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“Transnational Identity, Class, and Information Access: St. Louis Public Library
Censorship during World War I as an Extension of Established Power”

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Abstract

Like most public libraries in the United States during the First World War, the St. Louis (Missouri) Public Library (SLPL) removed literature from its collection that some considered “disloyal” or “pro-German propaganda.” Library historians have drawn a broad, national picture of this practice, but this study examines at a local level what was censored at SLPL, when censorship occurred relative to other public libraries, and what forces might have influenced SLPL’s Librarian to temporarily remove items from public access. To answer the later question, the author examines the social sphere of SLPL’s Librarian, Arthur E. Bostwick - SLPL’s Board of Directors, his neighborhood, the social organizations to which he belonged - and contrasts it with the ethnic and class perspective of most St. Louisans. This study reveals the extent to which the SLPL Librarian and Board was interwoven within a broader wealthy and powerful decision-making class financially invested in Allied success and responsible for insuring St. Louisans’ loyalty to the war effort at a time when most St. Louisans were working class from immigrant families and opposed to U.S. intervention. It also reveals just how little is known about which titles were removed, when they were removed, and when they again became accessible to the public.

Keywords: Bostwick, Arthur Elmore, 1860-1942; Censorship; Council on National Defense; Elite (Social Sciences); Public libraries; St. Louis (MO); World War, 1914-1918.

“Interned for the Duration of the War: St. Louis Public Library Censorship during World War I”

“It is a librarian’s business to collect material on all sides of all questions and to familiarize himself, so far as possible, with the arguments. This, I believe, tends to counteract any tendency to ignorant partisanship...” - Arthur Bostwick, *A Life With Men and Books*, 1939¹

"The metropolis of 1900 was a collection of distinct, if complex and interrelated, class and ethno-religious communities...the leading businessman was a member of a separate community...The downtown districts, fashionable residential avenues, country homes, and social clubs were his habitat and his chief associates were his equals in wealth and economic influence...Many of the important political issues of the day took on strong overtones of a battle among social groups over political leadership. " - Alexander Scot McConachie, "The 'Big Cinch': A Business Elite in the Life of a City, Saint Louis, 1895-1915"²

“We will smash the German line in France if you smash Hun propaganda at home.”
- U.S. General John J. Pershing³

Introduction

It would be an understatement to say that St. Louis was a divided over the United States’ entry into World War I, but it would be inaccurate to suggest that it was evenly divided. St. Louisans were largely opposed to U.S. intervention prior to Congress’s declaration of war, and that opposition came from a city that was majority immigrant or 1st generation American and working class. Those St. Louisans who supported the U.S. entry into the war on the side of the Entente were, by and large, from the professional classes and higher incomes. It was this elite community who filled the ranks of leadership of the St. Louis Public Library (SLPL) Board of Directors and institutions whose wartime role it was to ensure loyalty to the war effort. St. Louis Public Library’s censorship of its collection during the war years was one more means by which the upper class attempted to shift the majority’s diverse transnational, democratic, and class identities into a unified, nationalist and patriotic identity. Precise evidence of what SLPL censored and where the initiative to censor emerged remains unclear, but this work brings to light new evidence of external influence from the state and federal level. What it also reveals is that,

had SLPL Librarian Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick stood on the side of the freedom to read as did his fellow library leader, John Cotton Dana, he would have been acting counter to the elite community amongst whom he socialized, lived, and governed the institution for which he worked.

St. Louis Demography at the time of the First World War

Ethnicity

The United States had experienced a wave of immigration that began in 1848 and lasted until the First World War, and St. Louis was the destination for hundreds of thousands of these newcomers. In 1910, more than half (54%) of the city's residents were either born abroad or had at least one parent born overseas. Of that number, 27% were German.⁴ However, this statistic only accounts for first generation Americans. Germans had been coming to St. Louis since the 1830s, and between 45,000-65,000 Germans settled in St. Louis every decade from the 1850s to the 1910s. On the eve of the First World War, parts of St. Louis, it was said, were as German as Berlin.⁵ Following close behind the Germans in number were the Irish. The timing of their arrival roughly parallels with the Germans, but for every five Germans arriving, there were only three Irish.⁶ The wave of immigration to the United States that followed from 1880 until the outbreak of the First World War shifted from Northern and Western Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe. Although the total number of people coming to the U.S. from these regions outnumbered those of the previous wave, a smaller proportion of them settled in St. Louis as compared to New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other cities. The biggest ethnic contributors to St. Louis in this period were still the Germans, followed by peoples from the AustroHungarian (Hungarians, Czechs, Croats, Bohemians) Russian (Russians and Poles, both Christian and Jewish), and Ottoman empires (Syrian Christians), as well as other European nations (Switzerland, Sweden, and Spain).⁷

African-Americans, like the Irish, had been moving to St. Louis since it was Spanish territory, but the great wave of immigration from Europe reduced their relative proportionality from a high of 21% in 1830.⁸ Roughly 6.4% of St. Louis' population was African-American in 1910 and 9% by 1920.⁹ Most African-Americans moving to St. Louis were recruited out of the American South by labor agents. Industries that had experienced strikes were interested in hiring workers accustomed to low wages and who would be willing to work for less than what striking workers were demanding.¹⁰ Although St. Louis has been a slave state, it had been kept in the Union largely due to German-American initiative. Despite the strong opposition to slavery and the strains of radical social and democratic thought in German-American St. Louis, the largely German-led labor unions excluded African-Americans from their membership. St. Louis had a mixed record regarding segregation: there were separate schools, but no segregation on streetcars; segregation on playgrounds, theaters and restaurants but not in bath houses.¹¹ St. Louisans had voted in favor by a three-to-one margin of segregating housing on a block-by-block basis in 1917, but the referendum was overturned by the courts. Unlike German and Irish-Americans, who, after generations, intermarried and moved to ethnically mixed neighborhoods, African Americans were kept as a community apart. St. Louis Public Library, however, was never segregated.

Class

The bulk of the immigrants who had arrived in St. Louis made their livings with their hands. In 1880, roughly half of all German-born St. Louisans were craftsmen, tradesmen, or skilled workers.¹² However, by the beginning of the war, German-Americans occupied every profession, from beer barons to bricklayers. The construction and building trades were dominated by the Irish-Americans.¹³ They, like the Germans, occupied every level of the economic ladder from railway owners to seamstresses. Nearly 90% of Italian-Americans worked in the

brickmaking industry, and roughly 90% of all brick makers were of Italian origin. The boom in St. Louis' population was due to the demand for labor during the Industrial Revolution, and St. Louis was a major headquarters for railroad car construction, shoe manufacturing, lead mining, beer brewing and textile production. Of the roughly 170,000 people employed in manufacturing in St. Louis in 1916, 73% of them were wage earners making between \$15-30 a week.¹⁴ The average male worker, after household expenses, was capable of saving just \$.10 per year, and women made less per hour on average even within the same occupations.¹⁵ Nearly 135,000 women in St. Louis were employed outside of their homes. The largest part of them were in retail, followed by manufacturing, as servants and waitresses, unclassified occupations, laundresses, saleswomen and seamstresses.¹⁶

About 34% of St. Louisans engaged in manufacturing were in unions, but St. Louis manufacturer's aggressively resisted recognizing and collectively bargaining with them. The umbrella organization for most St. Louis unions was the Central Trade and Labor Union (CTLU), which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.¹⁷ Additionally, some St. Louis working women participated in the National Women's Trades Union League, also affiliated with the AFL.¹⁸ The only occupations that were protected by the state of Missouri's eight-hour work law were policemen, public officials, coal, ore and clay miners. All other work day limits were set between employee and employer, and many a man and woman went on strike for a dime more a day and an hour less of labor.¹⁹

Progressive Era Reform: The Struggle between Top-Down and Bottom-Up

As was the case for many cities during the turn of the century, St. Louis needed municipal reform due to its rapid population growth. State laws limited taxation, the issuance of bonds, and, therefore, revenue generation, public spending, and infrastructure projects. Unlike Kansas City, however, there was a lack of consensus amongst St. Louisans as to what form reform should

take. The Business Men's League, which included stockholders of local banks and trusts that owned railroads and utilities, was the chief financier of the St. Louis Civic League. Its idea of reform included reducing the influence of party ward machines, reducing business taxes, and the expansion of public parks and the boulevard system. These improvements would largely benefit the upper class West End. The voters of St. Louis repeatedly voted against the issuance of bonds for the Civic League-sponsored initiatives during special elections.²⁰

The small business and working classes of the city's North and South sides had a competing vision of reform. They advocated utility and housing reform, direct democracy, and a publicly-financed, toll-free bridge over the Mississippi River to bypass the existing railroads and ferries. The tide shifted to the advantage of the city's majority when Roger Nash Baldwin took over as Secretary of the Civic League in 1910. Baldwin, a sociology professor at Washington University, reduced the membership fees of the Civic League to attract a broader membership.²¹ The business class left the League, and the League under Baldwin lost hundreds of dollars fighting for the free bridge and tenement improvements, but they found success in the 1914 city charter revision. The new charter, passed at the ballot box, included three, critical articles which gave the city's citizens more direct influence in city government: recall of elected officers, initiative, and referendum.²²

St. Louis Public Library on the Eve of the First World War: Linguistic and Political

Inclusivity

At the time of the First World War, St. Louisans, both native-born and immigrant, factory worker and factory owner, were well-served by their public library. St. Louis Public Library, under the leadership of Dr. Arthur Elmore Bostwick, provided books and periodicals from a diverse array of languages, from a variety of political, religious, and philosophical perspectives, and its meeting spaces were open to all types of community groups. Patrons could borrow books

or read in-house periodicals in 54 different languages, though fourteen represented the most frequently circulating: German, French, Spanish, Yiddish, Bohemian, Russian, Italian, Polish, Magyar, Dutch, Hebrew, Serbo-Croatian, Dano-Norwegian and Arabic.²³ 25% of the materials borrowed from the Crunden branch were in languages other than English. The Carondelet branch manager suggested that this did not reflect opposition on the part of the foreign-born to learning English, rather “they do not read English freely enough to read it for pleasure.”²⁴ In addition to local English language and foreign language newspapers, St. Louis Public Library carried *St. Louis Labor*, the newspaper of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, over a dozen pamphlets from National Rip-Saw Publishing, a St. Louis-based publisher of Kate Richards O’Hare, Scott Nearing, and other socialist authors. SLPL provided an inclusive and balanced collection regarding the European war before the United States became directly involved by including not only pro-German and pro-Allied literature but neutral and pacifist literature as well.²⁵ Patrons sought out these varied perspectives of the war, and Central Library’s Art Room hosted exhibits of official British photographs of the war, French military posters and proclamations, as well as posters from the American Union Against Militarism.²⁶ SLPL’s meeting rooms were open to socialist organizations, ethnic associations, YMCA-led ESL classes, the NAACP, the Boy Scouts, debate and discussion groups, Gaelic language classes, teen clubs, and even a few weddings. In a special report within St. Louis Public Library’s 1917-18 *Annual Report*, which they later published as a stand-alone volume, Librarian for the Divoll Branch, Margery Quigley, wrote: “the day is past when library assistants seek to force down readers’ throats books which ‘will be good’ for them...the library stands for no propoganda but seeks to house all opinions...it makes no obvious attempt to reform or ‘uplift.’”²⁷

St. Louis Public Opinion about the War

A Majority for Neutrality

There were no scientific polls in 1917 as there are today, but there is sufficient evidence to suggest that no more than 10-20% of St. Louisans wanted the United States to participate the European war.²⁸ Missouri Representative Walter Hensley, claiming to have been “showered” with letters and postcards, 90% of which favored a national referendum on war, introduced a resolution to that end, but Congress rejected it.²⁹ Leonidas Dyer, whose U.S. Congressional district was one of three in the City of St. Louis, said that he received over 2,000 telegrams, all but five in support of the Gore-McLemore resolution, which would have warned Americans from traveling in armed, commercial vessels. Within Congress, the voting record of Missouri Senators and St. Louis Congressmen were mixed, but they were disproportionately neutralist relative to the total Congressional vote. 82 Senators voted for Wilson’s request for a declaration of war on Germany, and six voted against it, one of which was Missouri’s William J. Stone. 373 (86.5%) representatives in the House voted “Yea,” 50 (11.6%) voted “Nay,” and eight (.02%) did not vote. Of St. Louis City’s Congressional districts - the 10th, 11th, and 12th - William Igoe (Democrat, 11th) voted “Nay,” Leonidas Dyer (Republican, 12th) voted “Yea,” and Jacob Meeker (Republican, 10th) did not vote.³⁰ Igoe felt his vote was in line with the people he represented: "I know the people of my district do not want to go to war."³¹

Most Americans wanted their nation to remain out of the European war, at least until Germany announced a returned to the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in January 1917. Even after the Zimmerman Telegram was released, most St. Louisans hoped that U.S. entry into the war could be avoided.³² Of all Americans, German-Americans had a stronger and longerlasting desire for neutrality. Although most St. Louis German-Americans had been in the United States for more than two generations, their numerical dominance in St. Louis helped to preserve their binational cultural identity. The leading St. Louis German language newspaper, *Westliche Post*, and the German Catholic paper, *Amerika*, consistently pleaded for neutrality and

against further U.S. entanglement with the Allied side.³³ Nor had Irish-Americans any fondness for Britain following the 1800 Act of Union, and many were supporters of Irish independence. Some felt that a German victory would provide an opportunity for Ireland's freedom. St. Louis had a strong Friends of Irish Freedom chapter; they and the Ancient Order of Hibernians worked with the National German-American Alliance in the Neutrality League.³⁴ Other ethnic societies participated in the Neutrality League's activities as well.³⁵ When the U.S. Congress finally declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, the St. Louis chapter of the National German American Alliance was divided between continued opposition against U.S. intervention and acceptance of war as a *fête accompli*.³⁶

