part of the Commonwealth Plan. A Benefit Fund provided sick pay for employees from forty-percent of the club dues and periodic donations from Howard.[24]

By 1915 roller skating, a plant orchestra, a plant minstrel show, and a yearly riverboat excursion on the Mississippi were added. Within the plant Howard provided the first Safety Department in the area which began to function in 1912 when two employees, Ira Crocker and Paul Woods were severely injured. Its slogan, "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Safety, as well as Liberty," remains today a part of the plant's policy. Two years later the "Lecture Course Idea" was added to the plant school. It included studies of the operation of the plant where each job was described in its relationship to the overall plant function.[25]

---

[24] Ibid., May, 1915, 2; See Appendix C.

[25] Ibid., January, 1916, 4; Ralph Adams to Frank Adams June 1, 1966.

Howard's Superintendent, Arthur T. Morey, lauded the program to members of the American Foundrymen's Association in 1912. Morey indicated that since its beginning the Commonwealth Plan, especially increased wages, benefits, and eight-hour day, had "proved wholly successful; plant efficiency had increased, and the elimination of waste caused by fatigued employees declined."[26]

For the employees the high point of the Commonwealth Plan was reached when a tornado struck St. Louis and Granite City in 1927. Employees from the plant donated their time to rebuild demolished homes while the Fellowship Club and Howard paid for emergency relief and building materials. Employees were also able to borrow from the plant for the emergency. The Fellowship Loan Fund had been set up by Howard during a slack period in 1926. During the ensuing lay-off, Howard loaned employees $70,000 for family emergencies, and another $400,000 for rebuilding during the tornado. When the slack period subsided, ninety-percent of the loans were repaid in the first year. Howard only lost two-thirds of one percent of the total $470,000 when a few employees moved away or were discharged from the company.[27]

---

[26] Granite City History, 27.

[27] Gilmore, 28, 39; Granite City Press-Record, September 4, 1962, 13.

Howard's interest in people extended beyond his workers. He was instrumental in the formation of the Granite City Junior Chamber of Commerce, the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, Principia College in St. Louis, the St. Louis Area Boy Scout Council, and the Granite City Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.).[28] He must have experienced great pleasure when a Granite City boy scout, Archie Boyd, was the recipient of the Livingston Award for Citizenship. President Wilson awarded the medal to five outstanding boys in the United States. Boyd had sold more Liberty Bonds than any other boy in the nation. During the drive, Granite City Scouts sold a total of $1,152,750.00 in bonds. In 1919 when the Belgium Boy Scouts were organized the first troop was named "Illinois;" the first patrol, "Granite City."[29]

Above all else, Clarence C. Howard's contribution to the foreigners in Hungry Hollow stands as a hallmark to his good will. Prior to Howard's endeavors, little had been done to Americanize foreigners. In 1915 more foreigners trickled into the area. Notable among this group was Francis Horalek a Bohemian from the German region of what is today Czechoslovakia.[30] By July, 1916, Horalek had established a Bohemian

---

[28]J. Dan House, Advertising Manager, General Steel Industires to Frank Adams, June 15, 1966; Gilmore, 28, 39, 226; Granite City History, 34.

[29]Granite City History, 31.

[30]Granite City Press-Record, July 7, 1916, 1.

speaking mission at 1722 Maple Street which is in the heart of Hungry Hollow. Horalek and others had little opportunity to sway the residents to return to the ways of their former countries for on March 21, 1916, Howard called a meeting of influential people in the area to suggest the establishment of a community welfare program.[31] Before the meeting adjourned a new name was selected to replace the stereotype Hungry Hollow. Since most of the people had high regard for our sixteenth president, the area was renamed Lincoln Place. Shortly, a Progressive Club was organized with a functioning Welfare Committee. The "foreigners" were to donate a monthly due of twenty-five cents to the Committee. The funds were used for welfare and Americanization projects.[32]

Some social work had already begun in the summer of 1915 by Miss Edna Haas, and in 1916 she was joined by a school teacher from the west side Washington Grade School, Miss Sophia Prather.[33] Miss Prather, who had desired for a long while to see an Americanization program begun in Lincoln Place, became a full time social worker. Howard personally paid Miss Prather's salary and placed her in charge of com-

---

[31]Ibid., 1; Granite City Press-Record, June 2, 1916, 1; The Commonwealther, February-March, 1916, 4; Gilmore, 29.

[32]Granite City History, 27. Granite City Press-Record, September 4, 1962, 13. The Commonwealther, December, 1921, 6-9.

[33]Ibid., 30; Granite City, Press-Record, September 4, 1962, 23.

munity Welfare. Social work was difficult during the war years since most families had a fair income and jobs were plentiful. Night classes in English for adults, especially workers who were not employed by Howard, were conducted twice weekly. The small frame Community House built by Howard in 1917 afforded little room for recreation. Throughout the war, Miss Prather, "Little Mother of Lincoln Place,"[34] continued to teach night classes for the men and grammar school for their wives and elderly foreigners during the day.

In 1920 when work became slack in most of Granite City's industries due to the decrease in war materials manufacturing, Howard relieved unemployment in Lincoln Place. Sometime during 1920, a movement was undertaken by the company to build a New Community House. Howard proposed "that the Company furnish the site, plans, and materials for the building... provided that the men of the neighborhood whose children would use the building would undertake the labor at a nominal wage."[35] Once again "an air of prosperity pervaded,"[36] as three times as many workers showed up as there were jobs. The work was sporadic and continued for two years, mostly

---

[34] The Commonwealther, December, 1921, 3.

[35] Gilmore, 29.

[36] Ibid., 29.

during good weather. When it was completed, Miss Prather inaugurated a year-round Kindergarten, and an "organization to train youth of the community into lives of usefulness and honor."[37] The Kindergarten system was familiar to most of the residents since it was an adaption of the earlier German prototypes and was a familiar system for pre-schools in Europe. Now night classes in English rose to ninety students and the welfare programs of the community were enthusiastically accepted. A year earlier Howard completed his dream of the Commonwealth Plan of Co-operative Management[38] which referred to the many paternalistic policies he had introduced since 1906. "Here at the Commonwealth," he said later, "we have shown the world that there is no problem between the employer and the employee but there are problems of the employer and employees, and we are working on these problems."[39]

Howard's Fellowship Plan, though a commendable approach to employer-employee relationships, may have been an attempt to combat the growth of unionism in Granite City. The Wilson Administration by 1914 conceded that labor unions with legitimate

---

[37] The Commonwealther, December 1921, 8; see also Gilmore, 28.

[38] Gilmore, 26, 39; Granite City History, 34.

[39] Granite City History, 35; Howard's principles are illustrated in news items in Granite City Press-Record, November 14, 1916, 1; June 16, 1916, 1.

objectives would not be prosecuted under the Clayton Act.[40] Labor unionism in Granite City seemed more intense after the Clayton Act to the point that Kirkpatrick's sewage program was stifled for over two years due to the American Federation of Labor's strikes.[41] Though it is not certain that Howard's Fellowship Plan was designed to ward off the unions, but at least on one occasion he found cause to discharge known union organizers.[42] The United States Supreme Court Case, American Steel Foundries vs Tri-City Central Trades Council brought before Chief Justice Howard Taft on December 5, 1921[43] resulted in a decision favoring the strike going on at the American Steel Foundry in Granite City. This may have affected Howard's anti-unionism. That same year he informed the Fellowship Club of new projects in the Commonwealth Plan which included higher wages, and some of the other paternalistic projects already mentioned. Paternalism to Howard, it seems, meant two things: his relitious belief of helping his fellow man, and combating unionism.

