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This paper addresses the time during and directly following World War I. It uses the life of T. Everett Harrè, a man from South Central Pennsylvania, to illustrate the conflicts that were happening for both individuals and society about the meaning of patriotism and the right to dissent. Harrè is a unique example of the mainstream conservative views that manifested themselves in the United States, as well as the power that war had to influence people's political beliefs. He wrote several pamphlets and magazine articles that illustrated his beliefs about immigration, radical labor, and socialism. This time period was one of intense social conflict that occurred during the United States' birth into modernism, which makes it a very important piece of history.





T. Everett Harré with Dog Sirius (c. 1918)

Photo from T. Everett Harré Manuscript Collection, Ganser Library, Millersville PA.



General suggestions for patriotic anti-seditious work:

- 1<sup>st</sup>. Daily bulletin to all movie houses. War news. German intrigue etc. Town bells rung at each Allied victory after boys reach trenches.
2. Bring war home. Encourage use service flags.
8. Reach local labor unions
10. Popularize and get, through various media, literature of Nat. Security League, etc.

T. Everett Harré (note to self, c. 1918)<sup>1</sup>

## I. Introduction

When the United States (U.S.) went to war in 1917, the country was greatly divided between those in support of U.S. involvement and those who wanted the U.S. to remain neutral. For the latter, such as the Socialist Party, led by Eugene V. Debs, and the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), led by Bill Haywood, the war was seen as the triumph of the economic interests of the ruling elite over the practical concerns of its people. The I.W.W. paper *Solidarity* wrote in August of 1917 that “anyone with good sense now objects to being told that Czar Wilson is working for the interests of the working class in trying to force them against their wills into the bloody European slaughter-fest.”<sup>2</sup> Standing in stark contrast were those who viewed the war as a necessity and a time for citizens to stand up and be patriotic, to defend the country and support the government. As the war escalated and tensions rose, the primary battle between

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<sup>1</sup> Harré, Thomas Everett, “General Suggestions for patriotic anti-seditious work,” T. Everett Harré Manuscript Collection, MS251, Archives and Special Collections, Millersville University Library, Millersville, PA. – This collection has not yet been fully catalogued. Boxes within the manuscript collection have not yet been numbered thus article titles/correspondence information are all that is available at this time.

<sup>2</sup> *Solidarity* quoted in Ralph Easley, “Survey of I.W.W. activities During the War,” *New York Times*, 7 July 1918, [http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?\\_r=2&res=9F07EFD7103BEE3ABC4F53DFB1668383609ED E&oref=slogin&oref=slogin](http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?_r=2&res=9F07EFD7103BEE3ABC4F53DFB1668383609ED E&oref=slogin&oref=slogin)

these two sides was over a basic civil liberty, the right to speak one's mind against the war and against the government. For their part, Congress, governmental agencies such as the Postmaster General's office and the Attorney General's office, and the Wilson administration would show their level of tolerance for dissent to be zero. They were not alone. In an effort to squash dissent and unite the home front, the popular press would also take up this crusade encouraging citizens to become home front soldiers by creating a culture that defined patriotism as the full support of the government and the war.<sup>3</sup>

One of the best ways to gain insight into a complex time period, such as that surrounding World War I, is to look at the life, work and values of an individual from that era. One such life that offers insight into the national debate over patriotism and rights during the era of the Great War is an author and journalist from South Central Pennsylvania, T. Everett Harré. Before the United States (U.S.) entered the war, Harré could be described as a bohemian with socialist leanings and an author of New Woman and romance novels. This all changed as the United States entered the war. Harré found a new calling as he stepped onto the political battlefield that was the home front in 1917. Armed with a sharp tongue that struck out at any individual, group, or nation he perceived as a threat, Harré utilized his talents as a writer to lash out at those whom he felt did not support the United States, writing extensively on the evils of Socialism, Hunism, and Bolshevism.

There is no doubt that Harré felt most comfortable arguing the conservative side of the national debate, and through the use of the National Civic Federation's magazine publication, the *Review*, he was able to spread his message to many. He is an exceptional example of the

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<sup>3</sup> Cecilia O'Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

intolerant, often excessive xenophobia and patriotism that manifested itself during this time.

While he was just one of the many voices that called for the United States to be of a single mind, he provides a particularly poignant example of the power that war time has to reshape citizen's lives and values. The Harré one met during the war is not the Harré one would have met before. This man sheds much light on how the war was waged in the trenches of New York, and what the casualties of war - such as forfeited rights, deportations, and fear - could really be.

## II. Life Before the War

T. Everett Harré's life (1884-1948) before the beginning of World War I was, for the most part, like the life of any other bohemian writer. He worked as a journalist and published a few books while also enjoying a bohemian lifestyle in New York City. He published two books before 1914 and worked as a journalist for several newspapers and magazines. Harré's first job was with the *Marietta Times*, where he got his initial experiences and contacts in the field of journalism.<sup>4</sup> A few of the other news organizations that he worked for were the *Philadelphia Press* (1905-1907), the *Philadelphia North American* (1907-1909) and the *Philadelphia Evening Ledger* (1914).<sup>5</sup> One of the biggest stories that Harré covered during his tenure in journalism occurred in 1909, while he was working for Benjamin Hampton's *Hampton's Magazine*. He was sent by *Hampton's* to cover a story about Colonel Robert Peary. At the time of their interview, Peary was finishing his eighth trip to the Arctic.<sup>6</sup> When Harré met with him, he was able to obtain exclusive rights to a serial documenting Peary's trip, which would be published with *Hampton's*. After hearing one side of the story, he then set out to find Dr. Frederic A. Cook

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<sup>4</sup> Obituary of T. Everett Harré, *Daily Intelligencer*, 28 July 1948.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Nelson Marquis, *Who's Who in America* (Chicago: The A.N. Marquis Company, 1950), 235.

<sup>6</sup> Robert M. Bryce, *Cook & Peary: The Polar Controversy Resolved* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1997), 480.



who, like Peary, claimed to be the first person to reach the North Pole. After several months, Harré finally found Dr. Cook in London, and got the first interview from him for *Hampton's*.<sup>7</sup> Harré also ghost-wrote Cook's first publication of his discovery of the North Pole.<sup>8</sup> This event brought Harré much recognition in the journalist community.

Before 1914 and the beginning of the First World War Harré also published two books. His first, published in 1902, was titled *Infans Amoris*.<sup>9</sup> It dealt with a woman lost in an evil world who, upon seeing the birth of Jesus, better understands the sins of the world around her.<sup>10</sup> The other book that Harré wrote before the war, *The Eternal Maiden*,<sup>11</sup> was compiled from everything that he learned while doing his interviews with Cook and Peary in 1909. *The Eternal Maiden* was published in 1913, and as he wrote very proudly to one of his cousins in 1946, it "was the first romance to be written of the Arctic regions."<sup>12</sup>

In many ways Harré can be classified as a bohemian. One characteristic of bohemian life in the early 1900's was a move from the country into the city,<sup>13</sup> which Harré undertook when he was 19. For Harré and many other bohemians their destination was Greenwich Village, and it was around 1916 that Harré lived just off of Washington Square Park in the Village.<sup>14</sup> Particularly important to the bohemian culture at that time was experimentation in writing. Historian Christine Stansell writes, "Plebeian social types became modern heroes and heroines, promoted by writers who themselves were crossing over from journalism to fiction, from obscure

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<sup>7</sup> Harré to George Creel, 5 May 1917, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>8</sup> Harré to McGarvey, 11 June 1946, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>9</sup> T. Everett Harry, *Infans Amoris* (New York: Abbey Press, 1902).