The editorial policy of St. Louis' only African-American newspaper, the *Argus*, could be described truly neutral, perhaps even fatalist or agnostic. The *Argus* repeatedly rejected taking any position for or against U.S. involvement.³⁷ After one year of war, the *Argus*' publisher and editor, J. E. Mitchell, wrote: "Six million killed...billions of dollars spent...For what? Learned students of war strategy are now telling us that when this merciless strife has ended, nothing will have been gained..."³⁸ Mitchell never operated under the notion that the war was being fought for human rights, democracy or national self-determination.³⁹ What he repeatedly stressed, however, was the opportunity the war could bring for African-Americans to once again demonstrate their loyalty to the United States: "with the continuation of the present European War and the great possibility of the United States being drawn into it at any moment, many avenues that have heretofore been closed to the Negro will be opened."⁴⁰ Mitchell repeatedly emphasized that African-Americans would remain loyal to the American nation despite lynchings, discrimination, and disenfranchisement. Despite numerous editorials to that end, The Army's Military Intelligence Division, responsible for monitoring discussion of war in U.S. newspapers, was concerned that German intelligence would exploit African-American's second class status and

use them as a fifth column within the States.⁴¹ Due to an editorial in which the *Argus*' suggested that African-Americans only purchase liberty bonds if a federal anti-lynching bill passed, Mitchell was visited by an Army Intelligence officer who considered it "insidious and dangerous propaganda." Mitchell convinced the officer of the paper's loyalty to the war effort.⁴²

Nor was ethnic heritage St. Louisans' only basis of opposition to the war. Many saw the war as being in the interests of big business or a distant event of little relevance to their lives. If the U.S. were to directly, militarily intervene, it ought to be subject to a national referendum.⁴³ This notion of participatory or direct democracy through referendum on the war was an extension of a local struggle for democratic reform of the municipal political process that united St. Louis' labor leaders and small businessmen.⁴⁴ Although the Socialist Party never polled as well in St. Louis as it did in Minneapolis and Milwaukee, it had a strong and influential presence in St. Louis, and their interpretation of the war's cause was widely shared. Socialists held high office in St. Louis' CTLU. St. Louis had been the national headquarters for the Socialist Party at the turn of the century, and it was also home to National Rip-Saw Publishing. The St. Louis CTLU and Socialist Party had opposed the war from its very beginning.⁴⁵ As Wilson was asking Congress for a declaration of war on Germany, the Socialist Party (SP) held an emergency executive committee meeting in St. Louis and released a strong statement against war and a call for resistance to it.⁴⁶ Although German-Americans numerically dominated the leadership positions of the Socialist Party, the SP of St. Louis had Bohemian, Lettish, Jewish, South Slavic, Italian, Lithuanian branches and weekly meetings in a majority of the city's wards.⁴⁷

After the U.S. officially entered the war on the Allied side, there remained some footdragging for its support in St. Louis. After the passage of the Selective Service Act on May 18, 1917, most eligible St. Louis men did register for the draft. However, 62% of them claimed

an exemption.⁴⁸ St. Louis met its quota in the first Liberty Loan campaign but failed to do so in the second drive. St. Louis only met its quota in the third and fourth campaigns after “intimidation, in-depth organization, intense advertisement, and huge mass meetings.”⁴⁹

A Minority for U.S. Intervention

As previously stated, there were no opinion polls to properly gauge St. Louisans position on the war.⁵⁰ However, based upon editorials of business-friendly newspapers, industry journals, and the reflections of their contemporary commentators, it is safe to conclude that what was true of Missouri was true in St. Louis: “many...leading businessmen supported the war. For some, this was simply good business.”⁵¹ Support in St. Louis for Wilson’s declaration of war and the number of steps the President took to prepare for it came from the upper classes. Like the nation’s business class, the St. Louis business class was not particularly belligerent. However, they were unwilling to support those efforts at greater neutrality that might hamper their profits (an arms embargo to all belligerents, abiding by the German as well as the British blockades) and stood behind those efforts that increased American investment in the Allies’ success (the armedship bill, the Allied loan, and U.S. military preparedness).⁵² The Democratic Club of St. Louis’ West End, the section of the city where the wealthiest St. Louisans lived, condemned Senator William J. Stone for voting against the armed-ship bill called for by Wilson on February 26, 1917.⁵³ The *American Zinc and Lead Journal* expressed joy at the failure to avoid war as it stimulated a massive demand for their product.⁵⁴

Historiography and Historical Method: Evidence and Interpretation of Public Library Censorship

Evidence

Library historians and biographers of St. Louis Public Librarian Arthur Bostwick agree that SLPL under Bostwick's leadership censored the SLPL collection during the First World War, but there is confusion to what extent this occurred and whether Bostwick did so of his own initiative. Joseph A. Boromé, writing in the early 1940s, celebrated Bostwick's "liberal views...he refused to stop the circulation of German books during World War I."⁵⁵ Contrarily, John Mark Tucker relayed in 1999: "Less admirably, he [Bostwick] joined numerous other librarians who, during World War I, removed pro-German materials from library shelves."⁵⁶

When confronted with conflicting interpretations of the past, historians must sift through the evidence. Bostwick made no direct admission of censorship in St. Louis Public Library's annual reports which he edited and submitted to the St. Louis Public Library Board of Directors. He made no acknowledgement of it in the Board Meeting minutes, which, as Secretary of the Board, he authored, nor did he make mention of it in his memoirs.

Across the country, the decision to remove "pro-German propaganda" and other "disloyal" literature was made by local library directors and boards, although the American Library Association began to assert a "top down" role in encouraging censorship in mid-1918. The ALA Executive Council, of which Bostwick was a member, voted on July 4, 1918 to appoint a committee to draw up a list of books that could be "misused," and that librarians ought to consider removing from their collections. However, the war ended before the committee could draft a final report and list.⁵⁷

The extent to which governmental or citizen's groups exerted pressure at their local, public libraries to remove items from their collections is a history still being written. The most thorough, nationwide account of public library's contributions to First World War remains *An*

Active Instrument for Propaganda: the American Public Library during World War I by Wayne A. Wiegand. William J. Breen described it as a "nicely written book" and Daniel F. Ring proclaimed it as "a book filled with a dazzling display of erudition."⁵⁸ This author does not dissent from prior reviewers' overall assessment of Wiegand's work; it remains the most thorough window into its subject. However, as a nationwide survey, Wiegand could not be exhaustive of all local resources. Wiegand made use of St. Louis Public Library's *Annual Reports*, SLPL's *Monthly Bulletin*, *Staff News*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to document not only censorship but the myriad ways in which SLPL and other public libraries across the U.S. aided the war effort.

Specifically regarding censorship of the SLPL collection, though, Wiegand claimed slightly more than his sources revealed. Quoting from two *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles, which Wiegand cited as May 2nd and September 25, 1918, Wiegand stated: "The St. Louis Public Library complied with a directive in early May to remove all German texts from schools and libraries. In September, Bostwick voluntarily removed all materials listed on the Army Index still in the circulating collection."⁵⁹ From whom this directive came Wiegand did not say. Further, this is not exactly what these articles said. No such article regarding St. Louis Public Library was found by this author in the May 2nd edition of the *Post-Dispatch* as per Wiegand's endnote.⁶⁰ However, there was an article published on May 16th which read:

"All books on explosives have been withdrawn from public use at Central Library, [and all] of its branches...at Central Library it was said that more than 100 books had been withdrawn, and included in this number were books on chemistry, which devoted chapters to explosive manufacture."⁶¹

The article did not say "all German texts," as Wiegand claimed. The meeting minutes of the SLPL's Board of Directors reveal that the library continued to add books in German at least through June 1918.⁶² While SLPL had an appropriately broad and deep collection for the nation's fourth largest city, this author doubts it had one hundred books on the making of explosives, so

the author of the May 16th *Post-Dispatch* article might have been hinting at the removal of more than just books on bombs. The September 25th *Post-Dispatch* article further confirms that SLPL retained some texts in German "on military and naval subjects [that would be] rather helpful to American military men as aiding to winning the war against Germany."⁶³ What was removed by September 1918, the article read, were: "all books and magazines, whether in the German language or other languages, *which might in any way be helpful to German propaganda* [italics mine]."⁶⁴ The September 25th article does not mention the Army Index, as Wiegand asserted, but the timing is suggestive. The Military Intelligence Section and Morale Branch of the War Department released multiple list of books between July 31 and the end of August 1918, the so-called "Army Index," to be removed from camp libraries.⁶⁵ These camp libraries were initiated and operated by the American Library Association through its Library War Service committee.

There is additional newspaper evidence not mentioned by Wiegand which demonstrates the continued presence of German language material in SLPL's collection but also indicates censorship at least by May 1918. An article from the May 20, 1918 *St. Louis Times*, entitled "German Books Being Widely Read at City Library Daily," further proves that not all books in German had been withdrawn but also includes these critical sentences:

"In Librarian Bostwick's office there are a number of German books 'interned' by order of the Government, some of them relating to war and German topics, and a number of them dealing with explosives, although written in English. In another vault in the Library there are hundreds of interned German books all under lock and key...any book purporting to 'neutralize' America's interest is 'interned' for the duration of the war."⁶⁶

The article's author goes on to mention that German language books on socialism and political economy remained in the Open Shelf Room, but that all literature supporting the German government's view of the war were removed from circulation.⁶⁷ The SLPL staff members quoted in the story were Miss Mary Crocker and Miss Katherine T. Moody, a reference librarian, as

Bostwick was in Boston surveying the public library there. However, it is highly doubtful Crocker or Moody removed books without Bostwick's approval.⁶⁸

The only evidence from within St. Louis Public Library's own records previously cited as indicative of censorship was revealed by Plummer Alston Jones, Jr, in *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*. It originally appeared in the Open Shelf Room section of the 1917-18 *Annual Report*. Its author, the aforementioned Mary Crocker, chief of the department, wrote: "in the issue of non-fiction a casualty list might read as follows:

DEAD - Pro-German Literature
MISSING SINCE APRIL, 1917- Books on neutrality.
SERIOUSLY WOUNDED IN ACTION - Books on socialism.
DISABLED THROUGH SHELL SHOCK- Books on pacifism."⁶⁹

Note the use of the passive voice. Crocker did not say "We removed books on..."⁷⁰ The *SLPL Annual Report, 1917-18* was likely authored around the same time as the May 12th *Post-Dispatch* and May 20th *Times* articles.⁷¹ However, the full context of the quote does not suggest that titles on these subjects were removed, but that they were no longer popular. In her report for the previous year, Ms. Crocker noted that, before the U.S. declaration of war, "pacifists, war enthusiasts, and non-Spartan mothers attacked in a body, seeking telling articles for and against war," but, after Congress declared war, "young patriots and embryonic soldiers have flocked to the library demanding books on military training."⁷² In the paragraph preceding the "casualty list" quote, Ms. Crocker again noted: "An intensification in the demand for war books and specialization along the lines most vitally affecting reader mark the only divergence from the years preceding."⁷³

The *SLPL Annual Report, 1918-19*, which covered the period June 1918-May 1919, does not reflect the censorship that was reported in the *Post-Dispatch* in September 1918. Ms. Crocker reported that "war and peace, Bolshevism and influenza" had not interfered with the Open Shelf Room's use and services where the proletariat and bourgeoisie commingled in peace and amity. "War books proper have gone to their well-earned rest...the problems of Russia

and the Bolsheviki, the Jugo-Slavs, rehabilitation of soldiers, government ownership of public utilities, prohibition and woman suffrage have all been the concern of the investigating public.”⁷⁴

Crocker made no mention of the return to the Open Shelf Room of the books on the previous year’s “casualty list.”

We know from these three newspaper reports that St. Louis Public Library did censor its collection, but why, when, and to what extent remains unclear. Although the local media reported on censorship in May and September of 1918, this only demonstrates that SLPL censored its collection some time before May 1918. Further, multiple reports of censorship does not prove the censorship occurred on multiple occasions. The May 20th, 1918 *Times* article says “by order of the government,” and the May 16th *Post-Dispatch* article says “under provisions of an order received from Washington,” but no previous history of library censorship has mentioned a federal government directive for censorship of “pro-German propaganda” let alone on the manufacture of explosives. While the May 16th *Post-Dispatch* article says “Thomas P. McCormick, 1423 Boatmen’s Bank Building, has been empowered by the government to issue permits for use of the books to all who have legitimate reason for referring to them,” a *Chicago Daily Tribune* article published the same day confirms aspects of the *Post-Dispatch* story but contradicts others.⁷⁵ C.P. Roden, Chicago Public Librarian, was quoted as saying: “we were simply requested to put such books on our reserve shelves.”⁷⁶ The *Tribune* article also says the request came from the U.S. Army Ordnance Department six weeks prior to the reporter’s inquiry, but it seems unlikely the Ordnance department would have requested the censorship of political content as well. Research by Julie Skinner both clarifies and confounds this issue: Cedar Rapids’ (Iowa) librarian reported the request for the removal for books on explosives came from the War Department via the local police chief on March 25, 1918. The librarian noted they were

placed with “pro-German literature.”⁷⁷ Did the letter from the Ordnance Department recommend the removal of political content, or had the Des Moines librarian done so independently?

A recent discovery in SLPL’s archives of Bostwick’s correspondence reveals some external encouragement of censorship, but its timing is too late to have been Bostwick’s sole motivator. On August 15, 1918, William Saunders, Secretary of the Missouri Council of Defense, forwarded to Bostwick a copy of “a confidential circular” sent to the Missouri Council from the National Council dated June 28, 1918. Its author, W. S. Gifford, CND Director, indicated that, in response to reports from multiple state councils of pro-German books in public libraries, the national council compiled those titles and submitted them to the ALA for comment. The NCD then forwarded that list with ALA comments to various state council. Gifford then recommended that public libraries temporarily withdraw them from circulation as they are “not in the interest of the public during the period of the war.” Gifford stressed, as Saunders had, that this list should remain confidential, as “an argument or controversy over a book would give it the very publicity which it is deemed advisable to eliminate.”⁷⁸ The list is five pages long, lists 85 titles and some additional categories of books (biographies of Frederick the Great, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Chancellor Bismark as well as books on German history and travel) not mentioned in the Army Index.

Bostwick received this letter after the May 1918 newspaper reports revealed censorship at SLPL but before the September 1918 articles. Many of the books that appear on this list also appeared on the Army Index. In pencil on the margin, Bostwick indicated whether the title was in Reference (“Ref.”), in circulation (“Iss.”), on order (“Ord.” and date), or with a checkmark. There is no marking to indicate which of the titles might have been removed prior or subsequent to Bostwick’s receipt of this letter.