Whatever his motives for paternalism were in terms of

---

[40] Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson And The Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York: Torchbook, 1963), 68-69.

[41] Granite City History, 28.

[42] It was related to this writer that Howard called a meeting of all employees an announced in a speech that every farmer knows that his best seeds sometimes produce poor plants and knowing this he plucks them out of the field. Shortly afterwards several union organizers were allegedly discharged.

[43] Granite City History, 34.

combating unionsim, they were nevertheless genuine attempts at satisfying the needs of his employees. He sincerely believed that there was no need for a union as expressed by his view that there was no problem between employer and employees, but rather, problems of the two.

Lincoln Place became a special project to Howard. He hoped to instill the ideas of loyalty to the nation, the English language, and voting habits in the residents. Of course, these were similar to the desires the State Council of Defenses' Americanization program had for all foreigners, and too, these were the same results mobs in East St. Louis, Collinsville, Lebanon, and Belleville hoped to engender in German Americans through fear and intimidation. However, Howard was not interested so much in having these foreigners conform to the ideals of patriotism which were established after 1917. Had this been his goal, i.e., conformity to ultra patriotism of the war time years, he would not have started a decade before there was a possibility of war in Europe. Howard's Americanization was, through schools, the community house, and the company, a means through which the foreigners in the ghetto could rise above their poor conditions and more easily assimilate into the American way of life. This view sets Howard's methods apart from the others primarily because "his" people were gradually educated into

speaking English, improving their community, and becoming accepted citizens.

Probably the best testimonial to Howards contribution to preventing anti-German or anti-foreign sentiments from arising in Granite City comes from a high school graduate from Lincoln Place. The graduate's valedictorian speech was on her life as a child under the Howard system:

> "For two winters I taught English to a group of aliens as a part of my social service work. Since I was foreign [Hungarian] to American ways at one time, I felt that I could better understand their needs than could a native American. Perhaps I failed to accomplish all that I might have, but I sincerely believe that I can never do anything as interesting as teach men and women of six different nationalities the solution of [sic] few of the Americanization problems they must face."[44]

The one asset Howard had which the people of Collinsville and Belleville did not have was a ghetto. Here the people were of the lower economic strata, segregated from non-aliens, and eager to advance. Howard led the way and most often they followed eagerly.

In other areas the foreigners, usually German, were long time residents whose parents built the community. In such areas as Belleville, Collinsville, and Lebanon it was far more difficult for any group, especially those of recent residence, to convince well established, often prosperous German Americans that their way was no longer the correct

---

[44] Gilmore, 30.

pattern of behavior.

There is a note of irony in the history of Granite City and Howard's paternalism. In 1915 the St. Louis Post-Dispatch dubbed him "Golden Rule Howard"[45] because he refused a two million dollar contract with Great Britain for the production of shrapnel. Howard's refusal was accompanied with: "I shall not permit my Company to manufacture a dollars worth of steel to be used for the destruction of human life."[46] Three years later on November 8, 1918 when representatives of the nations at war met in the forest of Compiengue the railcar in which the peace conference was held had an underframe of cast steel built by Howard's Commonwealth Steel Company.[47]

---

[45]Gilmore, 226.

[46]Granite City Press-Record, September 4, 1962, 13; Gilmore, 226.

[47]Gilmore, 226.

VI

CONCLUSION

The rise of anti-German attitudes in Madison and St. Clair Counties was only an incidental episode of a much larger problem. Primarily it was part of another chapter in the history of intolerance in this country which has occurred from time to time since the first colonists came to the new world. The Salem witch trials of Massachusetts, Peter Zenger, Jefferson's Alien and Sedition Laws, the institution of slavery, attacks upon Irish Catholics and the Chinese, and intolerance for American Indians all play their part..

It would be utopian to believe that in every human community man will always accept his fellows. As the world grows smaller as a consequence of technology, human understanding and toleration will not always grow proportionately. If they did, few international eruptions would occur. The world community of people would live happily accepting differences in national and racial character that are results of thousands of years of human history. In view of current history it is easy to see that internationally, suspicions,

fears, and intolerance still exist. Within the United States the current dilemna of riots, marches and deaths resulting from the Negroes' drive to win acceptance and break the shackles of race prejudice is testimony sufficient to show that as a nation the United States has moved forward only slightly in eliminating intolerance since World War I.

When the World War of 1914-1918 ended proponents of tolerance condemned the abuses heaped upon Germans as disgraceful, unamerican, and deplorable. Many of these writers condemned intolerance around the nation as ipso facto without a clear understanding of the nature of intolerance.[1] For instance, in comparing Granite City with Collinsville this writer found that these two cities though only a scant twenty-five miles apart developed differently. Collinsville began as a community of German farmers and businessmen who quite naturally retained that which had been familiar and good in Germany. The community, then, was built on the foundation of the social makeup of 19th Century German farming communities. Granite City was just the opposite. Here, even though the city was founded by a German, the community was made up largely of Americans whose ancestry was probably unknown or, at least not considered important.

---

[1]"American by Decree," New Republic, XXXI., (April 3, 1920), 262-263; "America's Shame," Independent, XCVIII., (May 24, 1919), 277.

When mining and related industries appeared around Collinsville, the German farmers remained the real pillars of the community. A survey of the elections in Collinsville from 1900-1920 shows a dominance of German names with only a sprinkling of names like Jones, or Smith. As the city grew there was no movement to change the German culture until 1916. The reason for this was probably the fact that those in the community who were respected and assumed a responsible role were Germans. In Granite City the situation was slightly reversed. Though German names appear in the history of the city, those responsible for the cities growth lived for the most part in St. Louis, Missouri.

The Niedringhaus family rarely established a residence in Granite City, nor did Clarence Howard. Howard lived always in St. Louis, and after his retirement in 1935 moved to Massachusetts. The mechanics of establishing a social order in Granite City were left largely to the workers themselves. For example, during the war Mayor Siegel of Collinsville was a medical doctor whose parents could speak German, while in Granite City, M. E. Kirkpatrick, who became Mayor in 1917, worked as a day laborer at the Granite City Steel Company. The foreigners who might have continued old world customs in Granite City were largely in the ghetto of the west side and definitely had little influence over civic affairs.

When war was imminent in the latter part of 1916 this writer found that the greatest patriotic sentiments, at least outward manifestations, in both communities were shown by factory workers. Flag raisings, marches, bond drives, and many other patriotic demonstrations were attended largely by men and their families who depended on industrial wages for their livelihood. These proved to be the more recent residents who were not of the basic German element. The Germans being the first residents were still over all the land owners whose farms were located outside the city. Those Germans in the city, although loyal to the United States, were largely less radically inclined since they were descendants of the rural Germans. They were not so different in their views than other farmers. American farmers, collectively, have for decades represented a more conservative view point. The community pressures to demonstrate patriotism was focused more sharply on Germans in the Collinsville area because "things German" were quite apparent. It is not difficult to understand this fixation since the Germans, by their customs, language, and societies represented characteristics of the enemy.[2]

All the German communities and Granite City were sur-

---

[2]The general attitude which was expressed by the Burnett Immigration Act of February 1, 1917 gave national scope to the attitudes of city dwellers toward immigrants whether recently arrived or still holding their old traditions; see Link, 60.

rounded by German farmers who felt little pressure to change their normal behavior in order to represent what some townspeople believed patriotic. This is not true of Lebanon, however, because that town was not an industrial center but an agricultural shipping point which resulted in intimate contact with German farmers, thus the pressures on those Germans were even greater.