<sup>10</sup> "Article 13 – No Title," *New York Times* (August 24, 1901): <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archivefree/pdf?res=9802E4D9163BE733A25757C2A96E9C946097D6CF>.

<sup>11</sup> T. Everett Harré, *The Eternal Maiden* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1913).

<sup>12</sup> Harré to McGarvey 11 June 1946, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>13</sup> Christine Stansell, *American Moderns* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000) 41.

<sup>14</sup> T. Everett Harré to Reverend William Moreland, 18 April 1916, TEH Manuscript Collection.

left-wing journals to big magazines, from small towns to big cities, and from ethnic enclaves to the metropolitan center.”<sup>15</sup> In almost every way Harré’s time in New York mirrors this trend. His transition from Philadelphia newspaper reporter to *Hampton’s* magazine correspondent, and finally to well-known fiction writer in 1913 parallels the bohemian trends of the times.

In his younger years Harré appears to have been a socialist. One of the main indicators of this was his publication, in 1907, of a poem that appeared in the *International Socialist Review* titled “The Cry of Freedom.” This poem not only calls for revolution but paints Harré as an atheist, or at least a skeptic of the church.<sup>16</sup> Another clue that Harré was a socialist is the friendship that he cultivated with the renowned socialist, George Sylvester Viereck. Harré even gave Viereck a signed memento from one of his trips, which hung in his office for several years.<sup>17</sup> These two particulars of his life appear to show that, until the outbreak of war, Harré’s tendencies and acquaintances were left-leaning.

### III. War begins – U.S. Neutrality

Though World War I broke out in 1914, the United States was able to stay, mainly, neutral until 1917. During those years there is also little to indicate that Harré was doing anything in terms of war work. For the most part, he was occupied in working on his third novel, *Behold the Woman*, which came out in 1916.<sup>18</sup> While he was working on the novel, he also worked for the *New York American*; however, there is little that provides insight into what type of articles he was writing during this time. Despite the fact that he does not appear to be

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<sup>15</sup> Stansell, *American Moderns*, 148.

<sup>16</sup> T. Everett Harry, “The Cry of Freedom,” *International Socialist Review* 7 (July 1906-June 1907): 300-301, <http://books.google.com/books?id=t7kWAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA256-IA3&dq=Everett+Harry+Review&client=firefox-a>

<sup>17</sup> T. Everett Harré to George Sylvester Viereck, 9/1/1917, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>18</sup> T. Everett Harré, *Behold the Woman* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1916).

involved in war work at this juncture, it is during this time that a major event transpired which would alter Harré's course. This event was the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which occurred in May 1915.

The sinking of the British merchant vessel *Lusitania* occurred on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1915.<sup>19</sup> In the months before the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the German U-boat commanders were becoming more aggressive. In response to this, the United States made Germany aware that it would not take the loss of life of any of its citizens lightly. There were several U.S. lives lost at sea in the months before the *Lusitania* was sunk; but by far the death toll of United States citizens was considerably larger in this event. The ship was sunk in only eighteen minutes, and a total of 1,195 lives were lost, 124 of them U.S. citizens.<sup>20</sup> While this particular tragedy did not lead directly to the U.S.'s entrance into the war, it remained in public opinion as one of the best reasons that the United States had for beginning war with Germany. After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, there was an emboldened call for the United States to prepare for war.<sup>21</sup>

In Harré's life, the sinking of the *Lusitania* was an "intolerable" event. This reflects his deep feeling about the outcomes of this naval strike in both loss of life and endangered seas. In part, his view on the *Lusitania* incident is shaped by something that he claimed happened while he was friendly with socialists and German-Americans in 1915. He writes in "The Intolerable Thing in our Midst,"

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<sup>19</sup> Newton Baker, *Why We Went to War* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1972) 58.

<sup>20</sup> Baker, *Why We Went to War*, 59.

<sup>21</sup> O'Leary, *To Die For*. Diana Preston, *Lusitania: An Epic Tragedy* (New York: Berkley Trade, 2003). Thomas Andrew Bailey, *The Lusitania Disaster: An Episode in Modern Warfare and Diplomacy* (New York: Free Press, 1975).



Through a unique opportunity I was able to observe the inside workings of that vast campaign of intrigue inaugurated by Dr. Dernburg. For nearly a year I was in touch with the inner circles of Hun propaganda. I met, talked with and won the confidence of the Teuton agents. I was told, for instance, that the *Lusitania* would be sunk three days before the tragedy shook the world -- and I couldn't find it in me to believe the German's[sic] planned what they announced to me.<sup>22</sup>

Clearly an event of this magnitude, which Harré believed to be pre-meditated, had an extremely large impact on Harré's future leanings once the United States went to war. This event helped lead him to believe that the Germans were capable of committing any atrocity for the sake of war.

Despite the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Harré had not yet taken up his pen for the war effort in 1916. He was distracted from the war by the publication of his third book. For this book, Harré had decided to do a novel that would be conceived as feminist. One important aspect of bohemian writers was the introduction of the New Woman novel. These novels allowed bohemians to explore the soul. In particular as women were becoming more independent, they were looking at the woman's soul.<sup>23</sup> In *Behold the Woman*, he chose to embellish the life of Mary of Egypt, a saint of the Catholic Church. This book showed the strength of women, and it allowed him, in interviews about his book, to give his personal opinions on women's rights. In one interview he stated that "Hundreds of high-minded, intellectual women living to-day would

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<sup>22</sup> "The Intolerable Thing in our Midst," 15, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>23</sup> Stansell, *American Moderns*, 162.

make better presidents than some former ones. There can be no line drawn between the work of woman and man. There is no sex in intellect and spirit.”<sup>24</sup> This shows the immense respect that Harré had for women in the time right before they were given the franchise. This book was his most widely read and acclaimed work and in an interview after its publication, he explained that the only way he was able to fabricate a proper setting for the book was by going to London and working at the British Museum for six months.<sup>25</sup> After the book’s publication, and because of its success, Vitagraph bought the rights to make a film adaptation of the book, which Harré himself began to work on.<sup>26</sup> Sadly, the film seems not to have been made.

Despite the impression that the sinking of the *Lusitania* made on him, Harré still lived a rather bohemian life. He gave interviews about his book, gave his opinions on love, and even defended his book from censorship by the New York Astor Library.<sup>27</sup> He also worked at getting a Mrs. Samuel Untermeyer, in May 1916, to sign a neutrality petition. He wrote, “We are trying to get the signatures of 1000 representative Americans to the enclosed Manifesto for Neutrality in the Interest of Peace.”<sup>28</sup> So as late as May 1916, Harré was still opposed to the United States’ involvement in the war. He believed that peace was only attainable if the country remained neutral, rather than engaging in the war that was proving to be so devastating in Europe.

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<sup>24</sup> Scrapbook, 163, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>25</sup> Scrapbook, 161, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>26</sup> T. Everett Harré to Allen Boone 28 August 1917, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>27</sup> Scrapbook, 159, THE Manuscript Collection.

<sup>28</sup> Scrapbook, 61, TEH Manuscript Collection.

#### IV. U.S. Entry into War

To better understand Harré and his importance in the era of World War I, it is important to look at some of the political and social contexts in which he lived. For many years leading up to the First World War, President Woodrow Wilson did what he believed was his best to maintain a stance of non-involvement, or at least neutrality. As a man who came from academia, he had a very strict set of convictions, and felt that reason could be applied to almost every situation with success. This belief, however, was tested by the war. As Patrick Devlin proposes in his book *Too Proud to Fight*, Wilson had not done enough to explain to the United States population what non-involvement meant economically. The only way that the U.S. could have remained truly neutral would have been through economic isolation.<sup>29</sup> In May 1915, the same month that the *Lusitania* was sunk, Wilson made a very poignant speech noting, "The Example of America must be the example, not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not."<sup>30</sup> While Wilson was re-elected in 1916, his calls to remain neutral would soon be abandoned, first for calls for preparedness, and then by a declaration of war in 1917. His words from May 1915 were laid down and the banner of war taken up. It was in part because of his beliefs in the rightness of the United States that Wilson went to war, which produced the idea that it was a "war to end war."