Interpretation of Influence: Ideological Inclinations or Socio-Political Pressures?

The question remains: who or what influenced St. Louis Public Library's decision to censor its collection? The May 16th *Post-Dispatch* and May 20th *Times* articles both suggest the influence of the federal government. The *Post-Dispatch* article read: "under provisions of an order received from Washington," and the *Times* article said: "by order of the government." We know that the Ordnance department asked for public libraries to limit public access to books on explosives, but no evidence has ever been presented – until now – to suggest federal encouragement towards the censorship of political content. However, the aforementioned letter from the National Council of Defense postdates the first St. Louis newspaper reports. Is there a yet-to-be-found document demonstrating federal pressure on public libraries as early as May 1918, or were public librarians responding to the passage of the Sedition Act?⁷⁹ Was Bostwick's decision to censor a product of his professional ideology or his social surroundings?

Almost every public library engaged in censorship during the First World War, but *when* they censored reveals greater and lesser degrees of zeal on the librarians and boards who did so. Some made censorship a matter of policy within months of the U.S. declaration of war on Germany, some waited until prompting by government agencies, and one public library never succumbed to public pressure. As early as July 1917, The Cleveland Public Library's Board Book Committee articulated a deaccession policy designed to "eliminate all books and magazines which tend to divide public sentiment in its support of the government and favor giving aid and comfort to those nations with which we are at war."⁸⁰ Libraries in Eastern Iowa removed "pro-German" literature from their shelves either prior or in response to the call to do so from Herbert Metcalf, secretary of the Iowa Council of Defense in "early 1918."⁸¹ The Indiana Public Library Commission called for all public libraries to voluntarily withdraw "certain books which might possibly be obsolete or inimical to the morale of the army" only after the

contents of the Army Index were publicly known.⁸² Despite constant public pressure to do so from December 1917 through April 1918, John Cotton Dana, Librarian for the Newark (NJ) Public Library, never succumbed to demands for the removal of disloyal literature.⁸³

Was “professional ideology” the chief motivator for this near-uniform censorship amongst public librarians? One thing both reviewers Breen and Ring noted about Wiegand's *"An Active Instrument of Propaganda"* was that it “conveys in rich detail the assumptions and values of middle-class America in the second decade of the twentieth century.” Ring's only criticism was that Wiegand's explanation of librarians' zeal for participation in the war effort, based in a middle class craving for “authentic experience” and to be more tightly knitted into the “national fabric,” was not adequately buttressed by other historical and theoretical works on Progressive era middle class psychology.⁸⁴ This might explain voluntary activities like Liberty Bond sales, book donation drives for military libraries, and allowing library meeting rooms for drill instruction, but it does not fully account for censorship.

Wiegand and other library historians have pointed to Bostwick's 1908 ALA Presidential address entitled “Librarian as Censor” as evidence of the profession's willingness to censor as another element of middle class ideology: “good reading begets good social behavior; bad reading begets bad social behavior.”⁸⁵ Evelyn Geller referred to the same address in *Forbidden Books in American Public Libraries, 1876-1939*. She rightly noted that Bostwick said in that speech: “all creeds, all classes and all schools...must and should have its own literature,” but Bostwick also said patron protests against “violent and personal polemics” can help a library “to weed out its collections.” Two additional things should be noted to Bostwick's credit: he said that it was “fortunate” that public libraries were providing literature from a variety of perspectives, and that complaints from patrons made such books “*candidates* for rejection” [emphasis mine].⁸⁶ A more charitable interpretation might point out that not all candidates are chosen. This policy is

not much different from current public library practice: patrons are free to submit reconsideration forms which librarians review.

Another fact which calls into question the argument of “censorship as professional ideology” is that, when librarians wrote their own histories of their contribution to the war effort, censorship is not listed as one of them.⁸⁷ The complete lack of debate during the war might be suggestive of the near-universal acceptance of it by the profession, but the near-complete silence about it after the war could also be suggestive of a discomfort with it. John Cotton Dana’s “Librarians as Censors,” published in April 1919, is a case in point. Dana, who resisted censorship, nonetheless spent almost five of its six pages addressing “censorship by exclusion:” the reality that librarians cannot purchase *every* book, and so librarians inevitably censor. Was anyone at the time truly questioning this reality in 1919? Librarians across the country had just engaged in censorship by internment or deaccession, and Dana wrote precious little on that. The extent to which Dana did mention it, in a critical way, was quite subtle:

“democracy can have no censor...one whose powers are not limited by popular clamor and whose tenure in office cannot be terminated by recall...in so far as this country has suffered autocratic censorship in recent months, so far it has not been a democracy.”⁸⁸

Dana did criticize those who, in the name of patriotism, objected to the presence of books they considered disloyal, but not his fellow librarians who removed them: “We who dislike a book can leave it alone.”⁸⁹

Regardless of the extent to which the middle class or professional ideology of the time motivated Bostwick’s decision to remove certain titles from SLPL’s collection, there is no indication that he regretted his wartime censorship even when the tide of library professional opinion was turning. Bostwick’s most influential era of leadership was in the first two decades of the twentieth century (ALA President 1907-08, ALA Executive Board through 1909, 1915-1917), but he remained a member of the ALA Council “almost

continuously" until his death in 1942.⁹⁰ He was not mentioned at all in Louise S. Robbins' history of ALA's adoption of the Library Bill of Rights in 1939 nor in the formation of its Intellectual Freedom Committee. Nor did Bostwick make mention of the Library Bill of Rights in his memoirs.

Library historians have focused on the elitist, middle class sensibilities of library professionals of Bostwick's generation, but what historians have not done is to see these librarian's decisions in a more immediate social context: with whom did Bostwick live, socialize, and answer to? Historians of public libraries must look beyond the ideologies of the profession's leaders and into the class perspectives of their boards.

Elite Overlap: The SLPL Board, Loyalty Leagues, and Other Venues of Upper Class Interaction

If Arthur Bostwick did not censor the SLPL collection of his own initiative, perhaps he did so because of the company he kept. There were at least three organizations whose membership intersected with the SLPL Board and who might have encouraged Bostwick to remove "disloyal" literature from St. Louis Public Library's collection: The St. Louis chapters of the Council of National Defense (CND), the American Protective League (APL), and the National Security League (NSL). The membership of these four groups (SLPL Board, CND, APL, and NSL) almost entirely consisted of prominent businessmen. Although only one wartime SLPL Board member was a participant in loyalty leagues, most of these men – including Bostwick - socialized together in business associations and private clubs. In some instances, members of the SLPL Board worked at or invested in the same banks or big businesses with men from the other groups. Some of these men were stockholders in or sat on the boards of banks that had lent money to England and France as part of the billion dollar Allied loan of 1915.⁹¹ Others sat atop companies that were making millions of dollars due to Allied purchases of war-related

material and would make even more in wartime contracts with U.S. entry into the war.⁹² Further, many of them lived – as did Bostwick - in the same, exclusive neighborhoods. Politically, economically, and geographically, they were a community apart from the bulk of SLPL's patrons and St. Louis public opinion about the war.

The St Louis Public Library Board

St. Louis Public Library was governed by a nine-member board appointed by the city's mayor. During the war, thirteen different men served in the Board.⁹³ As compared with Wiegand and Greenway's demographic profile of the ALA's Executive Board and Council Members, the SLPL Board was slightly more ethnically, religiously, and politically diverse but wealthier.⁹⁴ All but a few were very wealthy businessmen, and all were members of businessmen's associations and exclusive social clubs. Except for John Warrington, Bostwick was probably the poorest member of the Board, yet he was still a member of the Noonday Club where the Board often held committee meetings.⁹⁵

George Oliver Carpenter, President of the SLPL Board, was also president of lead companies and director and stockholder in several banks and trusts. Joseph Rollinson Barroll was Director of Merchants-Laclede National Bank and the American Automobile Insurance Co. Aaron Fuller was the Vice President of Stix, Baer & Fuller Dry Goods, Co. and a stockholder in the National Bank of Commerce, Mechanics-American Bank, Mississippi Valley Trust, and Mercantile Trust. John Fitzgerald Lee was a corporate lawyer, president and vice president or director of a number of local businesses, investment and realty companies, and a stockholder in Merchants-Laclede Bank. Edward Simmons Lewis was the President of the Central National Bank and on the board of a number of land trusts and insurance companies. Benjamin Altheimer was bond and stock broker with Altheimer & Rawlings Investment Co., President of Eisenstadt Manufacturing Co., and a stockholder in the National

Bank of Commerce, Mechanics-American Bank, State National Bank, and Mississippi Valley Trust.⁹⁶ Alvin Goldman was a merchant capitalist and investment banker. He was the son of Jacob D. Goldman, who started Lesser-Goldman Cotton Co., one of the largest cotton wholesalers in the world. Gustavus Adolphus Buder was a lawyer with Rassier & Buder, publisher of the *St. Louis Times*, General Attorney for Burroughs Adding Machine, Co. and Selden-Breck Construction Co., and officer-director of multiple realty companies. His only known elite social affiliation is with the Veiled Prophet, a secretive group formed in 1877 to fête the elite man who had best served his class in the past year.⁹⁷ John Lawrence Mauran was a prominent architect. O'Neill Ryan was a judge for the Circuit Court City of St. Louis and an attorney with Ryan & Thompson. Henry Stewart Caulfield was a Judge with the Court of Appeals, a member of Congress from 1907-09.⁹⁸ John G. Warrington was the only member of the St. Louis Board of Directors during the First World War from the working class. He was secretary for the local Allied Printing Trades Council and the International Printing Pressmen & Assistants' Union of North America.⁹⁹

The Council of National Defense

The Council of National Defense was created on August 29th as part of the National Defense Act of 1916. Its principle mission to encourage state and business coordination for a wartime economy, but it did little until war was declared by Congress in April 1917. The national council encouraged every state government to set up their own council and to further encourage the creation of local councils in every county. Given that so many industries crossed state lines, Bernard Baruch, the first chairman of the CND, discovered that the federal-state-county organization was inefficient, and so he transferred wartime economic coordination efforts over to the newly created War Industries Board which he chaired. This left the county and state CNDs to become "primarily propaganda agencies to generate public support for the war effort, including

occasional attempts to stifle dissent."¹⁰⁰ Even though the local CNDs had a smaller role in economic coordination than they had anticipated, the St. Louis City council's membership was still drawn from the upper ranks of the city's business class.

The Missouri Council of Defense was established by Governor Frederick Gardner on April 24, 1917 and dissolved on January 31, 1919. Missouri was one of the first states to organize a state council, and, by the end of its run, 12,000 Missourians participated in its activities. Although it engaged in many campaigns to encourage Missourians to conserve foodstuffs and for farmers to increase food production, it "early began and maintained a continued fight to eliminate the use of the enemy tongue and enemy influences."¹⁰¹ The Missouri Council of Defense held a conference with the publishers of German language newspapers in St. Louis on June 26, 1918 with the goal of convincing German newspaper publishers to stop publishing in German and to comply with federal requirements of prior restraint regarding the publishing of war-related stories. The number of German language newspapers in the state dropped from fifteen to ten, some of them were printing half their content in English, and others were shutting down or switching entirely to English. Some of this was due to changes in demographics, but, for others, conforming to prior restraint became cost-prohibitive. The Missouri Council of Defense also received "hundreds of reports of alleged disloyal activities" which were forwarded to federal authorities in St. Louis and Kansas City.¹⁰² In their own literature, they encouraged members to take a broad interpretation of disloyal speech the Espionage Act.¹⁰³ The CND was not sufficiently funded or empowered to investigate all the reports of disloyalty they were receiving, and so the state council recommended that counties set up local chapters of the American Protective League.¹⁰⁴ Despite the acknowledgement that "no organized enemy movements have been brought to light in Missouri," and the "spasmodic and abortive attempts of individuals...to oppose governmental war activities" had been suppressed

through existing law, the Missouri Council of Defense still advocated the state legislature enact drastic penalties “for acts or words which would give aid and comfort to the enemy.”¹⁰⁵

Much like the makeup of the St Louis Public Library Board, the members of the St. Louis City Council of Defense (CoD) primarily consisted of big businessmen, most of whom were also members of the same business associations and private clubs and lived in the same private places as the directors of the SLPL Board. Several of them were on the boards of railroad companies and banks. While there were no railroad executives on the SLPL Board, George O. Carpenter was an investor in the St. Louis Union Trust which managed the Brownsville and other Frisco syndicates. George Warren Brown of the City CoD was not only the President of Brown Shoe Co. but the Director of the Third National Bank at which fellow St. Louis Council member Richard S. Hawes was the Vice President and in which Carpenter was a stockholder. City CoD members William H. Lee and Alfred Lee Shapleigh were President and Vice President of Merchants-Laclede National Bank in which SLPL Board member Joseph Barroll was the Director and John F. Lee was a stockholder. Shapleigh was also the Vice President of the St. Louis Cotton Compress Co. which was founded by SLPL Board member Alvin Goldman's father. Mrs. Mabel Virginia Fouke was the head of the Women's Auxiliary of the St. Louis CoD. Her husband, Phillip Bond Fouke, was the Director of Mechanics-American National Bank in which two members of the SLPL Board were stockholders (Alzheimer and Fuller). Henry W. Kiel, City council member, was Mayor of St. Louis, President of Kiel & Daues Bricklaying & Contracting Co., and on the board of other bricklaying-related businesses.¹⁰⁶ The Mayor of St. Louis appointed SLPL Board members, and SLPL's annual reports for submitted to him. As mayor, he attempted a reconciliation deal between United Railways - of which CND member Richard McCulloch had been President - and the citizens of St. Louis. The people of St. Louis had revoked United Railways' charter via referendum, and, for his efforts, Kiel was nearly

recalled from office.¹⁰⁷

The American Protective League

Before the U.S. declared war on Germany, A.M. Biggs, a wealthy Chicago advertising executive, approached the Justice Department with the idea of a nation-wide, volunteer organization of spies “to make prompt and reliable reports of all disloyal or enemy activities and of all infractions or evasions of the war code of the United States.”¹⁰⁸ Although the American Protective League was a private and voluntary organization, they were given official approval by U.S. Attorney General Thomas Gregory. They used Justice Department stationary and some of their agents carried official-looking badges. The APL was hierarchically organized with military divisions and ranks from Privates up to Captains, Lieutenants, Deputy Chiefs and Chief. Except for the Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs, agents were known only by number to remain anonymous to the public. Their motto was “Eyes and Ears Open, Mouths Shut.” Rank-and-file members who heard or saw something would report it to their Chief or Deputy Chief, who relayed the report to a local office of the Justice Department (the Bureau of Information, or BOI, forerunner to the FBI). The BOI would send investigators out for interviews and then submit their evidence to the district U.S. attorney.¹⁰⁹

