

War is the Health of the State: War, Empire, and Anarchy
In the Languages of American National Security

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Dedication

For Monica, in loving memory

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Dedication.....	iv
List of Figures.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I Law and (Dis)Order: Anarchism and the Popular Culture of State Power.....	39
Chapter II “‘Law and Order’ Be Our War Cry”: Languages of War, Empire, and the Anarchist Enemy.....	99
Chapter III The “Dregs of Europe”: Enemy Anarchists and Immigration Reform.....	154
Chapter IV The Teratological Anarchist Monster: Discourses of Disease, Surveillance, and Censorship of Anarchist Press.....	224
Conclusion.....	278
Bibliography.....	285

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	“The Anarchist Riot in Chicago”	54
Figure 1.2	“When His Skin is not in Danger—And When it is”	56
Figure 1.3	“Our Statue of Liberty—She Can Stand It”	65
Figure 1.4	“Where the Blame Lies”	69
Figure 1.5	“Assassination of President McKinley”	73
Figure 1.6	“Stamp it Out”	77
Figure 1.7	“Put ‘Em out and Keep ‘Em out”	80
Figure 1.8	“Still a Strong Hand at the Wheel”	84
Figure 2.1	“The American Eagle—There is no Room For you in This Nest”	107
Figure 2.2	“Time to Draw and Strike”	113
Figure 2.3	“In the Cradle of Liberty!”	119
Figure 2.4	“An Illustrated Fable: Anarchist Agitator”	121
Figure 3.1	“A Menace”	167
Figure 3.2	“The Soul of the Anarchist”	178
Figure 3.3	<i>Public Opinion</i> Cartoon	193
Figure 3.4	“About Time to Stop Acting as Sewer for the Entire World”	196
Figure 4.1	“House Cleaning”	235
Figure 4.2	“Uncle Sam’s Vengeance”	243
Figure 4.3	“Was it a Handkerchief?”	249
Figure 4.4	“Two Venomous Confederates of Whom America Must Be Rid”	253

Figure 4.5 “The American People Will Destroy Anarchy and Silence
Its Deadly Rattle—Yellow Journalism”255

Introduction

On the evening of September 6, 1901 crowds of fairgoers gathered around the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo, New York. They hoped to catch a glimpse of President William McKinley, who was at the fair to give a speech and meet members of the public, a common practice of the president who would be fondly remembered as a leader who was “ready to shake hands with the humblest of citizen of the land as the wealthiest millionaire.”¹ Fairgoers packed into the exhibit in the hopes that they could exchange handshakes with the president and experience his famous “McKinley grip.”² As the waves of attendees swelled around McKinley, a lone figure emerged, dressed in black and hand outstretched as if to shake the president’s hand. Instead of an open palm, however, his hand held a revolver covered by a handkerchief and before the Secret Service agents present realized the impending danger, this jubilant scene turned macabre as the unidentified man shot the president in the chest and abdomen. McKinley died from his wounds eight days later.

This violent scene set the stage for the creation of a popular, political, and legal culture premised upon defending the American nation from the specter of anarchy, both real and imagined. In this dissertation, I argue that the opening years of the twentieth century should be understood as a critical moment in the history of the American national security state. Beginning in 1901, government institutions enacted security legislation and policy in an effort to defend the state and the nation from the threat of enemy anarchists,

¹ Eva McDonald Valesh, “Pres. McKinley—His Personality,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, Sep. 7, 1901: p. 3.

² Quote taken from Scott Miller, *The President and the Assassin: McKinley, Terror, and Empire at the Dawn of the American Century* (New York: Random House, 2011), 4.

engaging in a political and popular cultural environment defined by discourses surrounding exclusion and surveillance. When anarchist Leon Czolgosz shot and killed President William McKinley in September 1901, popular media sources painted anarchism as a dangerous political philosophy and the anarchist as a direct threat to the nation. I analyze these popular conceptualizations of anarchists as enemies of the nation and state alongside the circulation of a security-centric political discourse and the growth of surveillance bureaucracies as a way to trace the rise of a culture of state power and national identity centered upon the languages and metaphors of national security.

Framing National Security

Historians have assumed a self-evident approach when tracing the origins of the national security state, mainly that United States national security history traditionally begins in 1947 with the creation of the National Security Act, a historiographic moment defined by the U.S.'s experiences during World War II. Historians have analyzed the ways this act centralized control of the branches of the military under the authority of the National Security Council and provided for the formation of the Central Intelligence Agency for the purposes of ensuring the security of the nation in the wake of a threat of war, tracing its legacy to the contemporary moment.³ Many historical works such as

³ The legacy of the National Security Act in the Cold War and the U.S. War on Terrorism has been an important topic of analysis for historians, and a resurgence of the topic has especially occurred in the time following the Twin Tower attacks of 9/11. It is almost impossible to cover all of these perspectives in this dissertation, but for an extensive account of this history, see Julian Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy: The Politics of National Security—From World War II to the War on Terrorism* (New York:

Michael Hogan's *A Cross of Iron*, for example, have sought out the post-World War II origins of America's national security state.⁴ For Hogan, the National Security Act's anti-communist and pro-"traditional values" beginnings defined the ways that U.S. national security would operate for the remainder of the twentieth century and arguably into the country's anti-terrorism efforts of the twenty-first century. More recent efforts to historicize the birth of the U.S. national security state, however, have increasingly set the timeframe further back into America's past. For example, diplomatic and legal historian, Michael T. Stuart, has looked for the "roots of the national security ideology in America's prewar and wartime experience, and places a much greater emphasis upon Pearl Harbor as a turning point in modern American history," pushing America's national security origins into the U.S.'s WWII experiences.⁵ Stuart may focus primarily upon American experiences following the Pearl Harbor attacks, but his work is most noteworthy as a signifier for a shift in the historiography that looks increasingly into a

Basic Books, 2009) and Andrew J. Bacevich, ed., *The Long War: A New History of U.S. National Security Policy Since World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). For an analysis that focuses primarily on the twenty-first century, see Timothy Melley, *The Covert Sphere: Secrecy, Fiction, and the National Security State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012). It should also be noted that national security does not exist purely within the borders of what has been deemed "national security states." The historical processes of national security are global and transnational. For an excellent discussion of national security regimes in the age of globalization, see Norrin M. Rispman and T. V. Paul, *Globalization and the National Security State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁴ In particular, these works focus on the Cold War. Their emphasis on the era that formed the most explicit national security legislation informs historians about a particularly intense and widespread political and legal environment that has affected American politics including the present War on Terrorism. Michel J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945-1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Also see, Charles E. Neu, "The Rise of the National Security Bureaucracy," in *The New American State: Bureaucracies and Policies since World War II*, Louis Galambos, ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 85-105, Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), Mary L. Dudziak, ed., *September 11 in History: A Watershed Moment?* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), and in particular, Elaine Tyler May, "Echoes of the Cold War: The Aftermath of September 11 at Home," in *Ibid*, 35-54.

⁵ Michael T. Stuart, *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law that Transformed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 2.

history that existed before the creation of the NSA and therefore prior to the commonplace use of the term ‘national security state.’⁶

American national security historiography has been limited by approaches that focus primarily on and following WWII-era security politics and law. On top of this, many of these works have left what legal historian Mark R. Schulman has described as a “somewhat ambiguous” definition of the term *national security* itself.⁷ Schulman contributes to the historiography by analyzing the ideologies and activities of small-level political organizations like the National Security League during the First World War for insights into the origins of America’s national security state, and the NSA in particular. For Schulman, the associations between ideas about race, nativism, political ideology, and especially ideas about security—even those that circulated well before the creation of the NSA—embody central components of the ways that the U.S. national security state formed and operated. Schulman, too, leaves the reader with a flexible understanding of

⁶ “Security Studies”

⁷ Schulman, “The Progressive Era Origins of the National Security Act,” 290. Schulman states that the term national security is “somewhat ambiguous” but attempts to provide a useable definition for historical usage. Schulman does highlight that the words *national security* had been employed in American history since the 1790s, even though it gained significant traction during the Cold War. He emphasizes, however, that the idea of national security popularized during the First World War in ways that had not been the case in prior renditions of the term. On page 290, Schulman provides his own clarification for the term national security, entailing four essential qualities: an ideology, a set of policies, the institutionalization of an idea, and an outcome. Each of these, Schulman argues, originated in the ideologies and political activities of the National Security League during the WWI years. Textbooks intended for international relations scholars and political scientists likewise attempt to provide a usable definition for national security, stating that the term “refers to safeguarding of a people, territory, and a way of life. It includes protection from a physical assault and in that sense is similar to *defense*. However, national security also implies protection, through a variety of means, of a broad array of interests and values,” but these, too, often conclude that “The term *national security* is an elastic one; its meanings and implications have expanded, contracted, and shifted over time.” See Amos A. Jordan, William J. Taylor, et al., “National Security Policy: What it is and How Americans have Approached It,” *American National Security*, 6th Edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011). Italics are original to the text.

what national security means, but the importance of his work lies in his emphasis on the political and cultural environment surrounding WWI.

Historians and political theorists have similarly used America's WWI wartime experiences as a point of connectivity, drawing comparisons between WWI-era security politics, culture, and law to that which followed the Second World War. The field of "Security Studies," in particular, has shown the ways that concerns over national security developed out of the WWI political environment, especially in an international relations context.⁸ Historians have also described the ways that America's experiences during both WWI and WWII resulted in the bolstering of U.S. state power, administrative growth, and a more interwoven relationship between government and population.⁹ Regin Schmidt and Tim Weiner, for example, have highlighted the ways that the Federal Bureau of Investigation activities and the ideologies that drove them during their formative years in the 1910s through the 1930s operated within the same framework and rationale both

⁸ For more on "Security Studies," see Shiping Tang, "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," Vol. 18, No. 3 (October 2009): 587-623. For works that emphasize WWI, see Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), and Jack Snyder, "Perceptions of the Security Dilemma in 1914," in *Psychology and Deterrence*, Second Printing, eds., Robert Jervis, Richard Ned Lebow, and Janice Stein (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985, 1991), 153-179.

⁹ Christopher Capozzola, in particular, has argued that these qualities that emerged during WWI led to the formation of "a new state." Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*, 20. For more on WWII, see Robert S. Westbrook, *Why We Fought: Forging American Obligations in World War II* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2004) and Alan Brinkley, "The Two World Wars and American Liberalism," in *Liberalism and Its Discontents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 79-93. For more on WWI and the modern liberal state, see Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, Marc Allen Eisner, *From Warfare State to Welfare State: World War I, Compensatory State Building, and the Limits of the Modern Order* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for Modern Order*, Roberta S. Feuerlicht, *America's Reign of Terror: World War I, the Red Scare, and the Palmer Raids* (New York: Random House, 1971), and in particular, Christopher M. Finan, *Palmer Raids to the Patriot Act: A History of the Fight for Free Speech in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007).

during and after WWII.¹⁰ Likewise, Shulman's emphasis on the National Security League's nativist and anti-radical sentiment provides insights into an American culture obsessed with ideas of domestic national security, values that would extend into the federal government's activities up to and following the passage of the National Security Act.¹¹

These historical narratives highlight the origins of modern national security concerns and state formation by tracing the rise of anxieties surrounding the safety of the nation and state, renegotiated ideas about civic obligation and participation, and the growth of security-centric bureaucracies and administrators of domestic policing, finding a formative moment in the wartime eras of WWII and WWI. But little attention has been given to the political culture surrounding American national security concerns, especially in its early years. My study finds the cultural roots of national security ideology and embryonic state building in the opening years of the twentieth century, before the outbreak of WWI.¹² Beginning in 1901, when an anarchist shot and killed the president, a mass political culture emerged out of the popular media responses to the assassination, a

¹⁰ Schmidt, *Red Scare* and Weiner, *Enemies*..

¹¹ Shulman, "The Progressive Era Origins of the National Security Act."

¹² For more on the power of ideology in turn of the twentieth century America, see Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 7. Like Rosenberg, I use the term ideology to reference "the system of beliefs, values, fears, prejudices, reflexes, and commitments—in sum, the social consciousness." Ideology is also useful when understood as "a political weapon, manipulated consciously in ongoing struggles for legitimacy and power, as an instrument for creating and controlling organizations." Rosenberg credits historians Eric Foner and Robert D. Cuff respectively for these quotes. It is also important to note that ideology has not always operated in terms of conscious decision making. According to historian Michael H. Hunt, "Once generated, ideas often acquire—in the loose, oft-used, and suggestive phrase—'a life of their own'...ideologies may become institutionalized and hold sway even after they have ceased to serve any obvious functional role or advance any clearly identifiable class or group interest." In other words, people and societies both create ideas and in turn become subject to them. Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, 2009), 13.

popular and political culture that would be created out of a language of national security and provide an impetus for governmental change.

Sources and Methods

This dissertation centers on the role of language in the cultures and politics that define the modern United States as a national security state. I argue that cultural products such as newspapers, journals, and magazines contributed to the rise of an American culture concerned with national security, setting the conceptual foundation for the development of the state apparatuses centered on the tenets of policing and surveying political belief.¹³ Little to no historical research has centered on the language of national security in the opening years of the twentieth century, which I argue has left historical narratives of the U.S. national security state bereft of its ideological origin. By analyzing the production of national security discourse in popular media sources, I engage in what historian Joseph H. Campos has called “The textual field of U.S. national security discourse.”¹⁴ When Leon Czolgosz shot and killed William McKinley in September 1901, the American nation turned to popular media outlets in order to understand what had happened, constructing a language of national security. And in doing so, they embarked on a nation-building process centered upon the figure of the anarchist as an

¹³ The policing and surveying of political ideology has been seen as a central tenet of the U.S. national security state. See, in particular, Natalie S. Robins, *Alien Ink: The FBI's War on Freedom of Expression* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1992) and Ivan Greenberg, *The Dangers of Dissent: The FBI and Civil Liberties since 1965* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010).

¹⁴ Joseph H. Campos, *The State and Terrorism: National Security and the Mobilization of Power* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 2. Similar to many of the previously mentioned works on U.S. national security history, Campos focuses primarily on the Cold War era for his analysis.

enemy force that threatened the safety and security of entire the nation-state, informing how U.S. policymakers approached the early development of the national security state.

Popular media sources such as newspapers and film have been central to the ways that the United States has approached national security concerns.¹⁵ Early twentieth-century American popular culture and discourse proliferated in newspapers, popular and professional journals and magazines, churches, political and community organizations, etc. These cultural products helped to create an epistemology of power that centered upon concerns of security and national strength. Similarly, the newspaper industry in the early twentieth century, in particular, operated as one of the few producers of mass popular culture consumption in an era where other modes of cultural production had limited reach, giving the industry a powerful community-building quality not unlike film in the postwar years.¹⁶

By the time Czolgosz violently shot into the collective concerns of the American public, mass media had become a central component of U.S. political and cultural life. According to the 1900 U.S. census, 89.1 percent of voting age men were literate at a time

¹⁵ For the WWI era, see Howard Abramowitz, "Chapter Four: The Press and the Red Scare, 1919-1921," in *Popular Culture and Political Change in America*, Ronald Edsforth and Larry Bennett, eds. (Albany: University of New York Press, 1991), 61-80. There has also been some excellent research conducted on the cultural and political culture of national security in the years that followed WWII. See for example, Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East*, Updated Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, 2005), McAlister, "A Cultural History of the War Without End," William L. O'Neill, "The 'Good' War: National Security and American Culture," in *The Long War*, Bacevich, ed., 517-550, and Robert J. Corber, *In the Name of National Security: Hitchcock, Homophobia, and the Political Construction of Gender in Postwar America*, 2nd Printing (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993, 1996).

¹⁶ For more on the power of newspapers and community-building, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

when the newspaper industry boomed across the country.¹⁷ Media historian George H. Douglas has also shown that this was an era when “a bond of intimacy grew between the people and their newspapers; people came to trust newspapers not only to tell them what was happening, but to analyze the complex world that was rapidly unfolding.”¹⁸ This was likewise true of a growing vocational journal industry, which allowed professionals in multiple fields insights into the current debates and innovations that defined their expertise. And in turn, when the nation sought out a means to understand why the president had been assassinated and how the country should best respond, they turned to popular media outlets like newspapers, magazines, and journals for answers. This resulted in the creation of a popular culture of national security that the media consuming masses, including politicians, engaged in and helped to produce, in the hopes of effectively ensuring that a future attack could not happen again.

It is also important to note that turn of the century U.S. media culture did not result in passive consumption. Much like modern internet blogging and social media intercommunication trends, newspapers, magazines, and journals (both popular and professional) provided early twentieth-century Americans a space for debate and social

¹⁷ U.S. Census Office, *Census Reports Volume I: Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900, Population Part I* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), cciii.

¹⁸ George H. Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 192. This is not to say that the American newspaper industry played an insignificant role in U.S. history prior to or following the turn of the twentieth century. For an analysis of the role of newspapers in Anglo-American visions of community and nation-building, see Charles E. Clark, *Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) and Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. Like Douglas, media historian Richard L. Kaplan views the turn of the twentieth century as an important period of transition in American media history. Richard L. Kaplan, *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). It is clear that by the turn of the twentieth century, newspapers fast became a medium that not only allowed news to travel throughout the nation, but functioned as a national unifier and purveyor normative truth-telling.

commentary; popular media outlets were highly participatory.¹⁹ Newspaper and journal articles were often used by political clubs or religious organizations in order to advertise upcoming meetings, provide insights into current events, and/or share sermons (even in the ‘secular’ press) that those across the country could not be present for. On top of this, editorials—which were especially popular in local newspapers—provided concerned consumers the opportunity to share their own perspectives on current events and engage in popular media discourse in a lateral, rather than top-down way. Letters to the editor and responses to printed articles also provided the consuming masses an opportunity to create sustained dialogue with one or more perspectives regarding the topic at hand. All of these consumer habits contributed to an incredibly participatory mass media industry at the turn of the twentieth century, allowing for a space in which popular debates not only connected diverse segments of the population, but allowed for a social network of contributions towards mass culture writ large.

In making this argument, I have drawn from the fields of labor and working-class history in order to understand the power of language and ideology in the formation of American national security discourse. The work of Stephen P. Rice, in particular, has helped to inform my own understanding of the ways that language gives rise to state, social, and cultural power. In his book, *Minding the Machine*, Rice argues that:

¹⁹ Producers of popular discourses such as blogs, film, and the media industry have been seen as an inextricable piece of the modern national security state. See, for example, Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *9/11 in American Culture* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003). For an analysis on the ways the relationship between culture and governmental power, in general, see Tony Bennett, “Culture and Governmentality,” in *Foucault, Cultural Studies, and Governmentality*, Jack Z. Bratich, Jeremy Packer, and Cameron McCarthy, eds. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 47-66.

Language, in other words, stands prior to class, giving structure and meaning to those experiences that come to constitute the experience of class...class has both a material and a discursive element, and that one is always giving shape to the other. Class cannot be meaningful outside of the concepts used to define it, but those concepts gain currency and power they have in part because they are understood to delimit something that is 'real.'²⁰

Like class, language “stands prior” to state power. America’s modern national security state formed within a complex nexus of ideological ordering, bureaucratic formation, and the governmental enforcement of power. But in order to embark upon the task of ensuring national security, policymakers had to draw from a rhetorical field that provided structure and meaning to the threats that they believed imperiled the nation. Policymakers were not isolated from the national political climate; as I show in this dissertation, they participated in a national environment swept up in a popular culture of national security, which in turn informed the ways that state actors responded to McKinley’s assassination by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz.²¹

This dissertation focuses primarily on the cultural history of national security, centering on the ways that a language of (in)security and national safety produced in

²⁰ Stephen P. Rice, *Minding the Machine: Languages of Class in Early Industrial America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 9-10. Rice’s work, as does this dissertation, draws influence from Gareth Stedman Jones and E. P. Thompson’s arguments regarding the centrality of language in the formation of working-class social identity and political experience. See, Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983) and E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964).

²¹ These anxieties regarding the anarchic undoing of the American nation-state played out in both the popular and political arenas. Richard Hofstadter has described this political relationship as one defined by a “paranoid style.” Hofstadter has argued that “People respond, in short, to the great drama of the public scene...Even those who exercise power are not immune to the content of the drama. In any case, they are forced to deal, as an element in their calculations, with the emotional life of the masses, which is not something they can altogether create or manipulate, but something that they must cope with.” Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, First Vintage Books Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1964, 2008), xxxiv.

popular discourse set a conceptual backdrop for the ways that policymakers reacted to McKinley's assassination.²² Rice goes on to state that

In making this approach, I have said relatively little about the lives or politics of the editors, reformers, and others who entered the popular discourse on mechanization. Nor have I examined in depth the individuals who read newspapers and periodicals, gathered to listen to lectures, attended mechanics' fairs, or enlisted in health reform movements. Instead, I have focused on the languages people used to describe their experiences, articulate their opinions, express their hopes, voice their fears, and in so doing, subtly but surely constitute a class society.²³

Similarly, this dissertation does not focus on the social or economic history of the media industry, state power, or anarchism. Instead, I analyze the ways that popular discourses on anarchism and national safety contributed to new notions about the kinds of threats that many believed imperiled the security of the nation and the possible solutions that would be required in order to prevent the probability of a future attack. And all of this contributed to a cultural and political environment concerned with national security.

Discourses of War, Health, and National Security

During the First World War, American progressive writer and intellectual Randolph Bourne worked on an essay of political philosophy that theorized a reciprocal

²² Calls have been made for more expansive analyses of state power. See, for example, William J. Novak, "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No. 3 (June 2008): 752-772. Cultural historians of the Cold War have been especially insightful on the ways that popular cultures of class, gender, and race informed the ways that policymakers approached foreign relations and concerns over national security. See, for example, Martin J. Medhurst and H. W. Brands, eds., *Critical Reflections on the Cold War: Linking Rhetoric and History* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), Frank Costigliola, *The Kennan Diaries* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), and Robert Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

²³ Rice, *Minding the Machine*, 10.

relationship between war mobilization and the rise of state authority. In his essay, entitled “The State,” Bourne argued that a country at war engages in state-building processes that rationalize the escalation of its own sovereignty, and ultimately does so without the consent and to the detriment of its citizenry.²⁴ “The State,” according to Bourne, “is intimately connected to war.”²⁵

In this way, Bourne dichotomized times of war and times of peace, stating that “In times of peace, we usually ignore the State in favor of partisan political controversies, or personal struggles for office, or the pursuit of party policies,” leaving governing institutions to focus on domestic concerns rather than international warfare.²⁶ He believed that during times of peace, politically active individuals and organizations engage in the politics of representative power and which political party exerts the most influence so much that the state ceases to exist as a central subject of concern in popular thought. But it was ultimately “With the shock of war...[that] the State comes into its own again,” growing in authority and scope.²⁷ During times of war, for Bourne, the possibility of enemy threats, questionable political loyalty, and rapid military mobilization reorients the state into the center of popular, legal, and political consciousness, strengthening its reach and authority; these concerns also legitimize unprecedented growth and prerogative over

²⁴ Randolph Silliman Bourne, “The State,” in *The Radical Will: Selected Writings, 1911-1918*, Olaf Hansen, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 355-395. Bourne died while composing the essay, leaving it incomplete and without pagination. It was originally published in incorrect sequences in James Oppenheim, ed., *Untimely Papers* (New York: B. W. Heubsch, 1919). The essay itself was rather ahead of its time. Bourne argues for renewed understanding of state, individual, and social power in incredibly prescient ways, delineating political power between competing, yet interrelated, notions of national, governmental, and state authority. Ultimately, for Bourne, war and peace act as mediators that push these notions of political power into flux.

²⁵ Ibid, 362.

²⁶ Ibid, 355.

²⁷ Ibid, 356.

the populations that live within the governmental borders of the nation as the security of the state elevates in importance over that of civil liberties and individual rights in powerful and often violent ways. “War,” Bourne states, “is essentially the health of the State.”²⁸

Although Bourne worked on this theory on state power over a decade after McKinley’s assassination, the phrase “war is the health of the state” acts as an appropriate metaphor and analytical point of reference in understanding American concerns regarding national security.²⁹ By considering the constant presence of a threat as a central component of U.S. national security, this dissertation contributes to an oft-discussed, yet under-analyzed aspect of modern American history: war. Whether it has been WWI, WWII, the Cold War, or the War on Terror, the language and rhetoric of wartime appears as a fundamental prerequisite in the history of the national security state.³⁰ This, I argue, is what Bourne meant when he wrote that the components of the modern American state “are of military origins.”³¹ Historians of American national

²⁸ Ibid, 359.

²⁹ For an excellent biography of Bourne and a historical lens to view the context in which he lived, see Bruce Clayton, *Forgotten Prophet: The Life of Randolph Bourne* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984). Also see, Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003)

³⁰ The events that occurred on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent governmental responses to global terrorism have spurred an increased interest in national security, state power, and the War on Terrorism across numerous academic fields. There are too many to cite here, but for excellent representatives of these works, see Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, Revised Ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, 2013), David C. Wills, *The First War on Terrorism: Counter-terrorism Policy During the Reagan Administration* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), Melani McAlister, “A Cultural History of the War Without End,” *Journal of American History*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (September 2002): 439-455, and Walter Laqueur, *No End to War: Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Continuum, 2003).

³¹ Bourne continues to state that “in an unmilitary era such as we have passed through since the Civil War [until the beginning of WWI], even military trappings have been scarcely seen. In such an era the sense of the State almost fades out of the consciousness of men.” Bourne, “The State,” in *The Radical Will*, 355-356.

security have coined this phenomenon as “the war without end,” an era, beginning with WWII, in which the U.S. has engaged in perpetual warfare.³² But war entails more than the military manifestation of state aggression and defense. It acts as a powerful ideological tool as well; the concept itself entails a set of beliefs and values associated with a wartime state, even if that state’s military arm may not necessarily be engaged in the battlefield. After Czolgosz attacked the president, American popular discourse employed a language of warfare in order to bring about a governmental response to the existence of anarchism within the country. The U.S. military would not play a primary role in what the American popular press began calling “The war against anarchy,” the nation-state engaged in a style of martial identity centered upon the languages and metaphors of combat: the domestic war of national security.³³

Throughout modern history, war has played an incredibly powerful role in shaping national identity and political policy. In the United States, in particular, war and violence have acted as foundational implements in the formation of the geographic unity of the country itself, from Native American land disputes to the ideals of Manifest Destiny. This long history of U.S. warfare has left an imprint on the American psyche as well.³⁴ War does more than leave behind tragedy and death, however; the presence of an

³² See, in particular, Bacevich, ed., *The Long War*, Marilyn B. Young, “Ground Zero: Enduring War,” in *September 11 in History*, Dudziak, ed., 10-34, and McAlister, “A Cultural History of the War Without End.” For an analysis of a perpetual “state of exception,” see Giorgio Agamben, *Means Without End: Notes on Politics*, Regents of the University of Minnesota Edition, Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino, trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, 2000).

³³ “War Against Anarchy,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1901, 12.

³⁴ This has been reproduced through pioneer fantasies of martial values and violent national growth. For a superb analysis of the ways that violence and warfare have been fundamental to the American sense of self, see Richard Slotkins, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the*

enemy threat can unify people.³⁵ But wartime has typically been described as extraordinary periods when states enact measures of security, clandestine operations, and domestic and international surveillance. Legal scholar Geoffrey R. Stone, for example, has written that “War excites great fear, patriotism and anxiety” regarding “threats that do not exist during peacetime,” ultimately creating an environment of insecurity in which the government enacts policies and laws that dramatically increases state power and authority over its constituents.³⁶ According to Stone, the United States government has rescinded individual liberties like the freedom of speech and dissent, but does so “*only* in wartime,” due to the presence of enemy threats that do not exist during times of peace—WWI being an important case study in these historical processes.³⁷ For authors like Stone, legal and political power is fundamentally at stake during times of emergency, enemy threats, and war.

Frontier in Twentieth-Century America (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), and *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). For a more recent narrative of the roles of war and violence in American thought, see Andrew J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War*, Updated Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2013)

³⁵ For a discussion of the limiting effects of U.S. national security culture, see Andrea Friedman, *Citizenship in Cold War America: The National Security State and the Possibilities of Dissent* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014). Friedman shows how America’s national security culture and patriotic idealism has limited the possibilities for dissent. It should be noted that not all Americans have viewed national unity as a negative result of wartime culture and action. It is not my intent to claim that wartime national unity is inherently negative, but that war itself should be seen as a viable category of historical analysis, one that entails interwoven relationships of race, gender, class, etc. For a more detailed discussion of wartime as a category of historical analysis, see Mary L. Dudziak, *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequence*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and “Law, War, and the History of Time,” *California Law Review*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (October 2010): 1669-1701.