Woodrow Wilson is easily identified as a progressive. The Progressive Era, which began under Theodore Roosevelt and continued through Woodrow Wilson's presidency, hoped to find

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<sup>29</sup> Patrick Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 175.

<sup>30</sup> Woodrow Wilson quoted in Kendrick Clements, *Woodrow Wilson: World Statesman* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 159.



actions to reform the American society that emerged in industrial United States.<sup>31</sup>

Progressive thinking of many social reformers, some examples of which were the prison system, child labor, and women's suffrage, defined the progress that was detailed, some progressive reformers were able to meet the reform that was the result of their movement.<sup>32</sup> Progressives firmly believed that the progress that was made for each side, both at home and abroad, could be harnessed to create a more ideal society. In 1917, this was due to the fact that war expenditures provided for many progress that the reformers saw in progress, as well as the fact that because of a war situation's state that was in progress, national unity was largely achieved. However, progress was not made equally on both sides, and this turn from volunteered support to forced state intervention before the war and abroad was actually antithetical to their movement.<sup>33</sup> As Arthur F. Elkins Jr. wrote in his book on Progressivism, "The more extensive use of violence for domestic purposes and the formation of large political groups indicated that the world would be more organized, more effectively organized for a better world."<sup>34</sup> Thus progressivism failed to meet its goal, as well as its dream.

The United States entered the First World War in April 1917, and this conflict pulled the entire nation into a state of interest and excitement. After the war, the country became deeply divided over questions of civil liberties, labor and justice. All of these issues came to a head during the war, when the government took measures to control many different facets of daily life in the country. This led to the passage of the Espionage Act, a modified Sedition Act, and new measures such as the United States Committee on Public Information and what came to be

<sup>31</sup> Arthur F. Elkins Jr., *Progressivism in America: A Study of the Era from Theodore Roosevelt to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), ix.

<sup>32</sup> Elkins, *Progressivism*, 176.

<sup>33</sup> Elkins, *Progressivism*, 173.

<sup>34</sup> Elkins, *Progressivism*, 207.

solutions to some of the serious problems that confronted an industrial United States.<sup>31</sup>

Progressives championed many social reforms, a few examples of which were the prison system, immigration and labor. Somehow, despite the vagaries that war entailed, some progressive reformers were able to see the war as the apotheosis of their movement.<sup>32</sup> Progressives firmly believed that the power of an interventionist state, both at home and abroad, could be harnessed to provide much-needed benefits. In part this was due to the fact that war expenditures provided money for many programs that the reformers saw as important, as well as the fact that because of the administration's strict controls on opinion, national unity was largely achieved. However, Progressivism was founded mainly on volunteerism; and this turn from volunteered support to coerced, state intervention both at home and abroad was actually antithetical to their movement.<sup>33</sup> As Arthur Ekirch Jr. writes in his tract on Progressivism, "The more extensive use of science for communal purposes and the formation of large political groups indicated that the world would be better organized, though not necessarily organized for a better world."<sup>34</sup> Thus progressivism found in war its fulfillment, as well as its downfall.

The United States entered the Great War in April 1917; and this conflict pulled the entire nation into a state of turmoil and conflict. After initially unity, the country became deeply divided over questions of immigration, labor and dissent. All of these issues came to a head during the war, when the government took measures to control many different facets of daily life for the country. This era saw new laws such as the Espionage Act, a modified Sedition Act, and new committees such as George Creel's Committee on Public Information and what came to be

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<sup>31</sup> Arthur A. Ekirch Jr., *Progressivism in America: A Study of the Era from Theodore Roosevelt to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), ix.

<sup>32</sup> Ekirch, *Progressivism*, 270.

<sup>33</sup> Ekirch, *Progressivism*, 272.

<sup>34</sup> Ekirch, *Progressivism*, 267.

known as the Overman Committee. These drastic expansions of government power and oversight were greeted by citizens of the United States in highly varying ways.<sup>35</sup> People such as Eugene Debs and Jane Addams saw the new laws as restrictions on constitutional free speech, while other groups such as the American Protective League and the National Civic Federation saw them as desperately necessary war-time measures to put down dissent and disloyalty.<sup>36</sup> In many ways these measures countered the First World War's stated goal of making the world safe for democracy by crushing democratic dissent on the home front. Many people, Harré among them, felt strongly that the time to stand up and defend their country was at hand and nothing would stand in their way. In Harré's case, he chose to try to join the Committee on Public Information (CPI), also known as the Creel Committee. His particular group influenced U.S. public opinion through the use of a wide propaganda campaign.<sup>37</sup> Using public speakers and fliers, Creel and the CPI helped to mold discussions of patriotism and loyalty throughout the war years. Harré wrote to George Creel in May 1917,

Keenly and to my heart-deeps do I want to do something as my own little share in this war, and as I've gone over and over the matter it seems if I can fit in[,] the best service would be to utilize what talents I have, mental and literary. These, dear Mr. Creel, are yours to command to the limits of ability and endurance, and I only trust you can find some actual use for me.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Robert Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 3.

<sup>36</sup> Murray, *Red Scare*, 82-83, OLeary Chp. 11.

<sup>37</sup> Hagedorn, *Savage Peace*, 28.

<sup>38</sup> T. Everett Harré to George Creel, 5 May 1917, TEH Manuscript Collection.



Over the course of 1916-1917, Harré's views, like many U.S. citizens', underwent an extreme change. It was at this time that Harré met Ralph Easley. Meeting this man would help to shape Harré's writings for the next several years, as well as provide him a podium for his diatribes. Between 1917 and 1920 Harré worked as the publicity director for the League for National Unity and the publicity director for the National Civic Federation, both groups begun by Easley.<sup>39</sup> One particular instance of Harré's changed beliefs deals with his friendship with George Viereck. In a letter dated September 1, 1917, he clearly expressed his dissatisfaction with Viereck's beliefs, and asked that the signed memento Harré had given him to be taken down because Viereck was providing a "rookery" for socialists and anti-war pacifists.<sup>40</sup>

#### **a. Backlash Against Immigrants**

One issue that was highly controversial during WWI was the debate over immigrants and "hyphenated" Americans. This debate was one that showed the currents of nativism, as well as one that pitted countrymen against countrymen. During the years before President Wilson led the country into war, the immigrant community was, for the most part, able to celebrate having a dual heritage. This meant that German-Americans were allowed to celebrate both their heritage from Germany, as well as the United States. However, as war loomed closer there was more and more pressure put on groups such as German-Americans and Irish-Americans to conform to the politics of patriotism.<sup>41</sup> In fact, as Woodrow Wilson campaigned for his re-election he spoke out definitively against "hyphenated" Americans, saying that "those who disagreed with him...were not just wrong, but were not true Americans."<sup>42</sup> President Wilson was not the only person in this

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<sup>39</sup> Marquis, *Who's Who*, 235.

<sup>40</sup> T. Everett Harré to George Sylvester Viereck, 9/1/1917, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>41</sup> O'Leary, *To Die For*, 239.

<sup>42</sup> Ernest Freeburg, *Democracy's Prisoner* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 37.

era that expressed problems with anyone who was not a “native.” As historian John Higham notes in his book *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism*, “while modern wars have generally imparted a fresh vigor to the tide of nationalism, they have often calmed the waves of nativism borne along with that tide. [ ... ]. The struggle with Germany, however, called forth the most strenuous nationalism *and* the most pervasive nativism that the United States had ever known.”<sup>43</sup> What this so clearly points out are the difficulties that immigrants faced, especially German-Americans, in attempting to not be labeled either disloyal citizens or even worse, foreign spies.