A comparison of the aliens in the two communities also illustrates a reason for the immediate rise of anti-German feelings in the two counties. In Granite City the aliens came after the social structure was already established. It was only natural for them to congregate in the more familiar alien district of Lincoln Place. Lincoln Place developed as it did because the earliest Bulgarians and Macedonians were enterprising enough to build cottages and hotels in this area. Had they selected any other section of the city a similar "Lincoln Place" would have developed. The aliens settled in Lincoln Place because it maintained a more familiar habitat. They could find people able to speak their own language, and with similar European customs. The location of the ghetto provided easy access to work in the factories. The factories on the other hand owned all the land around the ghetto thus segregating these foreigners from the bulk of the population. The contacts between the two sections of the city were made

when both the alien and the American experienced a common goal--that is at school for the children or at work in the factories for the men.

In the Collisville area the opposite was true. The retailers, professionals and farmers were largely Germans while the miners were Americanized Germans or recent residents in the community. Workers largely depended upon Germans for their everyday needs such as clothing, food, and even rented homes. Germans in the city were often the recipients of a portion of the non-Germans pay envelopes, and a well-kept farm which produced abundance established the German farmers as one of wealth. Al least they appeared wealthier than the workers and miners of the community.

Granite City's alien population did not come into intimate contact with non-aliens other than during times when each were striving for the same goal. In Howard's Commonwealth, though each man was guaranteed an hourly wage, his ability to produce a sand mold which made up a tiny portion of a larger mold regulated his daily earnings. Each man was paid extra for producing more than his guaranteed wage demanded. Therefore, rather than the men competing for raises from their employer, they competed with their own previous production rate. When an alien's pay was more than a non-alien, it was only because on that day the alien was able to

produce more; not because of his inheritance or special privilege. Once out of the factory both alien and non-alien returned to his respective district. Another aspect of the contrast between the two groups was Howard's principle of fellowship which he began a decade before the war. No such program existed in any of the predominate German communities. This fact was pointed out to the Illinois Legislature on January 18, 1919 by the Americanization Committee.[3] The Americanization Committee's recommendation was for a state wide program, but its recommendations were based upon successful communities such as Granite City.

The laws and the governments--city, state, and national--provided an avenue for citizens to respond to the German atmosphere. The Espionage Act of 1917 and Wilson's encouragement that each citizen should alert himself to possible pro-German elements provided an incentive for local action. The appearance of federal marshalls, secret service agents, and bureaucrats in charge of nationalization of the war effort strengthened the attitude that there was an immediate danger from Germans in every community. The willingness of these agents to investigate the most trivial discrepancies might well have given an indication to residents that the slightest pro-German view was extremely dangerous. Lebanon, Illinois

---

[3]See Appendix D; Jenison, War Documents, V., 7.

showed a high propensity to react to minor statements by Germans. Belleville and Collinsville also directed local pressures to change all things of German character to something more American. After the Prager lynching in Collinsville and the obvious disregard the court showed for justice, there were even more incendiary situations that might have resulted in chaos had it not been for the passage of the Sedition Act in May, 1918. This law gave more power to federal authorities. Federal authorities tended to react more calmly than did local residents. On nearly every occasion some action was taken lest the "guilty" one fall into the hands of a mob.

Granite City experienced no mob violence against aliens or Germans during the war. Once laborers engaged in a riotous brawl with strike breakers during the excavation of the city's sewage system, and after the East St. Louis riot in July, 1917 a few Negroes were attacked on the streets of the city, but not one mob occurrence is recorded against an alien or anyone of immediate German descent.

The results of this study leads the writer to the conclusion that the era of anti-German feeling in Madison and St. Clair Counties was the result of local communities acting independently from one another but ending with the same results--The Americanization of the German culture. Con-

munities which were established originally by German immigrants who based their livelihood on the rich prairie soil tended to experience a great deal more anti-German feeling than those communities established largely on an industrial base. The Prager lynch mob was largely made up of miners, unemployed laborers, factory workers, retail clerks, and youths. Neither of the eleven accused murderers were from the agricultural base of the community, nor was there any evidence that any farmers participated in the lynching. With these facts illustrated by the examples in previous chapters it is logical to assume that had Collinsville or any other of the German communities provided an Americanization program such as that provided by Clarence C. Howard, the Prager lynching might have been avoided, and on the other hand, had Howard not established his program the animosity toward a ghetto of non-English speaking aliens in the west side of the city who were being encouraged by at least one prominent resident of the ghetto to retain their old world ways may have resulted in a similar atmosphere as Collinsville experienced.

The comparison made between Granite City and Collinsvile as a typical German community is one which illustrates two situations primarily within the frame work of the law. The mob violence and Defense Committee action thus far illustrated

by examples from the majority of the communities heavily populated by Germans had some legal basis. The formation of Defense Committees and Vigilante Committees represented local action in organized efforts to uphold the principle of being loyal to one's country during war. It is true that more often than not these committees and law enforcement officers were more prone to coerce suspects than to convince them of their desires. If this were not the case, there would have been no demonstrations or vigilante action. In a sense the coercive action expressed by local committees was an attempt to get the same results as Howard experienced only the committees were formed during the war, and they were very much in a hurry to see manifestations of loyalty.

These manifestations of loyalty were already outlined by government agencies on the national level. The Creel Committee, and the State Council of Defense tended to establish a general stereotype for a truly loyal citizen. Most often if the person fitted himself into the stereotype his loyalty was rarely questioned. The violence shown against Germans, though extreme, was not any worse than that experienced in other German American communities in the nation, nor was this violence the ultimate reaction against a minority in the two counties studied. What might have occurred if there were no legal valves to check the anti-German

feelings? Though the action taken by federal marshalls, secret service agents and defense committees were not always indiscriminate or just, they did act as a valve to release community feelings before they reached the proportions of mob actions.[4] The fact that Prager was never accused of a crime before a court of law is an indication of how far a community might go without some agencies acting between the mob and the court.

However, there is a good example available in the race riots in East St. Louis. In that city marauding mobs on July 2, 1917 wandered the streets in search of Negroes. When the riots, which lasted from 9 o'clock in the evening until after midnight ended, forty-seven people, both Negro and white had been killed, nearly a hundred hospitalized, several hundred received minor injuries, at least seven Negroes were burned to death, and five East St. Louis police officers met their deaths during a battle between whites and Negroes.[5]

In contrasting the East St. Louis riot with the attack on Robert Prager it is immediately obvious that both occurred as a result of a breakdown of law enforcement. However, the conditions with which each situation arose were different.

---

[4]This does not excuse the fact that some defense committees were nothing more than well organized mobs.

[5]East St. Louis Journal, July 2, 1917, 1; July 3, 1917, 1,2; see also "East St. Louis Riots," H. Doc. No. 1231, 65 Cong., 2 Sess., (1918), Ser. 7444.

The Negro migration to East St. Louis began about 1910 and continued until 1917. In 1910 there were approximately 5,832 Negroes in the city. By 1917 that figure rose to 10,617. Between 1916 and 1917 the Negroes increased by 2,400. They were made up of uneducated, "discontented tenant farmers" of the south and "unsettled young men from small towns." The decade 1900-1910 census showed that one in ten residents of the city was colored. This estimate does not include the additional five to six thousand that entered the city between 1910-1917.[6] Professor Elliott Rudwick of Southern Illinois University describes the general conditions,

> "However, the period of World War I was a greater upheaval because, for the first time, a large number of Northern Negroes aggressively and unconditionally claimed equal rights. For many whites it was the first encounter with Negro migrants who competed for jobs and seemed to be making unlimited demands on limited housing, transportation, and recreational facilities."[7]

In 1917 the N.A.A.C.P. also had a headquarters in East St. Louis, and the American Federation of Labor[8] made a

---

[6] The East St. Louis Journal described the influx of Negroes in a discriminating manner and continually printed derogatory articles about the Negroes and crime; see various issues during 1914 to 1917 particularly December 27, 1916, 1,5; December 29, 1917, 1; January 19, 1917, 1; Rudwick, Elliot M., Race Riots at East St. Louis July 2, 1917 (Carbondale: 1964), 164-165. Hereafter cited Rudwick.

