

Our Missouri Podcast

Title: Episode 5: "Degrees of Allegiance"

Guest: Petra DeWitt

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KEVIN WALSH: Welcome to *Our Missouri*, a podcast about the people, places, culture, and history of the 114 counties and independent city of Saint Louis that comprise the great state of Missouri. Each episode focuses on a topic related to the state ranging from publications about Missouri's history to current projects undertaken by organizations to preserve and promote local institutions. The *Our Missouri Podcast* is recorded in the J. Christian Bay Rare Books Room at the State Historical Society of Missouri's Columbia Research Center, and is generously provided to you by the State Historical Society of Missouri. And now, here's your host, Sean Rost.

SEAN ROST: Good morning, good afternoon, and good evening, or at whatever hour you are tuning in to listen to the *Our Missouri Podcast*. My name is Sean Rost and I will be your guide as we explore the memories, moments, and misfortunes from our Missouri. It was supposed to be the war to end all wars. At the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month in 1918, the guns on the battlefield fell silent to mark the signing of the armistice that ended World War I. Yet, for all the hope of peace and a return to normalcy, the First World War, as it would later be called, merely marked the opening act of a century dominated by global conflict. As we come upon the 100th anniversary of the end of World War I, the *Our Missouri Podcast* is launching a three part series on "Missouri & The Great War." Each episode in this series will focus on different aspects of the war ranging from soldiers and civilians on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean to how the conflict has been remembered in memory and monuments. Today, in Part 3, we are speaking with Petra DeWitt, an Assistant Professor of History at Missouri University of Science & Technology. She earned a PhD in History at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Her book, *Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's Germany-American Community during World War I*, was published in 2012 and won the Missouri Book Award given out by the State Historical Society of Missouri. In her book, DeWitt explains how the patriotism and hysteria of World War I impacted Missouri as well as its substantial German-American community. Welcome to the *Our Missouri Podcast*, Petra DeWitt.

PETRA DEWITT: Well, good afternoon. Nice to talk to you. Thank you for inviting me.

SEAN ROST: Now, when we look at your book overall, could you tell us a little bit about the origins of the project? What inspired you to pursue a project about Missouri's German-American community during World War I?

PETRA DEWITT: Well, when I was a graduate student, professors assigned books that I was supposed to read. These books kept telling me over and over again that during World War I the German culture in the United States came to an end because of the harassment, the oppression, the passage of the Espionage and Sedition Acts, and general violence that seemed to exist on the

home front. I did not agree with those historians because I had been to Hermann. I had seen how much the German culture was still being preserved there. I knew Dolf Schroeder up in Columbia, and he had conducted several interviews with German-Americans in Missouri. I had listened to the cassettes that he had recorded. Through this, I learned that in the 1970s people who went to the grocery store in Westphalia in Osage County told each other jokes in German so that they could get the punchline across correctly. And I thought, "Wait a minute, if they are still doing that, these historians must be wrong, or either they didn't come to Missouri to conduct their research." Maybe that was correct in Iowa. Maybe that was correct in Nebraska. But, I seemed to have a different impression. So, I started researching this project, and since I myself am a German immigrant, it helped to know the German language so I could access the correct kind of resources to conduct my research and see if those historians were right, or if I was going to be right.

SEAN ROST: Now, as you kind of began this project—you said back in graduate school—what kind of archives and different materials and collections did you look at [and] research with to build your argument and really get to the bottom of this disappearance of German culture versus continuation of German culture.

PETRA DEWITT: Well, the first that I did was get my hands on newspapers. And, of course, we have this huge collection of newspapers on microfilm with the State Historical Society there in Columbia. It's so convenient to get access to them if you are in any of the research centers, including here in Rolla. So, I didn't have to drive that far on many days. For about four years, every Friday afternoon I would be reading these newspapers on microfilm, both in the German language newspapers as well as the English language newspapers throughout the state. That gave me really a very good impression of what the situation was like here in Missouri. Where there were pockets of what I call "harassment." Where there was no opposition to German-Americans still speaking German in the street. Where there were serious efforts to ban the speaking of German on the streets, for example. Or, where something occurred. Where somebody actually may have been beaten up for expressing his hope that Germany would be winning this war. So, it gave me a good first impression. But then, the papers of the Missouri Council of Defense were also very crucial in my research. The Missouri Council of Defense is this organization that, in essence, runs the war effort here in Missouri. They had very good correspondence with local people who reported incidents when somebody was making pro-German expressions. Or, perhaps somebody tried to interfere with the draft procedures [or] with the examination of young men before the draft board and so on. The records of the Missouri Council of Defense were absolutely essential in this research as well. I went to several historical societies. You might be surprised how much information there is located in these local historical societies [that are] usually staffed by volunteers. They have family genealogy. They have church records. Through these church records, I could see when ministers start preaching in German or when they stop preaching in German and started implemented English sermons. When they changed the teaching of confirmation classes from German to English, and so on. When they people changed their minutes from German to English. So, all these resources were very important. And then, of course, the National Archives in Kansas City, they had the district court records for Missouri. I could see through these records who the people were who were accused of violating the