³⁶ Geoffrey R. Stone, *War and Liberty, An American Dilemma: 1790 to the Present* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), xiii, xvii. Former Chief Justice of the United States, William H. Rehnquist has made similar claims about American legal history in *All the Laws but One: Civil Liberties in Wartime* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

³⁷ Geoffrey R. Stone, *Perilous Times, Free Speech in Wartime: From the Seditious Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), 5. Italics are original to the text.

Political and legal theorists have increasingly questioned this historical privileging of wartime narratives in their analyses of state and political power. Giorgio Agamben, for example, has argued that modern state apparatuses operate within a permanent status of emergency that “tends increasingly to appear as the dominant paradigm of government in contemporary politics.”³⁸ In the process, the legal differentiation between wartime and peacetime powers collapse into a normative regime of power.³⁹ Mary L. Dudziak similarly historicizes these wartime/peacetime binaries, showing that the concept of war itself defines how narratives about the past are told and understood. According to Dudziak, war has split our historical understandings of the past into segments contingent upon major military conflicts: ante- and post-bellum American, pre- and post-WWI, etc. This, according to Dudziak, has led to “a conundrum: we imagine wars to be bound in time, but the American experience is to the contrary.”⁴⁰ Furthermore, according to Dudziak, scholars often reproduce the conception that the “meaning of ‘wartime’ is the idea that battle suspends time itself. War also breaks time into pieces, slicing human experience into eras, creating a before and after.”⁴¹ According to these works, the idea of exceptional wartime states functions as a tool of state power;

³⁸ Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2. Agamben draws heavily on Carl Schmitt’s understanding of the “state of exception,” albeit with a much more cynical eye towards the historical significance of the legal ramification of ‘exceptional’ state power. For Schmitt’s analyses of state sovereignty and power, in particular during *times of exception*, see *The Concept of the Political*, trans. by George D. Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) and *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. by George D. Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

³⁹ Historians have similarly argued that the languages and metaphors of national security have become normative paradigms in the ways that the United States has approached security concerns since the Cold War. See, in particular, May, “Echoes of the Cold War.”

⁴⁰ Dudziak, *War Time*, 5.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 3.

wartime thus does not embody ahistorical truths about states at war, but instead functions as a concept that can be employed and manipulated in order to exert influence and power.

Historians of American national security have successfully analyzed the ways that the languages and metaphors of war have defined notions of national defense and safety, particularly during the Cold War and the War on Terrorism. But WWI and WWII have still been privileged as formative moments in these historical narratives. My dissertation focuses on the ways that the metaphors, ideals, and tropes of warfare were employed in the popular responses to anarchism following McKinley's assassination in 1901. These discourses helped to create a narrative of national (in)security for Americans to read, participate in, and consume: that anarchist Czolgosz did more than attack the figurehead of the government, that he, along with anarchism writ large, attacked the whole of the nation-state, embodying a perpetual and long-lasting threat to the nation's security. These discourses of war and defense made the case for a state authority built upon a bureaucratic police gaze, administrative expansion, and federal authority—the drive of which would be sustained by the engines of perpetual cultural warfare.⁴² But this was to be a war that did not require congressional support or approval; this was a war against an apparition, a phantasmagoric threat, or what journalist Susan Faludi has called a “terror

⁴² Violence and warfare have posed problems for political theorists of the modern liberal state. From Hobbes to Foucault, political violence has been part of the liberal state political discussion seemingly from the beginning. Unlike Hobbes' insistence on sovereign power and authority as a response to a lurking, inherently violent, and anarchic state of nature, Progressive-Era America forged political authority not of a social contract, but one in which citizen and politician engaged in intertwined efforts to exert power and control over undesirables, others, and enemies. As Foucault has suggested the modern political body engages in an internal and fragmented warfare, one in which the biopolitical rule of the state manifests within a matrix of cultural and political fronts. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Charleston: Forgotten Books, Originally published in 1651, 2008). Michel Foucault, *"Society Must be Defended": Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976*, trans. by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

dream.”⁴³ The state would not require a real war to justify its growth and expansion. Instead, a popular culture of national security emerged in response to McKinley’s death at the hand of an anarchist; and from 1901 onward, the American nation-state acted as if it was at war with anarchy.

This is not the first project to analyze wartime metaphors as formative engines of national and state power. Michael S. Sherry, for example, has written an excellent monograph on the ways that metaphors of war have become saturated in American social, cultural, and political life since the 1930s.⁴⁴ Sherry argues that beginning in Depression Era America “war defined much of the American imagination, as the fear of war penetrated it and the achievements of war anchored it, to the point that Americans routinely declared ‘war’ on all sorts of things that did not involve physical combat at all.”⁴⁵ This dissertation, takes a note from Sherry’s work, showing too that “the process by which war and national security became consuming anxieties and provided the memories, models, and metaphors that shaped broad areas of national life,” but does so with a different beginning point: 1901.⁴⁶ A warlike fever swept through American popular and political culture well before the Great Depression, and even before WWI, altering the

⁴³ Susan Faludi, *The Terror Dream: Fear and Fantasy in Post-9/11 America* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007).

⁴⁴ Michael S. Sherry, *In the Shadow of War: The United States since the 1930s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Also, see Benjamin L. Alpers, *Dictators and Democracy in American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s-1950s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

⁴⁵ Sherry, *In the Shadow of War*, x.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, xi.

ways that Americans viewed the responsibility of state bureaucracies to manage domestic threats to its population and its leadership.⁴⁷

Although the World Wars have been privileged as a formative moment in historical analyses of the national security state, by the time American popular discourses mobilized a language of national security in the wake of McKinley's assassination, the United States was very much at war on both domestic and global fronts. By 1901, America's overseas imperial endeavors spilled over from warring with Spain to maintaining sovereign imperial control in the Philippine islands.⁴⁸ The Spanish-American War and the Philippine-American War would have a profound effect on the ways that the nation reacted to domestic anarchism. And when the U.S. war with Filipino nationalists officially ended in 1902, American policymakers attempted to rearticulate American political identity as one with a republican heredity, not an imperial past; but the nation's domestic war with anarchy would highlight the contradictions that defined the American empire and republic. Politicians and legislators, in particular, explicitly wished to

⁴⁷ Wartime culture has become an increasingly analyzed topic in American history. Historian James T. Sparrow, for example, has argued that the Second World War initiated a "warfare state" that was "rooted in both society and government." James T. Sparrow, *Warfare State: World War II Americans and the Age of Big Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7.

⁴⁸ U.S. imperial history did not begin in the late nineteenth century, nor was U.S. Empire in the Philippines the first overseas imperial effort. Ideals of exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny justified the American nation's continental and overseas expansion well before the onset of the Spanish American War. See, for example, Thomas S. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). For an analysis of the gendered history of U.S. expansionism and empire, see Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For the ways that race and law played into this imperial history, particularly through the politics of land ownership, see David Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Land Ownership in Oklahoma, 1823-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). For America's overseas expansion into Hawai'i, see Sally Engel Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Many of these ideologies and policies informed America's overseas imperial efforts in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines as well. For the ways that late-nineteenth century overseas empire in the Philippines emerged from these traditions of frontier and continental expansion, see David J. Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).

disassociate domestic responses to McKinley's assassination from the imperial history that defined the late nineteenth century. But the languages of empire would prove much more difficult to disentangle from domestic responses to anarchism than many within the country had hoped.

America's experiences with its overseas empire destabilized the nation. In the words of historian Amy Kaplan, U.S. imperial history "reveal[s] an anxiety about the anarchic potential of imperial distension...If the fantasy of American imperialism aspires to a borderless world where it finds its own reflection everywhere, then the fruition of this dream shatters the coherence of national identity."⁴⁹ American empire butted up against and conflicted with traditional notions of U.S. exceptional identity and republican visions of constitutional freedom. Kaplan argues that these contradictions between domestic visions of American identity and imperial interactions with outsiders, forced the American nation to remake national identity and culture. Specifically, the anarchic qualities associated with the fringes of empire, destabilized America's sense of identity and rearticulated domestic visions of imperial order. This, for Kaplan, was the "anarchy of empire."

I argue that these imperial anxieties manifested in the ways that the press discussed the figure of the anarchist as a social being and agent of violent change. Czolgosz' attack on the president made America's fears manifest, according to the anti-

⁴⁹ Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 16. Similarly, Mary A. Renda has argued that "empire troubles the nation. Specifically, when the circumference of national control encompasses imperial holdings, and when that fact is acknowledged, questions about national identity and citizenship are likely to occur." Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 8.

anarchist rhetoric circulating in the popular press. All of the anxieties that haunted the country's vision of foreign chaos spilled into the domestic sphere of the nation, as anarchists represented everything wrong with the outside world and with empire itself. But the values associated with imperial visions of national order served to define the ways that Americans understood the problem of anarchy. After 1901, many Americans would turn to the metaphors and values of America's empire in order to provide for the security of the country, positioning the figure of the anarchist as the ultimate and eternal symbol of the nation-state's undoing.

In the process, anarchism became a potent symbol and point of reference for a nation beset by anxieties concerning national belonging, political obligation, and the presence of outsiders. The use of the word *anarchy*, or *anarchia* and *anarchos*, meaning "without rulers," originated in Greek literature and social thought.⁵⁰ Application of the term and concept can also be found throughout the works of social contract and liberal political theorists dating back to the seventeenth century. As a foundational seventeenth-century political philosopher on liberal governance and social contract theory, Thomas Hobbes characterized the absence of government and law as an anarchic "state of nature" where absolute liberty led to perpetual violence and warfare.⁵¹ Hobbes' writings on the

⁵⁰ For more on the long history of the term anarchy, see Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (Oakland: PM Press, 2010). According to anthropologist Harold Barclay, human societies lived thousands of years without government even before the Greeks used the term as a distinct sociopolitical perspective. See Harold Barclay, *People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchism* (London: Kahn and Averill and Cienfuegos Press, 1982).

⁵¹ For Hobbes, the chaotic nature of human societies were in constant struggle, both internally and on the fringes, with sovereign order, constantly shaping the need for ordered governmentality, or at least a governmental authority premised upon a social contract between the individual and the sovereign; Hobbes states that "the condition of mere nature, that is to say, absolute liberty such as is theirs that neither are sovereigns nor subjects, is anarchy." See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 241.

“state of nature” influenced generations of philosophical works on government and state sovereignty, especially in modern liberal political philosophy. John Locke can be counted among the many Enlightenment thinkers influenced by Hobbes, taking his more abstract understandings of the “state of nature” and arguing that it was an anarchic reality found in the absence of government that human societies needed to avoid by erecting governmental and legal institutions.⁵² This view of anarchic chaos and violence versus ordered states continued to inform the ways that liberal societies and institutions like the United States have viewed state governance and the lack thereof up until the contemporary moment.⁵³

This paradigm of anarchic chaos versus state order would have a profound effect on the ways that Americans interpreted the meaning of anarchism following McKinley’s assassination. Anarchy operated as a symbol of stateless chaos and violence in early twentieth-century U.S. political discourse, a paradigm that would be employed in popular and political discourses that provided justifications for imperial intervention in the Pacific.⁵⁴ Many believed that McKinley’s assassination evidenced anarchy’s transgression of the boundaries of empire at the same time. According to this paradigm of

⁵² John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Originally published in 1689, 1988). Jean-Jacques Rousseau likewise wrote that “When the State is dissolved, the abuse of government, whatever it is bears the common name of *anarchy*,” counter-positioning anarchic freedom with an ordered liberal state. Rousseau believed that the enlightened path towards social order originated in liberal institutions such as the democratic state and the court of law. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. G. D. H. Cole (New York: Cosimo, Inc., Originally published in 1762, 2008), 88.

⁵³ For more information on the “order” of state governmentality in modern state and social structures, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*, Reprint Edition (New York: Vintage Press, 1970, 1994) and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Edition, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Press, 1975, 1995).

⁵⁴ Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*.

imperial order, the chaos associated with anarchy not only existed in the imperial fringes, but appeared to thrive within the nation. As a result, Americans turned visions and metaphors of imperial discipline inward in the hopes of purging the nation from anarchism. If excess freedom and liberty begat anarchy in the colonized, many felt McKinley's assassination evidenced the need for more restricted visions of citizenship in order to protect the nation from the further spread of domestic anarchy. The languages and metaphors of empire informed a nation-building and community-making project in which visions of patriotic obligation were to be renegotiated, as visions of freedom bowed under weight of protecting the nation-state from anarchy. The languages of liberty and license, restriction and discipline increasingly meshed in America's culture of national security.

The languages of empire, martial values, and bellicose jingoism defined America's popular responses to anarchism and would have a profound effect on national identity.⁵⁵ The popular press and local political committees became particularly vocal producers of the metaphors and iconography of empire in their responses to McKinley's assassination. Historians have shown the ways that turn of the twentieth-century

⁵⁵ Since the late nineteenth century, martial values and ideals were seen as central components of proper citizenship, especially for American men. See, T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 98. This literature is also particularly rich in its analyses of gender, masculinity, and sexuality. See, in particular, Kristen L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), É. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), and Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995), and Kevin P. Murphy, *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2008).

America's popular media outlets helped to induce, sustain, and profit off of the country's imperial exploits.⁵⁶ Despite this, very little has been written about the ways this popular imperial culture bled into national security concerns and anti-anarchism in the early years of the twentieth century.⁵⁷ At a crucial moment when the media industry rapidly expanded, publishers quickly learned that the rhetoric of empire (bellicosity, sensationalized headlines of disaster, us versus them mentality) sold papers and created a sphere of influence. Although this media style popularized with the international affairs with Spain, Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, it quickly moved to domestic politics, particularly anti-anarchist cultural politics, saturating post-1901 national security concerns with the tropes and metaphors of imperial rhetoric. Political committees and veterans unions also employed a rhetoric of empire in their calls for federal security reform. They wrote scores of letters to their congressional representatives demanding political and legislative change, pushing popular discourses on anti-anarchism and concerns over national security into the houses of Congress.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ This is most famously remembered through the media rivalry that developed between William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer and the famous "remember the Maine" campaigns. For more on this, see Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, Richard L. Kaplan, "American Journalism Goes to War, 1898-2001: A Manifesto on Media and Empire," *Media History*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2003): 209-219, and David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Charlotte: Duke University Press, 1993).

⁵⁷ Alfred McCoy's *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009) is one of the rare exceptions that looks to America's imperial exploits at the turn of the twentieth century for the emergence of the modern national security state, showing that that America's national security state, as it manifested during the First Red Scare, the Cold War, and the War on Terrorism, originated in American empire.

⁵⁸ For more on the ways that male-dominated political organizations like the National Security League contributed to American views of patriotic sentiment and identity during the WWI years, see John Carver Edwards, *Patriots in Pinstripe: Men of the National Security League* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982).

But anarchism also appeared to threaten the stability of the nation in a much more corporeal sense as well.⁵⁹ The assassination of McKinley had not been America's first experience with anarchist violence.⁶⁰ By 1901, anarchism had categorically moved away from the vague philosophical antagonisms associated with the enlightened, ordered state.⁶¹ It had become a social phenomenon, a growing movement that found influence in the working and middling classes.⁶² The years 1892 to 1901 have been called the

⁵⁹ Anarchism as both an intellectual tradition and a social movement should not be viewed in clear cut terms, however. Anarchy, anarchism, and anarchist are all highly contested signifiers, but for the purpose of this dissertation, 'anarchy' generally refers to the connotations associated with the political philosophy of liberalism, the term 'anarchist' refers to both the imagined and real espousers of anarchist philosophy, while 'anarchism' generally refers to the combined associations attributed to anarchy and the anarchist. For a more detailed account of the debates surrounding the meanings behind these terms, see Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009).

⁶⁰ Two of the most well-known events were the Haymarket Affair of 1886 and the Homestead Strike of 1892, where had each been painted as acts of anarchist violence by the popular press. For more information on Haymarket, see Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). For more on the legacy of Haymarket, see James Green, *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America* (Norwell: Anchor Press, 2007). For a social history of the Haymarket anarchists, see Bruce C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988) and Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012). For media discourse on anarchism and Homestead, see Edward Slavishak, "Working-Class Muscle: Homestead and Bodily Disorder in the Gilded Age," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (October 2004), 339-368. Also, see Paul Krause, *The Battle for Homestead 1880-1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992).

⁶¹ The "origin" story of the anarchist movement has been the subject of immense historical debate. Anarchism as a modern social, political, and cultural movement did not emerge until the nineteenth century. The history of studying anarchism as a discrete category of analysis really begins with the life and works of Paul Avrich. Avrich wrote extensively on the history of anarchism not only in the United States, but throughout continental Europe as well. See, in particular, Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), and *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973). For a cross-section of other significant works on the intellectual history of anarchism, see Caroline Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism, 1872-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Paul McLaughlin, *Mikhail Bakunin: The Philosophical Basis of His Anarchism* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2002), George Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (London: Rutledge, 1956), and George Crowder, *Classical Anarchism: The Political Thought of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁶² Although the anarchist social movement had been on the rise during the latter half of the nineteenth century, by the year 1900, its social and political presence in the United States was in decline. Much of

“Decade of Regicide” to describe the period in which several political and economic leaders were assassinated by dissident anarchists in Europe and North America.⁶³ In the United States, the presence of anarchists residing within the country evoked anxieties about immigration, political dissent, and social and national order. And after McKinley was assassinated by Czolgosz, popular discourses painted the anarchist as the symbol of the nation’s woes, collapsing these issues into the figure of the anarchist. In particular, the popular press viewed the anarchist as an alien in both body and mind, placing the blame on immigration, and in the process intermixing nativist and xenophobic assumptions into the responses towards McKinley’s assassination.

When the press discussed the rise and influence of anarchism within the United States, the supposition was that anarchism came about as a result of declining European imperial power, immigrating into the U.S., and ultimately bringing outsider problems into the country.⁶⁴ Due to these nativist and xenophobic assumptions regarding the rise and

this had to do with the popular confluences of anarchism with the nation’s social and political problems, including labor violence, non-normative sexuality, and political dissent. For an excellent account of the anxieties that anarchists provoked, especially in regards to normative views on sexuality, see Terrence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917* (Oakland, California: AK Press, 2008). For more on the anarchist movement in the United States, in general, see Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). For the history of anarchist women, see Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women, 1870-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981) and Jennifer Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women’s Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). For gendered visions of masculinity and anarchy, see Michael Miller Topp, *Those without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2001).

⁶³ See especially, Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle Against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁶⁴ Historians have shown that the rise of anarchism has been far blurrier than many turn of the century Americans had assumed. For an analysis of domestic forms of American anarchy, see David De Leon, *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) and James J. Martin, *Men Against the State: Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myer Publisher, 1970). Tom Goyens has also argued that nineteenth-century German immigrants radicalized once in the United States, coming

influence of anarchism in the United States, legislators turned to immigration law, which they believed would get at the root of the problems associated with anarchy—problems that were commonly conflated with immigration concerns. Popular discourses on anti-anarchism and national (in)security provided a cultural and political backdrop that justified the creation of the Anarchist Exclusion Act, as part of Immigration Act of 1903. This act would serve as the nation's first explicit measure to regulate the political thought of immigrants coming into the United States, a measure that was justified and sustained in popular discourse as a first step in defending the nation from anarchism.

Anarchism, in particular, appeared to challenge notions of national purity and patriotic unity. Historians have been keenly aware of the ways that anxieties regarding national purity and health inform governmental policy and reform.⁶⁵ Concerns over safeguarding of the nation dominated federal immigration policy since the enactment of the Page Act of 1875 and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.⁶⁶ Historians such as Daniel

from Europe and identifying as anarchist after arrival. Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 2007). The most recent historiographic trend characterizes anarchism as a transnational movement that cannot be described in terms of national or regional origins. See, in particular, Topp, *Those without a Country*. Also, see Alexander Sedlmaier, "The Consuming Visions of Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century Anarchists: Actualising Political Violence Transnationally," *European Review of History—Revue europeene d'Histoire*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (September 2003): 283-300.

⁶⁵ Historians of the Progressive era, in particular, have written extensively on the subjects of American nativism and anti-immigrant sentiments. An excellent and seminal account of this history can be found in John Higham's *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, with a New Epilogue (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955, 2002).

⁶⁶ The literature on U.S. immigration policy, culture, and law is expansive. For more information on the Chinese Exclusion Act, especially in regards to the attached racialized and classed assumptions that went into the legislation, see, in particular, Lucy E. Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), Estelle T. Lau, *Paper Families: Identity, Immigration Administration, and Chinese Exclusion* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), and Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004). For an excellent account of the ramification of this immigration legislation throughout the twentieth century, also in regards to race and class in particular, see Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern*

Kanstroom and Edward P. Hutchinson, for example, have shown the ways that fears regarding national safety, xenophobia, and American nativism have all characterized U.S. immigration law from its national origins up to the contemporary moment, while paying special attention to the turn of the twentieth century.⁶⁷ These historians, amongst others, have highlighted the ways that late nineteenth-century immigration policy, in particular, contributed to federal bureaucratic and administrative growth, so much that this newly formulated immigration policy transformed the United States into what historian Erika Lee has called a “gatekeeping nation,” one concerned with the federal protection of its constituents from the potential dangers of outsiders.⁶⁸

Despite uneasiness about the safety of the nation, however, late nineteenth-century immigration policy differed in terms of both its tone and purpose from those

America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). For an analysis of turn of the century immigration policy that highlights the dominant racial assumptions, familial obligations, public health concerns, and religious views that characterized the era, see Dierdre M. Moloney, *National Insecurities: Immigrants and U.S. Deportation Policy since 1882* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012). For the heteronormative assumptions and gendered policy decisions made in regards to these policies, see Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), and Jeanne D. Petit, *The Men and Women We Want: Gender, Race, and the Progressive Era Literacy Test* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010). For the connections between labor and immigration reform, see Kitty Calavita, *U.S. Immigration Law and Control of Labor: 1820-1924* (London: Academic Press, 1984). Historian Aristide R. Zolberg has also argued that U.S. immigration law not only negotiated the lines that separated “us” versus “them,” but operated as a dynamic signifier for what constituted American identity. See, Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁶⁷ Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) and Edward P. Hutchinson, *Legislative History of American Immigration Policy, 1798–1965* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). Also see, Christopher Rudolph, *National Security and Immigration: Policy Development in the United States and Western Europe Since 1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

⁶⁸ Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). For the history U.S. deportation policy at the turn of the twentieth century, see Torrie Hester, “Deportation: The Origins of National and International Power” (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 2008), Torrie Hester, “‘Protection, Not Punishment’: Legislative and Judicial Formation of U.S. Deportation Policy, 1882-1904,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Fall 2010): 11-36, and Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*.

policies enacted after the death of McKinley in 1901. With the advent of federal immigration policy, via the enactment of the Page Act in 1875 and subsequent legislation, the primary concern revolved around the protection of the American population from what they considered to be economic burdens, moral impurities, and racial adulteration. Following McKinley's death, on the other hand, rationalizations for the enactment and enforcement of federal legislation like the Anarchist Exclusion Act centered upon these anxieties about the nation's security and defense, and particularly the threats that perceived outsiders posed to the political belief structure of the nation. As anarchism escalated as a central concern in popular and political discourse, the figure of the anarchist seemingly threatened not only the governmental and national order that many people believed the state provided, but the security of the nation-state itself. American legislators believed that anti-anarchist immigration law provided a republican solution to the challenges posed by empire, particularly in reference to the chaotic impurities (translated through domestic cultures of nativism, xenophobia, and anti-immigration) that many believed anarchism brought upon the physical makeup of the national body.⁶⁹ The presence and activities of anarchists invigorated these tensions, especially after 1901. This dissertation explores these tensions, showing the ways that a language of national (in)security provided meaning to an American political culture defined by anti-immigrant xenophobia, imperial assumptions about the outside world, and a growing sanctification of federal state power.

⁶⁹ Historian Donna Gabaccia has shown the intimate connections between anti-immigrant xenophobia and America's imperial exploits, arguing that the more U.S. influence expanded globally, the more domestic nativism grew. Donna Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012).

But anarchism appeared as more than an immigrant threat to the body of the nation, according to these discourses on national security and safety; anarchism seemingly attacked the nation's soul—the political beliefs of the American people. Historians Alan M. Kraut, Matthew Fry Jacobson, and Nayan Shaw have each shown the ways the anxieties regarding health, disease, and national purity played central roles in the formation of America's immigration regime.⁷⁰ Anti-anarchist discourse following McKinley's assassination, however, turned to medical metaphors regarding the health of the national body in order to justify increased policing and surveillance of anarchist literary production.⁷¹ Medical, psychiatric, and criminological discourse have been analyzed as central components of police and state power, finding particularly strong political and cultural influence in the late nineteenth century.⁷² Popular discourses on anti-anarchism tapped into a surrounding political climate that increasingly viewed

⁷⁰ Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson Publishing 2001), Alan M. Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the Immigrant Menace* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1867-1971* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), and especially Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Each of these, but especially the works of Kraut, reference the role that political ideology has played in the formation of U.S. immigration law, but these arguments are ultimately tangential to larger point made about the roles of race and nativism in these histories. For a more explicit discussion of these biomedical anxieties and their roles in empire, see Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁷¹ Historians whose area of focus lies outside of the United States, particularly Western Europe have contributed to a better understanding of the ways that professional medical discourse has played into larger, national concerns, especially in relation to anti-anarchist political culture. See, in particular, Daniel Pick, "The Faces of Anarchy: Lambroso and the Politics of Criminal Science in Post-Unification Italy," *History Workshop*, No. 21 (Spring 1986): 60-86 and especially Edward James Erickson, Jr., "The Anarchist Disorder: The Psychopathology of Terrorism in Late-Nineteenth Century France" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Iowa, 1998).

⁷² See, for example, Isaac Land, "Men with the Faces of Brutes: Physiognomy, Urban Anxieties, and Police States," in *Enemies of Humanity: The Nineteenth-Century War on Terrorism*, ed. by Isaac Land (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Publishing, 2008), 117-135.

national safety and health within a language of medical expertise and the growth of state-centered police power.⁷³

Michel Foucault has termed this growing relationship between ideas about national health, governmental organization, and the regulation of populations in terms of biopolitical discourse.⁷⁴ He has argued that by the turn of the twentieth century, “war is about two things; it is not simply a matter of destroying a political adversary, but of destroying the enemy race, of destroying that [sort] of biological threat that those people over there represent to our race.”⁷⁵ Furthermore, according to Foucault, “This is not, then, a military, warlike, or political relationship, but a biological relationship. And the reason this mechanism can come into play is that the enemies who have to be done away with are not adversaries in the political sense of the term; they are threats, either external or internal, to the population and for the populations.”⁷⁶

America’s political culture of national security translated anti-anarchist sentiment within a similar conceptual framework. Many believed that anarchism posed a dual threat: an attack on the national body and psyche. But, in particular, they seemed to threaten the entire population, not just the political elite. And this anarchist threat would be translated through the languages and metaphors of national security and health that characterized U.S. political culture at the turn of the twentieth century. As a social group,

⁷³ For more on the policing of modern populations, see Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁷⁴ See Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France*, transl. Graham Burchell, (New York: Palgrave, 2007), Amy Fairchild, Ronald Bayer, and James Colgrove, *Searching Eyes: Privacy, the State and Disease Surveillance in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment*.

⁷⁵ Foucault, “*Society Must be Defended*,” 257.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 255.

anarchists appeared to invade and adulterate the national body politic and as an amorphous political ideology, it threatened the belief structure of the entire nation. Proponents of federal national security apparatuses believed that the increased reach of the Immigration Bureau served to purify the physical makeup of national body, but the nation's mind remained at risk. As a result, the press, in particular, argued for a professional, federal police service that would be capable in the national security techniques of domestic surveillance and policing—key policymakers believed that a newly formed Bureau of Investigation would be up the task.⁷⁷ This culture of insecurity and anti-anarchism provided the cultural and political backdrop for an era that witnessed the establishment of security-centric regulatory policy and law, from the Anarchist Exclusion Act as part of the Immigration Act of 1903 to the creation of the Bureau of Investigation. The languages of national security provided a set of metaphors, rationalizations, and meanings for a state-building process premised upon the technologies of a national security state and, in particular, regulating and policing the political beliefs and the movements of believed-to-be outliers of the national community.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Julia Rose Kraut, "Global Anti-Anarchism: The Origins of Ideological Deportation and the Suppression of Expression," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 2012): 169-193. Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism*.

⁷⁸ The only serious inquiry into the pre-WWI origins of modern America's state structure is William Preston Jr.'s erudite and influential work *Aliens and Dissenters*. Although not concerned explicitly with national security history, Preston Jr. traces the cultural and bureaucratic rise of what would become the key components of America's national security apparatus, from the founding of the FBI to the anti-radical policies that defined its function and authority. William Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, 2nd Edition, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963, 1994), 18. Preston's most important contribution involves his analysis of the culture of nativism that defined pre-WWI culture and policy. For an analysis of the role that nativism played during the First Red Scare, see Stanley Coben, *A Study in Nativism: The American Red Scare of 1919-20* (New York: Irvington, 1991).