[7] Rudwick, 3.

[8] An organization called the Workers Protective Association, although not a member of the American Federation of Labor allowed a few unskilled Negroes into the organization. There was little choice. Most factories had an open shop or would not recognize the union; Davis, John P., The American Negro Reference Book (New Jersey: 1966), 61.

practice of admitting the lower skilled Negroes to the union and some federal officials championed equal rights for Negroes. Efforts, then, were made to alleviate the problem between Negroes and whites in the city.

Like the Hungarians of Lincoln Place the Negroes crowded into ghettos near the factories. They settled there partly because other Negroes were there, but largely because East St. Louis like other industrial communities in Illinois had a tacit understanding among whites that no Negroes should be allowed to settle in all-white districts.

The crux of the Negro-white animosity that resulted from the influx of Negroes can be illustrated in three stages.

First, manufacturers believed a critical labor shortage would result from conscription during the war. They advertised in southern newspapers for Negroes to migrate. Promises of high pay and equal opportunity encouraged many Negroes. On May 11, 1917 the Granite City Press-Record reported:

> "...large industries in East St. Louis have contracted for 5,000 Negroes during the next 30 days. Real estate dealers have been asked to build 2,000 cottages to house the newcomers, but they demurred."[9]

Other communities felt the impact of Negro migrants. Granite City, which is nine miles north of East St. Louis, the Press-Record recorded that during May, 1917 "the number

---

[9]Granite City Press-Record, May 11, 1917, 1; Granite City History, 30; Rudwick, 16-26.

[of Negroes] employed at the local foundries [had] been greatly increased and as the warm weather comes on the Negro men are sleeping in boxcars and most anyplace they can find while they are not working, eating their meals in the plant resturant."[10]

Secondly, the Negroes were a threat to union organizations. At the Aluminum Ore Company, a non-union company, officials used migrant Negroes to help break up a strike called by the Aluminum Ore Employees Protective Association. The Negroes who participated in the strike breaking increased anti-Negro tensions to such an extent that Mayor Mollman met with employees to encourage them to hold their tempers against Negroes. On May 23, 1917 delegates from various unions met with Mollmann and the city council to demand "drastic action to get rid of the migrants."[11] Mollmann told union members he had informed southern governors to discourage migrants from coming to East St. Louis.

Finally, when violence erupted the police and national guardsmen were either unwilling or unable to prevent mass destruction of life and property.

Various outbreaks of violence against Negroes occurred from May through July, 1917. However, the day of July 2, 1917

---

[10] Granite City History, 30-31.

[11] Rudwick, 23; East St. Louis Journal, May 17, 1917, 1.

marks the high point of the riot period, and it is this day the writer selected to contrast with the mob violence of April 5, 1918 in Collinsville.

On the evening of July 1 several whites drove [in a Ford car] through the Negro district firing shots into Negro homes. As the car returned for a second volley, Negro residents were ready and returned their fire. Shortly thereafter several uniformed policemen and two detectives arrived in the Negro district in a Ford squad car. The Negroes, possibly thinking they were marauding whites, riddled the car with pistol and rifle shots. The foray killed two policemen. The local papers, especially the East St. Louis Journal portrayed the incident as an army of Negroes intent upon taking over the city.[12]

The next morning the bullet riddled police car was final proof that Negro "armies were mobilizing for a massacre,"[13] and the whites were ready. As early as 9 o'clock the next morning crowds milled around the streets. Labor union officials directed their members to arm themselves. These armed

---

[12]East St. Louis Journal, May 24, 1917, 1; May 25, 1917, 1; May 29, 1917, 1. Governor Lowden ordered six companies to East St. Louis to guard against the riots, but they had not arrived.

[13]Rudwick, 40.

marauders marched unmolested through the streets stopping trolleys, beating, kicking, and shooting Negroes. Local police did nothing to prevent the riots and on occasion confiscated newsmen's cameras. When the militia arrived one newsmen noted, "They were not interfering any more than the East St. Louis Police."[14]

The riot increased throughout the Negro district where whites burned their shacks and shot them as they poured out into the alleys. The grim account of several incidents gives testimony to the hatred engendered against Negroes.

One reporter recalled:

> "I saw Negro women begging for mercy and pleading that they had harmed no one, set upon by white women of a baser sort, who laughed and answered the coarse sallies of men as they beat the Negresses' faces and breasts with fists, stones, and sticks."[15]

On another occasion several whites, after beating a Negro, attempted to hang him. The story of this incident appeared in a St. Louis paper. The reporter noted militia men stood around doing nothing:

> "I saw the most sickening incident of the evening when they got stronger rope. To put the rope around the Negro's neck, one of the lynchers stuck his fingers inside the gaping scalp and

---

[14] Ibid., 37.

[15] St. Louis Post Dispatch, July 2, 1917, 1; July 3, 1917, 1, 4, 5; for other descriptions see Rudwick, 47.

lifted the Negro's head by it, literally bathing his hand in the man's blood."[16]

One reporter observed a mob attacking a Negro woman and a small boy. After knocking the Negro woman unconscious, they threw the boy into a burning shack. Several Negro children died of bullet wounds. One white was killed when a bullet passed through a Negro youth and lodged in his heart. Two Negroes were lynched, while others were so severely beaten they died a few days later.[17]

When trial was held for participants in the riot--both Negro and white--over 121 persons were prosecuted. Of these many received long prison terms, 10 to 20 years, others one to two years, and others a few months in the county jail. For a short while even Mayor Mollmann was held for dereliction of duty.

Why was it possible for a hideous riot to take place in East St. Louis and only one mob murder in Collinsville? First there is no doubt that prejudice against Negroes had existed far longer than against Germans. East St. Louis officers made no attempt to alleviate Negro problems mostly because of the prejudices of the city officials. Rudwick contends officials used the Negro problem during the election of 1916.

---

[16] As quoted in Rudwick, 47.

[17] Ibid., 48.

During that period Negroes were described in the local papers as people far less desirable than whites, while candidates for office accused one another of importing "blacks" in order to acquire more votes. The general feeling in East St. Louis was simply that Negroes were generally sub-humans who had criminal tendencies and very low moral standards.[13]

Secondly, even though violence occurred prior to July 2, 1917 not one preventive measure was taken to prevent other outbursts. Even though the Illinois national guard was stationed in the city for several weeks before the July riot, few guardsmen tried to prevent mobs and the Commander, Major Cavanaugh flatly refused to assist the Mayor when emergencies arose. This was not true of Collinsville. In that city, law officers watched for signs of violence after the Prager lynching.

The East St. Louis race riot certainly demonstrates how far mob violence might go if enough hatred is engendered in the mob, and if only token resistance is shown from police. Recalling that there were well over 100 peace officers in East St. Louis one wonders how only five peace officers in Collinsville could hold an angry mob at bay for over two hours. The reason was that no real hatred was demonstrated against Germans prior to World War I. No prejudiced feelings

---

[13]See footnote 4 above.

were shown that kept Germans in an inferior position. They were not as restricted as Negroes. Even though most aliens were restricted from defense areas, they were not restricted to a certain living area, or special stores, shops, or public facilities.