There were 3000 members in the local APL district which included St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and East St. Louis; they were organized into companies from fifty to 125 men. Since they were financed by the business class, only men dependable and loyal to that class were allowed into the APL. Their companies were organized by professional, commercial, neighborhood and industrial groups to disperse them throughout the St. Louis area. They investigated over eight thousand charged of disloyalty and other war offenses, including 7,075 draft evasion cases, 1,142 cases under Section 3, Title 1 of the Espionage Act with 33 arrests, 589

loyalty cases, and 48 members of Industrial Workers of the World or pacifists under conspiracy charges. To relieve the local Bureau of Naturalization office's burden of the 800-plus requests for citizenship after Congress reformed immigration law, the APL interviewed the applicants with questions to test their loyalty, such as: "Has applicant affiliated himself with any organization or propaganda opposed to the intervention of the US into the war? Has the applicant opposed the US entry into the war, the conduct of the US in the course of the war, shipping of munitions to France and England, the draft, or liberty loans?"¹¹⁰ The APL also advocated for the extension of the Army Index ban to cover public libraries.¹¹¹

The Chief of the St. Louis APL chapter was George Herbert "Bert" Walker, a wealthy broker, son of David Davis Walker, and the maternal great-grandfather of 43rd U.S. President, George W. Bush. As a lad, Bert Walker was sent to Stonyhurst, a Jesuit boarding school in England, because his mother considered St. Louis Catholics "too raw and too German."¹¹² The Deputy Chiefs of the APL were: Sterling Edward Edmunds, lecturer on international law at St. Louis University; Clarence Warner Condie, Vice President and secretary of the Condie-Bray Glass and Paint Co., and Alexander B. Garvin, secretary of the Wellston Trust Co. Bert Walker was a member of the St. Louis Country Club, as were many members of the CND and SLPL Board.¹¹³ Edmunds, Condie, and Garvin were also members of numerous private clubs. Garvin's father, William Everett Garvin, was a member of the exclusive Mercantile Club, as were SLPL Board members Carpenter and Fuller. When Bert Walker had his father, David Walker, adjudicated for giving away hundreds of thousands of dollars, the St. Louis Union Trust was appointed conservator of the elder Walker's estate.¹¹⁴ George O. Carpenter was a stockholder in Union Trust.

The National Security League

The National Security League was established by New York corporate attorney S. Stanwood Mencken in December 1914 to review the U.S. military's preparedness for war. After producing valuable reports confirming the U.S.'s lack of military preparedness, the NSL evolved into an advocacy group championing increased military spending, modernization, and universal military service. After the U.S. Congress declared war on Germany, the NSL lost its original purpose and morphed into another organization responsible for "ensuring loyalty" through banning the use of the German language and encouraging "Americanization" classes for adults seeking citizenship and patriotic curricula in schools.¹¹⁵

The NSL grew rapidly to include seventy chapters by the end of 1915 including a chapter in St. Louis. The St. Louis Business Men's League created a chapter of the NSL on November 2, 1915.¹¹⁶ St. Louis merchant capitalist and politician, David Rowland Francis, was on the NSL's National Committee.¹¹⁷ The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* extensively covered the activities of the St. Louis NSL between January 1916 and August 1918. The men Mayor Kiel chose to represent St. Louis to 1916 NSL national convention were neither ethnically nor socioeconomically representative of St. Louis, but they were representative of St. Louis's business class. Of the 206 members of the St. Louis chapter of the NSL, 49 were named in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles. Of those, five (10%) had German surnames and two or three (4-6%) had Irish surnames, but the remainder had British surnames. Most of those named were corporate executives, bankers, or other business owners. The lowest positions on the socioeconomic rung representing St. Louis at NSL local, regional and national conferences were attorneys. The economic character of the St. Louis NSL chapter was representative of the organization at the national level. While the NSL presented itself as a mass organization by claiming that it received 100,000 donations of \$1 each,

the bulk of its finances came from the \$200 plus donors, and amongst them were the country's economic elite: Cornelius Vanderbilt, Bernard Baruch, Henry Clay Frick, and others.¹¹⁸

There were two members of the St. Louis chapter of the NSL who were also on the St. Louis Public Library Board: Joseph Barroll and Ben Altheimer, although Altheimer had left the board before SLPL "interned" any books. There were other members of the St. Louis NSL chapter who had relationships with members of the SLPL Board. NSL members Albert Bond Lambert and Paul Brown were Directors of the Mechanics-American National Bank and Walker Hill was the President at which SLPL board members Fuller and Altheimer were stockholders. NSL honorary president, James Gay Butler, was a director while fellow NSL members Festus John Wade and Paul Brown were President and Vice President of the Mercantile Trust Company of which SLPL Board members Fuller and Barroll were stockholders. NSL members Murray Carleton, David Rowland Francis, and Robert Stockton were directors of the Mississippi Valley Trust Company while Fuller and Altheimer were stockholders. Francis was also the VicePresident of Merchants-Laclede National Bank when SLPL Board member Barroll was a director and SLPL Board member Lee was a stockholder. NSL members Edward Hidden and Herman J. Pettengill were directors at the National Bank of Commerce and NSL member Albert Lambert was a stockholder while SLPL Board members Carpenter, Fuller, and Altheimer were also directors and or stockholders.

Business Associations and Private Clubs

The St. Louis' business class not only interacted in board rooms; they also created private clubs so that members of the same class but different enterprises might socialize, discuss, and plan in their common interest. They maintained exclusivity in these clubs by requiring of new members endorsement by two or more standing members and an annual membership fee affordable only the upper two income quintiles. The Noonday Club was incorporated in 1893 by

a handful of businessmen including SLPL Board member Lee. The SLPL Board and its committees often met there for meetings. It was a social club where the discussion of commercial and business interests were primary and the discussion of partisan politics and religion were forbidden. It was located on the 10th and 11th floors of the Security Building at the corner of Locust & 4th Streets. Its membership was about 350 in 1899. The City Club was at 11th & Locust and for the "silk stocking class."¹¹⁹ The Commercial Club was founded by business leaders in 1881 and was limited to the seventy most successful leaders of the different branches of St. Louis economic life. Other clubs included the St. Louis Country Club, the city's oldest and most socially prestigious country club, the Mercantile Club, and the Business Men's League ("established to unite the merchants, manufacturers, and professional men").¹²⁰ Prominent Jewish businessmen created the Columbian and Westwood due to their initial exclusion from the other country clubs.¹²¹ Some of these clubs remained exclusive to White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, while others opened up to upper class Irish, Germans, Catholics and Jews. Almost every member of the SLPL Board and the various loyalty organizations were members of at least one of the various private clubs.

Private Places

St. Louis's urban population began along the banks of the Mississippi and grew westward. By the end of the 19th century, wealthy families sought to escape the noise, pollution, and other disturbances of urban life by plotting private places on the central western edge of the city.¹²² Along Lindell Boulevard, just north and east of Forest Park, palatial mansions were constructed along enclosed, tree-lined boulevards. These famous "places" came to include Westmoreland, Westminster, Vandeventer, Kingsbury, Portland, Lucas, Hortense, Pershing, Lucas, Lenox, and others. Private places had restrictive covenants, annual fees to cover maintenance of their streets, lighting, sidewalks and central parkways, private security, and

specified minimum costs for homes built within them.¹²³ Arthur Bostwick never owned a home in the thirty-two years he lived in St. Louis, but he spent twelve years renting homes with his family in Vandeventer Place. SLPL Board Member John Mauran also lived there, along with CND member William H. Lee and NSL members George Perry and Herman Pettengill. CND members George Warren Brown and Benjamin Bush (CND) lived in Portland Place along with SLPL Board member George O. Carpenter (SLPL). Richard Hawes, M. L. Wilkinson, and Richard McCulloch (CoD) lived in Westminster Place as did NSL members Lee Wallace Van Cleave, George M. Brown and APL member Alexander Garvin.¹²⁴ G. A. Buder also lived on a private place, but it was on the city's South Side near the Compton Hill Reservoir. APL chief George Herbert Walker and his father lived in Hortense Place along with SLPL Board member Alvin Goldman, CND member William D'Arcy, and NSL member Albert Lambert. (See **Figure A**). By the time of the First World War, street cars facilitated the movement of middle classes to the Central West End, the space between the downtown core and the more affluent West End. These places provided isolation from the urban core until the end of the Second World War.

An Atmosphere of Intimidation

To understand SLPL's decision to censor its collection, one must not only be aware of the professional perspective of Dr. Bostwick and the company he kept but of the broader climate of opinion at the time and who was responsible for shaping public opinion. SLPL interned its books at the height of anti-German hysteria, a hysteria that was fueled by not only organizations like the CND, APL, NSL, but also the Committee for Public Information and the local media. Within the first year of the U.S. entry into the war, 35 St. Louisans were interned for "disloyal" comments or suspicious actions.¹²⁵ SLPL's Central Library was within a restricted zone that stretched from Brooklyn Avenue in the north to Chouteau Avenue in the south and from the Mississippi River in the east to 15th Street in the west. Enemy aliens were forbidden to reside within it and needed

passes to enter.¹²⁶ Between May 1917 and March 1918, 154 enemy aliens were arrested for living or working within this restricted zone.¹²⁷

In some cases, German Americans were arrested on evidence of espionage, but, in most cases, those detained were only guilty of unpatriotic utterances. Albert Hoffman, a former German marine and cook, was interned for saying “To Hell with Wilson” and predicted there would be a revolution in the U.S. before there would be one in Germany. Irene and Carl Bauman were arrested for defending the honor of Kaiser Wilhelm in a private conversation with a neighbor.¹²⁸ William Elias was arrested for predicting Germany would win the war during a tavern discussion.¹²⁹ One man was arrested for publicly shouting “That’s a damn lie!” at a Four-Minute Man who stated “The Germans went through Belgium and France like barbarians.”¹³⁰ Eleanor von Boehmer was the first woman in Missouri imprisoned for “spreading pro-German propaganda.”¹³¹ Like the “disloyal” literature at SLPL, these men and women were “interned for the duration of the war” for expressing contrary opinions.

An Impact on Library Service?

Despite this censorship, SLPL’s repression of anti-interventionist sentiment was not thorough. The report from Mrs. Anna P. Mason, Librarian of the Barr Branch, noted: “club rooms have been used regularly...A glance at the list of meetings shows considerable variety and would seem to indicate that most of the neighborhood interests are represented in some form.”¹³² Mason did not mention that one of those meetings was Socialist Party of Missouri’s state convention, which was held at the Barr Branch on Tuesday, August 27, 1918.¹³³ Despite the inference of censorship of socialist literature made by Jones, Jr., socialist organizations were still allowed to use library meeting rooms throughout the war. A review of *St. Louis Public Library Staff Notes* for the years of and immediately preceding U.S. entry into the war suggests that SLPL never restricted the use of its meeting rooms as it did its print collection.¹³⁴

Given the late dates at which St. Louis Public Library began to censor its collection, and the piecemeal way in which it was done, did it have any effect on library use? There is an interesting reflection by Josephine Gratiaa, Librarian of the Soulard Branch, to explain the slight decrease in circulation and attendance by the foreign born. It reflects how St. Louis Public Library's other war efforts discouraged some of the poor and foreign born from visiting the library. Gratiaa attributed this slight dip in library use to three causes: 1) the library was hosting a number of donation campaigns; those who could not give "because they do not own the smallest of surplus over the bare necessities...[have] a mistaken idea that the library is a 'hold-up';" 2) the library "lost" some and made no additions to its foreign language collection, which included German, Bohemian, Hungarian, and less popular languages, and 3) "an insidious propaganda working among the foreign born, which is preventing, as far as possible, their participation in any of the means of Americanization. These facts are confirmed by the observations of other persons working among the German, Austro-Hungarian Slavs, Jews and Magyars."¹³⁵ Additionally, in *Where Neighbors Meet*, Quigley recounts stories of foreign born women who have grown suspicious of the library and fear that they will be arrested as spies. Miss Gratiaa stated that "no foreign adult will consider having his picture taken...for he is thoroughly convinced it is some sort of war-trap."¹³⁶

Conclusion

That American Public libraries removed "disloyal" literature from their collections during the First World War is not a recent historical discovery, and, when Breen reviewed Wiegand's landmark book on the matter, he said it was "predictable" and "contain[ed] few surprises" despite the extensive research Wiegand put into writing it and crafting its compelling narrative.¹³⁷ A study of St. Louis Public Library's collection via their online catalog and Central

Stacks suggests that those titles most likely “interned” were allowed to circulate again at some later, undefined date. Was this act of censorship meaningful in terms of limiting access to information? After all, only some materials were removed, only for a short period, and after Congress had already voted for war. For whom was this symbolic gesture meant: those citizens who had lingering doubts about the justness of the nation’s involvement? Or was it a signal of loyalty meant for the governing classes? While library historians like Wiegand and Geller focused on the professional ideologies of the first generation of library leaders, this essay suggests SLPL's decision to remove printed materials was indirectly shaped by socioeconomic and political influences of the local elite and the role they played in promoting the war effort.

Nearly one-hundred years after American public libraries censored their collections of “disloyal” literature and mobilized their resources to support a war, attendees at the June 2016 American Library Association convention met in Orlando, Florida, a city that had recently witnessed a mass shooting in a LGBT nightclub by an 1st generation American Muslim. The two biggest issues pushed to the fore of national debate by then presumptive Republican presidential nominee, Donald Trump, were immigration and terrorism. In the context of the ongoing Global War on Terror and following the greatest wave of immigration to the U.S. since before the First World War, ALA conventioners donned black armbands that read DIVERSITY, EQUITY and INCLUSION. Six months later, after the election of Donald Trump to the U.S. presidency, the U.S. media and intelligence community have once again become concerned with a competing empire’s propaganda. If librarians are to learn anything from this study, it is that diversity, equity, and inclusion belongs not just on our collections and in our profession, but on our boards of directors as well. The freedom to read means trusting our patrons even during the gravest of crises.