War is the Health of the State

By focusing on the realm of popular and political culture, this dissertation shows that the American nation embarked upon the task of formulating the cultural components of a national security state, beginning in the year 1901. By analyzing the discourses produced in newspapers, magazines, political committees, and within the houses of Congress, I argue that America's national security state emerged out of a political and cultural environment saturated with concerns surrounding security, anarchy, empire, and national health. When Bourne wrote that "war is the health of the state," he provided a central metaphor and paradigm for U.S. state power in the wake of global security concerns; but this language of state power found significance and influence in the opening years of the twentieth century as well, providing structure and meaning to a cultural and political environment concerned with the nation's security.

Chapter I explores the aftermath of McKinley's assassination by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz. I argue that the assassination provoked anxieties about the welfare and security of not only political figureheads, but the entire nation; after 1901, anarchism was painted as a clear and pressing threat that required an immediate governmental response. In popular and political discourse, the figure of the anarchist materialized as the central antithesis to the sociopolitical order and safety of the United States. The press, in particular, helped to articulate a newly formulated understanding of state power that positioned a strong federal government and law as the undoing of anarchism in modern

society and politics. Anarchy represented the disorder of a government-less society, while popular discourses produced ideas about a strong federal state and sense of legal order as being the central antitheses to the perceived chaos that anarchists wrought. As these popular discourses of national (in)security turned to paradigms of a robust security state, nineteenth-century anxieties surrounding immigration, poverty, immorality, and radicalism collapsed into the figure of the anarchist. The anarchist fast became the enemy of the American nation and state.

In Chapter II, I analyze the ways that these discourses on American (in)security employed a martial rhetoric and ideology, painting anarchists as enemy threats to the safety and security of the nation-state. As metaphors of war, defense, and security gained momentum, the figure of the anarchist emerged not only as an enemy of the state, but as an enemy of the entire social body. Fears surrounding the seemingly violent and clandestine nature of anarchism pushed new discussions about patriotic obligation and liberty into popular and political discourse. On top of this, the presence and activities of anarchists living within the country brought anxieties surrounding the U.S.'s imperial exploits to the forefront of political discourse. As the anarchist appeared to embody the problems associated with empire, American policymakers sought federal security measures that entailed republican qualities instead of imperial ones. It was a time of contradiction; the languages and metaphors of empire characterized discourses on American security, even as political desire sought to distance the country from its imperial past.

Chapter III delves deeper into these historical contradictions. I argue that these discourses surrounding anti-anarchism, state power, and empire provided the cultural and political backdrop for the creation of the Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903. In particular, this chapter analyzes the ways that an American political culture, as produced in the popular press, turned to prominent medical professional discourse from the burgeoning fields of sociology, psychology, and criminology in order to understand who anarchists were and where they came from. In doing so, I show how the U.S.'s political culture of anti-anarchism meshed nativist and medical discourses, characterizing the threats posed by anarchism in terms of not only racial impurity, but mental disease. Applying a language of national (in)security, these discourses contributed to a culture of state power premised upon a federal police gaze and the expulsion of undesirable social actors and their political beliefs, providing a cultural context that justified the growth of the regulatory power of the immigration bureau. Administrators of anti-anarchist immigration law integrated surrounding nativist and xenophobic assumptions into their efforts to police and regulate domestic anarchism, resulting in the regulation of phenotype, not political belief, while many believed that the security of the nation remained at risk.

Chapter IV shows that the languages of anti-anarchism, security, empire, and xenophobia contributed to a cultural and political environment that accommodated the creation of the Bureau of Investigation. Immigration bureaucracies found it increasingly difficult to regulate anarchists according to their dissident beliefs. Popular media outlets published professional discourses from professionals in the behavioral sciences,

characterizing the anarchist belief system as pathogenic, and that anarchist literature, in particular, threatened the health and security of the nation. The anarchist intellect was described as polluted and contagious, exciting fears that immigration bureaucracies did not provide sufficient security to the nation. Increasingly, these discourses on national health and security helped to produce an image of state power and authority where a professional federal police force, skilled in the techniques of political surveillance, would be required to further protect the nation from the threats posed by anarchists. In the process, ideals of freedom and protection were pitted against one another as the nation debated appropriate police action. Justifications for the expansion of federal authority and law collapsed into concerns over license and liberty, as this political culture made calls for an increase in the measure of protection in the name of national defense.

This project centers on the popular discourses and political cultures that gave rise to a language of American national security, but it is also about state power and its legacy in national security discourse. Beginning in 1901, concerns over national security gave rise to a new sense of sanctity for state power and reach at a time when the U.S. federal government expanded in unprecedented ways. Discourses on defending the nation from the threats posed by anarchism made the case for expanded federal reach in the regulation and policing of both immigrant communities and the U.S. citizenry. Paradigms of surveillance and a bureaucratic police gaze emerged as powerful symbols in the war on anarchy, pitting ideas about freedom and security against one another in these cultural examinations on how to guarantee the health and safety of the nation. The state, in particular, would be elevated as the protectorate of the people and the antithesis to

anarchic violence and chaos. And political thought would be characterized as a legitimate threat to the safety and health of both the nation and state—a threat that not only could, but should be regulated and policed in the name of national defense.

Chapter I

Law and (Dis)Order: Anarchism and the Popular Culture of State Power

After the shooting of McKinley in 1901, the figure of the anarchist increasingly stood out from the masses as a singular and significant figure, an agent of historical change capable of intense violence. Remarkable in terms of immediacy and social consciousness, the assassination pushed anarchy and the anarchist to the forefront of popular, political, and legal discourse. A popular and widespread culture merged behind the belief that anarchism in the United States posed a serious and immediate threat to the nation, its citizenry, and its leadership. As Americans discussed the events that occurred on September 6, 1901 and questioned the pressing issues revolving around anarchism in the country, they turned to legal institutions for answers. This chapter shows that at the turn of the twentieth century, the role that anarchy played in America's tradition of the political philosophy of liberalism collided with the social politics of actual anarchists.

Anarchy was often portrayed as occupying a pervasive, timeless, and insidious role in American liberal thought, but when an anarchist shot and killed the president, all of the nation's fears regarding anarchism appeared to become manifest. After the assassination, the figure of the anarchist emerged in American popular culture as the archetypal antithesis to national order, embodying both an ethereal and corporeal threat to the state and its citizenry. The popular press played an essential role in creating an environment of insecurity and fear in which anarchy functioned as an ancient and at times ageless foil to the nation's sense of safety, and the anarchist as chaotic social disorder

personified. After 1901, a culture of national (in)security emerged as the figure of the anarchist fast became a central concern of the nation, characterized as an ahistorical and omnipresent threat to the national safety of the nation.

More than a specter that haunted the coherence of liberal governance or the apparent established order of industrial capitalism, the anarchist proved a dangerous agent of change capable of murdering the most important figurehead of the nation. Most Americans knew very little about anarchism before the McKinley assassination, outside of the vague philosophical associations with stateless chaos; and the American Congress found anarchism to be a tangential phenomenon unworthy of direct legislative initiative. But after the attack, the subject of anarchism occupied nearly every front page in the country, pushing the anarchist to the forefront of the collective imaginary. In discussing the events that transpired at the Pan-American Exhibition, the press took part in the construction of a symbology of sociopolitical order in which anarchy signified the direct antithesis of modern, civilized society, and governmental organization. Anarchism came to represent the dissolution of social, political, and legal stability and the anarchist appeared as a threat to the nation. More importantly, the anarchist, as an agent of violent historical change, emerged as a direct, clear, and urgent danger—one that required an immediate remedy. In the process, a new understanding of state-sanctioned power proliferated throughout social, political, and legal discourse, as nineteenth-century anxieties regarding immorality, poverty, radicalism, and immigration collapsed into the singular figure of the anarchist. The anarchist stood in absolute contrast to an ordered American government in unprecedented ways, and at the same time appeared as a threat

that had always been there. As a result, the nation articulated and turned to paradigms of law and order as a way to rationalize the enactment of regulatory policy and legislation that targeted the perceived threat of anarchists and their chaotic potential. Securing the nation from both the specter of and tangible threat posed by anarchy and the anarchist characterized the surrounding popular and political discourse. At the same time, a strong state response, seen as the consummate antithesis of the chaos of anarchy, became the paradigm of social and political order at the turn of the twentieth century.

The Disorder of Anarchy

News of McKinley's assassination spread throughout the country with the rapidity and breadth that only the newspaper industry of the turn of the twentieth century could provide. Everyone seemed to want to know about the assassin, Leon Czolgosz, who was immediately seized by the crowd following the shooting at Buffalo and quickly incarcerated.⁷⁹ The popular press became the central outlet for information on the assassination for those who wanted to learn more. Out of the many details that the press portrayed about his life, one stood out the most: that he was a "rabid anarchist."⁸⁰ In retaliation for the attack on the president's life, popular media outlets across the country

⁷⁹ For more information on the events that immediately followed the attack at the Pan-American Exposition in 1901, see Miller, *The President and the Assassin* and Eric Rauchway, *Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2003). For a fascinating and introspective account of assassinations in the United States more generally, see Sarah Vowell, *Assassination Vacation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006).

⁸⁰ "Assassin known as a rabid anarchist," *New York Times* September 8, 1901, 4. For a less sensational account of the life of Czolgosz, see A. Wesley Johns, *The Man Who Shot McKinley* (New Haven, A. S. Barnes, 1970).

sought out means for the “total extirpation” of anarchism from the United States.⁸¹ Newspapers, magazines, and journals alike printed arguments which stated that anarchy and the anarchist emerged as a clear and pressing national concern in an unprecedented way that warranted punitive and immediate action. This often meant retribution in the form of vigilantism as several anarchists were attacked and even killed in the days following the assassination. Czolgosz himself had to be transferred to a secret location after lynch mobs surrounded the prison where he was being held.⁸² Many believed that they held the right to take matters into their own hands when it came to the threat of anarchy and that vigilante justice served as the best recompense.

But not everyone agreed that the lynch mob represented an appropriate form of justice. In fact, many would have approved of the sentiments published in a September 8, 1901 *Minneapolis Tribune* article, which argued that “Every man that becomes a member of a mob...plays directly into the hands of the anarchist, for anarchy, like mob-violence, is the dethronement of law.”⁸³ Although voices of angst and acts of violence surfaced across the U.S., they were ultimately overshadowed by calls for the law to intervene on

⁸¹ “The Buffalo Tragedy,” *Irish-American*, September 7, 1901, 4. This dissertation is indebted to the work of the researchers and archivists that set up “McKinley Assassination Ink: A Documentary History of William McKinley’s Assassination.” They have transcribed thousands of newspapers, journals, and books written on the subject of McKinley’s assassination, including creating an insightful collection of documents that cover popular views on anarchism following the events that transpired in Buffalo, NY 1901. See, <http://mckinleydeath.com>. Quotes taken from this site will be referenced by the abbreviation MAI from this point forward in this dissertation. Although I draw from this online source, I have also conducted extensive research of newspapers that reached a large audience including the *Minneapolis Tribune*, *New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times* that were published at the same time. I place these artifacts of the popular press alongside congressional records, letters, and notes of citizens’ committees, fictional literature, and political speeches in order to show that an emergent popular culture of state power, anti-anarchism, and (in)security followed McKinley’s assassination. For the *Irish-American* article, see MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/IA53-36.htm> (Accessed 8/08/2012).

⁸² “Czolgosz Bragging,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 8, 1901, 3.

⁸³ “Law Must Prevail,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 8, 1901: 6.

behalf of social order and political righteousness. A chorus of voices appealed for new legislation intended to make the advocacy of anarchy a criminal act. Others demanded the passing of immigration legislation in order to qualify the anarchist as an inadmissible immigrant class. Newspapers throughout the country published editorials that expressed the desire for new and restrictive legislation in the name of stamping out anarchy while members of Congress received scores of letters pleading for sweeping resolutions aimed at curbing the activities of anarchists. The American people, as they were portrayed in the press, viewed the law as the paradigm in which the nation would purge itself of the scourge of anarchy; it would bring order to the chaos that anarchy created. The state would provide for the security and defense of a nation threatened by anarchists, and the anarchy they created.

Historical narratives have treated anarchy's relationship to the American state in two discrete ways. First, anarchy has been seen as a key component embedded within the intellectual tradition of America's liberal state form and political philosophy.⁸⁴ Historians have highlighted, for example, how anxieties surrounding tyranny and anarchy symbiotically informed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notions of U.S. republicanism and federalism.⁸⁵ Second, historians have analyzed the rise of anarchism in the nineteenth

⁸⁴ From Hobbes' emphasis of the threats posed by the 'state of nature' on sovereign states to John Locke's understanding of a stateless society's chaotic collapse into anarchy, the rhetorical use of the term and idea of anarchy itself has played a central role of counter, foil, or undoing in liberal political philosophy from its conceptual genesis. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Charleston: Forgotten Books, 1651, 2008). John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1689, 1988). For an analysis of the roles that anarchy/chaos and liberalism/order have played in the political power of nation-states, see Michel Foucault, *"Society Must be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, trans. by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

⁸⁵ Anxieties surrounding the delicate relationship between tyranny and anarchy plagued the political founding of not only the American republic, but liberal constitutional nation throughout the Americas.

and twentieth centuries as a political ideology and the formation of an anarchist social identity built upon the intellectual tradition developed by anarchist thinkers such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, and Peter Kropotkin.⁸⁶ Rarely have these two been analyzed alongside one another in order to better inform our understanding of U.S. history.

Even though the assassination had pushed the topic of anarchism to the forefront of the popular consciousness of the American public, it was not the first time that the actions of an anarchist had occupied the front pages of the American press. Anarchism had long functioned as a formless—at times, phantasmagorical—and symbolic antithesis of civilized society in Western political thought, but by the end of the nineteenth century, Americans would have had very tangible events with which to associate anarchism. From the Haymarket bombing and subsequent trial in 1886-87 to the attempted assassination of businessman Henry Clay Frick by anarchist Alexander Berkman in 1892, the American

For more information on this history, see Roberto Gargarella, *The Legal Foundations of Inequality: Constitutionalism in the Americas, 1776-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁸⁶ These narratives primarily center on the formation and foundation of the political philosophy of anarchism, the social cohesion of anarchist identities, and/or the exercise of political power. For an overview of the intellectual history of anarchism, see Paul McLaughlin, *Mikhail Bakunin: The Philosophical Basis of His Anarchism* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2002), Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), and George Crowder, *Classical Anarchism: The Political Thought of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). For insights into the identity politics and historical cohesion of anarchist groups, see Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women, 1870-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 2007), and Paul Avrich, *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973; University of North Carolina Press, 2010). For the political activities of anarchists themselves, see Jennifer Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), and Terrence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917* (Oakland, California: AK Press, 2008). Also see, Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009).

press saturated their headlines with sensationalized stories of anarchic violence and the perceived chaos that anarchists wrought.⁸⁷ In particular, the activities of working-class anarchists appeared to fuel the flames of labor discontent and violence that had been gaining momentum through the country during the American Gilded and Progressive Eras.⁸⁸ For consumers of mainstream print media, especially those who lived in major American cities, coming across newspaper headlines that read “Thawing out Anarchistic Snakes,” “The Anarchist Murderers,” or “Another Anarchist Plot Reported” would not have been an uncommon experience by the late nineteenth century.⁸⁹ The figure of the anarchist seemed to haunt the American imaginary even before Czolgosz set out for Buffalo, New York in 1901.

But any uneasiness that Americans had maintained towards anarchists took a backseat to the larger social, political, and economic concerns that defined the era. The anarchist was one of the many social ills that plagued American society, socially indiscernible from the other leftists, socialists, sex radicals, impoverished immigrants,

⁸⁷ The Haymarket Affair, in particular, and its subsequent trial have long been held as an important episode in anarchist history in the United States. In particular, the “Haymarket Martyrs” have held an almost folk-hero status amongst anarchist communities for generations, due to a lack of concrete evidence linking them to the violence that occurred. For more information on Haymarket, see Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). For more on the legacy of Haymarket, see James Green, *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America* (Norwell: Anchor Press, 2007) and Bruce C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988). Not all scholars have maintained this folk-hero status, however. Timothy Messer-Kruse, for example, has sought to prove that the bombs detonated in the Chicago square were acts of anarchist conspirators. Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

⁸⁸ See, in particular, Richard Bach Jensen, “The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism, 1904-1914,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 15-46.

⁸⁹ “Thawing Out Anarchistic Snakes,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 17, 1889: 4, “The Anarchist Murderers,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 28 1886: 4, “Another Anarchist Plot Reported,” *New York Times*, November 10, 1898: 7, respectively.

criminals, etc. that appeared to disrupt the established order of the American nation. Newspapers may have published sensationalized stories of anarchistic labor violence or the immorality of anarchist literature on birth control, but rarely were anarchists seen as the primary progenitors of national woes; the decline of Christian values, economic disparity, and immigration reform were far more important topics for late nineteenth-century America. Anarchism was seen as an acute instance of the imperfect qualities building within the burgeoning nation, not the source of the nation's undoing. McKinley's death, however, signaled a shift in national priorities, reorienting anarchism as a central threat to social and political order. It would be the actions of Leon Czolgosz that disrupted established notions of American social, political, and legal order, forcing the nation to reimagine an understanding of the anarchist and how the nation should best deal with him.⁹⁰ After the 1901 assassination, the figure of the anarchist emerged out of the crowded anxieties of late nineteenth-century American thought and became a specific threat that required an immediate response.

The turn of the twentieth century was a crucial period in U.S. media history. With the help of newspaper pioneers like William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer (fueled by intense competition with one another), the mass media industry flourished and reached

⁹⁰ It should be noted that to most Americans, the figure of the anarchist was imagined as male. Concerns over the activities and personal life of Emma Goldman proved to be one of the rare exceptions in which the activities of an anarchist woman made national headlines, but the specter of anarchy was almost always envisioned in the male body. For more on Goldman, see Candace Falk, *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman: A Biography*, Revised Edition (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990) and Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Radical Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011).

unprecedented readership by the late nineteenth century.⁹¹ More importantly, the newspaper industry, alongside the many nationally popular and professional magazines and journals, provided Americans not only with information about the goings-on around the world, but a network of information to build a national identity around.⁹² Decreasingly, the pet projects of political parties, American journalists began operating around ethics of rationalism, integrity, and a dedication to objectivity.⁹³ This provided the consuming masses a sense of confidence in print media, relying on the industry's insights into America's role in the world and sense of national identity.⁹⁴ And, in turn, the American public turned to media outlets in order to rationalize the events that occurred in Buffalo, New York, contributing to a sense of national solidarity and resolve.

In the months that followed the assassination, American English-language print media retold the events that occurred at the Pan-American Exposition in editorials, opinion pieces, debates, poetry, and even fictionalized short and long stories. By doing this, the press provided a space in which the public could participate in a collective process of memorializing and eulogizing the president.⁹⁵ It also allowed readers to

⁹¹ Several excellent biographies have been written on the lives of Hearst and Pulitzer, including insights into their famous feud. See, for example, James McGrath Morris, *Pulitzer: A Life of Politics, Print, and Power* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010) and Ben Procter, *William Randolph Hearst: The Early Years, 1863-1910* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

⁹³ That is not to say that the press stripped political subjectivity out of the industry, but that these were the organizing principles, ideologies, and cultures that began to define American journalism, regardless of whether or not these were truly attainable values. See, in particular, Richard L. Kaplan, *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁹⁴ Charles E. Clark, *Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁹⁵ This occurred often with hagiographic and martyrological results. Although McKinley's presidency did not go through any major scandals, he was not without his detractors. For criticisms of McKinley's presidential style, see, Kristen L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics*

engage in national efforts to rationalize and make sense of the attack on the president's life, posing many of the questions that many had asked themselves after the attack: Who was the assailant? What was his motive? Did he act alone? Why attack the president? How do we prevent this from happening again? What do we do now? These were the types of questions that were being asked not only in newspapers, but in households, citizen councils, and in legislatures throughout the country. As Americans attempted to answer these questions, they did so in a variety of social environments and although the venue and format of these conversations may have been diverse, one question seemed to arise almost universally: "What shall we do with anarchy and anarchists?"⁹⁶

Nearly every major newspaper and magazine in the country attempted to answer this question in headlines, special editions, and editorials printed in the months that followed McKinley's death, but it would not have been the first time it was asked in U.S. history.⁹⁷ The average reader of American print media would have been familiar with the term anarchy and with those who self-identified as anarchist. Within American political culture, anarchism functioned as a foreign, indistinct, and amorphous concept more than a concrete danger that posed a serious threat to national order and stability. The term 'anarchy' itself had long functioned as a rhetorical tool to center the growth of liberal governments around in western political philosophy and thought; in the absence of government, anarchy would rule. Western political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes,

Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 88-107.

⁹⁶ This question was the subject of a series of speeches given at a January 1902 Nineteenth Century Club meeting held in New York City. "Anarchy and Anarchists," *New York Times*, January 15, 1902: 2.

⁹⁷ Chris Vials, "The Despotism of the Popular: Anarchy and Leon Czolgosz at the Turn of the Century," *Americana: The Journal of American Popular Culture* Vol. 3, No.2 (Fall 2004). From http://www.americanpopularculture.com/journal/articles/fall_2004/vials.htm (Accessed 7/14/2012).

John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau stamped this dichotomy between anarchy and order into the heredity of liberal political thought, including many of the earliest political thinkers of the United States.⁹⁸ Like their Enlightenment intellectual predecessors, the architects of the American state believed that national order and prosperity abutted an anarchic “state of nature” that threatened the realization of its liberal ideals. John Adams famously asked in 1778 “whether anarchy or tyranny be the greater evil?”⁹⁹ Alexander Hamilton likewise “carried a heavy dread of anarchy and disorder that always struggled with his” political viewpoints.¹⁰⁰ Literary theorist, Arthur F. Redding, points to these “famous fears” of the early American political thought as evidence for ways that “anarchy haunt[ed] democracy as a kind of limit or spectral potentiality. Anarchical configurations...summon[ed] an unleashed potentially uncontrollable epidemic of violence beyond which democracy lives in fear of passing.”¹⁰¹ Anarchy’s dichotomous relationship within the liberal philosophical tradition troubled the foundational moments of American political culture in central, yet theoretical ways, but this existed well before the emergence of the modern anarchist as a social, political, and cultural identifier.

This fear of anarchy remained significant within American political thought throughout the nineteenth century as well. Critics of southern secession employed metaphors of anarchy, as did Abraham Lincoln in his first inaugural address in 1861, in

⁹⁸ See in particular, Hobbes, *Leviathan* John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. G. D. H. Cole (New York: Cosimo, Inc., 1762, 2008).

⁹⁹ John Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions of Governments of the United States of America*, Vol. 1, Third Edition (Union, New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 1787, 2001), 445.

¹⁰⁰ Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 33.

¹⁰¹ Arthur F. Redding, *Raids on Human Consciousness Writing, Anarchism, and Violence* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988) 74.

which he stated that “Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.”¹⁰² Towards the end of the century, discourses of American imperialism perpetuated fears of anarchic turmoil both inside and outside of the U.S. as national leaders debated the American government’s role around the globe. According to historian Amy Kaplan, anarchy “has often been used by imperial powers as a euphemism for revolution or independence struggles in order to justify their suppression by military intervention and colonial subjugation.”¹⁰³ She continues, that proponents of imperial policy “produced the threat of ‘savage anarchy’ to justify U.S. dominance...The exceptional quality of the American Empire, in this way of thinking, transcends the ancient polarity between anarchy and tyranny.”¹⁰⁴ As the U.S. government expanded its territories, the peril of anarchy appeared to loom around its national borders. Preoccupations with notions of chaos and disorder continued to burden American policy and thought, even in the fantasies of a powerful empire.

Despite the seemingly ever-present specter of anarchy that lurked within the discourses of early modern and modern governance, a more socially grounded manifestation emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century. A social and political movement came to life both within the territories of the United States and several European countries, led by the literature and movements of activist-philosophers like

¹⁰² Abraham Lincoln, “Lincoln’s First Inaugural Address: Delivered on the 4th of March, 1861,” in *Lincoln’s Gettysburg Oration and First and Second Inaugural Addresses* (New York: Duffield & Company, 1907), 22.

¹⁰³ Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 12.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 13.

William Godwin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, and Peter Kropotkin.¹⁰⁵ They began to identify themselves as anarchists and used the term anarchy as a distinct political movement, placing their sociopolitical identities in direct relation to concerns regarding disorder and chaos in popular thought. Believing in extra-governmental sovereignty, they challenged the authority and prevalence of capitalism and the nation-state, eroding some of the abstract connotations associated with the concept of anarchy, while at the same time adding tangible actions that led to concern on the part of national leaders. Many were known for advocating “propaganda by the deed,” which at times translated into violent clashes between anarchists, employers, politicians, etc. Although historians typically locate the rise of anarchist political philosophy in Europe, anarchist ideologies and tactics quickly found traction within the U.S.¹⁰⁶ Despite this, the formation of a discrete social identity around the term anarchy did not necessarily lead to a more concrete understanding of the term. By the turn of the twentieth century, most Americans knew very little about anarchy as a movement, outside of the many metaphysical and negative associations that came attached to the term.

¹⁰⁵ The best references for Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin can be found in Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988) and George Crowder, *Classical Anarchism: The Political Thought of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). Also see Paul Avrich, *Bakunin and Nechaev* (London: Freedom Press, 1973) and *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1967), Caroline Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism, 1872-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Paul McLaughlin, *Mikhail Bakunin: The Philosophical Basis of His Anarchism* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2002), George Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (London: Rutledge, 1956), and George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince* (London: T. V. Boardman & Co. LTD, 1950).

¹⁰⁶ For histories of anarchism in the U.S., see Paul Avrich, *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) Martin Henry Blatt, *Free Love and Anarchism: The Biography of Ezra Haywood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), Falk, *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*, Michael M. Topp, *Those Without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), Kissack, *Free Comrades*, and Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*.

And those negative associations proliferated as anarchist communities grew. If anarchy symbolized the chaotic undoing of civilized society in American political discourse, then, in the words of historian Margaret Marsh, “Americans viewed *anarchists* as the harbingers of chaos.”¹⁰⁷ Anarchism rapidly became associated with a myriad of nefarious activities and violent behaviors while anarchists themselves were seen as the bringers of class antagonisms, political disorder, and moral chaos.¹⁰⁸ Debates about what to do concerning “the problem of the anarchists” could be found in newspapers throughout the country.¹⁰⁹ The tone of this discussion was most often relatively tame, however, compared to other issues that occupied the thoughts of many Americans in the late nineteenth century, such as the new war with Spain, economic recessions, class disparities, and a swelling immigrant population. On top of this, anarchist activity in the United States peaked in the 1870s and went through a decline for the remainder of the century.¹¹⁰ Anarchism was largely considered a European problem more than a domestic one since a wave of violence swept across the continent in the latter years of the nineteenth century, which the American press deemed as wholly European and placed the

¹⁰⁷ Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women, 1870-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 8. Italics added for emphasis.

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion of the class violence in the wake of the transnational anarchist movements of the late nineteenth century, see Messer-Kruse, *The Haymarket Conspiracy*. Williams Preston Jr., provides an invaluable account of the political fears and anxieties provoked in American society at the turn of the century in *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, 2nd Edition, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963, 1994). For an excellent account of the ways that anarchists were seen to have caused moral chaos in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in relation to anarchist sex radicals, see Kissack, *Free Comrades*.

¹⁰⁹ “The Problems of the Anarchists,” *Washington Post*, September 13, 1898: 6.

¹¹⁰ According to historian Terence Kissack, these events “engendered a wave of anti-anarchist and anti-socialist feeling. Anarchism’s influence among members of the native-born working class suffered a severe setback.” *Free Comrades*, 23.

blame on European anarchists.¹¹¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, most Americans would have been familiar with only two domestic instances in which to associate anarchist activities within the United States: the Haymarket Affair and the attempted assassination of Henry Clay Frick.

Newspapers extensively covered and sensationalized the events that surrounded Haymarket Square in Chicago 1886 when a bomb exploded amidst a crowd of striking workers, leading to the prosecution of eight anarchists for conspiracy. The violence that characterized this episode garnered significant media attention for the time due to concerns that surrounded the industrial workforce and increasingly radicalized labor politics. Although the incident reached a national audience, it was still seen as mostly a local issue. Rarely did the press emphasize the national or international character of anarchism in the United States, nor were there fears that anarchist activities were spreading to threaten the nation as a whole. Instead, contemporaries viewed Haymarket as a reflection of what historian James Green has called one of the “domestic battlefields in a growing class war.”¹¹² Anarchists were seen alongside the growing problems of class antagonisms, immigration, and urbanization rather than the sole cause of the problem. Thure de Thulstrup’s famous drawing, “The Anarchist Riot in Chicago,” printed in *Harper’s Weekly*, of the frenzied scene that occurred at Haymarket reflect many of these concerns in American society in the late nineteenth century. The violence that resulted from clashes between workers and the police were common in the public’s view of industrial relations and is depicted in frenetic detail in Thulstrup’s rendering of the

¹¹¹ See Bach Jensen, “The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism.”