Although the anti-foreigner movement did not subside in the United States after World War I, the people of Madison and St. Clair Counties did not experience as strong anti-foreigner feelings as they did from 1916-1918. When the atmosphere surrounding Prager's death subsided, it never rose again in the two counties--not even during the period 1941-1945. This fact may be due to the many Americanized changes made by Germans during World War I and after, or possibly the efforts of the Americanization Committee of the State Council of Defense which continued after the war had a continued effect on the two counties.[19] At any rate, the Prager lynching marks the high point of anti-German sentiments in Madison and St. Clair Counties during World War I.

---

[19]See Appendix D.

APPENDIX A

Newspaper article on Robert Paul Prager. The article has many incorrect statements, however, it does provide one of the few pictures of him.

From Granite City Press-Record, Alton Evening Telegraph, Edwardsville Intelligence, Centennial Edition, September 4, 1962, 8.

'Hang' Tree Cut Down in Collinsville

By JOHN LIMPERT
United Press International

The last reminder of a night of mob violence 44 years ago was removed from the Collinsville scene in April 1962.

A huge, twisted hackberry tree standing on a hill just outside the city limits was removed by a power company crew. The old tree had limbs as thick as a man's body and it was feared the tree might blow down.

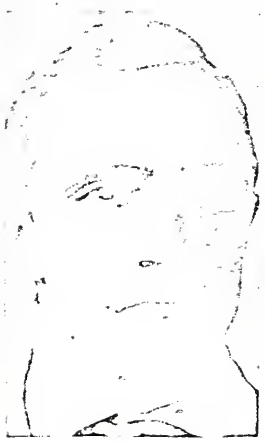
The tree was the scene on April 5, 1918, of the lynching of Robert Paul Prager, an uneducated German-born coal miner.

Prager had immigrated to the United States in 1905 at the age of 16. He was working at a Maryville mine when World War I broke out.

There had been demonstrations in Maryville in which persons suspected of disloyalty had been made to kiss the flag. Miners had expressed a fear the mine might be blown up by German spies.

On April 3, 1918 Prager lost his job because he was an enemy alien. He was marched through the streets and pointed to as a German spy, an accusation he vehemently denied.

The next night, a group of Maryville miners came to Collinsville and told of remarks allegedly made by Prager. An angry crowd went



ROBERT P. PRAGER

to Prager's rooming house, seized him and marched him through the streets.

Four city policemen rescued Prager from the crowd and took him to the jail in city hall.

The crowd followed and demanded that Prager be released. Mayor J. H. Siegel made a speech in which he pleaded with the mob not to disgrace Collinsville by committing violence.

The demonstration subsided, but an hour later the crowd returned. Siegel told them Prager had been taken to East St. Louis by federal authorities.

A man in the crowd called, "We don't believe you." The mayor said, "Well, come in and see for yourself."

The crowd searched the jail but could find only one prisoner. But two men searched the jail basement and found Prager hiding under some building tile.

He was dragged out and marched barefoot through the streets with a flag draped around him.

When the crowd reached the city limits, a rope was put around Prager's neck and the other end was thrown over the limb of the hackberry tree.

Prager's hands were not tied, and as he was hoisted from the ground, he clutched at the rope. He was lowered to the ground half-choked, and he said with some difficulty, "Brothers, I would write a letter."

A pencil and paper were handed him and he wrote: "Dear Parents—Carl Henry Prager-Dresen, Germany: I must on this the fourth of April, 1918, die. Please pray for me, my dear parents. This is my last letter and testament. Your dear son and brother, Robert Paul Prager."

The mob then seized the rope and Prager was hoisted to his death.

French Trading Post At Alton in 1807

In the year 1807, according to Brink's History of Madison County published in 1882, one small stone building stood on the present site of Alton. It was near the place where the railroad depot was erected many years later, and is now a parking lot.

The building was used by the French as a place for trading with the Indians. It was constructed of loose rock with mortar and its roof was a covering of elm bark.

The early American settlers, according to this authority, lacked knowledge as to how long the building had been standing. It was considered possible by early historians that this building may have been the original location of Jean Baptiste Cardinal, the Frenchman, who settled here about 1783.

APPENDIX B

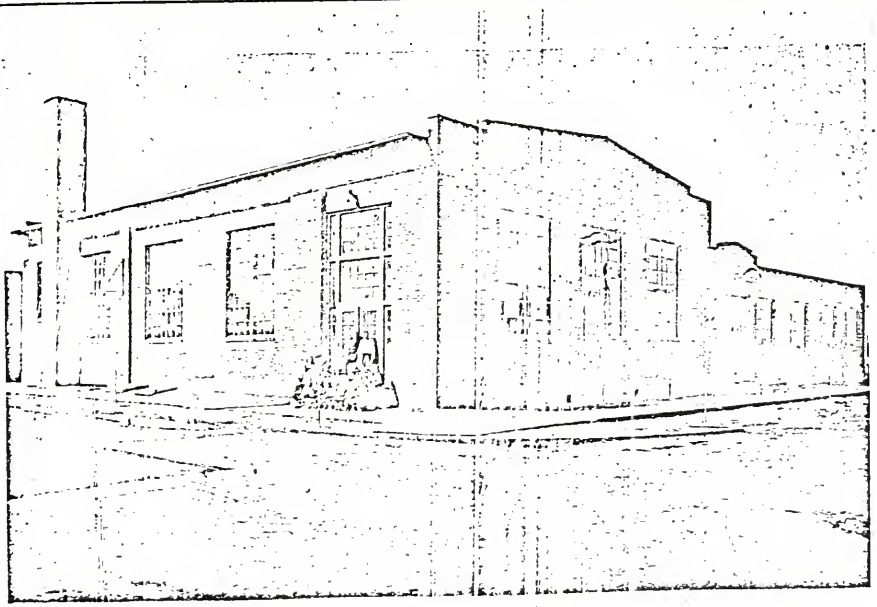
Activities of the Community House in Lincoln Place.

From The Commonwealther, April-May 1922, 9.

The Commonwealther

e VIII APRIL-MAY, 1922 Number 2

Published every little while by the COMMONWEALTH STEEL COMPANY in the interest of FELLOWSHIP.
General Offices, Pierce Building, St. Louis, Mo.—Plant, Granite City, Ill. (In St. Louis Industrial District).
European Office, 15 Boulevard des Italiens, Paris, France.



Lincoln Place Community House

Erected by the Commonwealth Steel Company, with the co-operation of the citizens of Lincoln Place (see page 9)

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.—*The Bible.*

Community House Activities

Dedication

THE NEW Community House was formally opened on the evening of Washington's Birthday, when about 700 residents of Lincoln Place gathered to express their appreciation of the building and the opportunities for development which it offered to them. The building was dedicated with the solemn words of the Lord's Prayer, led by Mr. Irwin Raut, in which all the audience joined. In his address on the evening of dedication, President Howard said that he wished the building devoted to the use of the citizens of Lincoln Place for every purpose which would be of benefit to the entire community. He expressed the confidence that the new building would serve as a continual expression of the spirit of Fellowship and Service.

The Lincoln Place Community band, led by Professor Kotoff, provided music for the occasion. February 22nd happens also to be President Howard's birthday, and a beautiful feature of the evening was the presentation to Mr. Howard of carnations by the kindergarten children. The children marched in front of Mr. Howard and each one presented him with a carnation, the total number representing his age.