Espionage Act [or] the Sedition Act. And then I could statistically evaluate how many of them were Germans, how many of them were socialists, how many of them were Americans. They're about equally divided between each one of those groups. So, there is nothing that stood out to me that said Missourians are accusing more Germans rather than socialists or Americans of disloyal behavior. So, these are the most important resources that I collected and used in order to put my book together.

SEAN ROST: Now before we can really look into the German-American community during the war, we kind of need to understand Missouri's German immigration history, particularly what's today called the Missouri German Heritage Corridor which runs along the Missouri River Valley. Could you talk to us a little bit about the immigration of Germans to Missouri both in the 19th and into the early 20th Century?

PETRA DEWITT: Sure. Missouri is not unique with Germans arriving. Germans came in three major waves to the United States throughout the 19th Century [and] into the early 1900s. The first wave was really during the 1820s, 1830s for primarily economic reasons. You had Germans who came [from] a peasant background or a craft background. So, they had skills, but because of economic developments in Germany they saw these skills disappearing as Germany increasingly began to industrialize. They were living on small plots of land that no longer supported families. They had adopted cottage industry to support, but with industrialization cottage industries [were] actually declining as well. Then, there were the revolutions in the 1830s when people began to rise up and demand more democratic participation or parliamentary systems in the German confederation. We have to remember Germany as a country did not yet exist. These were still smaller kingdoms, principalities, duchies, and so on. A few in that wave may have actually read Gottfried Duden's report. He had lived in Missouri and published a report upon his return to Germany. But, it's really knowing, through letters, somebody else. Somebody who's already lived here in Missouri. They're writing letters forwards and backwards, and they're sending information. So, it's through this correspondence that people learn about opportunities in Missouri. What land costs, and so on. They're traveling. They're traveling in family units. They might be supported by an immigration society like Friedrich Muench, for example, comes to mind with the Giessen Society who came over in the 1830s. Then, there is a second wave of German immigration to the United States, as well as Missouri, and that has to do with the 1848 Revolution as well as economic decline in the 1850s in the German principalities. Again, people traveled as family units. They may have joined immigration societies. But again, this so-called "chain migration," you know somebody already here who's letting you know where there's available land, where there are jobs, and so on, that will convince you where to go and where to finally settle. Some of these individuals are well-educated. They had been participants in the revolution, and they are now living in exile trying to escape the German principalities before they get arrested for having risen up against their king or their prince. So that, in essence, is that [second] wave of migrants coming over. Then, during the American Civil War, very few people come over because they don't want to come to a country that is at war, of course. But then afterwards, you see another wave of German immigrants coming over, but they're a little different than the earlier two waves. You've got individuals. You've got laborers who are looking for work, for opportunity. Who, as men, perhaps are escaping the draft in Germany because as of

1871 Germany exists. It exists under Prussian leadership, so if you were drafted, you were drafted into the Prussian military and not every man wanted to become a member of that military because of its harsh discipline. So, you have individuals traveling much more than the family units that had come previously. These now include unskilled individuals who are looking for work anywhere. With the railroads, with factories, what have you. One of these immigrants will be Gottlieb Hoehn who had apprenticed as a cobbler, but because of his socialist leanings thought that he should leave Germany, especially under [Otto von] Bismarck's leadership and the anti-socialist laws that the German government passed. He would eventually become a co-founder of the Socialist Party in the United States. He would also be the owner and editor of two newspapers in Saint Louis, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which is the German language paper, and the *Saint Louis Labor* which is the socialist newspaper. By 1900, the number of German immigrants is drastically declining because the German economy is booming. You have strong nationalism during the Wilhemine Age in Germany. You have legislation that actually benefits ordinary common workers. You have old-age pensions. You have workman's comp. You have health insurance. These are legislations that Bismarck had established. So, it doesn't make sense to move to the United States anymore because the wage gap has much narrowed. So, even though you might make a little less money in Germany in your wages, you still have these safety nets that will assure that you have a decent life, a decent living standard. Whereas, you had no such guarantees in the United States. So, we have these three waves that came. When World War I comes around, most Germans living in Missouri are actually second or third generation German-Americans.