At the time of the Great War, German-Americans were still the largest ethnic group of foreign-born citizens.<sup>44</sup> After war was declared in April of 1917, the pressure upon immigrants to conform or be considered disloyal became immense. Higham writes that “passive assent to the national purpose was not enough; it must be grasped and carried forward with evangelical fervor.”<sup>45</sup> This was the zenith of the calls for “100 percent Americanism.” In the face of this drive for extreme patriotism, many immigrants began to conform in order to do what they could to be seen as loyal citizens. Suspicion of immigrants was not limited to German-Americans at this time. Another group that suffered were Russian-Americans, in part because of the radical ties of some of the immigrants within their community. Higham writes, “Out of fear, some factories discharged all their Russian employees, and many others adopted a policy of refusing to

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<sup>43</sup> John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1963), 195.

<sup>44</sup> Higham, *Strangers*, 196.

<sup>45</sup> Higham, *Strangers*, 205.

hire them.”<sup>46</sup> This created very difficult conditions for many in the immigrant community, making them fear for their jobs, as well as for their lives.

For Harré, immigration was an issue secondary in importance to pacifism or radical labor. In one section of his unpublished article “The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst Harré describes a gentleman who works for a pacifist paper and writes, “Speaking of the various Irish-American, German-American, Jewish-American, labor and agricultural elements in this country, the man said: ‘All are unwilling to fight for a European programme [sic] of annexations.’”<sup>47</sup> Here Harré specifically singles out hyphenated citizens. He sees them as inherently suspect as subversives and especially, because of their ties to labor, as threats to the economy.

With such a heightened atmosphere of distrust, people turned to their government to “deal” with immigrants. This of course meant new legislation, which was passed in 1917.<sup>48</sup> The new immigration legislation gave the government the ability to deport any foreign-born citizens if they could in some way be linked to any radical organization such as the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). The power of deportation was vested in the hands of the Department of Labor, which quickly began to exercise its new-found authority. In some cases, the Department of Labor even attempted to deport immigrants who had moved to the United States years before the war. This new legislation was a very extreme step (it led to the deportation of several immigrants active in “subversive” groups), but one that was largely supported by the public.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Higham, *Strangers*, 226.

<sup>47</sup> “The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst,” 4, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>48</sup> Higham, *Strangers*, 221.

<sup>49</sup> Higham, *Strangers*, 221.



## **b. Anti-German Crusades**

As the War entered its second year, both the country and Harré ramped up fear and persecution of everything German. While not everyone was united in their opposition to radical labor organizations, many people of the time were willing to support anything anti-German. This undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that Germany was officially an enemy of the United States from the beginning of the war. The biggest reason for increased fear was due to stories coming back from the front. In particular, German troop movements through Belgium gave fodder to fears of the violence and brutality of the German army.<sup>50</sup> Also, in trying to demonize the German enemy, right-wing publications of the day referred to all Germans as Huns. This was done, in part, to conjure images of mystical, murderous hordes. One final reason for the American distrust of things German is that the Germans were associated with the Bolsheviks of Russia. This was because of their having signed a separate peace deal in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.<sup>51</sup> As a result all Germans were seen not only as enemies, but also possible Bolsheviks, a fact that made them doubly dangerous.

The first publication that Harré and Ralph Easley, another conservative writer, collaborated on was in 1918. The two men worked together to create a pamphlet that claimed to show "how Germany imposed upon the world the myth of her supremacy in social progress, industry and invention, and the arts and sciences."<sup>52</sup> In "Germany's Most Successful Hoax," the authors spent 37 pages making the case that Germany was not as advanced as they claimed to be. Easley who provided information for most of the pamphlet, began with a general attack on the educational system of Germany, and continued through all parts of German society, ending by

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<sup>50</sup> "We Will to Win Against the Hun," 7, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>51</sup> Murray, *Red Scare*, 33.

<sup>52</sup> Ralph M. Easley, *Germany's Most Successful Hoax* (New York: Allied Printing, 1918), Cover.

attacking German music. After his tirade, he handed the reigns over to Everett Harré, quoting extensively from an article of Harré's entitled "Germany, Patron of the Gracious Arts."<sup>53</sup>

Harré's role in this publication was to point out that many of the artists, novelists and composers with which Germany was credited, were not actually born in, nor did they live in Germany. To begin his section, Harré writes about the war-time "atrocities" of the German army.

'In the early days of the great war, when the world stood aghast at

the spectacle of frightfulness wrought in Belgium, many people

asked how it was possible for the quiet, simple home loving

Germans suddenly to change into demoniac murdering and burning

hordes. The stunned world saw cathedrals and edifices of

incomparable beauty given wantonly to the flames. Since the

burning in the fourth century of the famed library of Alexandria,

containing the most precious heritage of literature and learning

then in the world, ..., history has accounted no such monstrous

crime against the intellectual and spiritual life of mankind.'<sup>54</sup>

This particular selection shows the importance to Easley and Harré of attaching thoughts of the war to their discussions of German cultures. They begin by getting people emotional about the war, and then continue to tear down German society.

At one point in his discussion of German poetry, Harré even asks the question, "Does one even think of the German language as a vehicle for poetry?"<sup>55</sup> In this way, he is able to

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<sup>53</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 29.

<sup>54</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 29-30.

<sup>55</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 31.

categorically dismiss German poetry as an art form with no achievements. Harré also attacks other high points of German literature, particularly opera. First, he claims that “a French Trouvere, Guyot, was the first to compose in the twelfth century a poem on the subject of the Holy Grail,”<sup>56</sup> by which he is saying that Wagner’s *Parsifal* was not in any way original. He then lists well-known authors and novelists from around Europe, saying that “Germany does not have a single novelist that is as good as those in the rest of Europe.”<sup>57</sup>

Finally, Harré turns his attacks to the architecture and sculpture of Germany. He claims that there is nothing redeeming about German architecture, and that all the Germans understand when it comes to buildings, is efficiency. He writes, “In those anxious days before the German drive on Paris was halted, what one logically expected, should the Germans reach Paris, was that Teuton efficiency would convert Notre Dame into a brewery, and the Louvre into a sausage factory.”<sup>58</sup> Harré also claims that the good sculpture the Germans do have, was all stolen from Greece and Asia.<sup>59</sup> It is interesting to point out, however, that he neglects to make any comparisons with the British, who initially filled the British Museum with artifacts from other cultures. Harré ends by saying, “An apprehension of beauty, as well as apprehension of truth, certainly seems to be what the Prussian entirely lacks.”<sup>60</sup>

While some of what Harré writes verges on absurdity in its narrow focus, this piece generally reflects the overall feeling about German culture in the right wing of the United States at the time. All parts of German society, from industry to the arts, were being attacked by nationalists such as Easley and Harré. According to them, Germany is either at best a farce, or at

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<sup>56</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 32.

<sup>57</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 33.

<sup>58</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 36.

<sup>59</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 36.

<sup>60</sup> Easley, *Hoax*, 37.



worst an enemy to society and culture. This type of literature would have been very difficult to face within German-American immigrant communities. Even immigrants who had not come to the country recently would have had a reason to be offended by such attacks on their culture. This is just one example of how the war discourse was shaped by conservative members of society.