Among those who spoke were Mayor Robertson of Granite City, Mr. H. M. Pflager, our Senior Vice-President, Mr. Frank Howe, Chairman of the City Committee on the Community House, Messrs. J. Hershbach and John Bradford, the aldermen representing Lincoln Place, "Colonel" Nick Alabach, Frank Orris, Alex Hideg, Aranas Vartanian, members of the Lincoln Place Committee on the Community House, Mr. Irwin Raut, and Mr. Morey. The keynote of all of the talks was the great opportunity for Americanization and development which the new building offered the citizens of Lincoln Place, and gratitude to the Commonwealth for making the building possible.

Sunday Afternoon Meetings

Through the initiative of Mr. Alabach and other citizens of Lincoln Place an important meeting in the interest of "Law Enforcement" was held in the Community House on Sunday afternoon, March 26th when Mr. James R. Dunn, Immigration Inspector of St. Louis, came over and gave a helpful and inspiring address on Americaninzation and Law Enforcement, emphasizing particularly the point that the real secret of true Americanism was the application of the Golden Rule in the affairs of citizenship.

On Sunday afternoon, April 2nd, Doctor John Wesley Hill, Chancellor of Lincoln Memorial University, Cumberland Gap, Tenn., addressed the citizens of Lincoln Place in the new Community House. President Howard came over with Doctor Hill, and introduced him. Doctor Hill drew some very helpful lessons in American citizenship from the life of Abraham Lincoln. He is the author of that very vital book, "Abraham Lincoln, Man of God", in which he has presented in a striking way the spiritual qualities of Lincoln. In his address, he dwelt upon this side of Lincoln's life. He emphasized the difference between Government in America and Government in some of the other countries, pointing out that in America each citizen was a part of the Government and that the success of the Government depended upon the honor and the loyalty of each one of its citizens. He said that if you want to see a picture of Uncle Sam, just go home and look in the looking glass.

President Howard made a brief talk, in which he emphasized the importance of a strict enforcement of the laws, and said that we all want to see Lincoln Place a law-abiding community in every respect, and that we should strive in a loving way to make those who are disregarding the laws see the importance both for their own sakes and for the sake of the community of being loyal and law-abiding citizens.

Community Band

A community band has recently been organized in Lincoln Place under the direction of Professor Kotoff, who is a skilled musician and a capable leader. The band is practising regularly in the Community House, and it is hoped and expected that the band will develop into a fine representative community enterprise, and will bring honor to Lincoln Place and provide a high quality of music to the community.

Americanization Classes

Since the completion of the new Community House, the classes in English which have been held for the men of the Community on two evenings each week, have grown a great deal and the enrollment has reached the total of 90. There is a great deal of interest shown, and the men of Lincoln Place are coming more and more to appreciate the privilege of becoming American citizens.

Basket Ball

The boys of Lincoln Place have organized a basket ball team, which is maintaining a fine record. They have played several games in the new Club House auditorium, which has been equipped for basket ball, and they are all very much interested. Not only the boys, but the girls also are playing basket ball, and scarcely a day passes that several teams are not practising.

Other Community House Activities

The Community Sunday School, the daily kindergarten, and the boys' and girls' clubs are all flourishing, and the increase in numbers since the completion of the new building is sufficient evidence of the place which the Community House has already taken in the hearts of the residents of Lincoln Place. The Boy Scout troop under Milton Allen has increased its membership about 50%, and is becoming a stronger and stronger organization each week.

The word "impossible" is not in my dictionary.—*Napoleon.*

APPENDIX C

COMMONWEALTH PLAN

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Christmas, 1924

"Dear Commonwealth Plan Family:

For a few moments, let us gather in our individual family groups--Dad, Mother, Kiddies, and all--and read aloud this message conveyed by the head of the Commonwealth Family. Only as we seek the guidance of our Heavenly Father, can we receive a message worthy of this season, which commemorates the birth of the Christ child.

The Commonwealth has been blessed during the year with good business, which has meant particularly steady employment, and good wages. We have been blessed with further enlargements and improvements in our Plant, so that we can adequately take care of our growing business.

Our Commonwealth Plan has enabled us to work together as brothers, and to produce results which have been beneficial to us all; the Benefit Association, with its insurance, visiting nurse, etc., the Commissary, and various other Fellowship activities, have beautifully ministered to many needs, and have become such an integral part of our daily life in the shop and at home, that we must occasionally stop for a moment and consider what they mean to us. Our home life and shop life must each help the other and make our Commonwealth a Common Family.

These and various other blessings, material, and otherwise, have come to us during 1924 as a result of our individual obediance to the Golden Rule.

You have a rule of arithmetic and as you have found that you can solve problems with it and always get the correct answer, you surely believe in and accept that rule; and to use any other rule would never occur to you. Now, dear Common-

wealth Plan Family, a greater Rule has been given to us by the Master-Teacher, who has proved for all mankind that this Rule will solve any and every problem, and when properly applied will always give the correct answer.

That Rule is Golden--Let's treasure it and use it. It is simple, but oh so effective--"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.' If we daily measure our thoughts, our words, and our actions by it, we will be amazed at the volume of blessings that will come to us. I like the definition of Fellowhip as--the Golden Rule in action.

The beautiful thing about the application of the Golden Rule is, that it makes our right desires come true--it enables us to become the kind of men that we in our hearts want to be. And while we are accomplishing this we are steadily becoming true, useful, and rounded out citizens, husbands, fathers, and Commonwealthers.

Our uppermost thought is then to serve rather than to be served, and we find that our true and lasting happiness is the result of SERVICE to all with whom we come in contact. We rejoice in doing good turns daily without thought of reward.

As we have had several meetings recently, we thought it would be well to make this letter the meeting of minds and hearts of Commonwealth Plan members and their loved ones at this Christmas season. Let's gather around our cheery firesides and consider the joy of knowing that every member of our families is a member of our Commonwealth Plan Family, sharing in our Commonwealth opportunities of service of mankind.

The Commonwealth Clubs will have their customary Christmas celebrations, which will bring us together in Fellowship contact, so that we may look into each other's faces and read there the gratitude we all feel for the blessings which 1924 has brought us.

Every member entitled to participate will receive an identifier and later a check from the timekeeper, representing his shares of Commonwealth Plan Savings, aggregating $60,000, during the period from July 1st to December 31st. The member's share will be based upon his individual Fellowship spirit of co-operation in the shop, and as computed upon his individual earnings from July 1st to November 30th. A member begins to participate after he has a six month's service record.

Please accept the cordial Christmas Greetings and New Year good wishes of myself and all the other officers of the Company.

Let's make 1925 a Golden Rule record breaker!"[1]

Sincerely yours,

Clarence H. Howard
President

---

[1]Gilmore, 36-39.

APPENDIX D

RESOLUTION TO THE ILLINOIS STATE
LEGISLATURE FROM THE ILLINOIS STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE
January 8, 1919

"Whereas one of the duties imposed by law upon the State Council of Illinois hereby recommends to the Governor and to the General Assembly of Illinois the enactment of laws necessary to give effect to the following conclusions:

1. Because the English language is the common as well as the official language of our country, and because it is essential to good citizenship that each citizen shall have or speedily acquire, as his natural tongue, the language in which the laws of the land, the decrees of the courts and the proclamations and pronouncements of its officials are made, and shall easily and naturally think in the language in which the obligations of his citizenship are defined, it is the sense of this Council that the teaching of the common branches of education (as reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, common grammar and elementary history) in the elementary grades of all schools in Illinois should be in the English language, and that such teaching in English should be by law made obligatory.

2. Because the Americanization of aliens is greatly advanced when they acquire familiarity with the common language of our country, and because this acquisition of our language is helpful to every individual in every industry and greatly lessens liability to accidents, it is the sense of this Council that the general scheme of public education throughout the state should, by means of evening classes in public and otherwise, provide for encouraging and facilitating acquisition of the English language by aliens who have come here after passing the

age of compulsory attendance at school.