SEAN ROST: Now, kind of overall in your book, this is a study of the entire state, German culture and identity in Missouri, but there are specific sections of the book that focus in on places like Saint Louis and Gasconade County and Osage County. What brought you to focus in on those localities and those regions?

PETRA DEWITT: First of all, the availability of resources. They had the newspapers. All three of these had an English newspaper as well as a German language newspaper. Actually, Saint Louis had two German language newspapers. The other resources, letters, church records, and so on, I had more resources in regard to those counties and the city. But, there are other reasons why I contrasted those three. In Saint Louis, the German community is very heterogeneous. In other words, the Germans are not all from the same identical area. You have Catholics. You have Lutherans. You have freethinkers. You have reformed. You have German Jews. So, religiously speaking, they come from various backgrounds. Economically speaking, you have anybody who is a low worker, an unskilled worker in the factory, versus middle class craftsmen [and] small business owner to the big brewer—Busch, or Anheuser. So, you have a variety of economic backgrounds, class backgrounds. They're not living in one ghetto or in one specific ward in the city. They are spread throughout the city based upon their religion and their economic background and so on. So, I was thinking in Saint Louis you would have various experiences during the war based on all these different backgrounds. Gasconade County, however, is much more of a homogeneous society or community. The northern half of Gasconade County is primarily German. You have some Swiss and Austrians there as well. But, the southern half is primarily American. So, the reason I chose the county is: would there be violence because of that

split in the county? Would the Americans in the south try to impose their Americanness on the Germans in the northern half of the county? To what degree would the Germans be able to maintain their Germanness within the northern half of the county? The reason I chose Osage County is because I very quickly learned that their German newspaper shut down very quickly in early 1917. Whereas, in Hermann, that did not happen. Neither did that happen in Saint Louis. So, I have the contrast of the newspapers. In Osage County, you also have an incident where a German-American speaks out, makes pro-German expressions, and, as a result, a near riot developed. So, you have a small incident here of potential violence which did not happen in Gasconade County and did not happen on the scale as it did in Osage County in Saint Louis. So, for all of these different reasons, I chose those three locations. I make the occasional mention, as you said, of other places. Something happens in Jefferson City, for sure. Somebody gets beaten up there for making a pro-German expression. Up in Saline County, three Germans almost get mobbed. But, I only have tantalizing evidence and resources for these events, but here in Saint Louis and Gasconade County and Osage County I also had the best local sources, letters, and so on.

SEAN ROST: I think that's an important point because when we think of the war and harassment and reaction to it, we often think of the stories of people who were hauled in to movie theaters or in to the courthouse and forced to kiss the [American] flag or forced to renounce their statements. And, this is something that we kind of see sporadically throughout the country, and it becomes kind of a theme. But yet, as you point, what did you find in Missouri? What was Missouri's standpoint when it came to the harassment and questions of disloyalty aimed towards German-Americans?

PETRA DEWITT: Right. There is some. There is some violence. I've found evidence for five or six incidents. Like I said, in Jefferson City, a man by the name of Fritz Monat, who was of German birth, and who was also suspected to be a labor agitator, was whipped and then forced to kiss the American flag because he thought that Germany should be winning the war and he publicly said so. In Chamois, there is the son of a preacher who expresses pro-German thoughts and also denigrates the local Home Guard, this volunteer unit that took the place of the National Guard when it was federalized into service. He speaks back to a lieutenant in the Home Guard. They get into a fist fight. His supporters come. The lieutenant's supporters come. It turns almost into a mob action, and it's the captain of the Home Guard that finally settles the dispute. There is evidence in Saint Louis where people get into fist fights because they disagree over whom they should be supporting. But, in general, Missourians stick to the letter of the law. They use the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act to report people. Congress passed these two pieces of legislation. The Espionage Act in 1917. The Sedition Act in 1918. The Espionage Act made it illegal to express any thoughts that might incite mutiny in the military or interfere with the draft. The Sedition Act clearly limits your freedom of speech by stating that you can't say anything negative about your government during this time of war. Missourians would report anybody who made such expressions to the local authorities, and then let those authorities determine should there be a trial [or] should there not be a trial. For example, in Bland, Missouri, August Heibreyder made the suggestion that President [Woodrow] Wilson ought to be stuffed into a cannon and shot out into the sea. So, that was a threat on the commander and chief. The local