### **c. Radical Labor as an Enemy**

There were some groups, particularly among the working classes, which thought that even the remotest possibility that the United States entered the war to protect the interests of capital was abhorrent. One of these groups in particular was the Industrial Workers of the World. Along with immigration, a major concern for many patriotic defense organizations, as well as personal patriots, was the threat posed by radical labor organizations. The I.W.W. was a radical labor group founded in 1905 by William Haywood. They were very willing to use violence and strikes to reach their goals, and for that reason were considered by most people at the time to be extremely dangerous.<sup>61</sup> These fears were not entirely unfounded. In October 1918, the I.W.W. was tentatively tied to a plot to assassinate President Wilson.<sup>62</sup> However some people, such as Paul Brissenden, saw the I.W.W. as an organization that was making some important contributions to discussions about economic and labor policies. He states in his 1919 book *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism*, "The most important item in the affirmative part of the I.W.W. program is this demand that some of our democracy – some of our representative government – be extended from political into economic life. They ask that industry be democratized by giving the workers – all grades of workers – at least a share in its

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<sup>61</sup> Murray, *Red Scare*, 26.

<sup>62</sup> Ann Hagedorn, *Savage Peace: Hope and Fear in America, 1919* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007), 122.

management.”<sup>63</sup> However, to many of the members of patriotic organizations such as the American Protective League, the American Legion and the NCF this was too much to ask for during a time of war. The only acceptable path was total submission to corporate and governmental objectives.

In 1918 Harré distributed a publication that took on what he and Easley saw as one of the greatest threats to U.S. society, the I.W.W. Harré’s opposition to this particular group was prompted by his association of radical labor and pacifism with support for Germany in the war. He hypothesizes in *The I.W.W.: An Auxiliary of the German Espionage System* that while the two groups may not be in actual collusion, German agents hoping to disrupt the war effort had taken all of their strategies of sabotage and disruption from the radical labor organization.<sup>64</sup> In the conclusion of the tract Harré writes,

So identical are their acts and methods, so parallel their malevolent program, that it is impossible to distinguish between the war acts of German agents and I.W.W. fanatics. When some frightful explosion or fire of unknown origin occurs, when a ship sinks, or when a strike paralyzes some vital industry, one can only ask – Which is responsible? German spies or the I.W.W.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Paul Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1919), 12.

<sup>64</sup> T. Everett Harré, *The I.W.W.: An Auxiliary of the German Espionage System* (New York: Allied Printing, 1918), 19.

<sup>65</sup> Harré, *Auxiliary*, 64.

This clearly illustrates the fact that many right-wing writers of the time viewed problems of German intrigue and conflicts over labor to be indistinguishable.<sup>66</sup> This opinion was not entirely unfounded, but in the writings of many people such as Harré it was exaggerated.

In attacking the I.W.W., Everett Harré brings up some of the conflicts that the organization had with other labor groups. In an attempt to undermine the legitimacy of the I.W.W. he tried to make the argument that it was actually worse for workers than craft-unionism, as embodied by organizations such as the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and the American Federation of Labor.<sup>67</sup> Also, while dealing with the threat that the I.W.W. may pose to society, Harré takes the opportunity to show his views on foreign-born citizens. In discussing the membership of the I.W.W. he writes of it “consisting of hoboese and the floating unskilled laboring elements – which includes a large proportion of untrained, ignorant foreigners.”<sup>68</sup> While these statements are very demeaning, they also point out the commonly held assumptions of the time that foreign-born workers were more likely to be a part of radical labor groups.

In Harré’s mind, radical labor and German agents were conspiring together. He also writes about the connections between radical labor and the new Russian Bolshevik government. He writes, “according to letters seized by the government and read at the I.W.W. trial, the Bolsheviki in Russia and the I.W.W. here were plotting together in seditious conspiracy to take control of the industry of both nations.”<sup>69</sup> The possibility of this coming true was obviously a motivating factor for Harré, and helped to fuel his crusade against both groups. He saw these

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<sup>66</sup> O’Leary, *To Die For*, 220-221.

<sup>67</sup> Harré, *Auxiliary*, 33.

<sup>68</sup> Harré, *Auxiliary*, 33.

<sup>69</sup> Harré, *Auxiliary*, 35.



men as "traitor[s] behind the battle line who may make vain the sacrifices of thousands of loyal soldiers."<sup>70</sup>

Harré's fears of I.W.W. violence and anti-war action were not entirely without grounds. One example of the ways in which the I.W.W. attempted to undermine the war effort was by shutting down some factories that were engaged in production for the military or, before the United States' entrance into the war, for the Allied powers. In one instance, in 1915, an I.W.W. sponsored strike was successful in closing down several Connecticut factories that were engaged in war production, which they did by leading the workers out on strike.<sup>71</sup> It was this kind of war opposition that was anathema to nationalists such as Easley and Harré.

Anti-war sentiment such as was exhibited by the I.W.W. and the Socialist Party was unwelcome throughout society, especially in the United States Congress. One senator, Robert LaFollette, was derided in Congress and accused of being an agent for the German government because of his anti-war stance.<sup>72</sup> However, this derision did not stop other politicians from speaking their minds. Senator Hiram Johnson spoke in 1917, saying "war is the natural enemy of freedom."<sup>73</sup> LaFollette and Johnson were two of the most outspoken war critics in Congress, but their views were disregarded whenever it came to war-time legislation. During the course of the war, the United States Congress became one more place where deviation from the "norm" was unacceptable.

Despite some resistance to wholesale commitment to war Congress successfully passed a revised Espionage Act in 1917. This act dealt primarily with the possible infiltration of German

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<sup>70</sup> Harré, *Auxiliary*, 36.

<sup>71</sup> Harré, *Auxiliary*, 39.

<sup>72</sup> Freeburg, *Prisoner*, 44.

<sup>73</sup> Freeburg, *Prisoner*, 47.

spies, but it also created some policing powers that the federal government would use to silence war critics. One of the most controversial aspects of the Espionage Act of 1917 was the authorization of the Postmaster General to attempt to stamp out sedition by blocking production of newspapers that printed anti-war materials. One of the most famous magazines to fall prey to the postmaster's censoring, and one that eventually went out of business, was Max Eastman's *The Masses*. The postmaster used his powers to not only silence socialist publications, but also to interfere with or shut down the production of left-leaning religious and German-American publications as well.<sup>74</sup> The Espionage Act of 1917 is another example of how the federal government became active in reining in opposition to its policies and controlling citizens' speech, primarily among socialist and immigrant groups.

## V. Post-war Scares

The fears that had been raised during the war of radical organizations such as the I.W.W. and the socialist and communist parties did not go away afterwards. Instead, a scare developed that infected almost all of society. Many patriotic organizations such as Easley's National Civic Federation (NCF) and his attack dog Everett Harré led the charge against any dissidents. The majority of society was ready to get back to normalcy, but as there was continued unrest because of things such as strikes, more and more societal problems were blamed on Bolshevik and German infiltration.<sup>75</sup>

The National Civic Federation stepped into this time of great suspicion and fear to declare itself a patriotic defense organization. The NCF was organized in 1900 and was the brain-child of Ralph Easley, who had also founded the Chicago Civic Federation and the League

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<sup>74</sup> Freeburg, *Prisoner*, 52-75.

<sup>75</sup> Murray, *Red Scare*, 16.

for National Unity.<sup>76</sup> The organization was founded to bring together leaders in business and leaders of the labor movement in order to establish understanding between the two.<sup>77</sup> It was primarily an instrument of progressive reform, which aimed to allow disparate groups to bargain together and keep a peaceful business climate by avoiding strikes. They believed that this policy would be beneficial for organized labor, business and government.