3. Because sound bodies contribute to the value of citizenship, lessen public susceptibility to diseases of a general character, and thereby advance the common good by producing a higher state of public health, it is the sense of this Council that there should be included in the curriculum of all the elementary schools of the state, courses designed to teach the pupils habits of cleanliness, temperance, and the care of the body, and to inform them of the need to maintain the public health as an obligation of citizenship.

4. Because it is highly advisable that each mature citizen of the state shall have some vocation as a means of livelihood, it is the sense of this Council that provision be made by law for the expansion of vocational training in the schools of the state.[1]"

---

[1]Final Report, 73-74.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Government Publications

Congressional Record, 65 Cong., 2 Sess., April 8, 1918, 4769.

Congressional Record, 65 Cong., 2 Sess., May 9, 1918, 6233.

"East St. Louis Riots," H. Doc. No. 1231, 65 Cong., 2 Sess. (1918), Sec. 7444.

Illinois State Council of Defense: Final Report of the State Council of Defense of Illinois 1917-1918-1919. (Springfield: Illinois State Council of Defense: 1919).

Illinois versus Regiel, et. al., Madison County Circuit Court, Edwardsville, Illinois: Docket 8, 209-216.

Riot at East St. Louis, Illinois, Hearings before the House Committee on Rules on H. J. Res., 118, 65 Cong., 1 Sess. (1917).

U. S. Department of Interior, Americanization as a War Measure, Bulletin No. 18 (Washington: 1918).

Manuscripts

Davis, Bobbie Curreton, German Migration to St. Clair County Illinois, 1830-1865 (Masters Thesis, University of Oklahoma: 1949).

Hauberg, Marx D., Memoirs of 1848 (Manuscript in the University of Illinois Library, Champaign, no date).

Keck, Clifford Arthur, German Immigration Into St. Clair County, Illinois, Before 1883 (Masters Thesis Urbana: 1948).

Kock, F. M., German Immigration to Southern Illinois, 1820-1860 (unpublished manuscript, at the University of Illinois Library: 1911).

Newspapers

Alton Democrat, 1914-1919.

Belleville, Advocate, 1916-1919.

Belleville Post and Zeitung, (in German), 1916-1917.

Belleville News Democrat, 1914-1919.

Collinsville Herald, 1915-1919.

Commonwealth Steel Company, Granite City, The Commonwealther, 1915-1920.

Edwardsville Democrat, 1917-1918.

Edwardsville Intelligence, 1916-1918.

Granite City Press-Record, 1914-1919.

Illinois State Council News, 1917-1918.

Lebanon Advertiser, 1914-1919.

New York Times, 1917-1918.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1918-1919.

St. Louis, Republic, 1918.

Periodicals and Magazines

"A Federal Campaign Against Mob Violence," Survey, XL., (May 25, 1918), 225-226.

Allen, Frederick Lewis, "The Forty-Eight Defenders: A Study of the Work of the State Councils of Defense," Century, XCV., (December 1917), 261-266.

"American by Decree," New Republic, XXXI., (April 8, 1920), 262-263.

"America's Shame," Independent, XCVIII., (May 24, 1919), 277.

"American Students Boycotting German," Literary Digest, LVI., (March 30, 1918), 29-50.

Anderson, Sherwood, "Nobody's Home," Today, (March 30, 1935), 6-7, 20-22.

"A New Alien and Sedition Law," New Republic, XX., (November 26, 1919), 366.

"Appleman Case," Outlook, CXIII., (July 12, 1916), 568-569.

Baldwin, Roger, "East St. Louis--Why?," Survey, XXXVIII., (August 18, 1917), 447-448.

Biel, I. L., "If You Are a Jew," Independent, XCVI., (April 13, 1918), 84.

Brooks, S., "German-American Plot," Living Age, CCLXXXVI., (August 14, 1915), 440-443.

Browne, Waldo R., "Our Modern Heretic Burners," New Republic, XIII., (December 1, 1917), 127.

"Civil Rights in America," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLXXV., (May, 1951), 1-161.

Coffman, L. D., "Competent Teachers for American Schools," National Education Association Bulletin, (1918), 62-63.

Cohn, M., "Concerning the Power of the U. S. In War Time," American Law Review, LIII., (January-March, 1919), 87-93, 177-194.

Cooper, Lindsay, "The Congressional Investigation of the East St. Louis Riots," Crisis, XV., (January, 1918), 116-121.

"Congressional Queries," Independent, XCVII., (January 18, 1919), 81.

Creel, George, "Our Aliens--Were They Loyal or Disloyal," Everybody's Magazine, XL., (1918), 36-38.

Cushing, G. H., "Germanizing Our Coal Industry," World, XXV., (April, 1918), 203-208.

Davis, E., "Concerning Fatherlands," Forum, CIII., (March 15, 1917), 304-314.

"Drastic Sedition Laws," Literary Digest, LXIV., (January 24, 1920), 18.

Dunning, W. A., "Disloyalty in Two Wars," American Historical Review, XXXIV., (1919).

Dyer, L. C., "Mob Violence in the United States," Survey, XL., (April 27, 1918), 102.

"East St. Louis," Survey, XLIV., (August 6, 1920), 631-633.

"East St. Louis Race Riots," Literary Digest, LV., (1917), 10,11.

Fauset, Jessie, "A Negro on East St. Louis," Survey, XXXVIII., (August 18, 1917), 448.

"First War Lynching," Literary Digest, LVII, (April 20, 1918), 16-17.

"German-American Distrust of the Administration," Literary Digest, L., (March 6, 1915), 465-466.

"German-American Loyalty," Literary Digest, L., (May 29, 1915), 1262-1264.

"German-American Problems," New Republic, XIV., (March 30, 1918), 252-253.

"German-American Thoughts on America At War," Literary Digest, LIV., (April 14, 1917), 1051-1052.

"German Cash For Our War--Chest," Literary Digest, LV., (November 10, 1917), 17-18.

"German Language School Question," Outlook, CXXI., (January 1, 1919), 340-343.

"Germany in Our Midst," Literary Digest, LIII., (September 16, 1916), 676-677.

Heindrichs, R., "Family Letter," Atlantic, CXX., (December, 1917), 739-745.

"Illinois Race War and Its Brutal Aftermath," Current Opinion, LXIII., (1917), 75-77.

Lane, Winthrop D., "Uncle Sam: Jailer," Survey, XLII., (September 6, 1919), 806-12.

Lowden, Frank O., "Illinois, The New Keystone of the Union," Review of Reviews, LVII., (March, 1918), 271.

"Lynching: An American Kulture?" New Republic, XIV., (April 13, 1918), 311-312.

"Lynch Law and Reason," Literary Digest, LV., (August 18, 1917), 12-13.

"Lynch Law as Treason," Literary Digest, LVII., (August 10, 1918), 30.

"Making a Billion German Dollars Work for Uncle Sam," Literary Digest, LVI., (January 26, 1918), 51.

"Making 100 Per Cent Americans," Reviews of Reviews, LVIII., (July, 1918), 129.

"Mob Violence and War Psychology," New Republic, XVI., (August 3, 1918), 5-7.

"Mob Violence in the United States," Nation, CX., (April 17, 1920), 510-11.

"Mob Violence in the United States," Survey, XL., (April 27, 1918), 101, 225, 511-512.

"More German-American Eruptions," Outlook, CX., (August 18, 1915), 880-881.