prosecutors really believed he should be prosecuted under the Espionage Act. In the end, he got a \$100 fine for being too outspoken. But, that is how Missourians approached this. Now, if somebody really overtly—like Monat or the son of the preacher—get into the face of somebody and virtually scream into their faces that they are supporters of Germany in this war, then it is likely that something might happen. You know, fist fights break out or something similar. But otherwise, Missourians are very content with reporting them to the authorities. So, it's a way of a bottom-up kind of controlling your neighbor. Using harassment, not persecution—like so many historians have used—in order to control each other's behavior. It's harassment. If somebody comes knocking on your door, they're in charge of collecting signatures for the Hoover pledge. The Hoover pledge was in November of 1917 when housewives, children in schools, men were encouraged to abide by the regulations of having wheat-less Mondays and meat-less Wednesdays. Conserve food. Don't waste. Buy consciously so that you only use what you really need to use. These people would knock on your door and they would require that you sign that pledge right then and right there in front of them. That's harassment. That's intimidation. That's coercion. Right? Instead of—we're going to paint your house yellow because you're not signing it right now. So, Missourians were much more likely to use that kind of harassment [and] coercion to intimidate someone. Liberty bonds come to mind. The way that the United States government financed our participation in the war was through the sale of war bonds. They didn't call them war bonds, they called them liberty bonds because we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy. So, bankers were often in charge of local committees that were selling these bonds. Of course, the bankers know who has what kind of money in the savings account. Right? So, if they realized that wealthy people did not step up according to their wealth in the purchase of bonds, they would then quietly go to that person's home and talk to them and give them a good talking to so that they would come the following day and purchase additional liberty bonds. So, it's really that local coercion, that local intimidation that existed in Missouri during the time period. Peer pressure is a powerful tool to maintain local control.

SEAN ROST: Now, how do these examples of harassment, and even some examples of violence, compare to other states, and particularly, Midwestern states around Missouri at the same time?

PETRA DEWITT: There are examples of people actually being tar and feathered in other states. Their properties painted yellow because they're "cowardly." They're not stepping up and expressing their patriotism to the United States. In Illinois, we actually have the murder of an individual, Robert Prager, for expressing his pro-German sentiments. So, those are oppressive features. I mean, it's one thing to knock on somebody's door, and it's an entirely other thing to destroy somebody else's property, or to even threaten their life. I don't want to call it timid. It's much weaker in Missouri than it is in other states. And it's perhaps because Missourians don't like interference from the outside. Missourians don't like the national government to tell them what to do. That there is perhaps a little resentment towards interference in daily life through the draft, through the conservation movements, through the barrage of advertisements that come from the Committee on Public Information. So, it's perhaps that nature of Missourians, that sense of independence that shapes how they react to all the pressures around them during this Great War.

SEAN ROST: Before we return to our conversation, let's take a step back in time with Bob Priddy to an event from this week in history in a "Missouri Minute."

BOB PRIDDY: I'm Bob Priddy with this "Missouri Minute" with the story of loss. It's 1960 and the Missouri Tiger football team is for the first time ranked number one in the nation. The last game of the year the Kansas Jayhawks are in Columbia facing their third number one team of the year. They bring with them future NFL players John Hadl, Bert Coen, and Curtis McClinton. Missouri's led by Ron Taylor, Mel West, Donnie Smith, Eddie Mehrer, Norris Stevenson, and Dan LaRose. Coach Dan Devine is worried. Says the Tigers shouldn't have to deal with being number one and playing Kansas in the same week. Kansas fumbles three times in the first quarter, but the Tigers can't turn the fumbles into points. It's scoreless at the half, but Kansas scores ten in third quarter [and] thirteen more in the fourth. Missouri gets a single touchdown. Missouri will finish the year undefeated, though, with an Orange Bowl win over Navy because Kansas forfeits the game for using an ineligible player. But on this November 19th, 1960, Missouri will have lost a game it later won, a conference title it later reclaimed, but a national championship it could not get back. I'm Bob Priddy for the Center for Missouri Studies.