During the course of World War I, the NCF adapted its duties to become a patriotic organization. While it never got as much government support as the American Protective League or the League for National Unity, it was just as stridently right-wing. Ralph Easley himself said in 1919, "the National Civic Federation has four general enemies: pacifism, socialism, Bolshevism and Hunism, but it should have the support of all true Americans." In part because the NCF had been an organization that was opposed to radicalism within organized labor, they easily took on the role of opposition to anti-war radicalism.<sup>78</sup> Marguerite Green notes in *The National Civic Federation and the American Labor Movement 1900-1925*, "the exigencies of war offered unforeseen opportunities for Easley to begin an anti-radical campaign in earnest."<sup>79</sup> In part because Easley was a progressive who was in favor of government intervention, he openly embraced the war as a chance for both he and the federal government to greatly expand their reach.

One of the ways in which Easley chose to combat radicalism was through the use of his own publication. To this effect, on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1918 the National Civic Federation's periodical, *The National Civic Federation Review*, went into publication. Although the war was

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<sup>76</sup> Marguerite Green, *The National Civic Federation and the American Labor Movement, 1900-1925* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1956), 3-4.

<sup>77</sup> Green, *NCF and American Labor*, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Green, *NCF and American Labor*, 362.

<sup>79</sup> Green, *NCF and American Labor*, 371.



concluded, the fight on the home front was just heating up. In the years following the Armistice, the United States had its First Red Scare, which the NCF did its part in developing. The NCF also continued to see German intrigue at work in society. In a six-part series initiated on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1918, T. Everett Harré presented a series of articles entitled "Shadow Huns and Others." Marguerite Green notes about the NCF, that "It was not only in the war years that the leaders of the NCF considered America's primary danger to be the subversive activity of German agents. In the unrest and upheavals of the immediate postwar period, they regarded revolutionary movements as the direct result of German propaganda and activities."<sup>80</sup> In Easley's war against radicalism on the home front, his primary ally and staunchest supporter was T. Everett Harré, who was zealous in his persecution of dissenters and potential German agents.

One of Harré's greatest contributions to the National Civic Federation was as the managing editor of *The National Civic Federation Review*. In this capacity, he not only was able to influence what went into the publication, but also to author stories that he saw as important to defending American interests against Germans, Bolsheviks, and socialists. Over the course of two years he wrote several articles tracing the disloyalty of United States citizens, as well as called for watchfulness against German and Russian intrigue.

#### **a. German Infiltration**

One article series in which Harré addresses the threat of German influence to the home front is in his series "Shadow Huns and Others." This series began in December of 1918, and ran until March of 1919. The main focus of these articles was on other publications that Harré saw as being influenced by German propaganda. The two papers in particular that he chose to

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<sup>80</sup> Green, *NCF and American Labor*, 387.

attack were *The Nation*, which was edited by Oswald Garrison Villard, and *The New Republic*, edited by Herbert Croly.<sup>81</sup> In six installments, Harré chronicles the many ways in which the papers aimed to sow discontent with the war and, upon its completion, call for a “just” peace which involved being more lenient with the United States’ former enemy.<sup>82</sup> In the issue of December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1918, Harré writes, “Just as it was solicitous about leaving the German-subsidized Bolshevik autocracy in absolute power in Russia, the *New Republic* was frankly concerned about the sort of peace terms which the victorious Allies might impose upon Germany.”<sup>83</sup> This particular article series helped to convince Ralph Easley of Harré’s commitment to anti-Germanism, anti-Bolshevism and anti-radicalism, which, in part, certainly led to his control of *The Review*.<sup>84</sup>

One of the reasons that Harré spoke out against people like the editors of *The Nation* and *The New Republic* is because he considered their views to be anti-American. One example of what Harré saw as attacks on the country’s integrity dealt with the United States’ first president. He writes, “Allan L. Benson, former Socialist candidate for the presidency, wrote a book called ‘Our Dishonest Constitution,’ in which he declared that the Federal Constitution was the work of ‘what today would be called grafters’”<sup>85</sup> In essence, Benson claimed that the founding fathers, Washington included, had a huge financial incentive to break away from Britain because they were money lenders, and by changing the currency they could vastly increase the monies due to them.<sup>86</sup> Obviously these kinds of questions about the true motives of the people called the founding fathers came at a bad time. In the climate of fear and “one hundred percent

<sup>81</sup> Green, *NCF and American Labor*, 390.

<sup>82</sup> *National Civic Federation Review* 12/5/1918-3/5/1919, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>83</sup> *NCF Review* 12/5/1918, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>84</sup> Green, *NCF and American Labor*, 390.

<sup>85</sup> *NCF Review*, 2/15/1919, 15, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>86</sup> *NCF Review*, 2/15/1919, 15, TEH Manuscript Collection.

Americanism," views that in any way made revered men into greedy money lenders could not be tolerated, and brought about a fierce tongue-lashing from conservative journalists such as Harré.

### **b. Socialists and the Red Scare**

One particular group that was looked upon with distrust by many patriotic organizations during the war was the socialists. Many socialists were opposed to the government's commitment to going to war, and were calling for socialist change through the electoral process. The Socialist Party even ran their leader, Eugene V. Debs, as a candidate for the presidency in 1920. Ernest Freeburg writes in *Democracy's Prisoner*, "judges often considered their [socialists] gatherings to be, almost by definition, a breach of the peace."<sup>87</sup> For their anti-war stance, they were harassed both by individuals and by government institutions such as the Justice Department. The federal authorities even went so far as to arrest over 2,000 war critics. All of this proves that "when Congress declared war on Germany in 1917, public officials and many private citizens," T. Everett Harré among them, "also launched an undeclared war on the socialists for their stand against the war."<sup>88</sup> Harré's main weapon was his pen, and he used the National Civic Federation's *Review* to his great advantage.

Harré also felt that the socialist movement posed a threat, so he embarked on an article series that was titled "Socialism Unmasked." In this series of articles published May to September 1920, Harré used the publications of the Socialist Party to point out to people that the Socialists believed in the overthrow of the current system of government. In this series he highlighted the Russian Revolution as an example of what the Socialist Party wanted to see established in the United States. Harré began the article by discussing how the general public

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<sup>87</sup> Freeburg, *Prisoner*, 19.

<sup>88</sup> Freeburg, *Prisoner*, 22, 4-46.



has typically come to see the Socialist Party as an organization striving for humanitarian goals that has forsaken radical revolution. However, he wrote, "This confusion as to Socialism, its character, its specific objects, program and tactics, is largely the result of the designing efforts of Socialist leaders themselves, an effect of the adroit Socialist propaganda, and serves to further the Socialist's sinister ends."<sup>89</sup> This clearly shows Harré's skepticism about the Socialist Party's true goals. He then went on to write three articles which tear down the Socialist Party, in particular indicting them for joining the Third Internationale, or the Communist Internationale, in Moscow.<sup>90</sup> To Harré the Socialist Party, in part because they were officially against the United States' entrance into the war, represented the pinnacle of anti-Americanism. From draft-dodging to sedition, he saw the Socialists as one of the primary negative influences on the home front during, and immediately following the war.