¹¹² Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 207.

events. But specifically anarchist imagery does not stand out in this image. The pictorial representation of the figure of the anarchist is lost in the fray of violence and struggles of Haymarket and an America engaged in class warfare.



Figure 1.1 Thure de Thulstrup's frenetic and chaotic rendition of the events that occurred at the Haymarket Square, "The Anarchist Riot in Chicago." Anarchy is represented here as part and parcel to the violence of nineteenth-century ideas about class warfare. It would not be until 1901 that the figure of the anarchist emerges from the crowd as a specific threat to the nation. *Harper's Weekly*, May 15, 1886.

One other instance of labor unrest and violence would have stood out in the American public's mind as having distinct anarchist associations in the late nineteenth

century—the assassination attempt of Henry Clay Fricke.¹¹³ According to historian Richard Bach Jensen, “After the bloody repression of the anarchists at the time of Chicago’s Haymarket bombing in 1886, only one major act of anarchist violence took place in the United States prior to 1901. This was Alexander Berkman’s unsuccessful attempt in 1892 to kill Henry Clay Frick.”¹¹⁴ An industrial lockout and strike broke out at the Homestead Steel Works in 1892, resulting in a battle between striking workers and private security agents (and eventually the Pennsylvania state militia). Strikers did not act with an anarchist agenda in mind, until Berkman, who had “no relationship to the Homestead workforce,” unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate steel magnate Frick.¹¹⁵ A significant figure in anarchist circles, Berkman was characterized in terms of “bookish cowardice and physical impotence” as he committed the act without the consent of the crowds of striking workers.¹¹⁶ After the assassination attempt, other strikers sought to distance themselves from Berkman’s actions and his anarchist associations, viewing his actions as a hindrance to the greater cause supported by the Homestead workers. When individual anarchists like Berkman stood out from the crowds in the popular press, they were often viewed as cowardly, anachronistic, and ineffectual. Ultimately, by the end of the strike, Berkman received a fourteen year prison sentence for his deed as anarchism as

¹¹³ For more information on the events that led up to the Homestead Strike, the assassination attempt on Frick, and the aftermath see Paul Krause, *The Battle for Homestead 1880-1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992).

¹¹⁴ Bach Jensen, “The United State, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism,” 17.

¹¹⁵ Edward Slavishak, “Working-Class Muscle: Homestead and Bodily Disorder in the Gilded Age,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* vol. 3, no. 4 (October 2004), 339-368. Quote is taken from page 363.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 364.

a movement lost suasion amongst the working masses due to the events that transpired at both Haymarket and Homestead.¹¹⁷

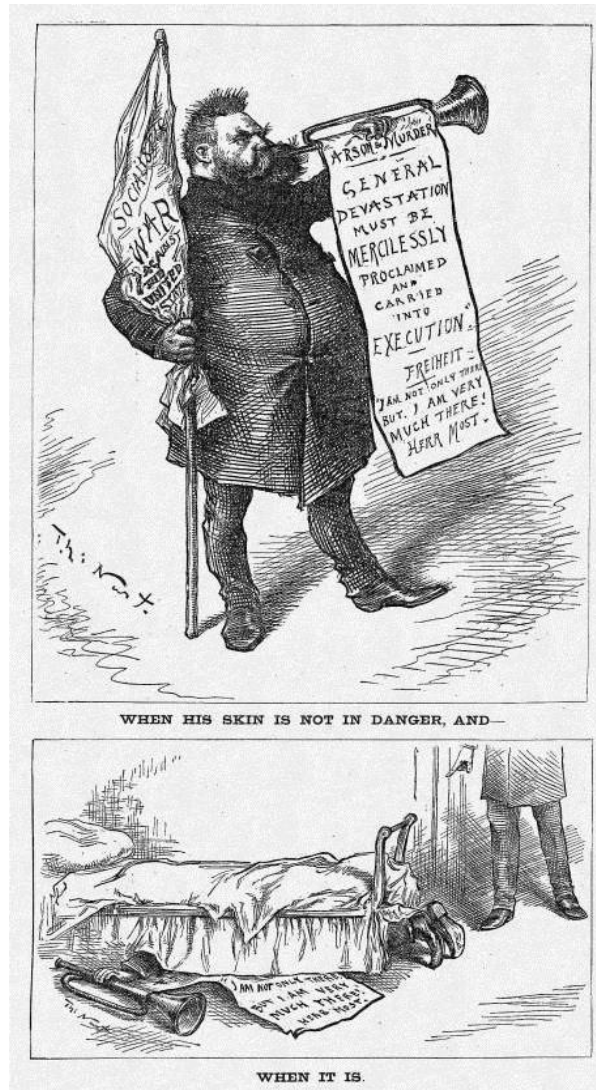


Figure 1.2 Alexander Berkman was not the only anarchist of the nineteenth century to be mocked as weak and cowardly. These were common traits associated with anarchists and their beliefs, as reflected about German-born anarchist Johann Most in this Thomas Nast cartoon, printed in *Harper's Weekly*, May 22, 1886.

¹¹⁷ Kissack, *Free Comrades*, 23.

Berkman's actions were noteworthy in the late nineteenth century, even if they were seen as cowardly and counterproductive. Newspapers were saturated with stories of labor radicalism like these in the final decades of the nineteenth century, but the figure of the anarchist rarely stood out. Violence between laborers and employers erupted frequently, as anarchists, socialists, communists, union activists, and middle-class radicals flooded the streets to protest working conditions and economic disparities.¹¹⁸ In this regard, the activities of anarchists within the United States did not appear particularly anomalous to the average media consumer, unless they actively engaged in the philosophical and political debates of radical politics.

Anarchists appeared awash in a sea of labor strife and conflict that dominated the American workplace and urban landscape in industrializing America. Mainstream print culture rarely singled out the anarchist from the crowds. According to Arthur Redding, during the Progressive Era, American "writers—unless they were hired to write propaganda for a particular party—seldom felt the need to discriminate precisely between varieties of leftist thought in this country. Few concerned themselves with the vexed

¹¹⁸ An excellent and comprehensive study that details the labor movement throughout American history is Philip Sheldon Foner's ten volume series, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*. Working-class organization and the struggles that characterized the workplace at the turn of the twentieth century, in particular, are covered in *Vol. 2: From the Founding of the American Federation of Labor to the Emergence of American Imperialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1955), *Vol. 3: The Policies and Practices of the American Federation of Labor, 1900-1909* (New York: International Publishers, 1964), and *Vol. 4: Industrial Workers of the World* (New York: International Publishers, 1965). More recent works on U.S. labor history and working-class identity further highlight the nebulousness and permeability of radical social groups and how they identified with and in relation to one another. For insights into the language of working-class identity, see Stephen P. Rice, *Minding the Machine: Languages of Class in Early Industrial America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) and Daniel E. Bender, *Sweated Work, Weak Bodies: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns and Languages of Labor* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004). For the gender politics of cross-class identity in New York's early twentieth-century labor culture, see Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

internal debates between anarchists, the Socialist or Communist Parties, or the various factions in the trade union movement.”¹¹⁹ Anarchist Emma Goldman wrote similarly regarding the radical left in the United States, lamenting that within the “indefinite, uncertain mind of the American radical the most contradictory ideas and methods are possible. The result is a sad chaos in the radical movement, a sort of intellectual hash, which has neither taste nor character.”¹²⁰ Even prominent anarchists of the period characterized radical labor in indiscrete terms.

Media coverage of radical labor politics rarely distinguished the anarchist from other working-class radicals, characterizing the anarchist as more rebellious than their counterparts. To workers themselves, the anarchist embodied an emasculated version of the ideal working self, even though the line that delineated them from the rest of the laboring population was in constant flux. In the nineteenth century, the identities and ideologies that separated radical laborers were often blurred in popular discourse, making the differences between anarchists, socialists, and communists nebulous and interlaced.¹²¹ In the United States, “the labor movement was a ferment of conflicting and embattling ideologies of whom the popular figure of the anarchist stood out as the most dangerous, foreign, and volatile element.”¹²² They seemingly intermixed into the working masses as strikers, picketers, and rioters, standing out as agitators and intensifiers rather than a

¹¹⁹ Redding, *Raids on Human Consciousness*, 80-81.

¹²⁰ Goldman quoted in *Ibid*, 81.

¹²¹ Debates continue to obfuscate the discernible character of nineteenth-century anarchism. For a perspective on these debates, see Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009).

¹²² Redding, *Raids on Human Consciousness*, 75.

separate social group.¹²³ Anarchists were accused of hiding within the working masses and inciting violence and riots, striking with anonymity only to melt away within the crowd.¹²⁴ Striking workers of varied political ideology often appeared as “a single, living entity characterized by violence and physical power,” whether they identified as anarchists or not.¹²⁵ Anarchists appeared to blend into these violent, radical masses and if they ever stood out, they did so in terms of gradation instead of differentiation—more uncontrollable than the others in the crowd; they were merely “running wild within a mob.”¹²⁶ Social anarchism, along with other forms of working-class radicalism, seemed an indefinite, albeit poignant, socioeconomic phenomenon for an American nation concerned with the radicalization of labor politics. Turn of the century understandings of the anarchist as one of the many problems that plagued industrializing America has led historian Richard Bach Jensen to claim that “most Americans were complacent about...anarchism.”¹²⁷

Not only was the act of separating anarchists from the rest of the working masses a nearly impossible task in late nineteenth-century America, anarchist activity appeared mostly as a faraway phenomenon, an external problem that existed outside of the United States and worked its way into the nation. Popular characterizations of the American

¹²³ Anarchists also maintained complex and interchanging identities during this era. Depending on the context, a radical dissident might have considered her/himself an anarchist, socialist, communist, etc. in order to contain political or social advantages. The lines that defined many of these political philosophies were easily and commonly transgressed.

¹²⁴ For an excellent discussion of the ways that anarchists enflamed American anxieties regarding the growing masses of radical laborers after the assassination of McKinley, see Vials, “The Despotism of the Popular.”

¹²⁵ Slavishak, “Working-Class Muscle,” 367. Slavishak eloquently analyzes the anxiety that crowds of working-class radicals provoked in the popular imaginary for many Americans.

¹²⁶ Quotes are from Ibid, 366.

¹²⁷ Jensen, “The United State, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism,” 17.

workforce reveals that most people viewed labor radicalism, and especially that of the anarchist, as a product of European history and thus immigration from Europe, even when radical behavior grew out of domestic circumstances. Many Americans turned to print media in order to express the belief that “the masses of American people do not take to anarchy and socialism for they have no motives or reason under our glorious constitution to lead them to think of such pernicious systems.”¹²⁸ Similarly, a September 30, 1893 *New York Times* editorial article stated that “While there are no Native American anarchists, we have doubtless allowed many European Anarchists to slip through the large and loose meshes of our inspection of immigrants.”¹²⁹ Ironically, many immigrant anarchists present in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century adopted an anarchist identity and sociopolitical agenda after they arrived on American soil.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, the press blamed the existence of anarchists and other “cultureless alien beings” on external problems, collapsing them into a singular concern: immigration.¹³¹

Like poverty, disease, and old-world decay, the anarchist occupied a place of general alarm regarding immigration and unskilled labor in public discourse. This led many to believe that “Anarchists from every cline” were being “dumped on these shores” in the midst of the masses of skilled and unskilled laborers looking to join the American

¹²⁸ “Anarchy and Socialism UnAmerican,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, November 21, 1894: 4.

¹²⁹ “No Title,” *New York Times*, September 30, 1893: 4.

¹³⁰ German radicals, for example, after being exiled from Europe often radicalized and formed anarchist associations due to many of the unique qualities of the urban landscape and social environment. See, Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 2007).

¹³¹ Slavishak, “Working-Class Muscle,” 367.

workforce.¹³² Concerns over immigration dominated most debates on the matter, while anxieties surrounding immigration, labor, and anarchism collapsed into one another. At a local political organization meeting in New York 1892, Frederick Randolph Taylor voiced these sentiments to other club members when he bemoaned “The most evil effect of our unrestricted immigration has been upon our laboring classes...Besides the effect immigration is having on our labor market, it is filling our slums and creating pauper and criminal classes for us to provide for and guard against.”¹³³ Taylor also believed that along with these immigrants came undesirable political philosophies and organizations, and that “we are receiving thousands of people yearly who have ‘isms’ which with them are paramount to all also and which are utterly opposed to our free institutions and are calculated to disturb our peace and well-being.”¹³⁴ Taylor echoed a popular belief in American political discourse, considering the anarchist amongst the distressing results of immigration, rather than the sole progenitor of the nation’s problems.

Anxieties surrounding immigrant labor even led to calls for federal immigration policy that allowed for the exclusion of many of these ‘isms’—anarchism in particular. Senator William Chandler from Rhode Island proved a particularly boisterous proponent for the increased regulation of immigrants and immigrant anarchists. In 1891, Chandler proposed a bill that defined “anarchists” as an inadmissible immigrant class, disallowing their entry in to the United States. In the language of the proposed law, the term “anarchist” remained vague, unqualified, and self-evident. Many in the U.S. would have

¹³² “Foreign Anarchists Not Wanted,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* Aug. 16, 1897: 6.

¹³³ “Immigration Problems: Earnest Advocates of Radical Changes in the Law,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1892: 5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

echoed Chandler's concerns regarding the presence of anarchists in the country, believing that anarchists "are incongruous with our system," but the question of how agents could effectively "designate Anarchists" from other incoming populations often arose in these debates.¹³⁵ Due to the amorphous and indistinguishable understandings that surrounded anarchist communities, detractors of proposed anti-anarchist legislation believed that "it would be very difficult to designate what an anarchist and socialist is" since the lines that delineated them so often blurred.¹³⁶ They feared that ambiguous legislation could prove a detriment to American society, causing more harm than good.

Moreover, the anarchist never stood out as enough of a threat to require restrictive legislation. According to E. C. Kehr, an attorney in St. Louis and ex-congressional representative, the laws already in place covered any of the potential illegal or destructive behavior of the anarchist, stating "that that [anarchist] class of criminals is fully covered by the existing law."¹³⁷ He argued that if "he [the anarchist] has committed murder, I would class him as a criminal of that class. If he is an incendiary who has fired the property of another, I would punish him for the crime."¹³⁸ Legislators failed to legitimize the enactment of anti-anarchist legislation since anarchists themselves did not stand apart from any of the other criminals that may have immigrated into the United States. As a result, when the Chandler Immigration and Contract Labor Bill became law in March of

¹³⁵ Statement of Richard Bartholdt, editor of the *St. Louis Tribune*, to the Select Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 3472 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 781.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 778.

¹³⁷ Statement of E. C. Kehr, attorney and member of the 44th Congress, to the Select Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 3472 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 783.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*.

1893, it required steam ships to authenticate their passenger lists and added few newly barred immigrant classes, including “Those over sixteen years of age that are illiterate, cripples, blind persons, or others physically imperfect...and persons belonging to societies which favor or justify the unlawful destruction of property or life,” but contained no specific reference to anarchism or the anarchist.¹³⁹ By the end of the nineteenth century, immigration officials continued to emphasize that anarchists could not be excluded unless “he comes within the prescribed class of paupers, contract laborers, or criminals.”¹⁴⁰ The anarchist, albeit a nuisance and potentially dangerous figure of the era, did not require special legal provisions in the eyes of the American state.

Concerns about anarchist violence also bled into the debates surrounding international treaties between the United States and much of the industrializing world. The late nineteenth century has been described as the “decade of regicide” due to the acts of anarchist aggression that swept Western Europe, resulting in the deaths of several political leaders.¹⁴¹ Events like these led national leaders to show concern over what was to be done with criminals who engaged in terroristic activities. According to historian Daniel Margolies, the United States commonly used nondescript terminology and often referred to “dynamite crime” in international treaties negotiations as a way to engage with growing concerns over anarchist violence, particularly concerning issues of

¹³⁹ “The New Immigration Bill,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1893: 9.

¹⁴⁰ “Anarchists Cannot be Excluded,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 14, 1897: 2.

¹⁴¹ Jensen, “The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism.”

extradition.¹⁴² But as the United States signed many of these treaties, as they did with Great Britain and Belgium, the primary area of concern drifted towards the destruction of private property, rather than acts of anarchist violence itself. On top of this, “the United States dragged its feet in order to make only the changes it wished to make while preserving its jurisdictional latitude,” exchanging explicit language that dealt with anarchist violence or terroristic acts for control over what fit into the category of crime.¹⁴³ Anarchists were on the minds of American politicians and legislators in the late nineteenth century, as anarchistic crime was being incorporated into existing or newly formed laws, but rarely were anarchist activities used as the engines for legal change.

¹⁴² Daniel S. Margolies, *Spaces of Law in American Foreign Relations: Extradition and Extraterritoriality in the Borderlands and Beyond, 1877-1898* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 192-205.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 203.

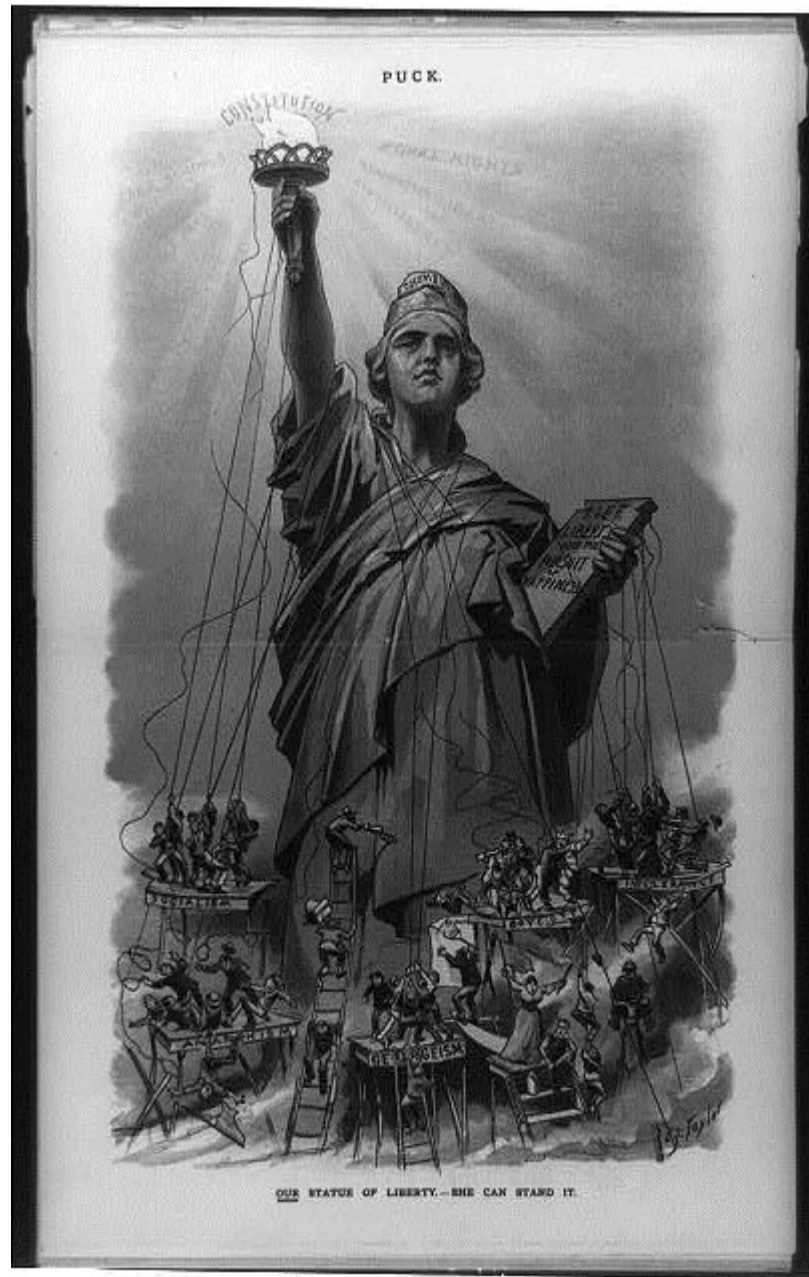


Figure 1.3 Library of Congress “Our Statue of Liberty—She Can Stand It,” *Puck*, October 27, 1886: 138-139. Anarchism is envisioned here alongside socialism, georgeism, etc. as one of the many ‘isms’ that many believed put strain on the nation’s coherence and strength.

Any calls made for the exclusion of anarchists at this time in the United States were ultimately deflated and eclipsed by larger concerns regarding race, labor, immigration, and the protection of private property. The great numbers of immigrants entering the United States proved an important issue at the end of the nineteenth century as national leaders passed extensive federal legislation in the name of the regulation and exclusion of immigrants.¹⁴⁴ Much of the anxieties that developed around these immigration policies centered on American nativist and racist sentiment. Ultimately, tensions in racial identities and labor politics defined immigration policy more than political belief. Federal bureaucracies mobilized around the authority to regulate immigration, particularly the ethnically diverse workforce that flooded the industrializing landscape of the nineteenth century. The primary concern was labor, but immediately translated into an immigration policy that excluded immigrants based on racial stereotypes and phenotypes. The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, revealed American anxieties regarding the interrelated conceptions of immigration, labor, and race at the end of the nineteenth century. The act itself barred all Chinese laborers from entering the country, while a popular, political, and legal culture of xenophobia and racism manifested throughout the country. Immigration policy like the Chinese Exclusion Act regulated the racial makeup of the American workforce instead of their political

¹⁴⁴ This literature on immigration policy, culture, and law is rich and extensive. For exemplary accounts of the U.S. government's move towards official policies of immigration restriction and exclusion, see Lucy E. Salyer, *Laws as Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995) and Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

beliefs. Anarchism proved minor enough of a concern to avoid mention in such legislation.¹⁴⁵

Artist Grant E. Hamilton summed up many of the reservations and attitudes that the national and congressional discourse produced in reference to anarchists in his 1891 work, "Where the Blame Lies." On chromolithograph, this piece illustrates a man holding a top hat in one hand and gesturing to a swarming mass of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island with his other. Depicted as a formless horde, the incoming immigrants appear nearly indistinguishable from one another except for signifiers attached to their personal effects, indicating their lower-class European heritage: "German socialist," "Polish vagabond," "Italian brigand," "English convict," "Irish pauper," and "Russian anarchist." Uncle Sam, hunched over in disapproval, surveys the incoming multitudes. By his feet lies a paper that reads "Mafia in New Orleans, Anarchists in Chicago, Socialists in New York," indicating multiple, yet specific, concerns of the era regarding immigration policy and law. Collapsing each of these European immigrants into one problem, immigration, the man with the top hat—a judge—states to Uncle Sam that "If Immigration was properly Restricted you would no longer be troubled with Anarchy, Socialism, the Mafia and such kindred evils!" Anarchism, envisioned in this image, appears alongside rather

¹⁴⁵ This is not to say that conceptions of racial superiority did not characterize many of perceptions of anarchists at the turn of the century. Anarchists too brought the many racial anxieties that preoccupied the American mindset to the surface of popular, political, and legal discourse. In particular, the presence of the anarchist highlighted the growing concern over the masses of unskilled laborers moving into the United States from Europe. This stoked nativist tensions that translated into anti-immigrant sentiment. But these understandings of the anarchist did not stand out in debates surrounding immigration. They were one of many problems associated with incoming populations from around the globe. For discussions of these historical trends, see Topp, *Those Without a Country* and Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*.

than at the head of the problems associated with immigration at the turn of the twentieth century.

This image provides important insights into what the nation believed were major issues at the end of nineteenth century. Immigrants like those pictured in Hamilton's chromolithograph often blurred the lines between political radicals, drifters, and the destitute in the popular imaginary. Using popular and racialized tropes of the era, Americans viewed immigrant poverty as an indication of a dark barbarity that could not assimilate into the civilized social structure of the United States. Conceptions of racial superiority also characterized many of the perceptions of anarchists at the turn of the century. Anarchists too brought the many racial anxieties that preoccupied the American mindset to the surface of popular, political, and legal discourse. In particular, their presence highlighted the growing concern over the masses of unskilled laborers moving into the United States from Europe. This stoked nativist tensions that translated into anti-immigrant sentiment. But these understandings of the anarchist did not stand out in debates surrounding immigration. They were viewed as one of many problems associated with incoming populations from around the globe, even when they were assumed to have come from a European heritage. In these visions of national purity and strength, unskilled immigrants coming from Europe, particularly Eastern Europe, held very little social value and invoked fears of unruly mobs taking over the urban landscape. According to a March 6, 1892 *New York Times* article, they were "almost altogether of a kind that we are better without."¹⁴⁶ Anarchists fit into these characterizations of European immigrations, stoking

¹⁴⁶ "Restricting Immigration," *New York Times*, March 6, 1892: 4.

many of the associated anxieties, and never having surfaced as an isolated or singular threat, but instead as one amongst many.¹⁴⁷ The primary concerns remained, however, poverty, labor, and lawlessness in the popular discourses of the era.



Figure 1.4 Library of Congress, “Where the Blame Lies,” Sackett and Wilhelms Lithograph Co., April 4, 1891. Anarchy is envisioned here as one of the many problems that beleaguere nineteenth-century America. Immigration, in particular, arises as a far more central issue in this cartoon instead of the potential problems associated with anarchism.

¹⁴⁷ For an excellent discussion of ethnicity, poverty, and labor at this time in American history, see Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

By the end of the nineteenth century, neither U.S. national leaders nor xenophobic nationalists amassed a strong enough effort to legally exclude anarchists from the nation. The problem of anarchy carried vague anxieties regarding chaos and disorder for early American political thinkers and continued to represent the possibility of social and political decline throughout the nineteenth century. In particular, the possibilities of anarchy seemed to manifest within the various groups of immigrants arriving on American shores, most especially amongst the working poor. The problem appeared nondescript and based in the politics of labor in these depictions of the nation's woes. Responses to the problems associated with anarchist were rarely met with strong state action, from immigration reform to international agreements regarding criminal extradition politicians believed that a proactive state response would do more harm than good. Anarchism was seen as a source of concern in late nineteenth-century America, but ultimately, poverty, criminality, and racial tensions appeared as more central anxieties that troubled most Americans regarding immigration. In terms of legislation, it was believed that the laws in place covered any potentially illegal activities an anarchist may choose to engage in; there appeared to be no reason to isolate the anarchist as a singular subject under the law. It would take the events of "a National tragedy" in order to mobilize American support for specified regulatory mechanisms to take place.¹⁴⁸ This occurred in September of 1901.

¹⁴⁸ "How the President is Being Cared For," *New York Times*, September 8, 1901: 1.

The Anarchist as Other

If anarchy represented the undoing of national order, and many believed that the actions of Czolgosz evidenced this philosophical truism, then a strong federal state-oriented response would be required to justly deal with the anarchist assassin, and anarchism writ large. A culture of law strengthened around the polarities of legal order and anarchic chaos, as the press clamored for a bold governmental response to anarchy in the country. As the American public turned to print media to rationalize the events that transpired in Buffalo and share their own perspectives with other newspaper readers, they contributed to a vision of state order in which an active and strong legal system would be the paradigm of order that countered and fought the chaos that the anarchist wrought. On top of this, long-held notions about the chaotic nature of anarchy in liberal political philosophy meshed with popular assumptions regarding anarchist communities, imbuing the popular figure of the anarchist with a sense of prolonged existence; the threat that the anarchist posed was not seen as immediate, but perpetual and fundamental. As one *Chicago Daily Tribune* article put it, “it should be apparent to any one that without laws, law makers, and law enforcers, there can be no government, and without government no society, and only the chaos of individual liberty, which is anarchy, with perpetual violence and disorder as its eventual outcome.”¹⁴⁹ At a national level, the anarchist quickly arose as a specific and singular threat to law and order; and a robust national state response would be the undoing of anarchy.

¹⁴⁹ “Theory and Practice of Anarchy,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 12, 1901, 12.

McKinley's assassination exacerbated long held assumptions regarding anarchy. Popular consensus turned to the press as an avenue to express that "The shooting of President McKinley by an anarchist should convince all Americans of the danger to life and liberty by allowing such dastardly fiends to exist in this country."¹⁵⁰ Concerns regarding the radical anarchist lurking within the anonymity of the crowd remained strong, while the figure of the anarchist shot to the forefront of the popular imaginary. But the more that the public discussed anarchism and the press printed articles that sensationalized information about those anarchists living within the country, the figure of the anarchist began to emerge from the shadows of industrializing America as the spotlight of popular discourse centered upon identifying just who and what anarchists were. America's fears seemingly became manifest in the form and action of Leon Czolgosz. Just as Czolgosz emerged from the crowds of fairgoers as a violent actor of historical change, the figure of the anarchist rapidly materialized out of the many murky anxieties that troubled America at the turn of the century. The events that transpired at the fairgrounds highlighted the long-feared chaotic potential churning within the American political landscape in modernizing America, centered upon the specter of anarchy.