**Appendix: Demographic Profile of The SLPL Board, the St. Louis Council for Defense,
American Protective League, and National Security League**

Name	Occupation	Birthplace	National Origin of Surname & Religion	Residence	Political Party	Club Membership
St. Louis Public Library Board						
George Oliver Carpenter (1889-1893, 1901-35)	President, St. Louis Lead & Oil, National Lead Co., VP St. Louis Smelting & Refining Co., Director (and stockholder) National Bank of Commerce, Commonwealth Trust Co., member of executive committee; stockholder: Third National Bank, St. Louis Union Trust	Wakefield, MA	British Unitarian	12 Portland Place	Republican	St. Louis, Noonday, University, Country, Commercial, Round Table
Joseph Rollinson Barroll (1915-1925)	Director Merchants-Laclede National Bank, American Automobile Insurance Co.	Brooklyn, NY	British (?) Episcopalian	4603 Berlin/Pershing Ave	Democrat	Business Men's League, Civic League, St. Louis, Noonday, City, Aero, Automobile, Round Table
Gustavus Adolphus Buder (1915-1923)	Lawyer, Rassier & Buder. President of the American Press; Publisher, St. Louis Times & Westliche Post, 1912-; General Attorney Burroughs Adding Machine, Co. SeldenBreck Constructi	Cairo, IL	German Unitarian	3137 Longfellow Place	Republican	Veiled Prophet

	on Co.; Officer Director, Ark Moreland Realty Co., Arkland Rea lty Co., Arc Realty Co., E.D. Franz Estate, Pontiac Realty Co., Arcadia Realty Co., Acreage Realty Co.					
Aaron Fuller (1917-1918)	VP, Stix, Baer & Fuller Dry Goods, Co.; stockholder: National Bank of Commerce, Mech anics-American Bank, Mississippi Valley Trust, Mercantile Trust	Baden, Germany	German Jewish	32 Washington Terrace	Republican	Business Men's League, Columbian, Mercantile, Glen Echo Country, Westwood Country
John Fitzgerald Lee (1899-1925)	corporate lawyer; president, David Rankin School of Mechanical Trades; VP, West St. Louis Water & Power Co.; director, Union Sand and Material Co.; Chemical Building Co., Chouteau Investment Co., Walter C. Taylor Realty Co.; stockholder, Merchants- Laclede Bank	Washington , D.C.	Irish Catholic	3744 Lindell Blvd	Democrat	Civic League, St. Louis University, St. Louis Country, Noonday, City

Arthur Bostwick (1909-1942)	Librarian, St. Louis Public Library; SLPL Board Secretary	Litchfield, CT	English Episcopalian	Vandeventer Place	NA	VP New England Society, Civic League, City,
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						Round Table, Franklin
Edward Simmons Lewis (June 1916- February 1917)	President, Central National Bank; VP, Missouri-Lincoln Land Trust Co.; President, St. Louis National Life Insurance Co.; VP, Colonial Land Trust; VP, St. Louis Water & Light Co.; director, Vandeventer Bank; Traveler's Protective Association of MO.	Richmond, MO	English Methodist	4239 Washington Blvd	Democrat	Mercantile
John Lawrence Mauran (1910-33)	architect	Providence, RI	(?) Unitarian	46 Vandeventer		Round Table, University, Noonday, Country, Florissant Valley, St. Anthony
O'Neill Ryan (1900-1938)	Judge, Circuit Court City of St. Louis, 19001906; lawyer, Ryan & Thompson	St. Louis, MO	Irish Catholic	2 Windemere Place		Civic League, Noonday
Joseph Henry Zumbalen (1911-1918)	lawyer, Ferriss, Zumbalen & Ferriss	St. Louis, MO	German Lutheran	2358 Tennessee	Republican	

Benjamin Altheimer (1910-17)	bond and stockbroker, Altheimer & Rawlings Investment Co.; President, Eisentadt Manufacturing Co.; stockholder, National Bank of Commerce, Mechanics-	Darmstadt, Germany	German Jewish, Mason (33°)	Buckingham Hotel	Republican	Columbian, Noonday, Glen Echo Country, Westwood Country, Franklin. Liederkrantz, Deutscher Verein.
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	American Bank, State National Bank, Mississippi Valley Trust,					
Henry Stewart Caulfield (1918-21)	Judge, Court of Appeals; U.S. Congress, 1907-09	St. Louis, MO	British Presbyterian	6253 Washington Ave	Republican	Mercantile
Alvin Goldman (1918-19, 1925)	merchant, capitalist, investment banker; son of Jacob D. Goldman, who started Lesser-Goldman Cotton Co., one of the largest cotton wholesalers in the world; Director, St. Louis Cotton Compress Co., bought and laid out land that would become Hortense Place		German Jewish	Hortense Place	father was Democrat	Columbian, Missouri Athletic, Chamber of Commerce, Industrial, Century Boat, City, Westwood and Sunset Hills Country
John G. Warrington (1919-1934)	Secretary, Allied Printing Trades Council #308; Secretary, Franklin Association; #43 of International Printing Pressmen & Assistants' Union of North America		British	3938 Wyoming; 4104 Hartford		Not in <i>Book of St. Louisans</i> , Hyde's <i>Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis</i> , <i>Who's Who in the Central States</i> or <i>The Book of St. Louisans</i>
Council for National Defence, St. Louis City						

Melville Le Vaunt Wilkinson(Chairman)	President: Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney Dry Goods Co.	Maysville, IN	British Congregationalist	4401 Westminster Place	Republican	Noonday, St. Louis, Racquet, Country, Sunset Inn, Knights of Pythias, I.O.O.
Charles Hertenstein	Chairman, Efficiency Board (1917); Pres., Typographical Union #8; Chairman, Dept of Agriculture-Food Administration (1918)		German	6178A Delmar		Not in <i>Book of St. Louisans</i> , Hyde's <i>Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis</i> , <i>Who's Who in the Central States</i> or <i>The Book of St. Louisans</i>
George Judd Tansey	President, St. Louis Transfer Co.; VP	Alton, IL	Irish Unitarian	226 N. Newstead	Democrat	father founder of Veil Prophets; VP, Automobile Club;

	Louisiana & Missouri R.R. Co., attorney; Secretary, Granite-Bi Metallic Consolidated Mining Co.;					1 st VP then Pres. of Merchant's Exchange, St. Louis, Noonday, Mercantile, Missouri Athletic, Jefferson Business Men's League, St. Louis Manufacturers' & Exporters' Association, St. Louis, Noonday
Richard McCulloch	President, United Railways Co.; VP, St. Louis Convention & Publicity Bureau	St. Louis, MO	Scottish Mason (Scottish Rite)	4394 Westminster Place		St. Louis, Racquet
Mortimer Palmer Linn	Asst. to bus. Mgr., St. Louis Republic	Madison Cty, IL	Scottish	5143 Morgan St		
Edward Francis Kearney	President, Wabash Railway Co.	Logansport, IN	Irish	2138 Nebraska		Missouri Athletic, St. Louis Railway, The Traffic of St. Louis

Edward C. Andrews	VP, Kehlor Flour Mills Co.		British	5795 Berlin/Pershing		Not in <i>Book of St. Louisans</i> , Hyde's <i>Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis</i> , <i>Who's Who in the Central States</i> or <i>The Book of St. Louisans</i>
Frank Hastings Hamilton	Secretary & Treasurer, St. Louis & San Francisco RR Co.	NYC, NY	British	228 N. Newstead		Normandie Golf
Samuel P. Goddard	Goddard Grocery Co.		British	6441 Cecil Ave (StLCo)		
William C. D'Arcy	VP, D'Arcy Advertising Co.		British	6 Hortense Place		

Richard S. Hawes	VP, Third National Bank	Covington, KY	British Episcopalian	4014 Westminster Place	Democrat	Missouri Athletic, Banker's Recreation, Missouri Bankers' Assoc.
Lee Wallace Van Cleave	President, Buck's Stove Co. son of James Wallace, owner of Grand View Clay Mines and stove manufacturer		Dutch (in US many generations)	4732 Westminster Place		
Benjamin Harris	President, B. Harris Wool Co.,		British	9 Kingsbury Place		
David Sommers	V, Schram Glass Manufacturing Co.; D. Sommers Furniture Co.		British, possibly German	The Buckingham		
Aaron S. Rauh	President, Rice Stix Dry Goods Co.	Memphis, TN	German Jewish	4726 McPherson		Columbian, Mercantile, Westwood Country

Benjamin Franklin Bush	President, Missouri Pacific Railroad Co., Maryland National Bank, Durham Coal & Iron Co.,	Wellsburg, PA	British, Presbyterian	30 Portland Place		St. Louis, Mercantile, Noonday, The Traffic, Automobile, Bellerive Country
Col. John A. Ockerson	consulting engineer for railroads and mines	Sweden (came to US @ 2yrs-old	Swedish	New Kingsbury Apts	Knighthood in Germany, Italy, Sweden and Belgium; N	Bellerive
George Warren Brown	President, Brown Shoe Co.; director, 3rd National Bank,	Granville, NY	British, Methodist	40 Portland Place	Independent Republican	Business Mens' League, St. Louis, St. Louis Country, Noonday, Mercantile
Rev. William Coleman Bitting	clergyman, contributor to magazines & newspapers	Hanover County, VA	German Baptist	5109 Waterman		
Eugene Dutton Nims	VP, Southwestern Bell Tel., Commercial	Fond du Lac, WI	German (? middle name is	NA	Republican	St. Louis, Noonday

	National Bank (Muskogee, OK), National Bank of Commerce (KC, MO), Security National Bank (OKC, OK),		British) Scottish Rite Mason, Knight Templar, Shriner			
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Alfred Lee Shapleigh	Shapleigh Hardware Co., Shapleigh Investment Co., Union Lead Co., Washington Land & Mining Co., VP MerchantsLaclede National Bank, St. Louis Cotton Compress Co., United Elevator & Grain Co.,	St. Louis, MO	British Presbyterian	3636 Delmar Blvd	Republican	BusinessMens' League, Civic League, Commercial, St. Louis, Noonday, Racquet, St. Louis Country, Deer Plain, Harbor Point Country
William H. Lee	President, Merchants-Laclede National Bank		British (?)	25 Vandeventer Place		St. Louis, Noonday, Commercial, St. Louis Country
Henry W. Kiel	Mayor; President, Kiel & Daues Bricklaying & Contracting Co.; Secretary, Contracting & Supply Co.; Secretary & Treasurer, Cliffdale Lime Co.	St. Louis, MO	German Lutheran	1625 Missouri Avenue	Republican	I.O.O., Royal Arcanum, Elks, Union
Joseph J. Glennon	Archbishop	Kinnegad County, Ireland	Irish Catholic	3810 Lindell Blvd		
General Eugene Jaccard Spencer	consulting engineer; President, Texarkana Light & Traction Co., treasurer, Texarkana Improvement	St. Louis, MO	British Episcopalian	Webster Park, MO		BusinessMens' League, Mercantile, Algonquin Golf

	Co., VP, Webster Park Realty,					
Emanuel M. Grossman	lawyer	Vienna, Austria	German Jewish	5900 Nina Place	Democrat	University, City

John Francis O'Neil	President, Fulton Iron Works	Brockport, NY	Irish	4236 W. Pine Blvd		Glen Echo
Miller Hageman	Hageman Publicity Agency			6036 Waterman Ave		
Mrs. Phillip Fouke (details are about Mr.)	Funsten & Bros. Co. (wholesale raw furs); Director, Mechanics-American National Bank	New Orleans, LA	British Congregationalist	306 N. Newstead	Republican	St. Louis, Glen Echo Country, Racquet, Noonday, Automobile, Missouri Athletic
American Protective League						
George Herbert "Bert" Walker	G. H. Walker & Co., stock & bond broker		British born Catholic, converted to Presbyterian	12 Hortense Place		St. Louis Country, Racquet (founder)
Sterling Edward Edmunds	Lawyer, lecturer on international law at St. Louis University		British	11 Lenox Place		St. Louis, Bellerive Country
Clarence Warner Condie	Vice President and Secretary of the Condie-Bray Glass and Paint Co.		British	5084 Raymond Ave		St. Louis, Bellerive Country
Alexander B. Garvin	Secretary, Wellston Trust Co.; son of William Everett Garvin, member of the Mercantile Club		Irish	4221 Westminster Place		St. Louis, Bellerive Country
National Security League						
James Gay Butler, honorary president	From tobacco manufacture to Director, Mercantile Trust Co.	Saugatuck, MI	British Presbyterian	4484 W. Pine Blvd	Republican	New England Society

Edward K. Love, President	President, Edwd K. Love Realty		British	19 Lenox Place		
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George Marion Brown, Chairman	President, General Roofing Manufacturing Co.	Audrain Cnty, MO	British Congregationalist	4253 Westminster Place	Republican	Mercantile, Missouri Athletic
Nelson G. Edwards, vice chairman	1st VP J Kennard & Sons Carpet Co.; Director, Boatmen's Bank (any relation to B.F. or George L?)	Alton, IL	British Episcopalian	Kirkwood, MO	Independent	National Guard
John Bernard Denvir, Jr., treasurer;	Lawyer, w/ Bureau of Enemy Trade, War Trade Board during WWI	St. Louis, MO	(?) Catholic	3409 Pine St, later 15 Washington Terrace	Democrat	Missouri Athletic, Noonday, Racquet, City
Horace D. Johns	secretary; special agent, Fidelity & Deposit Co. of Maryland		British	St. Louis County		
Albert Dexter Nortoni	lawyer & judge	New Cambria, MO	British Presbyterian	4170 Lindell Blvd (1918); earlier 3717 Delmar Blvd (1912); 4404 Lindell Blvd (1929)	Republican (politically Progressive)	IIOF; Modern Woodmen of America; President, New England Society, VChmn, StL chptr Sons of the American Revolution, Society of Colonial Wars; Noonday, Glen Echo, Sunset Hills Ctry, St. Louis
Albert Bond Lambert	Director & stockholder Mechanics-American National Bank; President, Lambert Pharmacal Co. factories in Paris & Hamburg (Listerine et. al.);	St. Louis, MO	British Episcopalian	2 Hortense Place	Democrat	Automobile, Country, Racquet University, Field, Glen Echo Country, St. Louis, Noonday, Algonquin, Business Men's League; commanding officer at Army Balloon