SEAN ROST: Now, one organization that you focused on not only in this book but also in a recent article in the *Missouri Historical Review* was the Council of Defense. How did this organization play a role in supporting the war effort on the home front?

PETRA DEWITT: The Missouri Council of Defense was created through the National Council of Defense. We have a National Council of Defense, and in order to carry out all the mobilization of resources, the drafting of the men, and so on, the National Council of Defense decides to establish councils of defense in each one of the states. That includes the Missouri Council of Defense. We are unique in Missouri because at that time the Missouri legislature only met every other year. So, during World War I, the Missouri legislature was actually not in session. They had just a couple, three days, after the declaration of war, they actually adjourned. So, we were without an Assembly, and the governor therefore decided that the Missouri Council of Defense would be in charge of the implementation of all the mobilization efforts in the state. He didn't see any need for a special session for the legislature, like other states would be doing. So, we don't have a legislature that is telling Missourians what to do during the war. Instead, you have this Missouri Council of Defense, and they really believe in decentralized governing. They're not really governing. They're passing on information. They're passing on quotas to the Missourians. They're encouraging Missourians to abide by rules, guidelines, and so on. In order to decentralize their function, they set up county councils of defense throughout all of the counties in Missouri. And in some cases, even established township councils of defense. They're placing local people in charge of enforcing or encouraging people to meet quotas. Be it quotas for buying liberty bonds. Be it quotas for resources conservation. Be it increasing yields and reducing coal consumption because coal is needed to move the trains as well as the ships that are transporting the soldiers and material over to the war front. So, it is this Missouri Council of Defense that gets guidelines from the national government and then passes these guidelines on to these county councils of defense. And again, it's that local pressure that then gets people in to abiding by these guidelines. It's not that somebody from the Missouri Council of Defense comes

knocking on your door. It's your neighbor who comes knocking on your door. But, they're in charge. The Missouri Council of Defense, in essence, is in charge. But, they also have not much power. We can see that happening when it comes to a movement that begins to develop in 1918 to end the use of German in the state. You have several cities and counties that are trying to pass ordinances to stop the speaking of German on the streets or the use of German on the telephone. They make the argument, "We, as Americans, we don't understand you. You might be talking about the weather, but for all we know, you could also be talking about how to overthrow the government and make it German." So, the Missouri Council of Defense, all they could do is suggest to local leaders that German speakers control the behavior of other German speakers. They could not pass an ordinance [or] a law at the state level because they did not have the authority to do so. So, while they might encourage local peer pressure that is all they could do. They really did not have much power. It's a wonder they succeeded in people maintaining certain quorum of loyalty, a certain quorum of abiding by the rules that the national government is sending down.

SEAN ROST: We talked about peer pressure and examples of harassment, but how was loyalty—an idea like loyalty—used as a mechanism to draw in support, not just simply from German Missourians, but people from various backgrounds in the state?

PETRA DEWITT: Right. There are in essence—there is a national definition of loyalty, and then there is a local definition of loyalty. The national definition of loyalty is: you buy your liberty bonds. Children buy war saving stamps, which is similar to the bonds but just twenty-five cents a piece. You abide by the Food Administration guidelines for conservation. That men sign for the draft. When they are drafted, they go before the examination board. They only request exemptions as they are guaranteed by law. If you do all these things at the national level, you are defined as loyal. Of course, when you bring it closer to the local level, then there are additional nuances to this loyalty. In some communities, if you are German-American, it behooves you to stop speaking German in public. Or, a local minister might be pressured in to adopting or adding English sermons. That is your expression of loyalty. You are showing that you are pro-American and not pro-German. In other cases, workers don't go on strike—work. Don't interfere with the production process, such as in Saint Louis, for example. So, in Gasconade County, what I found extremely interesting was that one lady, the sister of the mayor of Hermann, Rose Rippstein, she, in essence, becomes the eyes and ears for the Missouri Council of Defense. She opposes the Germans and their speaking German. She defines their loyalty as helping the war effort by being volunteers in the Red Cross, for example. For young girls, joining the sammy clubs, which are the youth organization within the Red Cross. She looks upon the political behavior of local people as being disloyal. So, it's in essence a German-American who defines the loyalty and disloyalty of other German-Americans within her own community. In another community, individuals who believe the only way we can really express our loyalty is if we change the name of the town. What do they change it to? They change to the name of our general, Pershing. Other people do the same thing. They change the names of their businesses. In Kansas City, for example, the German Hospital becomes the Research Hospital. In Saint Louis, a German Savings Bank becomes the American Savings Bank. Individuals changed their names to more English sounding names to appear more loyal to the United States and so not to attract attention or