¹⁵⁰ "Advocates of Murder," *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 10, 1901, 6. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/SLPD54-20b.htm> (7/14/2012).



Figure 1.5 Czolgosz emerges from the crowd to shoot President McKinley in the abdomen and chest. The imagery of this scene played into common assumptions and fears regarding the disorderliness of the crowd in turn of the century America. T. Dart Walker, “Assassination of President McKinley,” *Leslie’s Weekly*, September 21, 1901, front page.

The more the press printed articles that attempted to get a grasp on what anarchy was, the more the figure of anarchist functioned as a catch-all rhetorical tool that offered an explanation for nearly everything wrong with American society at the turn of the century. Newspapers, in particular, served as a forum for the opinionated patriot to relate their versions of the anarchist problem to the rest of the country. Czolgosz’s claim that “I got my education in the public schools of Detroit” served as enough evidence for

detractors of the rising numbers of compulsory education institutions in American cities to justify its demise. Prominent homeschooling advocate, Francis B. Livesey, argued that public schools “spawned” masses of discontented in the country, most especially anarchists, and that those “who have been shouting that the public schools are the bulwark of the nation should lay their hands on their mouths forevermore, for it was the lack of that bulwark that assassin Czolgosz was prepared to go forth and ‘fight the battle of life.’”¹⁵¹

Like education, those dissatisfied with the state of religion and morality in the country, found the anarchist a potent symbol to press their causes, using print media to expound their beliefs regarding the anarchist menace. Devout Christians used religious magazines, newspapers, and church halls to collectively bemoan what they viewed as the lack of piety taking hold in the United States and even the assassination of McKinley itself as evidence of that inadequacy. Preachers took to the pulpit in great numbers, but also used the printed word like that provided by the magazine the *Evangelist* to demand the “revival of true religion” and “a new recognition of the character of God” throughout the country.¹⁵² Even those newspapers that did not explicitly market to a religious readership provided a space for readers to share their belief that the assassination “was an

¹⁵¹ “Public School Breed Revolutionists,” by Francis B. Livesey, reprinted from *Philadelphia Times*, November 17, 1901, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

¹⁵² “Mourning, Contrition, Confidence,” *Evangelist*, September 19, 1901: 3. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/Evangelist72-38c.htm> (Accessed 8/08/2012)

outrage on civilization, due directly to the foul influence of the irreligious, atheistic spirit and teaching of the day.”¹⁵³

The anarchist quickly became an archetypal other that fit into almost any agenda that appeared to indicate the loss of foundational American values, particularly the morality provided by the Christian belief structure. In religious circles, anarchism’s antagonism towards the state evoked a moral paradigm of good versus evil, as biblical allegories and moralist absolutisms abounded in support for actions against anarchists. National leaders received scores of letters asserting that as lawmakers and politicians, they had a moral obligation to pass legislation in the name of eliminating anarchy from the country. The most zealous equated the American national law with “God’s Law” and viewed the presence of anarchists in the country as an abomination of biblical proportions. Michael Cahill, as a concerned citizen and devout Christian, expressed similar concerns in a letter to the Committee on the Judiciary in December of 1901, stating that “the nation...shall perish” because by allowing anarchists to exist within the nation, legislators chose to act “contrary to God’s Law.”¹⁵⁴ Cahill viewed the oppositional relationship between anarchy and the state as a precursor for Armageddon, while the less passionate simply believed that “Congress dare not adjourn without passing a measure which will stamp out this greatest of evils—anarchism.”¹⁵⁵ Others expressed these metaphysical connections in artistic expression, much like poet Benjamin S. Parker,

¹⁵³ “The Buffalo Tragedy,” *Irish-American*, 4.

¹⁵⁴ Letter from Michael Cahill to the Committee on the Judiciary, sent December 30, 1901, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary. Quotes can be found on the third page of the letter.

¹⁵⁵ “‘Kill Them,’ They Cried Out,” *Atlanta Constitution*, September 16, 1901: 1. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/AC091601n.htm> (Accessed 7/15/2012).

who wrote that “God’s will be done in anarchy’s surcease/In law’s survival, liberty’s increase.”¹⁵⁶ Using popular tropes of the era, artists also reproduced a Christian symbology, invoking the image of the snake as a way to qualify the anarchist as a force of evil. These symbolic references characterized the state as a manifestation of moral order in opposition to the violent and chaotic evil posed by the anarchist, and the law as the most effective tool to cut the head off of the snake of anarchy.

More than just a threat to the state, anarchy symbolized the eternal moral struggle between right and wrong, as religious discourse and iconography imbued the figure of the anarchist with a metaphysical and timeless quality. The Reverend Horace Place of Cleveland, Ohio lamented in a sermon that Czolgosz “hated this country, despised the government, sneered at law and defied order.”¹⁵⁷ He stated that the assassin was both “an enemy” and “the incarnate devil,” conflating liberal governance with that of Christian morality.¹⁵⁸ This played into anarchism’s duality in American governance for early twentieth-century American Christians. As both an enemy of the state and the moral equivalent of the devil, these religious discourses were co-opted into widespread understandings of anarchy’s philosophical undoing of liberal order and the figure of the anarchist as a social manifestation of chaos. Like a moral paradigm, anarchy and the anarchist Czolgosz exhibited an almost omnipresent threat to the nation’s sense of security.

¹⁵⁶ Benjamin S. Parker, “McKinley,” in *After Noontide: A Volume of Verse in Various Keys* (Richmond: Nicholson Printing, 1905), 123.

¹⁵⁷ Rev. Horace Place’s sermon quoted in “It is not God’s Way,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 23, 1901: 8. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/CPD60-266a.htm> (Accessed 6/22/2014).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. Place too applied a serpentine metaphor, calling Czolgosz “the viper (and I apologize to the snake),” with a hint of sarcasm.



Figure 1.6 The anarchist was popularly zoomorphized into the image of a snake at the turn of the twentieth century, evoking biblical archetypes in order to show anarchism as both immoral and subhuman. Leon Barrit, “Stamp it Out,” *New-York Tribune*, September 8, 1901: 9.¹⁵⁹

More than any time in American history, the anarchist emerged as an exceptional figure in popular, political, and legal discourse—one that opposed the core values of the American identity and threatened the security of the nation-state; and if anarchism functioned as the fundamental antithesis of national order prior to McKinley’s assassination, then this discourse was multiplied exponentially as nearly every newspaper

¹⁵⁹ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/NYTri61-20020a.htm> (Accessed 9/03/2013).

in the country covered the assassination. Amongst the multitudes of articles published in months following McKinley's death, the specter of anarchy functioned as the rhetorical and symbolic antithesis of the American and all other forms of government, codifying the binary structure that existed between the state and anarchism in political discourse. When journalists like Murat Halstead, one of the many biographers of the fallen president, described anarchism, they tended to view it as the most dangerous threat to the state, under the belief that "It is anarchy that is the foe of freedom, that is the everlasting enemy of free government."¹⁶⁰ The conceptual line that connected anarchism and the nation clarified, as direct associations were drawn between the potential chaos of anarchy and the unifying order of the state, and that "The anarchists are the enemies of all who believe in law or order or government of any kind."¹⁶¹ But, popular renditions of the figure of the anarchist also took on a more direct quality after 1901. Political cartoons no longer pictured the anarchist amongst the masses of immigrants coming into the country as a vague, amorphous concern but instead as a direct threat to the state. The specter of anarchy stood out in pictorial representations, most often as a violent opposite to symbols of the state. The singular figure of the anarchist was seen as in direct conflict with the state, singular and threatening—no longer cowardly and hiding within the masses. With a dagger or bomb in hand, the figure of the anarchist attacked Lady Liberty or threatened to defile the American flag. The popular figure of the anarchist emerged out of the murky anxieties of immigration and industrialization that plagued nineteenth-century consensus

¹⁶⁰ Murat Halstead, *The Illustrious Life of William McKinley: Our Martyred President* (Cincinnati: Murat Halstead, 1901), 61.

¹⁶¹ William F. Draper, *Recollections of a Varied Career* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908), 332.

and figured prominently imaginings of national order and security. As a violent figure of historical change, the anarchist posed a central and pressing threat to imaginings of state order and security, while the anarchy they produced threatened the safety and stability of the nation-state.

Leon Barritt's cartoon "Put 'Em Out and Keep 'Em Out," printed in the *New York Tribune* on September 10, 1901 depicts this trend in the ways that American popular discourse envisioned and interpreted the figure of the anarchist as being in direct conflict with the orderly structure of the state.¹⁶² Increasingly, the anarchist stood out from the crowd in the many popular cartoons published in newspapers and magazines. In "Put 'Em Out and Keep 'Em Out," a male, disheveled anarchist is seen in direct conflict with the symbolic representation of the American state, Lady Justice. Unlike Hamilton's "Where the Blame Lies," it is clear that the United States has a pressing concern in the form of anarchism; the relationship is direct, confrontational, antagonistic, and violent. But the iconography of state power does not passively wait for a resolution either. Anarchistic violence, represented here by a dagger and bomb, is met with an unyielding outstretched arm and unsheathed sword of justice and order. What is depicted in this rendering of anarchist/government antagonisms is a strong state response to the problems associated with anarchism. Imaginings of anarchism's relationship to political order were almost always envisioned as incompatible in the United States, but after the assassination of McKinley, artistic depictions of this relationship intensified as many in the country believed a strong state response was required in the wake of the assassination. True to the

¹⁶² Leon Barritt "Put 'Em out and Keep 'Em out," *New-York Tribune*, September 10, 1901: p. 9. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/NYTrib61-20022b.htm> (Accessed 8/08/2012).

conceptual binary set up by political philosophical thought, a strong state response would prove to be the undoing of anarchy.



Figure 1.7 Leon Barritt's "Put 'Em out and Keep 'Em out." Printed in the *New-York Tribune* September 10, 1901: 9. After 1901, political cartoons began to envision the anarchist as a direct antagonist to depictions of national order. These cartoons almost always depict a direct and strong representation of the state, as shown here.

And within this antagonistic framework, the law, as a powerful symbol of moral, social, and political order epitomized the most effective antithesis to the problem of anarchism. In the ways that the press and political figures discussed and imagined the authority of the law, they conflated all of these ideologies into an oppositional paradigm

of chaos and order, anarchy and law. The law almost always surfaced as the most appropriate form of action to fend off the anarchist. According to ex-president Grover Cleveland, “If we are to escape further attack upon our peace and security, we must boldly and constantly grapple with the monster anarchy. It is not a thing that we can safely leave to be dealt with by party or partisanship.”¹⁶³ Furthermore, Cleveland argued, “Nothing can guarantee us against its menace except the teachings and practice of the best citizenship, the exposure of the ends and aims of the gospel of discontent and hatred of social order, and the brave enactment and execution of repressive laws.”¹⁶⁴ The law would provide order to the chaos that the anarchist created. But no longer would the passive vagueness of prior legislation do the job; the country required an active and strong legal response to the disorder that the figure of the anarchist seemed to provoke. A September 8, 1901 *Minneapolis Tribune* article argued that “Law is the opposite of anarchy,” and therefore the most effective response would be to turn to the auspices of the law.¹⁶⁵

Not everyone agreed that state-sanctioned legal recourse meted out the most appropriate form of justice, however. Many Americans responded by taking the law into their own hands, calling for vigilante justice against anarchists within the country. At times, this led to acts of violence, especially in the immediate aftermath of the assassination at Buffalo. In moments of collective rage, Americans often united in their

¹⁶³ Grover Cleveland, “Addresses by Hon. Grover Cleveland,” in *William McKinley: Character Sketches of America’s Martyred Chieftain*, compiled by Charles E. Benedict (New York: Blanchard Press, 1901), 191.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ “Law Must Prevail,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, 6.

attacks on suspected anarchists as a way to reinforce the rift that separated the American citizen and the anarchist other. Four days after McKinley was assassinated, Henry Fredericks was beaten by a crowd of saloon-goers for stating that he was an anarchist. The struggle moved onto the streets, where “each man as soon as he learned what it was about took a punch or a kick” until Fredericks was “mauled unmercifully.”¹⁶⁶ When police arrived at the scene, they hauled Fredericks to the local jail, where he received a twenty-nine day jail sentence after refusing to answer the police magistrate’s inquiries about whether or not he was an anarchist. Others acted alone in their pursuance of “justice.” In a similar incident, a vacationing Catholic priest in New York, who upon hearing a nearby passerby curse Czolgosz for not doing a “better job,” “hit him hard” across the face.¹⁶⁷ It mattered little that the assaulted victim never indicated being an anarchist since “the results were all that could be desired” from a person who desecrated a national symbol such as the president.¹⁶⁸ Not everyone walked away from these altercations—some resulted in death.¹⁶⁹ Newspapers across the country reported beatings, shootings, and public humiliation nearly every day during the month of September 1901, but calls for a more orderly technique of justice eventually took precedence.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ “Crowd Beat an Anarchist,” *New York Times*, September 11, 1901: 2.

¹⁶⁷ “Redlands Priest Punches Anarchist,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 1901: A4

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ For example, a cigar maker in Oneida, New York was beaten to death by a man who accused him of being an anarchist—an accusation that was never proven. See “Alleged Anarchist Fatally Injured,” *New York Times*, September 15, 1901: 10.

¹⁷⁰ Vials, “The Despotism of the Popular.”

Even though hostility did break out following the assassination of McKinley, many believed that extra-legal violence achieved the opposite of the intended effect.¹⁷¹ Newspapers and magazines printed numerous articles arguing that only a federal state approach could destroy the anarchist communities living within the country and that acts of vigilantism merely spread the anarchist cause. Christian and African American press, in particular, united in their criticisms of acts of mob violence and denounced its participants, as did a September 12, 1901 issue of the Christian Adventist newspaper *The Watchman*, stating that “In one breath they denounce anarchy and they advocate anarchy as a means of getting rid of anarchy.”¹⁷² Those who agreed with this statement understood actions made outside of the law as undertakings in the name of anarchy itself; it was a strong state-centered approach that would be the undoing of anarchism, not extralegal actions. Preachers and Christian churchgoers voiced discontent towards these acts of violence, often asking forgiveness for the country’s “many fault’s and wickednesses, for the lynchings and other lawlessnesses” and for “those violators of all laws, human and divine; those human reptiles who go creeping around with murder in their hearts and in their hands.”¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ This is a fascinating history that has been understudied. More work needs to be to understand the relationships that existed between understandings of race, religion, and radicalism in turn of the twentieth-century United States anti-lynch discourse.

¹⁷² “An Evidence of Civilization,” *Watchman*, September 12, 1901: 5. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/Watchman83-36a.htm> (Accessed 8/08/2012).

¹⁷³ Quotes taken from an account of a sermon given by Rev. Dr. MacArthur at the Calvary Baptist Church in New York City. “New York Churches Pray for Mr. M’Kinley: The Crime a Humiliation,” *New York Times*, September. 9, 1901: 3.



Figure 1.8 Charles Lewis Bartholomew, “Still a Strong Hand at the Wheel,” *Minneapolis Journal*, September 14, 1901. Like many patriotic Americans, Bartholomew hoped that Roosevelt, as McKinley’s successor would provide the nation with the strength the nation would need to whether the storms of anarchy and any other problem the nation faced.¹⁷⁴

Sermons concerning the topic of anarchy almost always concluded with an affirmation of the law of government as the moral and civilized path towards dealing with anarchy—that Americans “must be a law-abiding people...Otherwise we shall become

¹⁷⁴ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/MinnJ091401a.htm> (Accessed 9/12/2013).

barbarians,” not unlike the world most assumed that anarchists envisioned.¹⁷⁵ Many African-American newspapers and magazines simultaneously used the mob violence taking place across the country to denounce lynch law and call for the government to “take care of its weakest citizens.”¹⁷⁶ A September 14, 1901 issue of the *Afro-American Ledger* argued that

The foundation of anarchy is absence of law, the want of it or the need of it, or a rigid enforcement of it. Anarchy has prevailed in this country for the last fifteen or twenty years without the least attempt on the part of the authorities to suppress it. When foreigners conspire to take the lives of men high in authority, or to throw bombs and destroy life of the regular constituted authorities, they are called Anarchists, but when men are hanged, burned, and shot to death, and even innocent women are murdered in their homes, it is called lynch law, and the men who partake in this innocent amusement are called ‘Our Best Citizens’

and that “when the law is defied then let the law step in and punish the man who defies it.”¹⁷⁷ One thing seemed certain: that extra-legal violence begat the chaos of anarchy, rather than the order of law and that the anarchist could only be “dealt with by legal processes.”¹⁷⁸ Ultimately, Americans concluded that “The only permanently effective weapon against anarchy, in a self-governing republic, is respect for law.”¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ “Put Down Mob Law,” *Afro-American Ledger*, September 14, 1901: 4. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/AAL10-6c.htm> (Accessed 9/12/2013). This denouncement of lynch law occurred in professional legal discourse as well. The author of an October, 1901 *The Virginia Law Register* editorial article celebrated the “dignity and dispatch” of Czolgosz’s trial, while denouncing those who had attempted to murder the assassin in Buffalo. Unknown author, “Editorial,” *The Virginia Law Register*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (October, 1901): 431-434. The quote can be found on page 432.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ “An Evidence of Civilization,” *Watchman*, 5.

¹⁷⁹ Bliss Perry, “The Death of the President,” *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 88, No. 527 (September, 1901), 432b-432d. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/AM88-527.htm> (Accessed 8/09/2012).

These processes manifested most explicitly in the fate of Leon Czolgosz following the assassination of McKinley. After McKinley's assassination, a mob of angry fairgoers surrounded Czolgosz, demanding immediate retribution. Cries of "Lynch him!" echoed throughout the amassing fairgoers as those present reclaimed the ropes used at the fair for lynching.¹⁸⁰ According to a *Chicago Daily Tribune* article, "Certain it is that if the officials had not used remarkable diligence in taking Czolgosz out of the way of the crowd he would have been mobbed and beaten to death."¹⁸¹ Amidst the din of the crowd, however, calls for order emerged. Nearby police grabbed Czolgosz and threw him in a carriage, while soldiers cleared a path to the local police headquarters so the assailant could be interrogated. Slumped over and bleeding from his wounds, even McKinley decried the growing anger of the mob, pleading to "Let no one hurt him."¹⁸² The courts and representatives of state order, McKinley and others believed, should decide the most appropriate form of action against the anarchist Czolgosz. According to this popular discourse, a strong state response was required in order to appropriately deal with an anarchist like Czolgosz, and if the American people wanted justice, they would have to wait for the courts to intervene on behalf of order and resolve.

¹⁸⁰ "Attempt to Murder President M'Kinley," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 7, 1901: 1. The "ropes" in reference were originally meant to maintain an organized crowd during and following the President's speech. The lynch mobs had intended to take these ropes and use them for tying up Czolgosz.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

The Trial, Czolgosz, and Discourses of Legal Order

A speedy trial followed Czolgosz's arrest. While imprisoned, Czolgosz refused legal representation and when asked if he was the one who shot McKinley, simply confessed "I did."¹⁸³ Americans throughout the country wanted to know "What was your motive? What good could it do?" to which, he replied "I am an anarchist...you don't understand, that's all."¹⁸⁴ The defense attorneys Robert C. Titus and Loran L. Lewis, having never met with the defendant prior to the trial called no witnesses, while Czolgosz himself refused to testify in his own defense. Czolgosz even initially entered a 'Guilty' plea, but the presiding judge overruled him and placed a 'Not Guilty' plea on his behalf. The functionaries of the state were going to intervene in the name of government order, with or without the defendant's permission; they were determined to show this anarchist that the rule of law would operate at his trial. Without evidence and despite Czolgosz's persistent claims that "I am not crazy. I am as sane as any man," the defense argued that no sane person could willingly assassinate the president of the country, while the prosecution highlighted Czolgosz's anarchist affiliations, stoking fears that the specter of anarchy remained a pressing concern in the United States. Calls echoed throughout the courtroom and in newspapers for a quick verdict in order to make a clear statement to

¹⁸³ "The Confession of Leon Czolgosz," *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 8, 1901: 2. Historian Eric Rauchway questions whether or not Czolgosz truly turned down the opportunity for legal representation, highlighting the "gaps in the official record." Either way, he showed no remorse, admitted his guilt on multiple occasions, and proved hostile to attempts to provide a legal defense, abetting in the speediness of the trial. Rauchway, *Murdering McKinley*, see 29-31.

¹⁸⁴ "The Confession of Leon Czolgosz," *Minneapolis Tribune*, 2.

those anarchists who wished to remain in the country.¹⁸⁵ The jury deliberated for thirty-five minutes and unanimously recommended death by electrocution.¹⁸⁶ The execution occurred on October 29, 1901, forty-five days after McKinley's death.

The trial and execution were viewed as a triumph of law and order over the chaos of anarchy. Americans had flirted with the possibility of extra-legal violence and mob-justice after McKinley's assassination, but a *New York Times* article published on September 25, 1901 reflected the national opinion and mood by proclaiming that at the end of the legal proceedings "the reign of law prevailed—righteous passion gave way, and the miserable life of the slayer was spared to be weighed in the scales that turn only in obedience to the time-honored rules of orderly legal procedure, which safeguard the trial of the guilty and the innocent with rigid impartiality."¹⁸⁷ Unlike the lynch mob,

The trial, though brief, was dignified, observed all of the orderly forms of law demanded by justice, and the prisoner had the benefit of counsel, who left none of his interests unguarded. Fortunately his guilt was clear, and admitted by himself. There was no wrangling over the cause of death, the medical treatment, or the defendant's sanity; and on the eighteenth day after he committed the heinous crime, Czolgosz was brought in guilty.¹⁸⁸

A strong and popular conviction in the order provided by the state remained intact as the trial, verdict, and execution were celebrated and that in the words of a *Chicago Daily Tribune* editorial, "The feeling among law-abiding people everywhere—after the first moment of blind sorrow and anger—will be one of satisfaction that the man

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ "Czolgosz Guilty: Jury Takes 35 Minutes to Find its Verdict," *New York Times*, September 25, 1901: 1.

¹⁸⁷ LeRoy Parker, "The Trial of the Anarchist Murderer Czolgosz," *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Dec. 1901): 81. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/YLJ11-2.htm> (Accessed 8/08/2013).

¹⁸⁸ "The Assassin Condemned," *Irish-American*, September 28, 1901: 4. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/IA53-39a.htm> (Accessed 8/08/2013).

who...assassinated President McKinley was not killed by the excited crowds at Buffalo” for “the law should punish lawbreakers.”¹⁸⁹ As the most legitimate arbiter of justice, popular discourses of law and order showed that the authority of the courts could enact the only true form of justice; a strong governmental response would be the only true undoing of the anarchist in the United States, and the American legal system seemingly proved up to the task.

The arrest and trial of McKinley’s assassin, Czolgosz, did little to abate widespread fears regarding a seemingly imminent and threatening presence of anarchists within the nation, however. Many celebrated the speedy verdict as evidence of a triumph of “the majesty of law” over the “impotence of the weapons which anarchy and misrule rise against it.”¹⁹⁰ However, very few believed that a single guilty verdict pointed toward the end of anarchism in the United States. The press stoked fears of a widespread anarchist conspiracy mounting within the nation, both during and after Czolgosz’s trial, connecting anarchist communities throughout the country. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, published an article on September 10, 1901, declaring that “Czolgosz has confessed to the police that his attempt upon the life of the President was the result of a conspiracy in which many besides himself had part. So far as can be learned, Czolgosz has refused to mention any names except that of Emma Goldman, but papers are in existence, which, if they can be discovered, will lay bare the entire conspiracy, and will

¹⁸⁹ “Punishing the Assassin,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 8, 1901: 12.

¹⁹⁰ S. D. McConnell, “Addresses by Dr. S. D. McConnell,” in *William McKinley: Character Sketches of America’s Martyred Chieftain*, compiled by Charles E. Benedict (New York: Blanchard Press, 1901), 116-117.

result in wholesale arrests, followed by prosecution.”¹⁹¹ Czolgosz’s confessions were sensationalized in the press and made to appear as if he acted within a conspiratorial network of domestic anarchist cells despite his own insistence that “he alone conceived, planned, and carried out the crime, and that he alone must answer for it” during police interrogations.¹⁹² The nation’s security remained at risk from the threats of anarchy even if the assassin had been dealt with according to paradigms of legal order.

Despite Czolgosz’s claims, fears regarding the existence of a clandestine and interconnected network of anarchist conspirators spread throughout the country. Local and federal authorities attempted to uncover connections between the assassin and other anarchists across the U.S. as police raided dozens of anarchist organizations and private residences in the weeks following the assassination.¹⁹³ They hoped to gather enough evidence to prove not only that Czolgosz acted in league with others, but that anarchists continued to pose a serious threat to the safety of the American nation.¹⁹⁴ Although local and federal authorities worked in tandem to arrest and imprison anarchists in cities across the country, they found it increasingly difficult to successfully indict them under existing state and federal legal authority. No legislation existed that outlawed the spread of anarchist literature, the teaching of anarchist doctrine, or the gathering of anarchist

¹⁹¹ “Czolgosz Confesses to a Conspiracy,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 11, 1901: 2.

¹⁹² “Hunting Down Anarchists,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, 1901: 4. Even newspaper articles like this one that acknowledged Czolgosz’s own denial of a conspiracy to murder the president question the legitimacy of his claims. This article in particular claims that Czolgosz “created the impression that he acknowledged a general talk with his associates on this particular crime” during interrogation.

¹⁹³ At this point, federal police authorities were limited to the small number—approximately fifty or sixty—of Secret Service agents that operated throughout the United States. For more information on the size and capacity of the Secret Service, see Jensen, “The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism,” 26.

¹⁹⁴ The cities of Chicago and New York were the primary targets of such raids. Czolgosz had visited each city in the months leading up to the assassination.

organizations. All of the police's efforts rested on their ability to prove the existence of a conspiracy to take the president's life—something they were unable to demonstrate. Francis O'Neill, the Chicago Chief of Police lamented these legal constraints in a September 8 *Chicago Tribune* article, stating that "I am bound by the laws...I cannot arrest them [anarchists] each time they meet."¹⁹⁵ O'Neill's frustration stemmed from local courts' inability to charge arrested anarchists with any crimes. The courts were forced to release those who were held in detention due to the lack of evidence of a conspiracy; it was not a crime to be an anarchist in the United States, even if the perceived threats posed by anarchists remained intact.¹⁹⁶

The trial of Czolgosz invigorated a paradigm of order in which the law, as arbitrator of state power, functioned as the undoing of the anarchist. The press continued to define anarchism as the central force that opposed social and national order, but unlike previous experiences with anarchism in the United States, the assassination of McKinley seemed to prove to the American public that a direct, concerted, and emboldened response was required to undermine the activities of anarchists. Within public discourse, as disseminated within the popular press, it was believed that "The crime of the anarchist" took the form of "a revolt against society and being directed at the law which

¹⁹⁵ "Knows Czolgosz and Goldman," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 8, 1901: 3.

¹⁹⁶ Not everyone was released following their arrest. Johann Most, a prominent German-born anarchist and publisher of the anarchist newspaper *Freiheit*, was one of the anarchists arrested during the raids that followed McKinley's death. He received a one-year prison sentence for writing an editorial that defended an individual's right to kill a ruler. Despite his sentence, it is important to note that Most was not indicted for participation in the assassination of McKinley; his crime had nothing to do with any conspiratorial claims. For more information on Most, see Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*.

holds society together.”¹⁹⁷ The specter of anarchy appeared to lurk within the nation’s deep-seated fears regarding the possibilities of lawlessness and radicalism, that “wherever any man, by any means whatsoever under the sun, defies law, seeks to evade or break it, that man manifests the spirit of anarchy, and in the best definition of anarchy he is an anarchist, be he preacher, lawyer, business man, or politician.”¹⁹⁸ Even though the anarchist Czolgosz seemed to receive the most appropriate sentence for his crimes, the specter of anarchy still haunted the safety and security of the nation-state. The courtroom and the prison cell should continue to remain the locations where anarchy would be dealt with, according to this (in)security discourse. And if it worked well with regards to Czolgosz, it should do the same for the rest of the anarchists in the country. But security remained a central concern.