	VP, LambertDeacon-Hall Printing Co.; VP, Olive Hat Mnfctring Co.; VP, Beard-Hayne Co.; stockholder, National Bank of Commerce, 3 rd National Bank,					School in San Antonio, TX during WWI
Festus John Wade	President, Mercantile Trust Co. (many realty companies); Secretary, StL chptr American Red Cross during WWI	Limerick, Ireland	Irish Catholic	4451 Lindell Blvd (1918), later 4532 Lindell Blvd (1929)	Democrat	Log Cabin, Racquet, Bankers, Merchant's Exchange, Business Men's League, St. Louis, Commercial, Mercantile, Noonday, University, Glen Echo, Jefferson
Frederick Bradley Chamberlain	President, F. B. Chamberlain Co (Mnfctr Food Products)	St. Louis, MO	British Unitarian	4312 McPherson Ave	Republican	Republican, Missouri Athletic, Merchants Exchange
Clifford Butler Allen	Edmund Thompson & C B Allen Attys (any relation to G.L., Gerard B, or Thomas?)		British	2857 Russell	Republican	Mercantile, Missouri Athletic, Union
Joseph R. Barroll	(see SLPL)					
Benjamin Altheimer	(see SLPL)					
Eugene H. Angert	Lawyer, Jones, Hocker, Hawes & Angert	St. Charles, MO	German Catholic	3737 Washington Ave	Democrat	University, Jefferson
Paul W. Brown	Ed. & Publ, <i>The West at Work</i> (regional industry & finance journal)		British	4396 Lindell Blvd		

Paul Brown	VP, Mercantile Trust Co.; Director, American Tobacco Co.; Mechanics-	El Dorado, AR	British Methodist	10 Washington Terrace		Noonday
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	American National Bank; President, Conejo-Colorado Mining Co.; President, Marshall Mercantile Co.					
Philip DeC. Ball	President, Mound City Ice & Cold Storage		British	Ferguson, MO		
Martin J. Collins	VP, Graham Paper Co.		Irish or British	2919 Allen		
William Palmer Clarkson	Corporate lawyer, VP & Secty for Pioneer Cooperage Co. (factories in StL, Chicago, & the South)	Essex Cnty, VA	British Christian (Disciples) Church	2 Windemere Place	Democrat	Busines Men's League, Manufacturer's Assn; St Louis, Bogey Golf, Bellerive Country, Commercial, Contemporary, Noonday

Murray Carleton	Chairman, Carleton Dry Goods Co., VP, Boatmen's Bank; President, St. Louis Transit Co.; Director, United Railways Co.; Mississippi Valley Trust Co., Title Guarantee Trust Co., American Credit Indemnity Co. instrumental in Stl streetcar consolidation in 1899; stockholder, National Bank of Commerce	Cumberland , MD	British Methodist Episcopal	4515 Lindell Blvd	Jeffersonia n Democrat	Merchant's Exchange, Business Men's League, Jefferson, Noonday, Mercantile, St. Louis, St. Louis Country, Glen Echo, Normandie Country, Missouri Athletic, Commercial, Round Table
Dwight F. Davis	Director, Mortgage	St. Louis, MO	British	38 Westmorela nd Place		Is the is the same Dwight Filley Davis

	Guarantee Co. of St. Louis					that would become Sec of War, 1923-5
Edward Matthew Flesh	VP, C.H. Albers [Grain] Commission Co.; VP, Advance & Venice Elevator & Warehouse Co.	St. Louis, MO	British Episcopalian	46 Nicholson Place	Democrat	Merchant's Exchange, St. Louis, Missouri Athletic, Jefferson

David Rowland Francis	Francis Brothers & Co. (grain merchants, Municipal, Railroad, & Corporate Securities); VP, Merchants-Laclede National Bank; President, Madison County Ferry Co.; Director, Mississippi Valley Trust Co.; Mayor of StL, '85-9; Governor of MO, '89-93; Sec. of Interior, '96-7; Ambassador to Russia	Richmond, KY	British Presbyterian	4954 Lindell Blvd	Democrat	President, Merchant's Exchange; St. Louis, University, Country, Log Cabin, Jefferson, Round Table, Commercial, Noonday, Mercantile
Frederick Dozier Gardner	President, St. Louis Coffin Co.	Hickman, KY	British Methodist	4508 W. Pine Blvd	Independent	St. Louis, Glen Echo
Harry Bartow Hawes	Lawyer, Jones, Hocker, Hawes & Angert; during WWI, he was Capt. of the Psychological Section of the Military Intelligence Department	Covington, KY	British Episcopalian	20 N. Kingshighway Blvd	Democrat (leader in local Dem Party politics)	St. Louis Real Estate Exchange, Business Men's League, Merchant's Exchange, St. Louis, Missouri Athletic, Jefferson, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of Confederate Veterans, University,

						Noonday, St. Louis, Sunset Hill Country
Edward Hidden	VP, St. Louis Club; Director, National Bank of Commerce in St. Louis		British			

Walker Hill	President, Mechanics- American National Bank		British	5505 Lindell Blvd		
Clarence Henry Howard	President, Commonwealth Steel Co., Director, Boatmen's Bank	Centralia, IL	British Mason	5501 Chamberlain Ave		Mercantile, Noonday, Glen Echo
William W. Hoxton	Manager, St. Louis Clearing House Assn		British	1212 Oakley Place		
Ethelbert P. Lampkin			British	5535 Berlin/Persh ing Ave		
Richard McCulloch	See CND		Scottish			
Charles Nagel	Lawyer, Nagel & Kirby; SLU Law prof; MO HofR; pres City Council	Colorado Cnty, Tx	German Jewish	44 Westmorela nd Place	Republican	St. Louis Club, University Club, Union Club, Commercial Club, Round Table, Mercantile Club, Noonday Club, Leiderkranz Society, Turners Society
George W. Perry	G. W. Perry & Co. (wholesale rubber goods)	Randolph, MA	British Presbyterian	60 Vandeventer Place		Mercantile
Herman J. Pettengill	Director, National Bank of Commerce; President, Southwestern Bell Telephone System		British	50 Vandeventer Place		
Joseph Pulitzer, Jr.	President, Pulitzer Publishing Co.	NY, NY	German	3840 Lindell Blvd		University, St. Louis, Harvard

	(father was born in Vienna, Austria)					
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Leo Rassieur	lawyer, Jourdan, Rassieur & Pierce probate court judge; volunteer in Union Army	Wadern, Prussia, Germany	German	3644 Castleman	Republican	
E. Lansing Ray	VP, Globe Printing Co.		British	484 Lake Ave		
Walter H. Saunders	Lawyer w/ Leahy, Saunders & Barth		British	5640 Cates Ave		
Alfred Lee Shapleigh	(see CND)					
James Elwood Smith	VP, Simmons Hardware Co.	Schellsburg, PA	British Presbyterian	8 Lenox Place	Democrat	1 st VP, Business Men's League, St. Louis, Mercantile, Glen Echo
James Herbert Stafford	sec-tres, Travelers' Protective [insurance] Assn		British	3728 Humphrey		
Robert Henry Stockton	President, Majestic Manufacturing Co.; 1 st secretary then VP of Simmons Hardware; director, Mississippi Trust Co.;	Mt. Sterling, KY	British Christian Church	4528 Maryland Ave		Mercantile
General Eugene Jaccard Spencer	(see CND)					
George Welch Simmons	VP, Simmons Hardware; son of Edward C. Simmons, largest hardware co. in the world & first mercantile corporation in MO	St. Louis, MO	British Episcopalian	Hanley @ Clayton Rds (1918); 4937 Berlin/Pershing (1912)		St. Louis, Noonday, St. Louis Country, Normandie Golf
George Judd Tansey	See CND		Irish			

Otto Louis Teichmann	President, United States Bank of St. Louis; son of Charles H. who founded Teichmann [grain] Commission Co.	Disputed whether he was born in St. Louis or Germany, but his parents born in Germany	German Ethical Society	3401 Longfellow Blvd	Republican	Merchant's Exchange, Business Men's League, Union Club, Liederkranz Club, St. Louis Turnverein, Altheim
Osborn Van Brunt	Traffic mgr, Certain- teed Production Corp	Kansas City, MO; Probably the son of Courtland Van Brunt; Osborn was Courtland's mother's maiden name; longtime U.S. residents)	Dutch	412 Union Blvd		Son of Courtland Van Brunt, Architect
Rolla Wells	Governor, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; manufacturer, son of Erastus, US HofR "omnibus businessman" sawmill, railways	St. Louis, MO	British	4228 Lindell Blvd	Democrat	
Melville L. Wilkinson	President & Treasurer, Vandervoort & Barney Bank; Pres. & Treas., Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney Dry Goods Co.	Maysville, IN	British Congregatio nalist	4401, 4405 Westminster Place	Republican	Knights of Pythias, IOOF, Business Men's League, Noonday, St. Louis, Racquet, Country, Sunset Inn,

All biographical information contained in this Appendix from Hyde, Leonard, *Who's Who*, and *Gould's St. Louis (Missouri) Directory* (as accessed through fold3.com) except names and occupations of CND members from the Missouri Council of Defense's *Directory*. Additional information about Bert Walker from Weisberg and Schweizer.¹³⁸

Endnotes

- ¹ Arthur E. Bostwick, *A Life with Men and Books* (New York: H. W. Wilson & Co, 1939), 212.
- ² Alexander Scot McConachie, "The 'Big Cinch': A Business Elite in the Life of a City, Saint Louis, 1895-1915." PhD diss. Washington University in St. Louis, 1976. ProQuest (AAT 7712476), vii-ix.
- ³ "Smash Hun Propaganda," *Missouri on Guard* 1, no. 7 (Jan. 1918), 1).
- ⁴ David W. Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), 9.
- ⁵ Sally Miller, *From Prairie to Prison: The Life of Social Activist Kate Richards O'Hare* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 128.
- ⁶ William Barnaby Faherty, *The St. Louis Irish: An Unmatched Celtic Community* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2001), 101.
- ⁷ Ruth Crawford, *The Immigrant in St. Louis: A survey*. (St. Louis: St. Louis School of Social Economy, 1916), 13.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.
- ⁹ Nina Mjagkij, *Loyalty in Time of Trial: The African American Experience during World War I* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 27.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 97. Robert Hersey, an African-American man who had recently moved from the South to East St. Louis said, despite being attacked by Whites in the riot, he would not move back to the South where that kind of violence was constant and where he would only make \$.80 a day as compared to \$3 in St. Louis (W. E. B. Dubois "The Massacre in East St. Louis" in *Ain't But A Place: An Anthology of Writings about St. Louis*, ed. Gerald Early (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 299.
- ¹¹ Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration during the War* (NY: Arno Press, 1969), 95.
- ¹² Audrey L. Olsen, *St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and Its Relation to the Assimilation Process* (NY: Arno Press, 1980), 56.
- ¹³ Crawford, 11.
- ¹⁴ Missouri. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Annual report*. Vol. 38. (Jefferson City: The Bureau, 1917), 427-8.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 379.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 76.
- ¹⁷ The exceptions were the building trades, printing trades, and boot and shoemakers' unions.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 169. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 229.
- ²⁰ Jack Muraskin, "Municipal Reform in Two Missouri Cities," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 25, no. 3 (April 1969).
- ²¹ Perhaps not coincidentally, Baldwin would later join the American Union Against Militarism, a pacifist organization, and founded what would become the American Civil Liberties Union. Robert C. Cottrell, *Roger Nash Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union* (NY: Columbia University Press), 2000.
- ²² Lana Stein, *St. Louis Politics: The Triumph of Tradition*. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2002), 10.

- ²³ American Library Association. *A Survey of Libraries in the United States*, Volume III (Chicago: ALA, 1927), 227.
- ²⁴ St. Louis Public Library, *Annual Report, 1913-14*, 43-44.
- ²⁵ Author's survey of SLPL's Stacks collection. One interesting feature of SLPL's socialist collection is the dominance of democratic or Fabian socialism over Marxist and revolutionary socialism. SLPL owned many titles by John Spargo, who authored the Socialist Party of America's minority resolution in support of the U.S. entry on the side of the Allies against the majority "St. Louis" resolution. At the time of the First World War, the only titles written by Karl Marx that SLPL owned were *Free Trade* and *Value, Price and Profit*. SLPL also owned *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* by Engels but none of the titles by Kautsky, Bebel, Lafargue, or Liebknecht advertised in *St. Louis Labor*.
- ²⁶ SLPL *Annual Report, 1916-17*, 41, 65-6.
- ²⁷ Margery Quigley, *Where Neighbors Meet: An Account of the Use of Assembly and Club Rooms in the St. Louis Public Library* (St. Louis: St. Louis Public Library, 1917), 6.
- ²⁸ Christopher C. Gibbs, *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri's Resistance to World War I* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 39, 47.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*, 29.
- ³⁰ Voting results of United States. Senate. S. J. Res. 1, as accessed at <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/65-1/h10>. Meeker was very ill with the Spanish flu and could not make it to Washington, D.C. He died October 16, 1918. Rep. Igoe, in his memorial address for Meeker before the House, said the Meeker would have travelled to DC and voted in favor of the declaration if he believed his vote was necessary. Meeker's vote would not have shifted the outcome. ³¹ Gibbs, 35.
- ³² Petra DeWitt, "Searching for the Roots of Harassment and the Meaning of Loyalty: A Study of the German-American Experience in Missouri during World War I." PhD diss., Vol. 2, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2005. ProQuest (AAT 3235136), 268.
- ³³ Charles Thomas Johnson, *Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901-1918* (NY: Peter Lang, 1999), 138. NGAA executive board member and Missouri chapter president, Charles Weinsberg, was tried under the Espionage Act, because he predicted that Germany would win the war. He was acquitted (Johnson, 157).
- ³⁴ The Deutsch-Amerikanische National-Bund, or National German-American Alliance, was the largest ethnic organization in the United States at the time of the war. (DeWitt, 55). For Irish-American Missouriian's opposition to U.S. intervention in the First War, see John C. Crichton, *Missouri and the World War, 1914-1917* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1947), 97.
- ³⁵ For example: "Hungarians Oppose Shipment of Arms," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, January 25, 1915, 1.
- ³⁶ Johnson, 140.
- ³⁷ "Is This the Last War?," *Argus*, June 4, 1915, 4 and "Bryan's Resignation," *Argus*, June 11, 1915, 4.
- ³⁸ "One Year of Bloodshed," *Argus*, July 2, 1915, 4.
- ³⁹ "How Does the American Negro Stand in the Approaching Crisis?," *Argus*, March 2, 1917, 4. ⁴⁰ "Business Opportunities," *Argus*, February 16, 1917, 4.