possible suspicion that they might be disloyal at this time period. So, loyalty has different meanings to different people in different areas.

SEAN ROST: Now, you mentioned examples of people changing their names or changing institutions' names, of newspapers shutting down at various points, and you mentioned earlier that you had thought there was a different argument to be made about the impact of the war on German culture. So, how was Missouri's German heritage and German culture impacted by the war going forward in time in the 20th Century?

PETRA DEWITT: Well, that really depended on where you lived. Whether you lived in a tightly-knit German community based on common ethnic background, based on common religious background, and so on. In communities like Saint Louis, that was very complex, many of the churches transitioned over to total English language. Giving up the German sermons and the instructions for congregants. Whereas some maintained, but introduced more English services. So, you see a mixed bag here. Some associations—be it social clubs or what have you or fraternities—transitioned to the English language with the keeping of their minutes. But some like the Liederkrantz, which is the singing society, still maintained their Germanness. Sang German songs. Kept the minutes in German, as well. And transitioned in the 1920s over to the English language. So, it's not one way or the other. You have a mixed bag here in places like Saint Louis. In Gasconade County, or even in Franklin County, there's evidence that even though during the war associations kept their minutes in English, as soon as the war is over, they are going right back to German. And again, transition to the English language at a later time. Some churches, yes, will introduce English services, but will maintain their German services, especially when you live in Lutheran communities because Lutheran ministers thought that the only way you really get the faith, the sermon, the message of the sermon, is if you heard it in the German language. In other communities, you have—especially when they're not tightly-knit—there is pressure to quickly transition over to the American way of life. To become more overtly American, rather than maintaining your German traditions, at least openly. In other words, in several communities, your Germanness goes in to the home, rather than being, I'll say, out in the public. But really it is generational pressure that I think was more powerful than the war itself. The second or third generation of the children born on American soil they are already hearing English in the schools, and they are interacting with their English neighbors. They are adopting the English way of life. And really, during the 1920s, the so-called "Roaring 1920s," they are much more interacting with outsiders of the German community. You have the automobile by the 1920s. You have decent infrastructure that allows the second or third generation to go away from the community and interact with Americans. So, I think that interaction in the younger generation had much more to do with Germans becoming truly one hundred percent Americans, if they really ever do become truly one hundred percent Americans. Many of the holiday practices remained. Many of the food habits remained. And, of course, Prohibition, again, in the 1920s, has a tremendous impact on changing culture. If you are getting rid of the wine, if you are getting rid of the beer, you're getting rid of the beer gardens. The so-called *geselligkeit* or sociability with your neighbors on Sunday afternoon or Saturday afternoon. When you destroy that with Prohibition, you destroy a part of the culture. So, I think a combination of generational

pressures and Prohibition had an equal impact, if not even a stronger impact, than the war itself had on eventually Americanizing the German culture.

SEAN ROST: That's very fascinating to think about. Are you currently working on any new projects that you'd like to discuss with us?