The cities of Chicago and New York witnessed the majority of the arrests made in the weeks following McKinley’s assassination. Police authorities looked for evidence that connected Chicago anarchists to a coordinated scheme to kill the president and, in particular, sought proof that linked prominent Chicago anarchist Emma Goldman, who had garnered the moniker of “High Priestess of Anarchy” from local and national press, to the plot.¹⁹⁹ Investigators found it telling when Czolgosz proclaimed that “I am a disciple of Emma Goldman. Her words set me on fire.”²⁰⁰ They believed that this statement, combined with Czolgosz’s presence at several anarchist gatherings in Chicago

¹⁹⁷ John K. Richards, “A Present Peril,” *American Law Review*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (May-June 1902), 408. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/ALR36-3.htm> (Accessed 9/12/2012).

¹⁹⁸ R. A. White, “M’Kinley Memorial Address,” *Free Thought Magazine*, Vol. 19 No. 11 (November 1901), 661. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/FTM19-11a.htm> (Accessed 9/12/2012).

¹⁹⁹ “Emma Goldman in Law’s Grasp,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 11, 1901: 1.

²⁰⁰ “The Confession of Leon Czolgosz,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, 2.

in the months leading up to the assassination, including Goldman's place of residence, evidenced the existence of an anarchist conspiracy. Goldman was arrested on September 10, 1901 but claimed no prior knowledge of the assassination. She admitted to having met Czolgosz in July of 1901, but denied any intimate knowledge of him as an anarchist or his plan to commit any crimes.²⁰¹ Without substantial evidence that directly linked Goldman to Czolgosz's actions, however, investigators were unable extradite her to New York for the trial. She likewise committed no offense in the state of Illinois and could not be accused of any crime under the state laws there. As a result, after two weeks of imprisonment, authorities were forced to let her go without any indictment or trial. The results were the same across the country.

No conspiratorial cause clearly connected the anarchists that lived in the United States in 1901, but that did not mean the figure of the anarchist faded from the collective consciousness. Many called for new and explicit anti-anarchist legislation in newspapers, public speeches, and letters to Congress. Czolgosz's trial and execution was seen as an appropriate first step in the battle against anarchy, but much more needed to be done. An October 1, 1901 *Fortnightly Review* argued that Czolgosz's actions represented a mere sliver of anarchism's potential, and that "Anarchist murder is not a conspiracy. It is a contagion."²⁰² Anarchism spread like an intellectual and moral disease, according to the

²⁰¹ In fact, scholars have argued that Goldman treated Czolgosz with suspicion and distance. She potentially believed him to be a police spy who intended to infiltrate anarchist meetings and lectures. See Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) for more information on Goldman and her interpretation of the McKinley assassination.

²⁰² "Two Presidents and the Limits of American Supremacy," *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 70, No. 418 (October 1, 1901): 555. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/FR70-418a.htm> (Accessed 2/01/2014). Although this magazine was published in England, it was hugely popular in both the United Kingdom and the United States. American consumers of popular media often turned to European

article's author, and would not end with Czolgosz's death. In order to, put an end to anarchist activities writ large, according to the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, "the time for action has come...Anarchists ought to be placed under the ban of universal law."²⁰³ The law, as the harbinger of state order and the rule of law, acted as the paradigm of virtuous governance, one that countered the chaos that anarchy wrought. Under this paradigm of law and order, calls for the intervention of legal institutions gained momentum, as did the force and tone of the rhetoric.

Even though attempts to arrest and imprison anarchists in the weeks that followed the attack at Buffalo proved ineffective, police authorities, legislators, and spectators were still convinced of the criminal nature of the anarchist and that they were a national, rather than a local problem. They continued to believe that anarchists remained a menace to national order, threatening the safety and security of both the state and its citizenry, and that a strong and concerted governmental response proved the most appropriate solution to the problems they invoked. Newspapers published numerous editorials arguing that the anarchist belonged to an interconnected and active group of malfeasants bent on the violent dismantling of the state. According to one such article published in the *Buffalo Evening News* on the day of Czolgosz's execution,

the death of William McKinley is not entirely the voluntary act of the desperate assassin who was electrocuted this morning. Emma Goldman bears a share of the crime; so do the publishers of anarchist papers and documents. The men who lecture in favor of anarchism share the crime of Czolgosz. The New York conclaves, the Chicago societies, the Cleveland clubs, the anarchists in Boston, Philadelphia and other places—they all

experts in the fields of sociology, criminology, and pathology for information regarding anarchists. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

²⁰³ "Law Enough to Crush Anarchy," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 24, 1901: 4.

bear a share in the great crime. They aided and stimulated the weak-minded Czolgosz. He was anxious to show his devotion to anarchy and its principles, and he followed the teachings of those subtle anarchists who preach assassination, and point the way to its commission, but are careful to avoid the act—the spilling of blood—and depend on the rashness of those who drink the poison of anarchy to die as Czolgosz has died this morning.²⁰⁴

Anarchists remained a clear, central, and nation-wide concern according to the articles published after the assassination and execution; the anarchist Czolgosz may have been dealt with appropriately, but the threats posed by anarchism remained and appeared continuously present.

The assassination and trial stoked the public's fears regarding the dangers of anarchy in the country rather than stilling them. Even though Czolgosz adamantly denied having any accomplices, authorities looked for a widespread conspiracy that linked Czolgosz to other anarchists in the country as police raided anarchist organizations and private residences in the weeks that followed the assassination. All across American cities, anarchists were arrested “on suspicion of being implicated in the plot of the Anarchists.”²⁰⁵ But to many, Czolgosz's actions provided evidence of more than a conspiratorial network of anarchists hiding within the United States. Czolgosz's act of political violence seemingly proved that a class war was raging within the country; and that the first battle line had been crossed.

Anxieties regarding a possible anarchist conspiracy continued to surface in the press, despite the lack of evidence. Many newspapers continued to produce sensationalist

²⁰⁴ “As Czolgosz Died,” *Buffalo Evening News*, October 29, 1901: 2. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/BEN43-16a.htm> (Accessed 9/12/2012).

²⁰⁵ “The Police Raid a Resort of Anarchists,” *New York Times*, September. 21, 1901: 2.

media coverage, contributing to a national sentiment that “the failure of the authorities to establish a plot does not prove conclusively that a plot did not exist.”²⁰⁶ Others found comfort in the knowledge that Czolgosz acted alone, expressing that “There is some satisfaction in the theory now accepted by the police that Czolgosz’s crime was not the result of a conspiracy—one Czolgosz is enough.”²⁰⁷ Even when the press attributed the assassination to the singular act of an individual anarchist, journalists and editorial authors still perpetuated the belief that changes needed to be made within the national American political and legal system in order to account for the activities of anarchists that remained a concern in the United States—that a strong federal state would act as the undoing of anarchism within the country. The threat that anarchism posed seemed imminent and perpetual, requiring precautionary and defensive measures; according to a *Gunton’s Magazine* article published after Czolgosz’s trial and execution, “The deed done at Buffalo calls for altogether more comprehensive action than the mere trial and execution of Czolgosz...the one thing of crucial importance now does not relate to the past, it is to safeguard the future.”²⁰⁸ It remained apparent in popular opinion that anarchism continued to pose a direct threat to the federal state and that a strong state response almost always arose as the most tenable solution.

²⁰⁶ “No Conspiracy Shown,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 24, 1901: 6.

²⁰⁷ “The Week,” *Public Opinion*, Vol. 31, No. 19 (November 7, 1901), 581. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/PO31-19b.htm> (Accessed 9/12/2012).

²⁰⁸ Editorial, “An Appalling Menace,” *Gunton’s Magazine*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (October 1901), 291-292. MAI <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/GM21-4a.htm> (Accessed 10/11/2013).

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On December 3, 1901 Theodore Roosevelt gave his first “State of the Union Address” as President of the United States. The speech was delivered a little over four months after William McKinley’s death, whose assassination at the hands of a self-proclaimed anarchist meant that the shooting that occurred at Pan-American Exhibition and its aftermath were still fresh in the minds of most Americans. The figure of the anarchist remained a potent symbol of the dissolution of social, political, and legal stability and the anarchist continued to appear as a threat to the nation. Roosevelt invoked these concerns by arguing that “The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficial form of social order.”²⁰⁹ He also appealed to popular conceptions of legal and national order, celebrating the authority of the courts in the trial and execution of McKinley’s assassin, Leon Czolgosz, by stating that “The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked on his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the Government, the Government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people.”²¹⁰ The primary purpose of articulating these thoughts on Czolgosz, however, was not only to reinforce popular paradigms of legal order, but also to endorse the passing of novel federal legislation as the principal form of protection for the nation from anarchists. He,

²⁰⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, “President Roosevelt’s Message to Congress,” *Washington Post*, December 4, 1901: 13.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 7.

like many others in the country, believed that an active and powerful federal state would prove to be the undoing of anarchism in the United States.

As the public and national leaders like Roosevelt urged for the passing of new anti-anarchist legislations, the rhetoric intensified. The figure of the anarchist remained a central threat and other in these popular discourses of national security, as the press increasingly mobilized a rhetoric of war and defense to rationalize the passing of legislation. Concerns regarding national security framed many of these legal debates, as legislators turned to policy and law aimed at securing the nation from the threat of enemy anarchists. The first 'defensive' measure taken up by the government occurred when Congress passed an Anarchist Exclusion Act, as part of the Immigration Act of 1903, adding the anarchist as an inadmissible immigrant class. From 1903 onward, the US government acted as if it was at war with anarchy, which is the subject of my next chapter.

Chapter II

“‘Law and Order’ Be Our War Cry”: Languages of War, Empire, and the Anarchist Enemy

On September 15, 1901, one day after anarchist Leon Czolgosz assassinated President William McKinley, the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* published an editorial piece written by M. Van Hamel, a professor of philosophy of law, as part of an ongoing special report on anarchism on both a national and global level, entitled “How to Deal with Anarchism.”²¹¹ In it, Van Hamel claimed that “The solution of the problem as to the manner in which we shall combat anarchism, and particularly the crimes to which it leads, seems to me simple enough in principle. Our right to punish anarchistic crimes...is founded upon the necessity to defend society against its enemies.”²¹² The problem, according to Van Hamel, did not originate with Czolgosz, nor did it end with the attack at the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo, New York. The problem entailed a growing presence and activities of anarchists, which he viewed as inherently criminal and perpetually violent.²¹³ He argued that “The principle which should inspire all measures for the punishment and repression of anarchistic crimes is the unequivocal and

²¹¹ M. Van Hamel, “How to Combat Anarchism,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1901: 13. M Van Hamel was a professor of philosophy of law at the University of Amsterdam. Despite writing outside of the United States, Van Hamel’s work made it into American popular media discourse. Americans engaged in a transnational exchange with other nations, particularly in Western Europe, creating an international context in which anti-anarchist discourse flourished. As I argue later in this chapter, this was somewhat of a contradictory practice since anti-anarchist discourse in the U.S. took on an anti-European quality during the early years of the twentieth century. But this still did not mean that an intellectual exchange did not exist across national boundaries.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ This concern was augmented by a chain of assassinations of political leaders, including McKinley, by anarchists across Europe and North America at the turn of the twentieth century. For more on this, see Richard Bach Jensen, “The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism, 1904-1914,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 15-46.

unalterable resolution of existing society to defend itself in its peaceful evolution against all hostile attacks and to use, to that end, every means to which its enemies force it to have recourse. There must be no laxity, no weakness, no hesitation on that point.”²¹⁴ Mobilizing a forceful, war-like discourse, Van Hamel argued that “The enemy will retreat only before a united and resolute army.”²¹⁵

Van Hamel did not believe that national militias should mediate between the legal authority of the state and the potential violence wrought by dissident anarchists. Instead, he articulated and circulated an aesthetic of wartime combat as a way to rationalize the expansion of state power aimed at securing the nation from anarchists, blurring the rhetorical lines that separated war and peace.²¹⁶ By employing a language of war and national security, Van Hamel’s words contributed to a political discourse that centered on unifying the country around “martial ideals.”²¹⁷ At the same time, as media publications

²¹⁴ M. Van Hamel, “How to Combat Anarchism,” 13.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ For a discussion of the historical delineations of “wartime” versus “peacetime,” see Mary L. Dudziak, *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequence*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and “Law, War, and the History of Time,” *California Law Review*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (October 2010): 1669-1701.

²¹⁷ For the rise of these “martial ideals” at the end of the nineteenth century, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 98-139. This domestic use of militaristic discourse and identity became a significant source of cultural and political power in post-Civil War America, especially for the men within the realm of politics. Many historians have, in particular, analyzed the ways that militarist ideals informed normative understandings of masculinity during Progressive Era American society. For more on this, see E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995), and Kristen L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Historian Kevin P. Murphy has also shown how Progressive Era social workers, in particular, evoked discourses of “civic militarism,” in effect bringing “the discipline and collective values associated with waging war to the domestic arena,” in order to enact political and social change. Kevin P. Murphy, *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2008), 70.

like these made calls for new implements of federal power in what the press began calling “The war against anarchy,” the U.S. military engaged in a war across the Pacific, leaving the identity of the American nation-state in flux.²¹⁸

Late nineteenth-century U.S. imperialism thinned the borders that separated the American nation-state from the outside world in profound and unprecedented ways, uncovering in the process deep-seated anxieties regarding domestic and international power, immigration, and global responsibility.²¹⁹ In particular, Americans were concerned that their imperial efforts flirted too closely with the revolutionary chaos it sought to control—that anarchy reigned outside of the United States and any American effort to subdue it might result in the spillage of anarchy and chaos into the country. According to Amy Kaplan, “Anarchy is conjured by imperial culture as a haunting specter that must be subdued and controlled, and at the same time, it is a figure of empire’s undoing.”²²⁰ This imperial culture of empire’s anarchy informed domestic discourses surrounding radical anarchists. Americans not only articulated a bellicose and warlike discourse in order to drum up support for a response to domestic anarchism, they

²¹⁸ “War Against Anarchy,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1901, 12. For more on American imperial culture and the ways that it altered turn of the twentieth century notions of national identity, see Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001) and Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

²¹⁹ For the intricate relationship between international and domestic anxieties in late nineteenth-century U.S. imperial efforts, see Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*. For the ways that this imperial history highlighted anxieties regarding immigration, see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1867-1971* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000). On the U.S.’s thrust into international politics, see David J. Silbey, *A War of Frontier and Empire: The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).

²²⁰ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 13.

interpreted the assassination of McKinley within a cultural lens saturated with a language of empire and national security.²²¹

Although historians like Amy Kaplan have shown the ways that Americans viewed their imperial mission in terms of rescuing the colonized “from the tyranny of an Old World empire on the one hand, and from the anarchy of revolution and self-rule on the other,” very little has been said of the relationship between U.S. empire and actual anarchists.²²² America’s experiences with empire had a profound effect on popular and political reactions to McKinley’s assassination. I argue that popular discourses on anarchy and empire contributed to the rise of a culture of national security in three interrelated ways. (1) The American nation tapped into its experiences with empire, as journalists, political committees, and veterans’ organizations continued an imperial tradition of mobilizing the rhetoric of war as a motif for national regeneration and governmental action following the assassination. But empire provoked domestic anxieties as much as it provided national unity and regeneration. (2) As a result, when the nation’s imperial culture collided with domestic debates surrounding the figure of the anarchist, new models of citizenship, patriotism, and ideals about U.S. governmental power emerged in unprecedented ways, blurring ideals of restriction and freedom in the name of securing the entire nation-state from the threats posed by anarchy. (3) As U.S. policymakers applied these imperial discourses of anarchy to debates surrounding

²²¹ Empire’s logic could be found throughout American culture. Throughout the press, popular literature, and political associations, the language of empire could be found just as much within the borders of the United States as in its imperial fringes. See David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Charlotte: Duke University Press, 1993).

²²² Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 92.

potential legislative action against anarchists, they intermixed languages of imperialism with American republicanism in ways that rationalized governmental change in the name of national security. They envisioned a security regime that negotiated the fine line that separated the American empire and republic, all while a cultural, political, and linguistic backdrop circulated popular concerns over national security. The words of poet Harley Tuttle Dana shows how the language of national security emerged in concerns surrounding order, anti-anarchism, and war in his poetic ode to the fallen president: “‘Law and Order’ be our war cry!/Down with anarchists of red/Let us swear it, ‘live or die.’”²²³

Anarchism and the Rhetoric of War

In the months and years that followed the death of McKinley in 1901, the figure of the anarchist remained a central and pressing concern in the eyes of American popular, political, and legal commentators. Newspapers stoked the public’s fears regarding the potential dangers wrought by anarchism, as national leaders searched for solutions to what McKinley’s Secretary of State John Hay deemed, “This problem of anarchy.”²²⁴ The trial and execution of the assassin, Leon Czolgosz, strengthened the popular belief that institutions of law, as the signifier of a strong state, operated as the best avenue to deal with what seemed like an increasingly imminent problem posed by the anarchist; but

²²³ Harley Tuttle Dana, “Lines on the Death of President McKinley,” in *Stray Poems and Early History of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroads* (York, PA: P. Anstadt & Sons, 1903), 61.

²²⁴ John Hay, “William McKinley,” in *Addresses of John Hay* (New York: The Century Co., 1906), 141.

by 1901, no laws existed that clearly dealt with anarchists or anarchism. As a result, voices from across the country gained collective momentum, calling for new legislation aimed at restricting the activities of the anarchist. It appeared that the only way to deconstruct the anti-statist ideology of anarchist doctrine would be to counter it with a stronger, more resolute form of governmental order. As legislators, politicians, and the press all clamored for the creation of new laws, the tone of their appeals turned increasingly bellicose. Metaphors of war and a patriotic martial tone characterized calls for a strong state response to domestic anarchism, destabilizing the lines that separated war and peace.

The media tone immediately following McKinley's death was tense, violent, and reactionary in what papers began calling "the war against anarchy."²²⁵ Death, vileness, retribution, murder, evil, execution, revenge—all of these words were commonplace in newspapers articles, speeches, and correspondences that referenced the anarchist. Cartoons published in popular newspapers and magazines frequently placed images of anarchists in the midst of violent acts engaged against the iconography of the state, while the opinion sections were filled with promises of retaliation and threats of reactive harm towards any and all anarchists. Commentators commonly zoomorphized the figure of the anarchist into a rabid dog or a venomous snake, necessitating extermination, as did a September 14, 1901 article in the *Lafayette Gazette*, which stated that "When a mad dog runs amuck in a community he is shot down. When pioneers settle in a country they first

²²⁵ "War Against Anarchy," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12.

kill the rattle-snakes. Anarchists deserve no better fate.”²²⁶ Articles like these made it appear as if all anarchists deserved Czolgosz’s fate, simply by virtue of being anarchists. Violence may have set the tone for many within the United States, but it seemed that the national unity and patriotic fervor required of a nation at war would truly combat the effect that anarchism had had upon the country.²²⁷

Martial rhetoric and metaphors of war defined the press’ coverage of McKinley’s assassination, the national response to the president’s death, and anarchism writ large. Anarchy became the quintessential, perpetual, and at times primal, enemy of national peace and order. Anarchists were described as an invading force, who engaged in ideological and physical warfare across the country, battling business, religious, and government institutions with violent antagonism. Newspapers published articles nearly every day in the months following McKinley’s assassination, suggesting that segments of the American population mobilized across the entire country in efforts to win the war against “The Real Anarchist Enemy.”²²⁸ Article titles like “War upon Society,” “War on the Anarchists”, and “War on the Reds” saturated newspaper pages as journalists

²²⁶ “Attempt to Assassinate the President,” *Lafayette Gazette*, September 14, 1901: 2. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/LGazette9-29a.htm> (Accessed 10/13/2012).

²²⁷ Violence has played a long and central role in American identity, culture, and politics, especially in U.S. international and domestic imperial experiences. For an excellent account of the roles that violence as both an idea and a physical reality has played in this history, particularly the US’s continental empire, see Richard Slotkins, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), and *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

²²⁸ “The Real Anarchist Enemy,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 11, 1901: 8.

heightened fears regarding the possibility of future anarchistic violence.²²⁹ By transforming the news surrounding the activities of and the responses to American anarchists into the antagonisms found in the trenches of the battlefield, the press operated as a tool of unification and profit.²³⁰ Tapping into the patriotic fervor associated with war allowed the popular press to unify a reader base around the turmoil and tragedy of wartime experience, while concurrently selling newspapers and magazines that contained sensationalized stories and headlines.

²²⁹ “War upon Society,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, November 24, 1903: 4. “War on the Anarchists,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 8, 1901. “War on the Reds,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 21, 1902. The term “reds” was most often associated with anarchists at this time in American history.

²³⁰ Kaplan, “American Journalism Goes to War.”



Figure 2.1 Charles Lewis Bartholomew's editorial cartoon "The American Eagle—There is no Room For you in This Nest," in the September 11, 1901 edition of the *Minneapolis Journal* depicts an American eagle strangling a serpentine anarchist figure. Many in the press envisioned and espoused a violent response to anarchism immediately following McKinley's assassination.²³¹

Individuals and organizations turned to the popular press in order to engage more directly in this production of patriotic idealism, uniting in the values and solidarity associated with a wartime nation. Newspapers related stories that indicated a concerted

²³¹ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/MinnJ091101a.htm> (Accessed 11/26/2013).

effort of numerous and often opposing social and political organizations engaged in their own war against anarchy, from the Ku Klux Klan to the Christian clergy.²³² Religious organizations, in particular, turned to both the pious and secular press in order to distribute what had been vocalized in local sermons regarding anarchism to a larger, national audience.²³³ Patriotic societies and fraternal organizations, like the Marquette Club of Chicago, used the press as well in order to gather support for their “proposed war on anarchy,” seeking “the cooperation of all patriotic societies and organizations throughout the United States...to begin a campaign which will sweep across the country.”²³⁴ The mass media, in effect, served as a unifier—one that allowed readers to participate and perpetuate the production of an American identity built around patriotic unity and national defense, which were commonly identified as the tenets of a nation at war.²³⁵

Newspaper readers would have been very familiar with the power of martial ideology and thought, especially in relation to anarchism. Radical elements within the working classes, including anarchist communities, had long termed the relationship between employer and employee as being more than antagonistic, but one that

²³² “War Declared on ‘Red’ Colony: KuKlux [*sic*] Method Used,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 18, 1901. “Pulpit War on Anarchy,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 10, 1901.

²³³ Religious sermons extended beyond the walls of congregation halls and churches. Newspapers like the *New York Times* commonly reprinted the words of Christian preachers for a much larger audience to consume. The September 9, 1901 edition of the *New York Times* dedicated the entire third page to several of these sermons in order to show that “All Denominations Unite” in both the wake of national tragedy and in efforts to endorse, in the words of the Rev. J. L. Hervey of United Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, New York, “Aggressive action...to crush as a deadly viper any class that is opposed to law and order.”

²³⁴ “Co-Operation in War on Anarchy,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 23, 1901.

²³⁵ For the role of the popular press in the cohesion of national identities, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

dichotomized American society into a class war.²³⁶ When the press, both popular and radical, covered the events leading up to and resulting in the Haymarket bombing of 1886, they did so with a bellicose rhetorical flair that ultimately served to sensationalize the entire affair and increase newspaper sales.²³⁷ But these differed from previous coverage of anarchist activities in the popular press.

Many of these representations and rhetorical flourishes had been applied in previous news articles that dealt with the topic of anarchism, but never on such a large scale. Media commentary employed a heightened rhetoric and martial tone when covering the events that occurred at Haymarket in 1886, but these generally maintained a more localized and business-centered point of reference. After McKinley's death, commentators described anarchism as a direct, enemy threat to the order of the entire nation-state in unprecedented ways and with an acute eye towards federal responsiveness. Numerous acts of labor violence that occurred across the country following McKinley's death, were placed in direct relationship to the country's war against anarchy, as journalists collapsed countless labor disputes into simple binaries that made the "issue single between government and anarchy," where anarchists were seen as "insurgents" and every act of labor violence as "deadly as...assassination of high officers of the state, not

²³⁶ This rhetoric of class warfare became a particularly powerful tool in anarchist cultural politics and other antiauthoritarian movements in the United States. For insights into the ways that radical anarchists employed this rhetorical tool, see in particular, Marcella Bencivenni, "A Literary Class War: The Italian American Radical Press," in *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture: The Idealism of the Soversivi in the United States, 1880-1940* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). Class war discourse would also be applied by other radical working-class communities within the United State, notably the Industrial Workers of the World. See, Salvatore Salerno, *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

²³⁷ See, in particular, James Green, *Death in the Haymarket A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America* (Norwell: Anchor Press, 2007).

unlike the assassination of McKinley”²³⁸ Articles like these were often sensationalized and highly polemical, but ultimately articulated the news through the use of martial rhetoric and metaphors of war and defense. The rhetorical tool of consolidating various localized labor disputes into the nation’s war on anarchy allowed the press to tap into a national sentiment of both social cohesion and political change.

In particular, the ways that the media described anarchism’s violent, martial antagonism towards the state served to rationalize a federal response—the collective ideology and patriotic concern over national defense would be the logic in which the U.S. government would act. Journalist Murat Halstead became one of the many newspaper editors and authors who found the bellicosity of martial rhetoric and metaphors of a wartime state particularly powerful in both selling papers and influencing national opinion. Halstead grew in popularity as a wartime correspondent of the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, authoring several books and articles on each of these topics. But he found the most success in his coverage and reflections on the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, during a time when the popular press proved a powerful force

²³⁸ “War upon Society,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, 4. This article specifically references the Colorado Labor Wars that took place between 1903 and 1904. Both mine owners and government officials commonly blamed the labor strife that took place in these years on anarchistic infiltration and violence amongst the miners. They, too, described the events as an act of war, mostly instigated via anarchists within the labor force. The mine owners called upon the National Guard to intervene on their behalf. National Guard leaders, like Sherman Bell believed the situation warranted “military necessity” due to the presence of “damned anarchistic” elements within the workforce. Anarchism came to represent nearly every challenge to the established capitalist, legal, and social order in the early years of twentieth-century America, enabling hostility to labor resistance under the pretenses of a boundless “war.” The events that unfolded in Cripple Creek, Colorado were not anomalous, but widespread. For more information regarding the Colorado Labor Wars, especially in regards to violence and war, see Elizabeth Jameson, *All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek* (Champaign, University of Illinois Press, 1999). For an excellent account of labor violence and the I.W.W., and in reference to the events at Cripple Creek, see Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000). Sherman Bell quotes can be found in Dubofsky, page 28.

in both popular and political opinion regarding American intervention in Cuba and the Philippines.²³⁹ War, Halstead found, sold papers and caught the public's eye. When he decided to write a book length memorial to the late president McKinley, he too employed a martial rhetoric and tone for the dual purpose of appealing to consumers and pushing for a governmental response to what he had considered the enemy anarchist threat. In *The Illustrious Life of William McKinley*, Halstead argued that "It is anarchy that is the foe of freedom, that is the everlasting enemy of free government," and that the only response the U.S. government should take would be to destroy the anarchist enemy was through a state-centered logic—the best form of artillery would be federal legislation.²⁴⁰ Throughout the book, he places the words 'anarchy' and 'enemy' in frequent proximity to one another, with an eye towards appealing to a readership very familiar with a wartime state, one that revolved around the very same logic of anarchic chaos and an ordered government. This was the same rhetoric being produced about America's involvement with Spain, Cuba, and the Philippines at the turn of the century and journalists like Halstead found its usage incredibly powerful when selling newspapers, books, and magazines to the public and pushing for political reform.

As the figure of the anarchist swiftly emerged as a central and violent threat to the American state in the popular press, the publications of political cartoons likewise mobilized images and metaphors of war to justify the enactment of new legislation.

²³⁹ See Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*. Kaplan, "American Journalism Goes to War."

²⁴⁰ Murat Halstead, *The Illustrious Life of William McKinley: Our Martyred President* (Cincinnati: Murat Halstead, 1901), 61. Even though this book was written as a tribute to the late president, the subject of anarchy—and its dangers—remains a central thread throughout, just as most references to the life and death of McKinley at this time often coincided with a discussion of the nefarious anarchist. In fact, "Anarchy, its History, Influences, and Dangers with a Sketch of the Life of the Assassin" was a subtitle of the work.

Halstead's political cartoon "Time to Draw and Strike" also illustrates a concerted conflation of war, law, and national defense in order to appeal to popular sentiments regarding conflict, safety, and governmental authority.²⁴¹ The zoomorphic anarchist serpent can be clearly seen attacking the symbol of the American nation, which appears in the form of Columbia. Implements of violence and war—especially those popularly associated with anarchism—can be seen strewn about in the foreground of the images: a dagger, revolver, bomb, and what appears to be a mortar shell. A symbology of war defines the struggles that take place between the images representing the American nation and the figure of the anarchist. They are seen locked in battle as the serpentine image of the anarchist threatens the security and safety of the United States.