The National Civic Federation found socialists and pacifists throughout society, from the labor movement to members of Congress. They identified people within various fields that they suspected of being socialists, particularly in academia. The NCF were not the only ones who saw professors at universities as radicals. In January of 1919 the *New York Times* reported on proceedings of the Senate Overman Committee which had been charged to look into German propaganda efforts during the war. They published a list that was billed as a "Who's Who in Pacifism and Radicalism."<sup>91</sup> On the list 24 of 62 people identified were professors at various universities.<sup>92</sup> This shows the bent of some intellectuals of the time. They were clearly some of the strongest proponents of socialist and pacifist doctrines. However, some were wrongly accused, because they had fallen in line behind the war effort as soon as hostilities broke out

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<sup>89</sup> *NCF Review*, 5/10/1920, pg 9, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>90</sup> *NCF Review*, 5/10/1920, pg 15, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>91</sup> "Who's who in pacifism and radicalism," TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>92</sup> "Who's who in pacifism and radicalism," TEH Manuscript Collection.

between the United States and Germany, while others were currently working for the War Department.<sup>93</sup>

In April of 1919 Harré and the *Review* decided that it was time to take a look at one example of anti-Americanism masquerading as intellectualism. To do this they evaluated the opening of the New School of Social Science and Research, which was founded by Herbert Croly, Charles Beard and James Harvey Robinson. One of the founders of the school was Herbert Croly, the editor of *The New Republic*, who was attacked as a German propagandist in the "Shadow Huns and Others" series by Harré. Another of the founders of the school was Charles Beard, a man who was listed among the "Who's Who of Pacifists and Radicals." He authored a book, which like Allen Benson above, called into question the motivations of the founding fathers for breaking with England. The final founder discussed by Harré is James Harvey Robinson. He was convicted, in Harré's mind, because he "was one of the signers of the appeal to raise \$50,000 for the defense of the I.W.W. leaders when they were on trial in Chicago for seditious conspiracy."<sup>94</sup> One quote of Robinson's stood out very strongly to Harré. He said, "Patriotism resembles religion and love in this respect. To the candid historical student the evil workings of religion are, to say the least, far more conspicuous and far more readily demonstrated than its good results."<sup>95</sup> As a result of his new-found religious beliefs and conservative political views, Harré viewed Robinson as an absolute enemy. To a man such as Everett Harré the United States could do no wrong, *because* of the support of its people (patriotism) and its Christian character (religion).

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<sup>93</sup> Hagedorn, *Savage Peace*, 57.

<sup>94</sup> *NCF Review* 4/10/1919, 4, TEH Manuscript Collection.

Beard's book was titled *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* and was published in 1913. Benson's book was titled *Our Dishonest Constitution* and was published in 1914.

<sup>95</sup> *NCF Review* 4/10/1919, 16, TEH Manuscript Collection.

### c. Unpublished War Works

Not all of Harré's writings were published by the National Civic Federation. He was a very prolific writer at this time. The first of two unpublished articles that demonstrates his feelings about Germany during the war and his feelings about pacifists is entitled "We Will to Win Against the Hun." In this particular article Harré's objective was to paint World War I as a crusade, and to characterize the people the United States was crusading against as un-American heathens. He wrote,

The boorish butchers of William II's armies are our enemies only as they would carry into effect the fell purposes of that diademed assa[s]in, that sceptered outlaw, which strikes at the very core of our own liberty and peace. Ideas, right or wrong rule in this world—and the ideas which Germany would impose, and which we fight, are ideas antagonistic and opposed to the principles set forth in our Constitution, in denial of the basic fundamentals of the Christian religion.<sup>96</sup>

This particular block of text tells a lot about the man that was typing it. First, it demonstrates his belief that the war was a crusade between two separate ideas, that of totalitarianism and democracy. Secondly it shows that he viewed the war in religious terms, as a conflict between a heathen, or irreligious German government, and a profoundly holy, Christian United States. Everett Harré used this article to set Germany up as something totally inhuman. In this way, he made the prosecution of war against them seem good for the world, and necessary. He wrote,

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<sup>96</sup> "We Will to Win Against the Hun," 4, TEH Manuscript Collection.



“We behold a people, including women and little children, whose blood is poisoned by malignance, a joy in evil, and whose souls, given to hate, are in the very religious sense, damned.”<sup>97</sup> Harré also fostered a climate of fear around the actions of Germany’s soldiers. While discussing the German conquest of Belgium he asserted that the armies “wrought deeds without a name, maimed children, gloated in ravening bloodshed and in a little Belgian church, in grotesque mockery, took down the Christ and nailed a dead cat to the cross!”<sup>98</sup> Again, the importance of acts against the church is brought up by Harré. This was all written at a time in his life when he was again becoming a religious person. He converted to the Russian Orthodox faith in the early 1920’s and took on the name Ivan Ivanovich when corresponding with church officials. This example of Harré’s writing is undated, but was probably authored during the earlier years of the United States’ involvement in the war. Perhaps because of the use of the language of a crusade, Harré perhaps had difficulty placing this article, and this would have tempered his writings later by focusing more on policy, as he did while working for the National Civic Federation.

Another article of Harré’s, and one in which he attacked people who did not support the war, was called “The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst.” The article was couched in a story of a meeting of the Woman’s Peace Party in New York, which Harré attended. One of the first topics on which Harré wrote in this article is the newly recognized rights of women to vote. He said, “A movement was inaugurated, when the enthusiasm of the diners was whipped up to a sufficiently high pitch, to bring the women of New York State to use their new privilege of franchise to elect to the next Congress only candidates who pledge themselves to oppose compulsory military training and service and to support the same peace terms broached to

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<sup>97</sup> “We Will to Win,” 5, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>98</sup> “We Will to Win,” 7, TEH Manuscript Collection.

Germany by the Bolsheviki—immediate peace without annexations and indemnities.”<sup>99</sup> In this selection it is possible to see that, to Harré, truly voting one’s conscience can be seen as unpatriotic. Also, he mentioned that women’s voting rights are a privilege, and so if women are not using them correctly – or patriotically – perhaps they should not be allowed to exercise them. Harré also recorded one of the leaders of the Woman’s Peace Party as saying, “If we would build a world without war, give us more Trotskys and Lenines [sic]! Let the spirit of the Bolsheviki permeate not only Russia and other dark countries—but also this great enlightened democracy as well.”<sup>100</sup> This particular quotation shows Harré taking aim at pacifists in the United States. Many of the pacifists and socialists had praised the Russian revolution, and Harré saw this as tantamount to treason.

“The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst” also deals with issues of labor. Harré was consumed with bringing the fight home. On the fourteenth page of this article he wrote, “Why send our boys—our hale and splendid boys, the pride of the nation, its most precious treasure, its future promise—forth to fight and die if we permit foes more dangerous than the Huns in the trenches to wage the Kaiser’s fight within the confines of our own shores.”<sup>101</sup> He was clearly talking about the socialists, pacifists, and members of the I.W.W. that he saw as an existential threat to the prosecution of the war. He also used this small section to show his patriotism by glorifying the soldiers going “Over There” to fight. In a final slap at the I.W.W., Harré wrote, “Their [the socialists] more sinister brethren—who use bombs instead of words—likewise scheme against our safety and our peace in the dark hours of the night.”<sup>102</sup> In this, his closing sentence, Harré shows off his immense skill as a propagandist. First he linked the bomb-

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<sup>99</sup> “The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst,” 2-3, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>100</sup> “The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst,” 4, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>101</sup> “The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst,” 14, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>102</sup> “The Intolerable Thing in Our Midst,” 17, TEH Manuscript Collection.

throwing I.W.W. to the socialists. This made the socialists seem like an increased threat.

Secondly, he conjured up images of backroom deals and threatening people just waiting for the right moment to destroy the country.

There were so many things to be afraid of, that some groups decided to take their own actions to combat whatever bogeymen they perceived as a threat. This led to the creation of a large network of volunteer spies around the country. One of the largest groups to have their own cadre of spies was the American Protective League, which even issued badges to their operatives. As Ann Hagedorn writes in her book *Savage Peace*, "By the autumn of 1918, there were at least 300,000 APL (American Protective League) spies hidden in the folds of American society, watching, trailing, and taping their bosses, colleagues, employees, neighbors, even the local butcher or their children's schoolteachers."<sup>103</sup> These spies were everywhere in society, and many of them worked with/for the United States government through the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department and the Bureau of Investigations.<sup>104</sup>

The culmination of many of the fears that cropped up following the war happened in January 1920 with a series of raids under the direction of A. Mitchell Palmer, then the Attorney General and a fellow Pennsylvanian. The Alien and Sedition Acts had come to an end when the war ended, and so Palmer's only means of eradicating the menace was to deport any aliens involved with the Communist and Communist Labor parties.<sup>105</sup> Raids were planned for the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January, and were executed with the utmost efficiency. Over 4000 suspects were arrested; spread over thirty-three states. In many cases, people's rights were suspended and several

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<sup>103</sup> Hagedorn, *Savage Peace*, 27.