- ⁴¹ William G. Jordan, *Black Newspapers & America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001), 122.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 119.
- ⁴³ Gibbs, 41.
- ⁴⁴ Muraskin, 221. ⁴⁵ Crichton, 29.
- ⁴⁶ For more on St. Louis' socialist and left-labor history, see Chapter 4, "Germans on the Mississippi: The Socialist Party of St. Louis" in *Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Early Twentieth Century American Socialism* ed. Sally Miller (NY: Garland, 1996).
- ⁴⁷ *St. Louis Labor*, 1917-1918. Every issue included a list of the party's ethnic and ward meetings. *Arbeiter Zeitung* was the German language edition of *St. Louis Labor*.
- ⁴⁸ DeWitt, 288. This was on par with the national average: Gibbs, 102.
- ⁴⁹ DeWitt, 296.
- ⁵⁰ Examining the public statements and personal memoirs of the St. Louis elite for their opinions on the European war would be useful but beyond the scope of this study.
- ⁵¹ Gibbs, 32.
- ⁵² For a nationwide survey of the U.S. business press and the war, see Harold C. Syrett, "The Business Press and American Neutrality, 1914-1917," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 32, no. 2 (Sep., 1945): 215-230.
- ⁵³ Gibbs, 37.
- ⁵⁴ Gibbs, 32. The *American Zinc and Lead Journal* was published in Joplin, Missouri. George O. Carpenter, President of the St. Louis Public Library Board, was also President of the St. Louis Lead & Oil Company, National Lead Co., and Vice President of the St. Louis Smelting & Refining Company.
- ⁵⁵ Boromé, Joseph A. "Bostwick, Arthur Elmore". *Dictionary of American Biography*. Supplement 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941-1945), 91.
- ⁵⁶ Tucker, John Mark. "Bostwick, Arthur Elmore." *American National Biography*. Vol 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 225.
- ⁵⁷ Dennis Thomison, *A History of the American Library Association, 1876-1972* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1978), 66.
- ⁵⁸ William J. Breen, "'An Active Instrument for Propaganda: The American Public Library during World War I by Wayne A. Wiegand. Review,'" *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 2 (Sep., 1990): 224; Daniel F. Ring, "'An Active Instrument for Propaganda: The American Public Library during World War I by Wayne A. Wiegand. Review,'" *Libraries & Culture* 25, no. 2 (Spring, 1990), 302.
- ⁵⁹ Wayne A. Wiegand "An Active Instrument for Propaganda:" *The American Public Library during World War* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 109. ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, footnote #43, 157.
- ⁶¹ "Libraries Here Withdraw Books on Explosives," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 16, 1918, 1.
- ⁶² St. Louis Public Library Board, *Meeting Minutes*, June 6, 1918. It was Bostwick's practice to list how many books in each language were added to SLPL's collection in the Board Book Committee's minutes. Beginning with the July and August 1918 reports, no German language books are cited. Starting with the *Minutes* for September 3, 1918, Bostwick only reported the number of total foreign language publications the library added but no longer specified in which languages and how many. This remained the case for the rest of 1918.

⁶³ “Books in German Are Removed from Public Library,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 25, 1918, 1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Arthur P. Young, *Books for Sammies: The American Library Association and World War I* (Pittsburgh: Beta Phi Mu, 1981), 132. Despite correspondence with the National Archives and Records Administration and a reference question submitted to the GOVDOC-L Listserv, this author has yet to find any of the correspondence from the Morale Branch of the Military Intelligence Section of the War Department to the ALA Library War Service. What this author did find, thanks to the ALA Archives at the University of Illinois, was correspondence from the ALA War Service to the various camp libraries regarding the so-called “Army Index.” Those letters did not include any titles that were not already a matter of public record. See, for example, “Book Lauding Huns Barred Out of Army,” *New York Tribune*, September 26, 1918, 6.

⁶⁶ “German Books Being Widely Read at City Library Daily.” *St. Louis Times*. May 20, 1918, 4. Kimball referred to the “internment” of books in Bostwick’s office, but she cited an annual report in which this detail does not appear. Most likely, Kimball found this article in SLPL’s 1918 *Scrapbook*, which is kept in the same cabinet as the annual reports in SLPL’s Rare Books and Special Collections reading room. See Melanie A. Kimball, “From Refuge to Risk: Public Libraries and Children in World War I.” *Library Trends*. 55, no. 3 (Winter 2007), 454—463. Page number and content verified by this author via microfilm. Special thanks to Renee Jones, Adult Services Provider in St. Louis Public Library’s Rare Books & Special Collections department, for pointing out the article in the *Scrapbook* after this author had passed it over.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ The move to censor came after “the Blackwelder affair.” In mid-February 1918, Paul Blackwelder, Assistant Librarian at SLPL for twelve years, was either fired or resigned under duress for making organizational changes at SLPL in Bostwick’s absence. See “Blackwelder, Assistant Librarian, Resigns,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 23, 1918, 1, and “Blackwelder Out for his Criticism of Dr. Bostwick,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 24, 1918, A3. Following Blackwelder’s ordeal, one can scarcely imagine any SLPL subordinate making such an important decision as removal of titles from the library without Bostwick’s approval or supervision. Bostwick was intimately familiar with the collection and could read German. ⁶⁹ *SLPL Annual Report, 1917-18*, 44-5, as quoted by Plummer Alston Jones, Jr., *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 23. ⁷⁰ The Open Shelf Room at Central Library contained “about 25,000 volumes, entirely free of access to the public.” St. Louis Public Library, *The Central Library Building*, (St. Louis Public Library, 1893), 29.

⁷¹ SLPL annual reports are from June of one year through May of the next, so, in this case, June 1917 through May 1918. The report was notarized June 20, 1918.

⁷² SLPL, *Annual Report, 1916-17*, 41.

⁷³ SLPL, *Annual Report, 1917-18*, p44.

⁷⁴ SLPL, *Annual Report, 1918-19*, 46.

⁷⁵ Thomas P. McCormick was a retired civil engineer. 1423 Boatmen’s Bank Building held the Exemption Board Office. *Gould’s Red Book of the City of St. Louis* (St. Louis: Gould Directory Co., 1918), as accessed through Fold3.com.

⁷⁶ “Libraries to Withhold Books on Explosives,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 16, 1918, 1.

⁷⁷ Julie Skinner, “Censorship in the Heartland: Eastern Iowa Libraries during World War I,” in

Libraries and the Reading Public in Twentieth-Century America, eds. Christine Pawley and Louise S. Robbins (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 158-9. PDF e-book.

⁷⁸ Walter S. Gifford, Director, and Arthur H. Fleming, Chief of State Councils Section, National Council of Defense, to the several State Councils of Defense, June 28, 1918. From the Correspondence of Arthur E. Bostwick, St. Louis (MO) Public Library Special Collections & Rare Books department, Box M, Folder "Missouri Council of Defense." This letter and the corresponding list of books to be barred was forwarded to Bostwick by William F. Saunders, Secretary of the Missouri Council of Defense, with an introductory letter dated August 15, 1918.

⁷⁹ The Sedition Act passed Congress on the same day the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* first reported censorship at St. Louis Public Library: May 16, 1918. The Sedition Act read: "whoever shall by word or act support or favor the cause of any country with which the United States is at war or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both...." Federal prosecutors could have broadly interpreted the law to charge public librarians favoring the cause of Germany or opposing the cause of the U.S. by facilitating public access to pro-German, neutralist, socialist or pacifist literature, though there were no such charges filed at the time.

⁸⁰ Cleveland Public Library. Board of Directors, *Meeting Minutes*, July 7, 1917, 3.

⁸¹ Skinner, 151.

⁸² Indiana Library Commission, "Books to Be Barred from Library," *Library Occurrent* 5, no. 4, (October 1918), 93-4.

⁸³ *Newark Ledger, Star, Times and Tribune* articles from January 11, 1918 to April 13, 1918. Bostwick worked alongside Dana in the American Library Association from 1898 throughout their professional careers. Despite both being in the "radical" faction against the conservative ALA Board in 1907, their relationship henceforth was strained, as Dana considered Bostwick too compromising and the later thought to former too radical. Bostwick characterized Dana as "one of those persons who loved argument and prefer to take an unpopular, or even an impossible side." Bostwick, 211-12. ⁸⁴ Ring, 302.

⁸⁵ Wiegand, 3.

⁸⁶ Evelyn Geller, *Forbidden Books in American Public Libraries, 1876-1939* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984), 84 and Arthur E. Bostwick, "Librarian as Censor," *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 2, no. 5 (1908), 327.

⁸⁷ For example: Henry O. Severance, *Missouri in the Library War Service* (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1931). ⁸⁸ John Cotton Dana, "Public Libraries as Censors," *The Bookman* 49, No. 2 (April 1919), 150.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Anne Carroll Moore, "Arthur Elmore Bostwick, 1860-1942: Citizen of the World," *ALA Bulletin* (March 1942): 220.

⁹¹ Crighton, 61. Banks and trust companies on which members of these interlocking groups sat or invested in included the Mechanics-American National Bank, Mercantile Trust Co., Mississippi Valley Trust Co., Third National Bank, and St. Louis Union Trust.

⁹² The extent to which St. Louis businesses were connected to the European wartime economy are described by Berger in Chapters 5&6. Businesses related to this study include Brown Shoe, Carpenter's lead mining, and others. Henry W. Berger, *St. Louis & Empire: 250 Years of Imperial Conquest & Urban Crisis* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015).

- ⁹³ The SLPL Board had fourteen wartime members if one counts Bostwick, who served as Secretary for the Board and on some of its committees.
- ⁹⁴ Geri Greenway and Wayne Wiegand, "A Comparative Analysis of the Socioeconomic and Professional Characteristics of American Library Association Executive Board and Council Members, 1876-1917," *Library Research* 2 (1981): 309-25, and Wayne Wiegand, "American Library Association Executive Board Members, 1876-1917: A Collective Profile," *Libri*. 31, no. 1 (January 1981): 152-166. ALA execs were overwhelmingly multi-generationally American, mainline Protestant, Republican, and of English descent. The SLPL Board included Germanborn or descended, Irish, Catholics, Jews, and Democrats as well as old stock, WASP Republicans.
- ⁹⁵ The SLPL Board also held committee meetings at the Mercantile Club. See SLPL Board *Meeting Minutes* for the war years.
- ⁹⁶ The conflicts that undoubtedly arose at the intersection of ethnicity and class amongst St. Louis' ethnic German and Irish economic elite during the First World War deserve further investigation.
- ⁹⁷ For the roots and meaning of the Veiled Prophet celebration, see Thomas Morris Spencer, *The St. Louis Veiled Prophet Celebration: Power on Parade, 1877-1995* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000).
- ⁹⁸ For the sources of biographical information on all elites noted in this section, see the bibliographical note that follows Appendix.
- ⁹⁹ *Gould's St. Louis (Missouri) City Directory* (1918), 2124.
- ¹⁰⁰ Thomas R. English, "Council of National Defense." *The United States in the First World War: An Encyclopedia* (NY: Garland, 1995), 173-175.
- ¹⁰¹ Missouri. Council of Defense, *Final report of the Missouri Council of Defense* (St. Louis, C.P. Curran Printing Co., 1919), 1.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 61-3.
- ¹⁰³ "Criminal Disloyalty Defined by Authority for Defense Council," *Missouri on Guard* 1, no. 4, (January 1918): 2.
- ¹⁰⁴ DeWitt, 219. ¹⁰⁵ "Combatting German Influences," *Missouri on Guard* 2, no. 1 (1918), 4.
- ¹⁰⁶ Despite his political prominence, there was no indication in the sources used for this study of Kiel's membership in any of the prestigious clubs of his day.
- ¹⁰⁷ McConachie, 180.
- ¹⁰⁸ Michael Linfield, *Freedom Under Fire: U.S. Civil Liberties in Times of War* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), 32.
- ¹⁰⁹ "Fighting German Spies in St. Louis," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 18, 1918, B3.
- ¹¹⁰ Emerson Hough, *The Web: The Authorized History of the American Protective League* (Chicago: Reilly & Lee, 1919), 293-302.
- ¹¹¹ American Protective League, "Bar Pro-German Books from Camp Libraries," *Spy Glass* 1, no. 9 (October 1918), 3.
- ¹¹² Peter & Rochelle Schweizer, *The Bushes: Portrait of a Dynasty* (NY: Doubleday, 2004), 25.
- ¹¹³ Bert Walker quit the Country Club in 1907 rather than apologize for unbecoming conduct at a birthday party for one of his mates. Instead, he established the St. Louis Racquet Club, of which a number of CND members later joined (Schweizer, 28). He and his immediate family left St. Louis for New York City when he joined Averell & Rowland Harriman's investment firm. Jacob Weisberg, *The Bush Tragedy* (NY: Random House, 2008), 10.