²⁴¹ Halstead, *The Illustrious Life of William McKinley*, 112.



Figure 2.2 Murat Halstead, “Time to Draw and Strike,” in *The Illustrious Life of William McKinley: Our Martyred President* (Cincinnati: Murat Halstead, 1901), 112. Halstead, like many journalists of his generation, knew that employing metaphors of war both sold papers and influenced popular and political opinion.

The image of Columbia, the only line of protection that separates the venomous attacks of anarchism from the nation, serves a dual purpose as not only the symbol of the American state, but also as an opposing legal and warlike force as a defensive response

against that of the anarchist. National security is at risk in the image, but Columbia ultimately stands in defiant defense with powerful tools of national protection. With architectural symbols of the U.S. federal government in the background, Columbia unsheathes a sword that reads “Military Law,” ready to be swung against the anarchist enemy. The sword and hilt represent America’s calls for a strong and forceful federal government to take up the necessary social, political, and legal armaments against anarchism in order to protect the nation. In particular, the sword as a symbol of military rhetoric reveals what many Americans understood as the anarchist as an aggressor not unlike an aggressor at war, thus the need for “Military Law.” As evidenced in political cartoons like this, the press mobilized a military and wartime rhetoric at this time against anarchism, positing the anarchist as an enemy of the state. Instead of swords and firearms, however, the American people believed that the law would function as the most powerful implement of war against the anarchist enemy.

Halstead and other journalists of his generation reflected an American society very much preoccupied with an imperial frame of mind. Domestic mobilization of martial discourse, too, provided a significant push towards American involvement in Cuba, leading to a war with Spain in 1898.²⁴² This resulted in Spain’s ceding of the Philippine islands, among other colonial holdings, to the United States government and American involvement in the Philippine Revolution, which collapsed into an all-out war that lasted

²⁴² For more on the role of the media in the Spanish-American and beyond, see Richard L. Kaplan, “American Journalism Goes to War, 1898-2001: A Manifesto on Media and Empire,” *Media History*, Vol. 9, No. 3: 209-219. For an excellent account on the roles that bellicose and martial rhetoric played in relationship to ideals of political manhood, see Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*.

from 1898 to 1902.²⁴³ American efforts in the Philippines put policymakers into an awkward position: how would a government that prided itself in isolationist policies come to terms with its new imperial holdings? Would the U.S. too become another imperial state? How could the nation maintain its exceptional qualities when it behaved no different from European imperial states? Perhaps most importantly, how could the U.S. government provide peace and order to the Philippines when domestic anarchy proved strong enough to assassinate the president? The more the U.S. became mired in revolution in the Philippines, the more these questions arose across the country.

Much political infighting emerged out of whether or not the U.S. should even get involved in imperial affairs, with the jingoist pro-imperialists eventually winning out over the anti-imperialists—a result in which the media played a very heavy hand in.²⁴⁴ But by the turn of the century, the decision to war with Spain appeared to be a popular decision throughout the country, also with the help of the media; an ideal that lost popular support the more the U.S. military remained present in the Philippine islands. Historians have considered the Spanish-American “a very convenient journalistic war,” due to the influence that the mass media had over the national mood and political decision-making process, on top of the profiteering off of war news that occurred.²⁴⁵ Richard Kaplan has shown that during these wars, “American newspapers emotionally enacted the fiction of a national community, a community whose unity and virtues are forged in combat in a

²⁴³ In reference to the relationship between America’s international empire and its domestic manifestations, see Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America’s Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).

²⁴⁴ Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*.

²⁴⁵ Kaplan, “American Journalism Goes to War,” 213.

distant military theatre” as a way to bypass political infighting and move towards national consensus.²⁴⁶ As the language used by journalists like Halstead reveal, America’s domestic war on anarchy served the same purpose; and was oftentimes embarked upon by the same people.

Many politicians were not shy about their imperial aspirations for the American nation, including McKinley’s successor, Theodore Roosevelt, who himself had gained notoriety as a member of the Rough Riders during the Spanish American war. Roosevelt continued his support of American imperial policies well into his presidential tenure, viewing domestic anarchism within a similar cultural framework, famously arguing that “the anarchist is the enemy of humanity, the enemy of all mankind” and that “when compared with the suppression of anarchy, every other question sinks into insignificance.”²⁴⁷ He believed that if the U.S. government did not exhibit a strong response to domestic anarchism, the American nation, much like the Philippines, would collapse into chaos.

Roosevelt understood all too well the power of the media’s obsession with war and empire. He was known to stage photographs that emphasized his persona as a strong, military man and used his own military career during the Spanish-American war to propel his political aspirations.²⁴⁸ On top of Roosevelt’s imperial persona, he was also a passionate anti-anarchist on both a political and personal level, proving to be an evocative

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 214.

²⁴⁷ National Archives, Washington D.C, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service RG 85, Subject and Policy Files, 1893-1957 Box 303 Folder 51924/30, “Message from the President of the United States to the Committee on the Judiciary,” April 9, 1908.

²⁴⁸ Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

combination for the popular press in the early years of the twentieth century. In a 1901 message to Congress—a message widely distributed in the press—Roosevelt declared that, “The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism...Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should band against the anarchist.”²⁴⁹ Roosevelt provided newspapers with a number of well-rehearsed rhetorical flourishes to reprint bellicose speeches like these regarding a vast array of subjects, but by 1901, most especially anarchism; and with avid reciprocity, the media reveled in it.

Much of this had to do with the fact that both popular media outlets and Roosevelt profited from wartime imperial discourse. Roosevelt gave a speech in April, 1899 that celebrated the “strenuous life” as the highest form of the American lifestyle. He also used the speech as an opportunity to justify the U.S.’s imperial aspirations, stating in reference to the Philippines, that “if we had driven out medieval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy we had better not begun the task at all.”²⁵⁰ Speeches like these ultimately helped to launch a very successful political career for Roosevelt and other turn of the century politicians. In terms of tone and purpose, the 1901 speech to Congress and the 1899 speech given to a crowd in Chicago appear nearly indistinguishable. Both were widely reprinted in newspapers and magazines and done so with an eye towards a political agenda. Akin to his support of the U.S.’s imperial role in the Philippines,

²⁴⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, “President Roosevelt’s Message to Congress,” *The Washington Post*, December 4, 1901: 13.

²⁵⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: The Century Co., 1905), 9.

Roosevelt employed a martial tone and imperial rationale in his efforts to appeal for governmental reform towards domestic anarchism. The primary difference being that the earlier speech applies a rhetoric of empire within an international context, whereas the later speech applies the same language towards the domestic arena.

Anxieties concerning imperialism's effects on the domestic sphere beleaguered America's neophyte empire, but McKinley's assassination appeared to bring these concerns home for many Americans.²⁵¹ Leon Barritt's September 12, 1901 cartoon "In the Cradle of Liberty," reveals the ways that the U.S.'s imperial aspirations bled into the domestic arena, especially in reference to domestic anarchism. Published in the *New-York Tribune*, the cartoon envisions anarchy's dangerous presence within the home front, appealing not only to the country's sense of vulnerability, but the imperial iconography and culture that pervaded American society. A popular trope of the era, anarchy is depicted in a serpentine form.²⁵² This served the dual purpose of debasing the anarchist as the ultimate eternal and immoral creature, an allusion to the creation mythology of the Christian bible, and more importantly, portraying the figure of the anarchist within an exoticized form. Imperial literature such as the Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* commonly associated snakes within the fauna of the tropics, a regular reproduction

²⁵¹ I use the term neophyte here in reference to the U.S.'s relatively new role in transoceanic imperialism beyond the Western hemisphere. Historians have long, and very successfully, showed the ways the American history and imperialism have been inextricably intertwined since its national foundations, especially in relation to Westward expansion. See, in particular, Thomas S. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). For an analysis of the gendered history of U.S. expansionism and empire, see Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Concurrently, the United States also engaged as an overseas aggressor in the islands of Hawai'i. For America's overseas expansion into Hawai'i, see Sally Engel Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

²⁵² See, for example, Figures 1.6, 2.1, 2.2, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4, and 4.5.

within the popular culture of turn of the century America. This snakelike figure of the anarchist embodies a foreign presence within the domestic space envisioned. Much like the foreign bodies of the imperialized, this exotic creature cannot coexist peacefully within this context; it is unable discern the difference between license and liberty, and thus has not earned a place within the “cradle of liberty.”



Figure 2.3 Leon Barritt, “In the Cradle of Liberty!,” *New-York Tribune* September 12, 1901: 9. Both imperial metaphors and idealized gender roles dominate this illustration of America’s domestic space. Only Uncle Sam’s “big stick,” symbolizing not only law and order but empire and military power, can deal with anarchy.²⁵³

²⁵³ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/NYTri61-20024a.htm> (Accessed 10/13/2013).

Barritt's depiction of anarchy's invasion of the domestic sphere highlights much of the tensions that defined America's imperial experiences. The irony and anxiety provoked by being invaded by those the nation wished to imperialize does not escape this image.²⁵⁴ It does highlight another trend taking place within the United States, as well. Unlike Halstead's iconography of the state, the female Columbia here is no longer the protagonist. She is not the image of strength and order she appears to be in other imaginings—in this rendition, Uncle Sam holds the key to national strength and unity. This archetype of the national security state embodies power in the virility of his erect pose and the stick, as arbiter of governmental violence and order, paralleling Roosevelt's own "big stick" of empire. Before 1901, and in reference to anarchism, strong female icons like Columbia were the most common opponents of the anarchist. Her unsheathed sword of justice appeared to be the appropriate form of retribution deserved of any anarchist. But, according to historian Kristin Hoganson, American imperial "jingoism promoted their martial ideas by arguing that war would forge a new generation of manly, civic-minded veterans who would serve as the pillars of American democracy" and that these values "would return the nation to a political order in which strong men governed and homebound women proved their patriotism by raising heroic sons."²⁵⁵ As a woman in the domestic space, Columbia in Barritt's cartoon is the protectorate of children—in this case the child Liberty—not the arbiter of political or martial justice. Only a strenuous form of manhood could provide legitimate political power to embark upon empire and national defense. And like Roosevelt's vision of the strenuous American, Uncle Sam, as

²⁵⁴ This is what Amy Kaplan refers to as "the anarchy of empire." Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*.

²⁵⁵ Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 11.

the protectorate of the national family, carries the big stick of empire in order to combat domestic anarchism. This combination of imperial masculine vigor and the erect pose of a strong, police presence provide insights into the ideals associated with the national security state; empire and security goes hand in hand in the security apparatuses of the security state from this point forward in American history.



Figure 2.4 Unknown Illustrator, “An Illustrated Fable: Anarchist Agitator,” *The Pictorial West*, August 1886. Here, Lady Justice metes out discipline to an anarchist agitator, sword in hand. Strong female iconography such as Lady Justice or Columbia often served as representatives of a powerful national response to anarchism prior to McKinley’s assassination.

Similarly, Columbia's less prominent role in these anti-anarchist images indicates a shift in the nation's understanding of the values associated with liberty and license. Columbia became the most commonly used icon for representing the United States in the nineteenth century. She not only functioned as a symbol of justice and national unity, but of liberty.²⁵⁶ Her long, white gown represented the virginal youth of the American nation-state, reinforced by the sword of justice and the tenets of liberty. These values were not only embodied into her image and dress, but were seen as the unifying tenets meant to be seen as the nation's source of strength and unity. In Barritt's image, however, Uncle Sam occupies the center, standing on the rug that is meant to symbolize the U.S., which reads "Liberty is not License." Unlike the icon of Columbia, Uncle Sam does not stand for liberty, but for restriction. This shift in the gendered iconography of state power, purpose, and strength reveals a shifting linguistic and metaphorical landscape taking shape in American popular culture after McKinley's assassination. White, male, and bellicose forms of citizenship began to take center stage in visions of American strength—a stage where liberty could not be seen as license and where outsiders threatened the security and safety of the domestic nation-state in profoundly intimate ways.

Discourses of Empire and Political Power

This imperial culture of masculine martial virtues did more than act as an instrument of national unity, the combined tangible threat of anarchists like Czolgosz, the

²⁵⁶ Winifred Morgan, *An American Icon: Brother Jonathan and American Identity* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1988), 28.

sensationalized chimera they represented in the domestic arena, and the imperial culture that rationalized the anarchist presence within the country would help to lead a culture of empire home. Newspapers and political cartoons served as only a portion of the components that constituted the emergence and perpetuation of this discourse concerned with national security, empire, and war. Political clubs and fraternal orders likewise debated the next course of action in the wake of McKinley's death, and in their efforts to do so, showed great concern for the security of the state and its leadership. Increasingly, arguments to "make vigorous warfare against anarchism...until they become extinct and their members and sympathizers be entirely driven from our land" formed alongside "call[s] upon all the people of the United States to unite and insist upon the prompt passage and enforcement of proper legislation" to censor, police, and exclude anarchism in the United States.²⁵⁷ Members of these organizations signed dozens of petitions and sent them to Congress, demanding new federal legislation that specifically dealt with "the scourge of anarchy" with the intent to make the nation "more secure," as did the Citizen's Committee of Bainbridge, New York.²⁵⁸

This occurred at a time when political committees and councils were composed mostly of white men. It was an era in American history where women were, in popular visions of proper gender roles, relegated to the home. Although the domestic space, as the

²⁵⁷ Resolutions of the War Veterans Club of Philadelphia, adopted on an unspecified date and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

²⁵⁸ Resolutions of Citizen's Meeting of Bainbridge, New York, adopted on an unknown date and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

sole location of women's political power, proved more of a gendered fantasy than a social reality, committees like that of Bainbridge, New York were still, generally speaking, a male space.²⁵⁹ And it was a male space ripe with bellicose metaphors and an imperial impulse, qualities that emerged in their efforts to gain political influence within the legislative houses of the American government. They wanted to play the part of Uncle Sam, and with bellicose martial rhetoric and tone as their metaphorical big sticks, these men brought the culture of empire directly home, demanding domestic political reform in order to win the war on anarchy.

One of the more vociferous supporters of the passing of wartime national security style legislation was the Order of the United American Mechanics, which mobilized its committees that were scattered across the country to petition their respective congressional representatives for legislative change. The OUAM was an organization founded on anti-Catholic, jingoistic, and patriotic nativism and their petitions reflected these values. Government representatives received carefully coordinated letters from across the country via the many geographically scattered OUAM councils, demanding that "the Constitution of the United States be so amended as to declare it high treason for any person to attempt...to take the life of the President, the Vice-President, or any

²⁵⁹ This is not to say the women did not organize their own political committees in response to the surrounding political, economic, and social environment. Jane Addams, a prominent figure in the settlement house movement, was also known for housing anarchists in Chicago's Hull House, including Russian anarchist intellectual Mikhail Bakunin. I highly recommend her auto-biography, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York: The Phillips Publishing Company, 1910) and the secondary-source reading Jean Bethke Elstain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy: A Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002). Very few voices of women, however, have been found in the research conducted for this dissertation.

member of the cabinet” whether “in time of war or in time of peace.”²⁶⁰ Like many of their counterparts, the OUAM appealed to the patriotic emotional reaction to treason during wartime and a dissolve of wartime versus peacetime in order to garner support for novel legislation they had hoped would result in a more pro-white, anti-immigrant, and pro-nationalist patriotic American society.

But mostly, these nationalistic, patriotic, and/or veterans organizations wanted to unite the country around the unifying values associated with a country at war in order to pass new laws at home. The Junior Order of United American Mechanics in Cincinnati, Ohio argued that “the crime committed against the President in Buffalo, New York, humiliates all Americans, it is a crime against the office of the chief Magistrate of our country, it is a crime against the people.”²⁶¹ To the JrOUAM the assassination of McKinley evidenced not only an attack on the national leadership of the United States, but against the entire social body. They wanted the American legislature to believe that “Our President was the embodiment of democracy...and he is awarded by a dastardly and cowardly attack: an attack which is in reality an attack against the entire American Nation.”²⁶² And even though the assassination of McKinley occurred without any official declaration of war on anarchism, any “attempt to assassinate any civil or military officer

²⁶⁰ Resolutions passed by Independent Council, No. 2, Order United American Mechanics, St. Louis, Missouri, adopted Sep. 16, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary. Underlining is original to the document.

²⁶¹ Resolutions passed by Woodward Council, No. 49, Jr. Order United American Mechanics, Cincinnati, Ohio, adopted Sep. 17, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

²⁶² Ibid.

in the Government service shall be a Government offense” and thus “shall be tried by a military court.”²⁶³ Discourses of war and defense defined the proposed solutions to concerns over anarchism during this era of peace, pushing the entire country into cultural warfare with enemy anarchists.

Veteran associations proved particularly vocal in their opinions in regards to domestic anarchism, and their prior war experience emboldened their martial tone rather than diminished it—like their counterpart groups, these military-centered organizations too turned to imperial visions of a strong, martial state. Operating within a vision of martial national unity, these veteran clubs and organizations used their meeting halls as a venue meant to aid in securing national unity around martial values and imperial regeneration, while at the same time dealing with domestic concerns surrounding anarchism. This often led to overt displays of masculine virtue within the meeting halls themselves. J. Gould Warner, a veteran of the War of 1812, for example, showed concerns at a Veteran Yates Club meeting in Chicago, Illinois that the American government was not responding with enough aggressive conviction as he had hoped from a strong democratic state. Displaying his personal sense of patriotic pride to other veterans of war present, stood in protest of national inaction and demanded, “who will go with me and help drive Anarchists out of Chicago? I will go with drawn revolvers and put down these foes of the nation.”²⁶⁴ Putting the solution up to a vote, only one other member of the club supported Warner’s method of dealing with the enemy anarchist. Apparently Warner’s frontier-style vigilantism came across as a little out of date in a

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ “Starts a War Against Anarchy: Veteran Ready to Fight,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1901: 1.

modern city like Chicago, but that did not stop him from engaging in an American tradition that turned to violence as a way to encourage national strength and unity.²⁶⁵

Although Warner's very public display of martial virtue contained zealous overtones that were not necessarily shared by all of his contemporaries, the space allotted within these meeting halls provided American men like him a significant opportunity to place their values into a public venue. And at the same time, newspapers often reprinted the events and debates taking place during these meetings, providing these politically-minded men an even wider public arena to disseminate their values—Warner's outburst may have taken place within the confines of the Veteran Yates Club meeting hall in Chicago and his tactics may have come across as anachronistic or outdated, but his calls for patriotic unity reached a much larger audience. Most of these meetings resolved to pass much less flagrant displays of martial virtue and instead led to very sober calls for legislative reform. The frontier days of vigilante justice belonged to a bygone era; a modernizing nation would require a modernized form of governance. According to the *Minneapolis Tribune*, the entire country was "full of discussion of means of keeping anarchists out of the United States and for controlling them when here" and that "all the talk is of new laws."²⁶⁶ But that does not mean the bellicose tone of these meetings receded from these calls for governmental reform. The majority of these organizations, meetings, and clubs echoed the sentiments of the Marquette Club in Chicago, that "It is time we should take some action" and that "Legislative action against anarchy is what we

²⁶⁵ For more on this "tradition," see Slotkins, *Regeneration through Violence*.

²⁶⁶ "The Suppression of Anarchism," *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 23, 1901: 4.

want.”²⁶⁷ National security, imperial iconography, and domestic reform all collided as male-dominated political clubs and newspaper editors helped to set a national tone where “Liberty must be safeguarded” against the threat of the enemy anarchist and that the only defensible execution existed “by law and law by liberty.”²⁶⁸

Treason, in particular, arose as a popular topic in these political debates taking place across the country. As the press, veterans clubs, and political committees employed metaphors of a domestic war on anarchy, they demanded that wartime legislation be applied to anarchist activities. Sedition and treachery were conflated into these discussions in ways that had been absent from domestic American political discourse since the Civil War.²⁶⁹ By using the language of war and defense, these clubs viewed the threat that anarchism posed as a danger to the state and thus the legislative solutions they supported turned to legal power on a federal level as the answer. Those who contributed to this language of security and defense may have remembered that the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln’s assassination occurred towards the end of the Civil War and this, according Attorney General James Speed, qualified as an act of military aggression and treason. John Wilkes Booth and his co-conspirators were tried by a military tribunal, and many felt in 1902 that anarchists should be dealt with in a similar wartime manner, regardless of whether or not they committed any act of violence;

²⁶⁷ “Starts a War Against Anarchy: Club Committee Report,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sep. 22, 1901: 1.

²⁶⁸ “What Anarchy Is,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1901: C6.

²⁶⁹ See Geoffrey R. Stone *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005) for a history of U.S. sedition culture and law from eighteenth century to the twenty-first. Stone skips over the history that elapsed between the Civil War and First World War in U.S. history, largely because no sedition legislation is passed by the American government. But this does not mean it was not an important concern for those engaged in the lawmaking process.

anarchism by virtue of being anarchism, it was argued, should be viewed as an act of treason.²⁷⁰

These calls for federal policy were also significant since individual states were responsible for putting criminals on trial and although Czolgosz stood trial in Buffalo, New York many of the resolutions passed in these meetings called for the enactment of legislation that defined any attempt on the national leaders' lives as an act of treason, requiring a stronger federal response.²⁷¹ The Lodi Borough Council of New Jersey voiced the opinion that the assassination of McKinley by an anarchist indicated an "assault upon the man and the nation," and therefore "the occasion calls for the enactment of laws making the assault upon men elected to fill high office something more than common murder."²⁷² To the members of the Lodi Borough Council of New Jersey, the assassination evidenced an enemy attack on both the U.S.'s leadership and the entire national body and asked their congressional representatives to support legislation that would aid in the defense of the whole nation-state.

²⁷⁰ It would not be until 1866 that the U.S. Supreme Court banned the use of military tribunals in favor of civil courts. For more on Lincoln's assassination and the following trial, see Edward Steers, Jr., *Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001) and Elizabeth D. Leonard, "Lincoln's Chief Avenger: Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt," in *The Lincoln Assassination: Crime and Punishment, Myth and Memory*, eds., Harold Holzer, Craig L. Symonds, and Frank J. Williams (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 115-136. For a discussion of Progressive Era criminal courts, see Michael Willrich, *City of Courts: Socializing Justice in Progressive Era Chicago* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁷¹ For the trial of Czolgosz, see Eric Rauchway, *Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2003) and Sarah Vowell, *Assassination Vacation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006). Charles Guiteau's trial, the assassin of President James A. Garfield, took place in the District Courts of Washington, D.C. For the trial and persona of Charles Guiteau, see Candice Millard, *Destiny of the Republic: A Tale of Madness, Medicine, and the Murder of a President* (New York: Random House, 2011) and Elizabeth Ann Chenault, "Guiteaumania: Reading a Late Nineteenth-Century Political Assassination," (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002).

²⁷² Resolutions Passed by the Lodi Borough Council, New Jersey, adopted on Sep. 16, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

Patriotic and veteran groups like the Survivor's Association of Pottsville, Pennsylvania, were not the only politically minded Americans to request congressional support for "such laws passed as will make Anarchism synonymous with Treason and punishable with death."²⁷³ Ever the pro-imperialist and anti-anarchist, President Roosevelt openly argued that anarchist activities were in essence treasonable, urging a unified governmental response to what he referred to as enemy anarchists. On December 3, 1901, Roosevelt gave his first "State of the Union Address" as President of the United States. In it, Roosevelt invoked the paradigm of imperial order versus anarchic chaos by arguing that "The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficial form of social order."²⁷⁴ Appealing to these cultural paradigms of imperial metaphor and rationale, Roosevelt's address articulated a call for federal responses to the threats posed by anarchists, especially anarchist assassins. In particular, he argued that "The Federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President or any man who by the Constitution or by law is in line of succession for the Presidency."²⁷⁵ By sanctioning novel legislation as the most proactive response to anarchism, Roosevelt articulated a reimagining of the role of the federal government in the wake of terroristic violence towards the nation-state and its figureheads. He believed that the activities of anarchists "are essentially seditious and

²⁷³ Resolutions passed by Headquarters of the Survivors Association of the 48th, Regiment P. V. V. I., Pottsville, Pennsylvania, adopted Nov. 30, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary. Underlining is original to the document.

²⁷⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, "President Roosevelt's Message to Congress," *Washington Post*, December 4, 1901: 13. On the paradigm of imperial order versus anarchic chaos as a paradigm of imperial culture and political thought, see Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 7.

treasonable,” justifying the growth of federal law in the name of securing the nation.²⁷⁶ By naming the activities of anarchists as “seditious and treasonable,” qualities of action typically associated with times of war, Roosevelt conflated understandings of wartime legislation and federal power with the national appeal to deal with the problem of anarchism. Throughout Roosevelt’s terms as president, he continuously turned to a rhetoric of war, empire, and defense as a way to rationalize the expansion of federal law and regulatory legislation, especially surrounding issues of anarchism.

Even those who did not support the enactment of new legislation were swept up in the cultural discourses associated with an American empire at war. At a Union League of Philadelphia meeting in November, 1901 the Solicitor General of the United States, John Richards, told a large crowd of spectators and government officials that “the time for action has come...The red flag of anarchy should be driven from the land.”²⁷⁷ He, too, believed that the life of the president symbolized the nation as a whole and that an attack on McKinley’s life evidenced an attack on the safety and the security of the entire political body. He, like other politically minded men of his generation, turned to metaphors of national unity built around a language of war and (in)security, telling the crowd that “A murderous assault upon the President, aimed as it is at the life of the government, imperils the security of the whole country.”²⁷⁸ However, Richards argued that “no new law would be needed...in order to obtain the power to suppress

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 6.

²⁷⁷ “Law Enough to Crush Anarchy,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November, 24, 1901: 4. The Union League of Philadelphia was one of the most influential Republican organizations in New England at the turn of the twentieth century.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

anarchism.”²⁷⁹ He believed that the constitution warranted the authority of Congress and the President to properly deal with dissident anarchists and possible assassins. However, to Richards, the president embodied the nation as a whole, vulnerabilities and all; and like the anarchist attack on President McKinley, Richards believed that anarchist activities were “directed at the life of the government” and required “an effective plan for ridding the country of these bloody-minded people.”²⁸⁰

Richards may not have wanted to endorse unnecessary governmental change that day in Philadelphia, but when he stated that anarchism embodied a threat to the “life of the government,” he knew that the country was in the midst of an identity crisis, whether he liked it or not. America’s empire appeared to fundamentally alter the social, political, and cultural makeup of the nation itself. Exercising an imperial way of government meant that the United States, as a paradigm of civilization, had to impart part of its knowledge onto the colonized. Rudyard Kipling expressed these sentiments in his ode to the American imperial control of the Philippine islands, “The White Man’s Burden,” beseeching the U.S. to “send forth the best ye breed—/Go bind your sons to exile/To serve your captives’ need.”²⁸¹ Historians have described this relationship as “domination on one end of the spectrum to paternalistic assimilation on the other.”²⁸² But Kipling also warned in the poem to not “call too loud on Freedom,” for too much freedom challenged

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden,” in *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Editions Limited: 1994), 334.

²⁸² Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 51.

the discipline of empire.²⁸³ Imperial logic stated that the imperialized had to earn their freedom, moving from an infantile state of chaos to one of ordered self-government, but this balancing act of imperial discipline and civilized benevolence caused political and social distress when many in the U.S. turned this imperial logic and rationale inward.

Sacrifice and Security

As the press, politicians, and political organizations circulated a bellicose and martial iconography and rhetoric, patriotic Americans sought new roles for both themselves as concerned citizens and reevaluated expectations of the government as protectors of the political body. The press, in particular, published articles that suggested that Americans needed to sacrifice many of the rooted qualities that had been considered fundamental rights and liberties in the United States at that time. On December 8, 1901, the *Los Angeles Times* published an article arguing that “society has the inherent right to protect itself” from anarchists and the U.S. government needed to “Let the rigid hand of the law place itself on them once and for all.”²⁸⁴ The article suggested that anarchism had “left its bloody mark upon the pages of our history,” necessitating a reimagining of how the nation-state organized its rights and liberties.²⁸⁵ “The clear duty of the nation,” according to the article’s author, “is to make the distinction deep and clear that liberty is not license. No man has the right to do as he pleases. Liberty...must not be allowed to

²⁸³ Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden,” in *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, 335.

²⁸⁴ Rev. L. W. Mulhane quoted in “What Anarchy Is,” *Los Angeles Times*, C6.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

overstep the bounds of common sense.”²⁸⁶ In this way, the press made calls for a limited vision of the rights associated with American citizenship in order to ensure the safety and security of the entire nation-state.