PETRA DEWITT: Oh, yes. Definitely. I'm currently working on the Home Guard that was established during World War I. As I indicated earlier, World War I is the very first war where the national government federalized the National Guard. Federal law, the 1916 Defense Act and the Missouri law, gave the governor the right to replace that National Guard with a volunteer organization for the duration of the war. Governor Frederick Gardner did that. He called for the establishment of a Home Guard, an entirely volunteer organization that would protect the Missourians during a national crisis, during a natural crisis, or, heaven forbid, should the Germans invade. So, you have these men who often are members of the drill corps of fraternal organizations, like the drill corps of the Knights of Pythias, who have uniforms, who have rifles. They come together and they form several regiments in Missouri, and on a weekly basis drill in Saint Louis at the armory, or in Kansas City at the armory, in local communities at the local athletics field at the local high school, what have you. They, in essence, become this visualization of the war on the home front. It's fascinating. What I'm doing right now is comparing muster rolls with census information. It's very tedious work, but I'm beginning to be inclined to believe that it's middle class men who are doing this. Who look upon this as an opportunity to express their patriotism as well as a little bit of masculinity. The *Saint Louis Post-Dispatch* with their famous cartoonist, [Daniel] Fitzpatrick, he actually had a cartoon in there portraying the Home Guard in a similar image as Theodore Roosevelt who has this big club in his hand and he's pursuing the spiked helmet laying in front of him representing that Prussian military helmet. So, there is a little bit of that masculinity aspect here as well. They don't really have to do much. There is a strike in Kansas City and the Home Guard is called out to bring back law and order. There's a potential strike in Saint Louis, and just the mobilization of the Home Guard kind of peters out this strike. But, it really is evidence that men, especially men not of draft age, so younger than eighteen [and] older than thirty-five, could be using to publicly demonstrate their patriotism to their neighbors.

SEAN ROST: Alright. Well, thank you very much for being on the *Our Missouri Podcast*.

PETRA DEWITT: Well, thank you for inviting me. I've enjoyed it.

SEAN ROST: Thanks for listening to this week's episode. As always, I am your host, Sean Rost. The show's producer is Brian Austin. The opening and concluding credits are narrated by Kevin Walsh. If you are interested in more of the people, places, culture, and history around our Missouri, check out the following upcoming events:

Are you interested in helping preserve Missouri's German culture and heritage? The Missouri Humanities Council's German Heritage Program, beginning with the establishment of Missouri's German Heritage Corridor, aims to explore Missouri's extensive German culture and history. The Corridor focuses on counties bordering the Missouri River in the north and south, from St.

Louis City in the east to Lafayette and Saline counties in the west, where distinctive German communities grew up and still thrive today. Currently, the Humanities Council is developing and piloting various components to engage the public, including exhibits, digital tours, site interpretation, and educational programs. For more information on upcoming programs, visit mohumanities.org, or contact Caitlin Yager at 314-781-9660.

Benton's *Perilous Visions* is an exhibit of Thomas Hart Benton artwork from World War II that showcases the artists' interpretation of the anxiety, horror, grief, and resolve that permeated American society during the war years. This exhibit will be on display in the Main Gallery of the State Historical Society of Missouri's Columbia Research Center until Spring 2019.

Are you an educator who is interested in developing a National History Day program at your school or using Missouri's primary sources in your classroom? The State Historical Society of Missouri is participating in several educator workshops throughout the state that will provide tips on exhibits, performances, programming, and finding effective resources within the Historical Society's vast collections. A National History Day workshop will be held at Gentry Middle School in Columbia on November 29th.

Did you know that Missouri native Marlin Perkins lived a truly wild life? In addition to serving as the director of Chicago's Lincoln Park Zoo and later the Saint Louis Zoo, Perkins also hosted two popular television programs—*Zoo Parade* and *Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom*. On December 6th, the Historical Society's Saint Louis Research Center will host an opening reception for a new exhibit curated by graduate assistant Miles Jenks entitled *Marlin Perkins: Wild Life*. With over 40 photographs, hand-written documents, and a few surprises pulled from the Saint Louis Research Center's Marlin Perkins Papers, this exhibition explores some of the most legendary, dangerous, funny, and touching moments of Perkins's life and highlights his contributions to wildlife conservation at the zoo, on television, and in the wild.

Finally, share your love of Missouri with items from the State Historical Society's gift shop. Whether it is an indulgence for yourself or the perfect present for that hard-to-shop-for person, the gift shop offers books, art, notecards, and other gifts that highlights your state's heritage. On December 1st, the gift shop at the Columbia Research Center will hold an open house for patrons to browse, shop, and enjoy light refreshments. Historical Society members receive a 10% discount on all purchases. Plus, by shopping at the Society gift shop you help support the mission to preserve and share Missouri history. Can't make it to the open house? Don't forget the Historical Society's online gift shop at shop.shsmo.org.

KEVIN WALSH: Thank you for listening to the *Our Missouri Podcast*. If you would like to learn more about the podcast, including past and future episodes, information about guests, and upcoming events, please visit our website at shsmo.org/our-missouri.