- ¹¹⁴ “D. D. Walker Gave Away \$300,000 in 4 Years, Son Says,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 19, 1918, 3.
- ¹¹⁵ For more on the NSL, see John Carver Edwards, *Patriots in Pinstripe: Men of the National Security League* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, Inc., 1982) and Robert D. Ward, “The Origin and Activities of the National Security League, 1914-1919” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47, no. 1 (June 1960), 51-65.
- ¹¹⁶ Allan L. Benson, *Inviting War to America* (NY: B. W. Heubsch, 1915-16), 67.
- ¹¹⁷ Edwards, 213. David Francis was Mayor of St. Louis (1885-9), Governor of Missouri (1889-93), Secretary of Interior (1896-7), and Ambassador to Russia (April 1916-November 1918).
- ¹¹⁸ Ward, 54.
- ¹¹⁹ James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 413.
- ¹²⁰ William Hyde & Howard L. Conrad, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, Vol 1 (New York: The Southern History Company, 1899), 287. Recall that the Business Men’s League set up the St. Louis City chapter of the National Security League, yet another war-related organization that overlapped with the SLPL Board.
- ¹²¹ Walter Ehrlich, *Zion in the Valley: The Jewish Community of St. Louis*, Vol 1 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 395.
- ¹²² To explain the uniqueness of private places to St. Louis, David Beito has pointed to taxing and spending limitations placed on the city in the nineteenth century. The Missouri legislature limited St. Louis City's ability to tax, spend and borrow. The city's own home rule charter of 1875 capped property tax rates to one percent of assessed value, and this limit could not be raised without the approval of three-quarters of voters. In 1890, St. Louis ranked ninth out of the ten largest U.S. cities with ungraded and unpaved streets. For more on the development of St. Louis' private places, see David T. Beito, “From Privies to Boulevards: The Private Supply of Infrastructure in the United States during the Nineteenth Century,” in Jerry Jenkins & David E. Sisk, eds., *Development by Consent: The Voluntary Supply of Public Goods and Services* (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1993), 33-41.
- ¹²³ *Where We Live: A Guide to St. Louis Communities*, ed. Tim Fox (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1995), 134.
- ¹²⁴ Despite its name, Westminster Place was a public street at the time but would become a private place in 1957.
- ¹²⁵ DeWitt, 279.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 280. ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 282.
- ¹²⁸ “2 Held on Disloyalty Charge,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 6, 1918, 1.
- ¹²⁹ “Native German Arrested for Alleged Disloyal Statement,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 31, 1917, 1.
- ¹³⁰ “Fighting German Spies in St. Louis,” B3. “Four-Minute Men” were volunteers organized by the Committee on Public Information to make inspirational and instructional speeches at public events in support of the war effort. Although their speeches were drafted in Washington by the CPI, local Councils of Defense were often responsible for finding speakers. See Barbara L. Tischler, “Four-Minute Men,” *The United States in the First World War: An Encyclopedia*, 236.
- ¹³¹ “Woman Nurse is Arrested Here,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 25, 1918, 3.

¹³² SLPL Annual Report, 1917-18, p.

¹³³ "Socialist State Convention Adopts Campaign Platform," *St. Louis Labor*, no. 917 (August 31, 1918), 1. The Socialist Party of Missouri held its state convention at the Barr branch in 1916 and 1917 as well. ¹³⁴ St. Louis Public Library, *Staff Notes, 1917-1918, 1918-19*.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹³⁶ Quigley, 11.

¹³⁷ Breen, 708.

¹³⁸ Hyde, vols I-IV; *Book of St. Louisans*, ed. John W. Leonard (St. Louis: The St. Louis Republic, 1906, 1912); Missouri. Council of Defense. *Directory, County and Township Councils of Defense, with Roster of Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense (Missouri Division) Town and County Chairmen*. St. Louis: Von Hoffmann Press, 1917-1919, and *Who's Who in the Central States*. Washington, D.C.: Mayflower Pub. Co., 1979.

Figure A

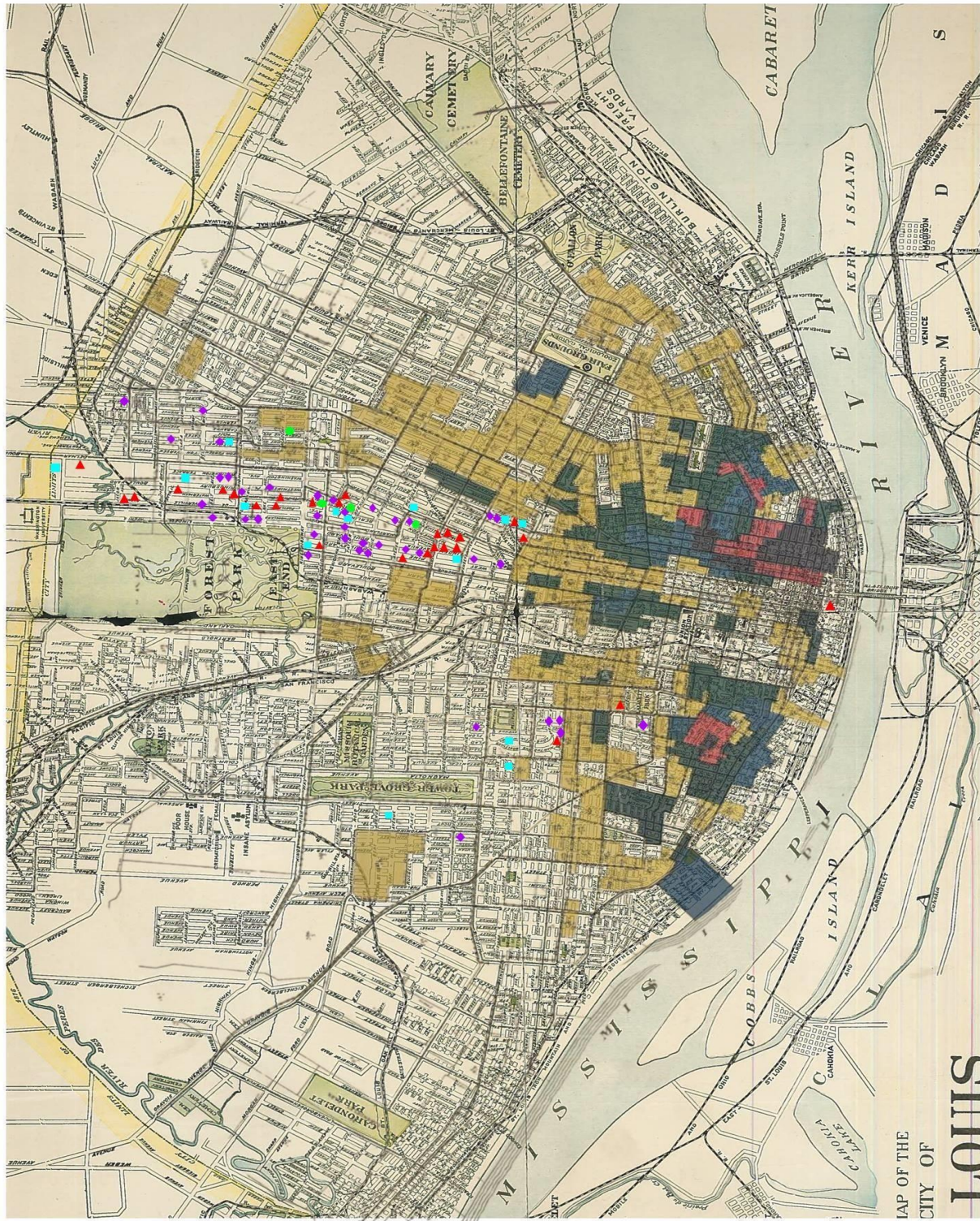


Figure A – St. Louis Population Density and Street Map with SLPL Board and Loyalty Group Members Identified

(■ = SLPL; ● = APL; ◆ = NSC; ▲ = CND)

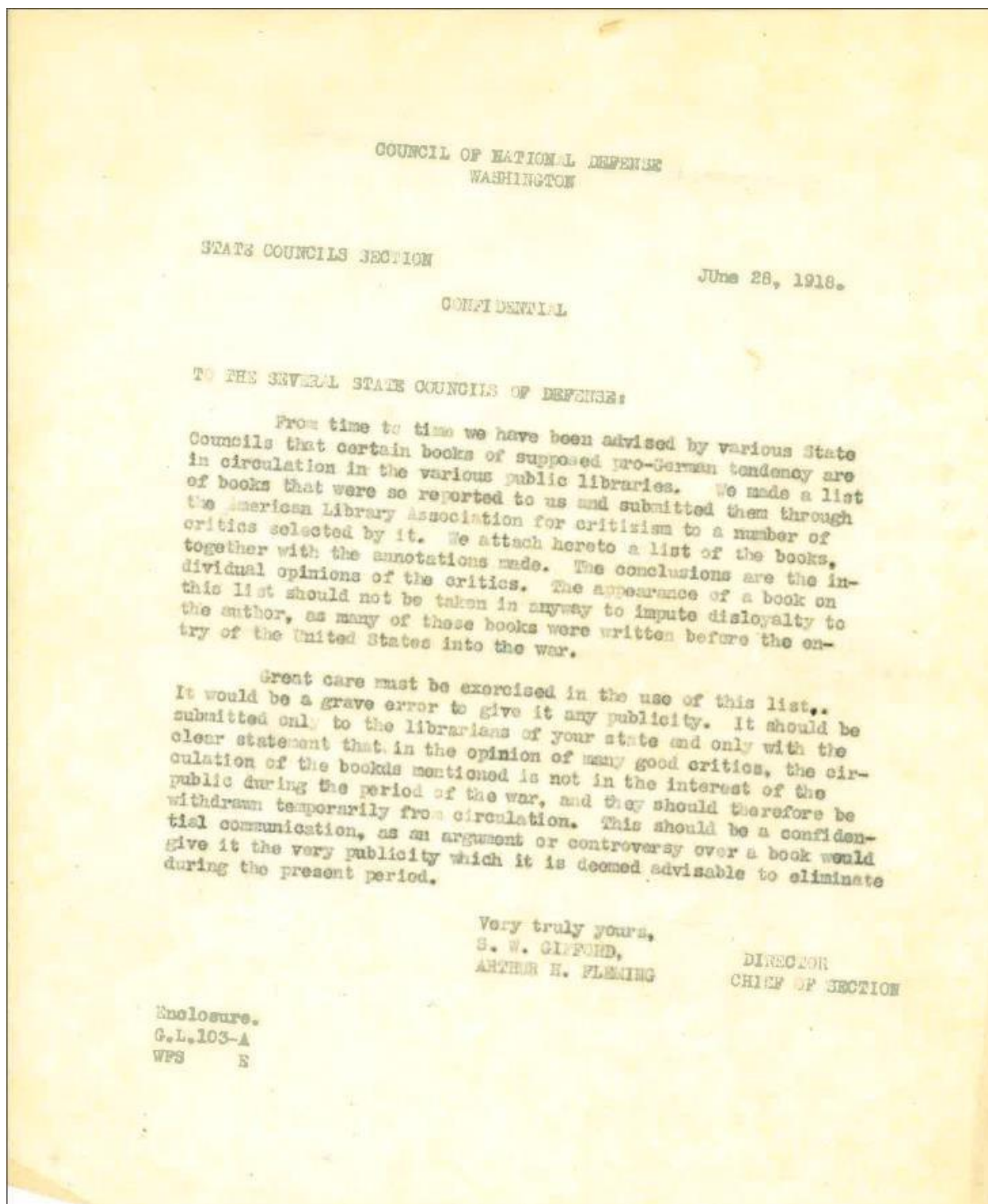


Figure B – W. S. Gifford, Director, Council for National Defense, Letter to several state Councils for Defense, requesting public librarians remove of “disloyal” books

F. B. MUMFORD, Chairman, Columbia
DEAN AND DIRECTOR, COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE

Honorary President, FREDERICK D. GARDNER,
Governor of Missouri

WILLIAM F. SAUNDERS,
Secretary, Jefferson City

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

O. W. ARMOUR	KANSAS CITY
J. T. BIRD	KANSAS CITY
REV. W. C. BITTING	ST. LOUIS
GEORGE WARREN BROWN	ST. LOUIS
B. F. BUSH	ST. LOUIS
MRS. B. F. BUSH	ST. LOUIS
PAUL W. BROWN	ST. LOUIS
THORNTON COOKE	KANSAS CITY
JAMES COWGILL	KANSAS CITY
O. H. DAUES	ST. LOUIS
WALTER S. DICKEY	KANSAS CITY
I. B. DUNLAP	KANSAS CITY
G. H. EDWARDS	KANSAS CITY
C. F. ENRIGHT	JEFFERSON CITY
FRED. W. FLEMING	KANSAS CITY
JOHN H. GALEENER	SICKESTON
L. O. HAMILTON	ST. JOSEPH
JOHN T. HEARD	SEDALIA
ARCHBISHOP J. J. GLENNON	ST. LOUIS
W. T. KEMPER	KANSAS CITY
HENRY W. KIEL	ST. LOUIS
WM. H. LEE	ST. LOUIS
R. A. LONG	KANSAS CITY
FRANK W. McALLISTER	JEFFERSON CITY

MISSOURI COUNCIL OF DEFENSE

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI UPON THE
REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES



CITY OF JEFFERSON

August 15, 1918

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

JAMES H. McCORD	JEFFERSON CITY
HUGH McINDOE	JOPLIN
E. E. McJIMSEY	SPRINGFIELD
ELLIOTT MARSHALL	ST. JOSEPH
JOHN F. MORTON	RICHMOND
E. D. NIMS	ST. LOUIS
R. B. OLIVER	CAPE GIRARDEAU
J. F. OSBORNE	JOPLIN
C. O. RAINE	CANTON
WALTER ROBERTSON	MARSHALL
SIDNEY J. ROY	HANNIBAL
S. R. SCHMUTZ	MAYVIEW
JOHN SCULLIN	ST. LOUIS
LEE SHELTON	KENNETT
E. W. SOLOMON	BERNIE
DAVID SOMMERS	ST. LOUIS
CECIL W. THOMAS	JEFFERSON CITY
CYRUS P. WALBRIDGE	ST. LOUIS
W. W. WHEELER	ST. JOSEPH
EDWARDS WHITAKER	ST. LOUIS
J. C. WHITSELL	ST. JOSEPH
M. L. WILKINSON	ST. LOUIS
ROBERT S. WITHERS	LIBERTY
R. T. WOOD	SPRINGFIELD
HUSTON WYETH	ST. JOSEPH

Dr. A. E. Bostwick
Public Library
Saint Louis
Missouri

My dear Mr. Bostwick:-

I am enclosing a copy of a confidential
circular we have received from the Council of National
Defense, and a list of books which the Council wishes brought
to your attention.

Sincerely yours

W. F. Saunders
Secretary

WFS-NS

Figure C – William F. Saunders, Secretary, Missouri Council of Defense, letter to Arthur E. Bostwick, Librarian, St. Louis Public Library, introducing letter and list from W. S. Gifford, Director, Council for National Defense