"Munsterberg's Plea For German Americans," Literary Digest, LI., (October 2, 1915), 710-711.

"Newspapers In Wartime," Public, XXI., (March 16, 1918), 334-37.

Oblinger, C., "Prussianizing American Schools," Bookman, XCVIII., (December, 1918), 415-422.

Olds, F. P., "Disloyalty of the German-American Press," Atlantic, CXX., (July, 1917), 136-140.

"Our Confiscation of German-Private Property," Nations, (August 2, 1919), 138-139.

"Patriotieering and Hysteria," Public, XXI., (April 27, 1918), 527.

Penwick, W. H., "Coal Industy Under War Conditions," 19th Century, LXXVIII., (August, 1915), 413-428.

Paxon, Frederic L., "The American War Government, 1917-1918," American Historical Review, XXXVI., (1920).

"Stronger Curb on Enemies at Home," Literary Digest, LVII., (May 4, 1918), 9.

Swisher, Carl B., "Civil Liberties in Wartime," Political Science Quarterly, LV., (September, 1940), 321-47.

"Ten Years of Criticism," Literary Digest, LVII., (June 15, 1918), 13.

"The Anarchists Deportations," New Republic, XXI., (December 24, 1919), 96-98.

"The Espionage Act Interpreted," New Republic, XX., (November 26, 1919), 377-83.

"The Kaiser's Secret Army Here," Literary Digest, LV., (December 1, 1917), 15-16.

"The Menace of Sedition," Literary Digest, LV., (September 1, 1917), 9-11.

"The Mob in High Places," New Republic, XXI., (February 4, 1920), 279-81.

"The Slacker and the Careless Man," Outlook, CXX., (September 11, 1918), 82.

"Unfair Treatment of German-Americans," Literary Digest, LV., (September 1, 1917), 32.

Villard, Oswald Garison, "The Latin Peasants of Belleville Illinois," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXXV., (1942), 7-20.

"Wanted: Information About Enemy-Owned Property," Literary Digest, LVIII, (September 14, 1918), 38-40.

Ward, E. F., "Practical Patriotism: The Work of the Woman's Defense Committee of the Council of National Defense: Illinois Division," Survey, XXXX., (August 17, 1918), 556-559.

"What Some Americans Think of East St. Louis," Outlook, CXVI., (July 18, 1917), 435-436.

"When Conscience and War Join Issue," Survey, XXXIX., (February 16, 1918), 551-552.

Wigmore, John H., Abrams V. U. S., Freedom of Speech and of Thuggery in War-Time and Peace-Time," Illinois Law Review, XIV., (March, 1920), 536-7.

Books

Adamic, Louis, Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America (New York: 1935).

Adjutant General's Report: Illinois 1917, Office of the Adjutant General, Roster of National Guard and Naval Militia As Called For World War Service (Chicago: published under House Bill No. 410, 1929).

Baker, Ray Stannard, and William E. Dodd, The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, War and Peace, 6 Vols., (New York: 1925-27).

_____, Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters, 7 Vols., (New York: 1939).

Balemann, Newton and Paul Selby, editors, Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of St. Clair County, 2 Vols., (Chicago: 1907).

Beman, Lamar T., Selected Articles on Censorship of Speech and the Press, (New York: 1930).

Bernhard, Edgar, et. al., eds. Pursuit of Freedom; A History of Civil Liberties in Illinois, 1787-1942, (Chicago: 1942).

Bishop, Joseph Bucklin, Theodore Roosevelt and His Time: Shown in his Own Letters, 2 Vols., (New York: 1920).

Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington: 1961).

Casteberge, Frede, Freedom of Speech in the West (New York: 1960).

Chafee, Zechariah, Jr., comp. and ed., Documents on Fundamental Human Rights (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1951).

_____, Freedom of Speech (New York: 1920).

_____, Free Speech in the United States (Cambridge, Harvard University Press: 1942).

Child, Clifton James, The German Americans in Politics 1914-1927 (Madison, Wisconsin: 1939).

Currey, Seymour, J., Illinois Activities in the World War, 3 Vols. (Chicago: 1921).

Davis, John P., The American Negro Reference Book (New Jersey: 1966).

Dean, Arthur D., Our Schools in War Time and After (Chicago: 1918).

Emmerson, Louis L., Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1917-1918, (Danville, Illinois: 1918).

Everett, Harris T., The I.W.W.: An Auxilary of the German Espionage System (n.p.: 1918).

Gates, Paul W., The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1934).

Gabriel, Ralph Henry, The Course of American Democratic Thought, An Intellectual History Since 1815 (New York: 1940).

Gilman, Angess Geneva and Gertrude Marcelle Gilman, Who's Who in Illinois (Chicago: 1927).

Gilmore, Albert Field, Fellowship: The Biography of a Man and a Business, (Chicago: 1929).

Granite City Council, History of Granite City 1896-1946, (Granite City: 1946).

Hartmann, Edward G., The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant (New York: 1948).

Hershberger, Guy Franklin, War, Peace and Nonresistance, (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: 1946).

Hoerner, J. S., Centennial History of Madison County (Chicago: 1912).

Hutchinson, William T., Lowden of Illinois: The Life of Frank O. Lowden, 2 Vols., (Chicago: 1957).

Jenison, M. E., War Documents and Addresses, 7 Vols., (Springfield: 1923).

_____, The War Time Organizations of Illinois, 7 Vols., (Springfield: 1923).

Johnson, Donald, The Challenge to American Freedoms, World War I And The Rise of the American Civil Liberties Union (University of Kentucky: 1963).

Lasswell, Harold D., National Security and Individual Freedom, (New York: 1950).

Link, Arthur S., Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era 1910-1917, (New York: 1954).

Milham, Chester R., A History of National Espionage Legislation and its Operation in the United States During the World War, (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California: 1938).

Mock, James R., Censorship 1917 (Princeton: 1941).

_____, and Cedric Larson, Words That Won the War (Princeton: 1939).

Morrison, Olin Dee, Illinois, "Prairie State" Social-Political-Economic (Athens, Ohio: 1960).

Murray, Robert K., Red Scare A Study of National Hysteria-1919-1920 (Minneapolis: University of Michigan: 1955).

National Civil Liberties Bureau, Wartime Prosecutions and Mob Violence, (New York: 1919).

Nebelstick, Louis Alvin, A History of Belleville (Township High School and Junior College Belleville, Illinois: 1951).

Nelles, Walter, Espionage Act Case, With Certain Others on Related Points, (New York: 1918).

Paxson, Frederic L., America at War 1917-1918 (Boston: 1939).

Peterson, H. C., and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War 1917-1918 (Madison, Wisconsin: 1957).

Pfeiler, W. K., War and the German Mind (New York: 1941).

Preston, William, Aliens and Dissenters, 1903-1933 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1963).

Puttkammer, Ernest Wilfred, Alien Enemies and Alien Friends in the United States (Chicago: 1943).

Randall, J. G. The Civil War and Reconstruction (Boston: 1937).

Ross, Edward A., The Old World and the New (1914).

Rudwick, Elliott M., Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917, (Carbondale: 1964).

Scheiber, H. N., The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921 (1960).

Smith, James Morton, Freedom's Fetters, (Ithaca, Cornell: 1956).

Two Years of Lowden Administration, (Springfield: 1919).

Two Years of Progress in Illinois Under Frank O. Lowden the War Governor (Springfield: 1919).

Tyson, Robert A., History of East St. Louis (East St. Louis: 1875).

Wittke, Carl F., German-Americans and the World War, (Columbus, Ohio: 1936).

_____, The German Language Press in America (Lexington, Kentucky: 1957).