<sup>104</sup> Hagedorn, *Savage Peace*, 24-32.

<sup>105</sup> Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 35-37.



citizens were unlawfully arrested.<sup>106</sup> Palmer was a committed patriot, and part of his justification for the raids was his loyalty to the government. He said in a New Year's speech that, "The [Red] movement will not be permitted to go far enough in this country to disturb our peace and well-being or create any widespread distrust of our people's Government."<sup>107</sup> Clearly even as late as January 1920, the idea that one could have doubts about the federal government, even though they were no longer at war, was an impossibility for men like the Attorney General.

After many years of conflict and tension, the First Red Scare finally slowed and ended, and society began to get back to normal. As the 1920's roared on, many citizens, including Everett Harré, began to shift back to the lives that they had led before the war. Harré would go back to journalism, writing articles for magazines such as *Redbook*, *Good Housekeeping* and *Cosmopolitan*. He also wrote several more novels before he died, even branching into the fields of anthology-writing and ghost-writing.<sup>108</sup> However, the views that he acquired and wrote about from 1917-1921 never really left him. His change from bohemian socialite to staunch patriot colored the rest of his years.

## VI. Conclusion

One of the crowning achievements for T. Everett Harré after WWI was his 5<sup>th</sup> book. This book again sought to tell the tale of the life of a historical figure. For this book Harré focused on the life of Lola Montez, a famous courtesan of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Harré published *The Heavenly Sinner*<sup>109</sup> through the Macaulay Company, which was trying to take advantage of the exploding popularity of motion pictures. Immediately after it was released the film rights for *The Heavenly*

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<sup>106</sup> Murray, *Red Scare*, 213.

<sup>107</sup> Hagedorn, *Savage Peace*, 421.

<sup>108</sup> T. Everett Harré to Dorothy Jardon, 11 July 1941, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>109</sup> T. Everett Harré, *The Heavenly Sinner* (New York: The Macaulay Co., 1935).

*Sinner* were bought by Metro-Goldwyn Pictures for production of a movie that was supposed to come out in 1936.<sup>110</sup> Sadly, like *Behold the Woman*, this movie never made it to production.

The 1940's was the final decade of T. Everett Harré's life. During these years he put out two anthologies. The first of these was a collection of love stories called *The Bedside Treasury of Love*.<sup>111</sup> While this collection gained some popularity, it caused him some problems with his next anthology, *Treasures of the Kingdom*.<sup>112</sup> As he wrote to Boris Brasol, with this book Harré hoped to counter any atheistic as well as communistic currents in society by creating a book that was filled with religious stories.<sup>113</sup> Shortly after the publication of his final work, Thomas Everett Harré died in the Harlem Hospital on 27 July 1948.<sup>114</sup>

Harré dealt with many of the same issues of loyalty and patriotism when they cropped up again around World War II. In this second war, Harré was not involved the same way that he was during the first. One possible reason for this is that during these years he was deeply involved in working with a Catholic publication called *The Lamp*, and was more focused on religious than political matters.<sup>115</sup> However, those times when he did comment on the war, his thoughts are extremely fascinating. In one typescript, where he decided to highlight the work of the National Civic Federation during WWI, and how they might again be a helpful organization, he acknowledged the difficulties that people such as himself faced in having to help fight the Germans by siding with Soviets. He wrote

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<sup>110</sup> T. Everett Harré to Maud Ballington Booth, 16 September 1935, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>111</sup> T. Everett Harré, *Bedside Treasury of Love* (New York: Sheridan House, 1945).

<sup>112</sup> T. Everett Harré, *Treasures of the Kingdom* (New York, Rinehart and Co. Inc., 1947).

<sup>113</sup> T. Everett Harré to Boris Brasol, 10 April 1947, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>114</sup> Obituary of T. Everett Harré, *Daily Intelligencer*, 28 July 1948.

<sup>115</sup> Marquis, *Who's Who*, 235.

With Soviet Russia turned in defense against Hitler, to an end all-  
desired, we have been obligated militarily to help Russia, but in  
this we must be on the defensive against the Reds taking advantage  
of the situation to achieve their own ends. Bolshevism and Nazism  
are but [two] opposite faces of the same penny.<sup>116</sup>

From this selection it can easily be seen that Harré's views did not change to a great extent in the interlude between the two world wars. Socialism was still not to be trusted, as well as Socialist and German goals being tied together. In *New Birth of Freedom: A Patriotic Pronouncement, A Vision for Victory*, another piece by Harré, he demonstrates how he was stuck in his ways of writing and his use of writing motifs. He wrote, "Hitler's oratorical frenzies, his ravings and rages, have goaded the German people to the fury and brute strength of a mass madness. Hitler and his armies – as did Attila and the Huns – have achieved victories appalling in extent."<sup>117</sup> Here he shows that the idea of whoever is the enemy of the United States, in this case again the Germans, can be compared to the Huns. This is the exact same rhetoric he used during the First World War, and perhaps why he never rose to prominence during the second. However, it is impossible to know what role he may have played if he had lived through the second Red Scare that gripped the country in the 1950's.

While times were difficult, the United States weathered the home front conflicts that happened both during and following the war. Government groups gradually increased their levels of interference from propaganda to surveillance, and finally to deportations after the Palmer Raids. As the First Red Scare wound down, people believed that stability had finally

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<sup>116</sup> T. Everett Harré, *Awake America! To Immediate Perils*, 1, TEH Manuscript Collection.

<sup>117</sup> T. Everett Harré, *New Birth of Freedom: A Patriotic Pronouncement, A Vision of Victory*, 2, TEH Manuscript Collection.



been achieved. However, the public would face many of these same challenges, again after World War II. Issues of dissent and civil liberties, and war and fear would come back to haunt the United States with McCarthyism and the Second Red Scare. Also, after World War II communism would again be seen as a threat as the world entered a nuclear age where war could mean total devastation. This time period reflects the great struggles that the United States would struggle with for the rest of the twentieth century, and which it struggles with today. Issues of civil liberties come into question every time a country is at war.

In many ways the writing of this one propaganda journalist from the era of World War I could be seen as a single outlier. However, he was not just one man; his writings exemplify a time period and a whole movement. There were people across the nation calling for strict patriotism. Many people saw the statements of the I.W.W. and the Socialist Party and were then pleased when their leaders went to trial. The majority of citizens were not affected by the Espionage Act, and thus had no reason to try to stand up against it. T. Everett Harré was not just a lone voice. If he had been, it would have been impossible for him to have found so many places willing to accept him and his writings. The National Civic Federation may have been his primary outlet, but the pamphlets that he wrote such as "Germany's Most Successful Hoax" and "The I.W.W., An Auxiliary of the German Espionage System" would never have met a press if there was not considerable support behind his views.

Instead, Harré should be viewed as *one* illustration of the fears that forced many members of U.S. society to extremes during World War I. This one man sought to expose the bogeymen that were threatening to re-shape society around them in radical ways. Some of these threats were real. The preponderance of evidence shows that Germany was trying to create some goodwill in their favor. The I.W.W. was attempting to use strikes to both bargain for better



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