Just as the U.S. expected its imperial holdings to purge themselves of any anarchic and barbaric presence, it would do the same with an eye inward. Theodore Roosevelt fell back upon his own understandings of strenuous masculinity and imperial regeneration, asking the American people to engage in their own personal wars on anarchy, beseeching that “So now it behoves [*sic*] each of us to conduct his civil life, so to do his duty as a citizen, that we shall in the most effective way war against the spirit of anarchy in all its forms.”²⁸⁷ Roosevelt, like many others of his generation believed that the anarchist could only tremble in the wake of such national strength and martial virility as an iconography of war and empire defined America’s relationship to the anarchist in the early years of the twentieth century.

Ironically, the popular press played a significant role at the forefront of this effort to reexamine American individual rights and freedoms. The Suburban Press Association of New England believed that McKinley’s assassination united the entire nation-state and that “wounded...was every loyal citizen by the bullet that laid low the Nation’s Executive,” but they ultimately questioned how “deeply sensible of our loss as a people and humiliated that such a crime is possible in a land of free speech, free schools, a free

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, “Speech of President Roosevelt at the Reunion at the Department of the Potomac, G. A. R., at the New Willard Hotel, Washington D.C., Feb. 19, 1902,” in Alfred Henry Lewis, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1905* (Washington D.C.: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1906), 2.

press, and religious toleration.”²⁸⁸ To the Suburban Press Association of New England, freedom and security were intimately intertwined in the American system, articulating the conviction that “We believe that government is instituted, and in this country more than in any other has been administered for ‘the protection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people,’ and ‘to the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men’.”²⁸⁹ They argued, however, that if the American nation-state wished to provide security from the potential threat of enemy anarchists, it would need to reconsider many of these freedoms and rights. Ultimately, they believed that “While liberty of the press and free speech is ‘essential to the security of freedom,’ that liberty should not degenerate into license.”²⁹⁰ The limits of freedom and positive associations towards sacrifice fast emerged as central characteristics of the American citizen-ideal. By discussing security and liberty in these terms, the Suburban Press Association of New England questioned the limits of freedom in the wake of heightened security, defense, and the perpetual threat of anarchy.

An imperial rhetoric of war continued to set the tone for these articles that questioned the viability of self-government at home. Newspapers like the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia published articles that argued that “Anarchistic treachery...shall be held accountable in like manner as the traitors in time of war.”²⁹¹ H. C. Moyer, the

²⁸⁸ Resolutions passed by Suburban Press Association of New England in Massachusetts, adopted at an unknown date and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ H. C. Moyer, “Law for Anarchists,” *Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), September 27, 1901, located in National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the

author of this *Evening Bulletin* article, argued that anarchists' treachery both attacked and exploited "the rights and stability of governments," not unlike the Filipino guerrillas that many believed challenged the stability of the Philippine islands.²⁹² Anarchists seemingly thrived on the rights and privileges associated with the American way of life, according to Moyer, tarnishing what had been considered benchmark values of the citizen. He believed that any person, found in the United States, "speaking and in any way disposing in favor of anarchy and the principles of anarchy shall forfeit the privilege of freedom and debar liberty and the right of the same at large."²⁹³ Freedom, for Moyer, was a tenuous concept and revocable in the wake of anarchism and anarchistic violence; freedom was something to be earned, not a frivolous right of any person living within the confines of a nation. And national security, according to Moyer, should be seen as paramount when put in relationship to the privileges associated with the American republic. The patriotic sacrifice of a wartime state operated as a normative value of American citizenship, as discourses on security characterized individual and constitutional rights in restricted ways, all in the name of national security.

The press used the idea of anarchism itself as an operational trope that rationalized a citizenship-ideal based upon sacrifice and questioned the limits of liberalism. On January 15, 1902 the *New York Times* published a speech given at a meeting of the Nineteenth Century Club, one of the many male-centered political clubs that voiced concern regarding the presence of anarchists within the country. Operating

United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

within an imperial logic of a dichotomy between anarchic, pre-civilized society to that of an enlightened modern nation-state, the speaker argued that “The primary rights of man are the rights of anarchy. He has surrendered some of these rights for the sake of constitutional order.”²⁹⁴ The press translated the Philippines within a similar logic—that once the Filipinos shed themselves of their barbaric, anarchic past, they could join the enlightened order of modern self-governance. But this would take sacrifice. Within this understanding of national order, speeches like these articulated a view of a domestic order in which a safe and secure nation-state required sacrifice; the citizen must forfeit some individual rights in the name of creating a more secure government and social body, that “If our Legislatures make laws to promote the interests of private individuals, if they do not administer to the people in general, then there is bound to be anarchy. If they do so justly, then anarchy will disappear as mist before the sun.”²⁹⁵ Imperial understandings of self-governance and proper national identity dissolved into collective rights that centered upon security and defense, not freedom, liberty, and political rights.

At the same time, vocal political clubs and organizations also began articulating their political obligations in relationship to the nation as a whole, rather than autonomous political units, applying an imperial rationale to the modern American identity. Members of these organizations placed their own political identities in direct relation to the entire nation, asking their congressional representatives to pass laws that limited the rights of the American people, writ large. Not all of these clubs explicitly embraced a pro-nativist

²⁹⁴ Reverend Lyman Abbott quoted at a Nineteenth Century Club assembly in New York, NY in “Anarchy and Anarchists,” *New York Times*, January 15, 1902: 2.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

and pro-imperial agenda like many of their contemporaries. The Congregational Sunday-School Superintendent's Union of Boston, Massachusetts joined other vocal political organizations, stating "that we deprecate the license exercised by anarchists to promote bitterness against the rulers of our land."²⁹⁶ License and liberty appeared at risk when considering what to do with enemy anarchists and Americans showed a willingness to let their congressional representatives know that fundamental American values were at stake. Americans feared that the U.S. may slip into the uncivilized chaos of the outside world. The Camp of the Patriotic Order Sons of America based out of Philadelphia argued, for example, that anarchists "do malignantly abuse these rights extended to them, and use them as a license for the promulgation of dastardly crimes against the systems of government which we possess."²⁹⁷ These groups, in particular, worried that "liberty perverted to license" where anarchism was concerned and that the American people needed to reimagine their relationship to the government and sacrifice in the name of national defense.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Resolutions of Congregational Sunday-School Superintendent's Union of Boston, Massachusetts, adopted on Sep. 11, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

²⁹⁷ Resolutions passed by the Camp of the Patriotic Order Sons of America, Washington Camp, No. 485, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, adopted on an unknown date and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

²⁹⁸ Resolutions passed by Department of Illinois Grand Army of the Republic, Veteran Post No. 49, Elgin, Illinois, adopted Sep. 13, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

Freedom of speech and the right to assembly were, in particular, questioned in the name of national security.²⁹⁹ The Citizens Council of Conway Springs, Kansas, for example, “demand[ed] as citizens that proper legislation be enacted wherein liberty of speech and rights of assembly be defined and regulated.”³⁰⁰ But these tenets of American liberty and citizenship-rights were not the only qualities at stake for these groups. Anarchism appeared as a social disease that attacked the entire social body. The nationalistic organization, The Grand Army of the Republic, mobilized a rhetoric of war and nativist pride, stating that “Of late years a class of rebels has grown in our country of the most vile, abominable and degraded type of men and women: a type of political economists that denounce all governments, all laws, whose teachings and actions are poisoning the social, moral and religious sentiments of a portion of the people...render[ing] the personal liberties of all good people unsafe, and will destroy the rights, not only personal, but public, of all good law-abiding citizens of the republic.”³⁰¹

Restriction, not liberty, became the operational norm in these discourses on national security. These organizations contributed to a vision of patriotism centered upon the belief that the only way to purge the scourge of anarchy from the entire social and political body would be through the enactment of federal laws aimed at security and

²⁹⁹ The tenets of freedom of speech will be discussed in greater detail in the fourth chapter.

³⁰⁰ Resolutions passed by Eighth Annual Reunion of the Survivors Association of the 8th Independent N. Y. Battery at Walton, New York, adopted Sep. 19, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

³⁰¹ Resolutions passed by Col. Jas. H. Childs Post 230, Grand Army of the Republic, in Pittsburgh, PA, adopted Oct. 4, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

defense—the paradigms of a civilized, modern state. Anarchism needed to be dealt with, as any nation would deal with an enemy of the state, but they made it clear that this enemy was one that plagued the entire social body, not just its political leadership. Laws were to be the implement of battle in this war on anarchy, and while many Americans made it clear that they were willing to sacrifice many of the foundational rights associated with American citizenship, they believed that any laws passed would have to be done so in the name of national security.

The more patriotic the society claimed to be, the more heightened the rhetoric of war; a Sons of Veterans divisions in Maryland for example, wanted their congressional representatives to know that “all anarchists are the irreconcilable enemies the human race.”³⁰² Proposed solutions were as diverse as they were numerous. Many considered the enactment of federal law to be the most effective form of legal response, fearing that enactors of anarchist violence aggressor “may get off if tried under state laws with a small fine or a trifling jail sentence.”³⁰³ No matter the solution, though, many engaged in a rhetorical mobilization of war, empire, and national defense as a way to rationalize governmental change. But this was a cultural temperament filled with irony and contradiction. Metaphors of war and violence were tempered with calls for civilized order and legislative rationalism. This contradiction highlighted America’s imperial impulses—to be violent, but not savage and to operate under the tenets of progressive order, not

³⁰² Resolutions passed by Lincoln Camp, No. 2, Maryland Division Headquarters, Sons of Veterans, adopted Sep. 19, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

³⁰³ “Anti-Anarchist Legislation,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 22, 1903: 18.

anarchic chaos. John Grosvenor Wilson, a popular poet at the turn of the century highlighted these contradictions in a poem dedicated to William McKinley:

But let us also swear
To hunt the mad beast, Anarchy, where'er
He burrows, venomous with lust of blood,
 Treading to mud
All holy things, befouling humankind,
Unclean, corrupt, with hate and envy blind—
 Anathema on him declare—
 So, brothers, let us swear.
But let us not in righteous wrath forget
Justice is passionless and even-handed,
The vilest felon shall discharge his debt
In orderly procedure as commanded:
 Till every voice repeat with awe—
 ‘Thus saith the Law.’³⁰⁴

The paradoxical and contradictory nature of early twentieth century imperial culture did not end with poeticisms. As bellicose Americans rationalized the anarchists as enemy threats to both the state and the entire social body, legislators debated an appropriate legal response. Empire and law would be bound up in the ways the lawmakers approached potential responses to anarchism within the country. The press, political clubs, and social commentators made it clear that the attack on the life of President McKinley evidenced the need for increased federal protection of the entire nation-state. As legislators discussed the threat of anarchism, read the news, and received letters from numerous politically conscious citizens, they debated an appropriate course of action in Congress. The resolutions passed by veterans clubs, citizens committees, and

³⁰⁴ John Grosvenor Wilson, “O Grave! Where Is Thy Victory?,” in *William McKinley: Character Sketches of America's Martyred Chieftain*, compiled by Charles E. Benedict (New York: Blanchard Press, 1901), 200.

political organization, in particular, played a central role in the ways that American policymakers viewed the law's role in relation to a response to anarchism. Congress debated anti-anarchist legislation amidst a social and cultural climate saturated with an imperial rationale, especially in relation to national security. Many of these representatives supported an overseas U.S. empire, turning to martial ideals of national regeneration and strength. In terms of rhetoric and tone, the male-dominated spaces of the political clubs like that of the OUAM differed very little from that of the Senate and House of the U.S. government. Both turned to a language of empire, national security, and martial strength in order to protect the nation from future attacks and protect patriotic unity. But at the same time, many policymakers worried that the popular and political obsession with imperial martial values indicated that "this country was rushing on to imperialism" and that the next step would result in the president "seeking to crown himself as an imperial ruler."³⁰⁵

In the months that followed McKinley's assassination, legislators took the resolutions passed by political organizations, fraternities, and private citizens seriously and, in particular, debated the legitimacy of passing increased legislation that supported the protection of the president and other government personnel. Most of the proposed laws died in either the House or the Senate, but the language of national security and an iconography of war framed the majority of the debates. Concerns over security and defense dominated these congressional debates, as representatives questioned increasing the role of the U.S. military in the name of governmental protection. Negotiating the

³⁰⁵ Rep. Eugene F. Loud (California), "Protection of the President," *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 5, 1902), 6338.

intense imperial culture and desire that dominated much of the popular discourse surrounding anti-anarchist sentiment with the country's foundational beliefs in republicanism, democracy, and freedom proved difficult for policymakers.

In March 1902 the Senate deliberated over a bill that would clarify legal understandings of acts of treason and sedition during peacetime, the policing of anarchists and possible conspirators, and ensuring the security of U.S. national leaders.³⁰⁶ Much like their constituents, congressional legislators discussed the meanings of treason, security, and defense in the wake of McKinley's death and did so within an imperial framework, often turning to metaphors of martial masculinity as a regenerative tool of national virility or employing the imperial dichotomies of anarchic license and civilized order in order to push for military-styled domestic policing. But they showed hesitancy when these imperial impulses were turned inward. This bill, entitled "Protection for the President," provoked an intense congressional debate, resulting in a chipping away of most of the amendments that made up the bill. The bill itself would morph into another piece of legislation almost unrecognizable in its original form and purpose, but this process itself signified an important shift in the American political system. All of the anxieties that surrounded the U.S.'s imperial experiences came to light in these debates, as policymakers considered new legislative action.

One amendment to the 1902 Senate bill was debated intensely; if passed, it would have authorized the Secretary of War to create a secret police force made up of military personnel and subject to military intelligence and authority, whose purpose would be to

³⁰⁶ U.S. Congress, Senate, "Protection of the President," *Congressional Record—Senate*, S. 3653, 57th Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 3 (March 21, 1902), 3113-3123 and 3126-3129.

ensure the protection and security of the president of the United States. This bill allowed for the expansion of military power into the civil arena and in the words of Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado, the bill permitted the “Army to perform a purely civil function.”³⁰⁷ By authorizing and expanding the authority of the Secretary of War, this bill showed that many American legislators believed a martial response would be required in the enforcement of national security. More importantly, American legislators were turning to their military experiences in the Philippines as a way to rationalize a domestic response to anarchism. As the debate ensued in 1902, the U.S. military’s role in the Philippines began to shift towards a form of rule and influence that centered upon the authority of an imperial police force, rather than direct military conflict; the Philippine-American War technically would come to a close in July 1902 but a U.S. military presence would remain on the island as colonial overseers.³⁰⁸ Domestically, the only U.S. federal police unit was the Secret Service, which paled in comparison to the military’s size, discipline, and administrative skill. It made sense to legislators to turn to the imperial army as a point of reference for domestic policing. But such a direct move to domestic empire troubled many in Congress. Many policymakers agreed with Teller’s assertion that “It is contrary to the American doctrine that the Army should be used except in case of war or in case of extreme violence,” but a significant number of legislators also believed that the activities and presence of enemy anarchists in the country proved that the expansion of military power was required under these warlike

³⁰⁷ Sen. Henry M. Teller (Colorado), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—Senate*, S. 3653, 57th Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 3 (March 21, 1902), 3129.

³⁰⁸ McCoy, *Policing America’s Empire*.

circumstances.³⁰⁹ The bill successfully passed in the Senate on March 21, 1902, but the debate continued on in both the House and Senate in the months ahead.

As the bill “Protection of the President,” moved to the House for another vote, supporters for the protective legislation employed the language of security and martial metaphors that dominated popular discourses of anti-anarchism.³¹⁰ For example, Galusha A. Grow, a U.S. House of Representatives member at-large from Pennsylvania argued that “the Executive of the United States while in office represents all the powers of the government as conferred by the Constitution, and whoever takes his life unlawfully strikes a blow at the sovereignty of the nation the same as if it was by an act of treason.”³¹¹ His emphasis on treason echoed the voices that expressed similar sentiments in fraternal organizations around the country. Grow, in particular, appealed to discourses of war and defense, arguing that “millions of men have stood upon the battlefield in warding off such assaults by instant death to all such assailants,” believing that so should the American government.³¹² To legislators like Grow, the martial and bellicose rhetoric that circulated within popular discourse justified an increase in the legal apparatuses of national security.

Grow was not the only congressional representative to champion such martial rhetoric. Joseph C. Sibley, also a representative from Pennsylvania, likened the presence of anarchists in the country to an invading army, one that “openly, blatantly, defiantly

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, S. 3653, 57th Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 5, 1902), 6332-6360.

³¹¹ Rep. Galusha A. Grow (Pennsylvania), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 5, 1902), 6353.

³¹² Ibid.

cried out against law and order, have trampled upon the American flag, and marched under the red banner of anarchy.”³¹³ Sibley worried that “we have sat supinely” as anarchists “have openly proclaimed their purpose and conspired to overthrow constituent government.”³¹⁴ He asked other Congressmen, “Shall we wait for it to grow bolder in its insolence, or hesitate until, with knife and pistol at the breast of every lawmaker our courage shall rise to the occasion?”³¹⁵ For Sibley, employing martial rhetoric and battlefield imagery justified legislative action against anarchists within the United States. He implored his fellow representatives to pass protective legislation, asking “Shall we wait for other victims, or shall we grapple with this enemy now?”³¹⁶ Sibley put his martial-styled masculinity on display in a manner similar to J. Gould Warner of the Veteran Yates Club in Chicago. Both stood erect in a male-dominated political space and entreated their compatriots with military metaphors of national defense and strength. They did this in order to reinforce a community of like-minded, action-oriented patriots and push for change. And like Warner, Sibley did this within a cultural climate dominated by an imperial understanding of domestic politics and society, anxieties and all. Also like Warner’s imperial and bellicose intensity would not be supported by his colleagues when put up to a final vote. The language of empire remained a powerful tool in mobilizing popular support for American security measure, but it would be the belief

³¹³ Rep. Joseph C. Sibley (Pennsylvania), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 5, 1902), 6333.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6333-6334.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6333.

in liberal legal order and republican visions of the national political body that operated as a complimentary force in the creation of the apparatuses of the national security state.

Languages of empire and security even found a place in the arguments of detractors to these new laws, who articulated martial rhetoric that blurred the lines between war and peace, and sought national strength and regeneration through a military impulse. House Representative Dudley G. Wooten of Texas adamantly opposed exceptional legislation, fearing that it might exacerbate anarchist violence, rather than prevent it. He worried that to anarchists, “body guards, police vigilance, the mightiest efforts of organized authority, which he [the anarchist] regards as organized despotism only serve to whet his appetite for official gore and nerve his courage to do and die in the most spectacular, the most sensational, and the most extraordinary manner possible.”³¹⁷ But even in his detractions, Wooten articulated the same bellicose and martial rhetorical style circulating within the popular and political discourse of the era. He still believed that “Nobody sympathizes with a lawless enemy of organized government. Nobody wants them to come to this country. Nobody seeks to apologize or condone their miscreant crimes or chronic hostility to peace, order, and law.”³¹⁸ Metaphors of war continued to characterize each side of the debate in Congress, but it would take the confluence of empire and republic to rationalize a move towards government change.

Despite the circulation of imperial rhetoric and ideology, American lawmakers found it difficult to find consensus enough to pass legislation that would increase the role

³¹⁷ Rep. Dudley G. Wooten (Texas), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 5, 1902), 6343.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

of the military in the daily lives of U.S. citizens. Legislators feared that by increasing the scope and authority of the U.S. military, the American government would slip into the trappings of an imperial police state. George W. Ray, a House representative from New York City, for example, voiced trepidation regarding the extent to which a secret police force, operating under the authority of the Secretary of War, potentially held too much autonomy. He felt that “there may be sent out twenty-five or fifty thousand men wearing black stockings—no other distinguishing mark—who may go to every house under secret instruction unknown even to the President, which they are compelled to carry out, with orders to arrest you or me or any citizen, They may go into galleries and when we leave the House may take us into custody upon the theory that we have done something or said something tending to excite feeling against or endanger the President of the United States.”³¹⁹ For Ray, and others, this style of governance created a European-style of politics governed by imperial police forces and power-swollen aristocracies. He worried that “This is in exact line with what was done in France. It is in exact line with the establishment of the old Swiss Guard. It is in exact line, and is indeed copied after the laws of Rome, when she established a Pretorian [*sic*] guard, which after some three hundred years she was compelled to disband such was the indignation of the people against it.”³²⁰ These governing qualities were antithetical to an American style of politics

³¹⁹ Rep. George W. Ray (New York), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 3, 1902), 6243.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

and social cohesion, in the eyes of legislators like Ray. These sentiments received a “Loud and long-continued applause” from the rest of the members of the House.³²¹

Concerns over the U.S. government falling into the trappings of European-style imperial states proved to be a central point of unease regarding proposed legislation aimed at preventing further acts of anarchist violence. In particular, many legislators worried that the proposed laws did little in terms of abating the activities of anarchists themselves. House representative Samuel Willis Tucker Lanham from Texas became one of the most influential detractors of the “Protection of the President” bill for many of these reasons. Lanham worried that “You cannot stop these wild workings of men of that [anarchist] sort, these fanatical impulses to kill a president or a king or a ruler, by the enactment of such legislation as is here provided.”³²² He argued that the President did not require special military protection, since “Punishment is sure to follow” any assassination attempt and that “Retributive justice will be prompt,” as was the case with the trial and execution of Czolgosz.³²³ Detractors like Lanham believed that a more exceptional, American solution could properly deal with anarchists within the nation.

Moreover, critics like Lanham feared that passing such protective legislation added to the problems associated with anarchism, believing that if legislators “Surround our public officials with anything like royalty and you magnify the incentive of the anarchist to destroy them.”³²⁴ Lanham believed that anarchism, as a social and political

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Rep. Samuel Willis Tucker Lanham (Texas), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 3, 1902), 6250.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

phenomenon resulted from imperial Europe, not unlike the discord that many believed characterized ex-European imperial holdings like the Philippines, and that the U.S. government would have to articulate an alternative path to national security when compared to imperial Europe. But that did not mean he was opposed to the enactment of any or all forms of protective federal legislation. He made his own feelings clear by stating that “I don’t want them [anarchists] here. They are not in sympathy with our country and its institutions...We do not need them, whether they be classed as speculative or criminal. They are all undesirable. So much of the bill as proposes to do that I will support.”³²⁵

Lanham viewed anarchism not only as a threat to national leaders, but as a threat to the entire social body, worrying that augmenting the protection of the president ignored the security of the entire American republic. To legislators like Lanham, the “President of the United States is, humanly and impersonally speaking, but a ‘worm of the dust.’ That is all. The idea of elevating one part of humanity and depreciating another part or all the rest in this popular Government I do not believe in, nor can I ever subscribe to it in any measure.”³²⁶ The entire nation-state, not just its leadership required protection, according to Lanham’s argument. Imperial policies like the usage of a military police force in the international arena had no place in the domestic life of American, according to Lanham. He worried that the proposed bill elevated the protection of the president above the lives of the average citizen, “in order to specially protect these men, but you do not propose particularly to protect my friends from Missouri or Maine...Can you not

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid, 6251.

make it a special offence to kill one of them? And why not go all the way up and down the line when you start on this unusual course?”³²⁷ The entire nation-state would require federal protection, in Lanham’s eyes, not just the president.

While lawmakers considered bolstering the role of the military in the domestic arena, they concurrently questioned America’s international empire. General Jacob H. Smith was under investigation for committing war crimes during the American occupation of the Philippine islands, while rumors of Filipino concentration camps occupied headlines in the U.S. Senator James H. Berry opined to president Roosevelt that “I for one from the beginning have been opposed to this Philippine policy and am to-day [*sic*], but I place responsibility for what has occurred upon those who in an awful hour forgot the traditions of our fathers, and, excited by a wild dream of conquest, overrode and broke down every principle that has made our country glorious in the past.”³²⁸ American legislators did not want the same thing to occur at home. Many voiced concern that such exceptional measures would result in the formation of an imperial police state, which they believed plagued European political and social regimes. Detractors feared that elevating the lives of national leaders above those of the average citizen would accomplish little in terms of national security and defense, and instead lead to a repeated history of European empires. Anarchism attacked the entire social body, not just the government system and thus required a federal response that would secure all aspects of the nation-state. Senator George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts described these

³²⁷ Ibid, 6250.

³²⁸ Sen. James H. Berry (Arkansas), “Civil Government for the Philippine Islands,” *Congressional Record—Senate*, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 3, 1902), 6219.

sentiments as “a terrible feeling of insecurity and danger to the Republic, nobody knowing how far the anarchists’ schemes might spread.”³²⁹ National security legislation would have to safeguard the entire population from the threat posed by anarchists, which Lanham deemed as “creatures of distempered minds, these cranks, these moral perverts, these people who want to pose as martyrs.”³³⁰ But it would have to be something truly exceptional, truly American.

* * * * *

It was within this cultural environment of war, security, and sacrifice that American legislators debated passing novel national security policy and law. Eventually, Congress would vote down the majority of the amendments that they debated in the first six months of 1902. They felt that neither bolstering presidential protection nor heightening the role of the U.S. military in civil affairs sufficiently secured the nation from the threats that anarchism seemed to pose. Any attempt to bolster the security of solely the national leadership or strengthen the role of a domestic military police would lead the U.S. down the path of European history. Ironically, the United States feared empire almost as much as they heralded it. But it would be within these ironies and contradictions that many within the government believed a new, American path to national security could be forged.

³²⁹ Sen. George Frisbie Hoar (Massachusetts), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—Senate*, S. 3653, 57th Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 3 (March 21, 1902), 3123.

³³⁰ Rep. Samuel Willis Tucker Lanham (Texas), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 3, 1902), 6250.

Legislators wanted something that would protect the entire nation-state, not just political leaders. If the American people were willing to sacrifice in the name of national security, then as representatives of the Republic, congressional leaders desired passing laws that would protect the people from anarchism as well. Although Representative Lanham was one of the most vocal opponents of the proposed Senate bill in 1902, he still believed that Congress needed to pass some form of legal response to anarchism in the name of national security. In fact, he made his feelings clear that he “hope[d] that this House may confine the bill to those purposes which are designed to prevent the immigration of anarchists to our country, and the dissemination of their pernicious doctrines here.”³³¹ Lanham appealed to his fellow legislators for the enactment of a law that stopped anarchism at, what he believed, was its roots—foreign immigration. He believed that anarchists “are a noxious, foreign growth” that originated in Europe and tainted the American Republic.³³² Lanham was not alone in these feelings. The American people and their congressional representatives seemed to agree that anarchism stemmed from immigration and needed to be controlled in order to protect the nation from their advances. So much was the case that in 1903, the first anti-anarchist legislation was signed into law as part of the Immigration Act of the same year, which is the focus of the following chapter in this dissertation.

³³¹ Rep. Samuel Willis Tucker Lanham (Texas), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 3, 1902), 6251.

³³² *Ibid*, 6250.

Chapter III

The “Dregs of Europe”: Enemy Anarchists and Immigration Reform

Heightened imperial rhetoric may have swept through American popular and political culture at the turn of the twentieth century, but it also caused significant tension in the congressional debate regarding what to do about anarchists living in the United States. The bellicosity of imperial discourse echoed off the walls of the legislative houses in a tone that mirrored what was being printed in the popular press at that time. It would seem, however, that the more policymakers applied such heightened rhetoric, the less explicit the imperial design of the “Protection of the President” legislation became. Texas representative Dudley G. Wooten worried that the imperial tone of Congress and the proposed bill would push the country into a path that mirrored Caesar’s Roman Empire, where “It was only when the dreams of empire made him cautious and the designs of despotism had clouded his frankness that he demanded lictors to surround his person and wore a dagger in his bosom.”³³³ Wooten called upon those in Congress to embark on the task of going after the root of the problem, “the causes and preventatives of anarchy.”³³⁴ He wanted a more republican response—one that protected the entire nation, not just the political elite.

This chapter questions the assumptions that lawmakers made regarding the creation of the first explicitly anti-anarchist piece of legislation in American history. It

³³³ Rep. Dudley G. Wooten (Texas), “Protection of the President,” *Congressional Record—House*, 57th, S. 3653, Cong., Sess. 1, Vol. 35, Pt. 6 (June 5, 1902), 6343.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

asks and seeks to answer: Did lawmakers successfully purge anti-anarchist law of the imperial culture that helped to produce it? The answer lies somewhere between contradiction and unintended consequence. The political desire to provide for a nationwide security response to dissident anarchism did trump a very powerful imperial impulse to protect the government elite as legislators opted for legislation that aimed to restrict an anarchist presence within the country writ large, even as the U.S. military relationship with its overseas empire moved towards paternalistic colonial rule. The bill for the “Protection of the President” was slowly chipped away and transformed into what lawmakers believed would simultaneously bolster national security and avoid the trappings of an imperial police state, the Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903. But the assumptions that went into creating this anti-anarchist immigration law were founded in a cultural backdrop defined by the languages of national security, empire, anti-immigrant racism, and anti-anarchism circulating in the surrounding popular and political discourse. Many in the popular press argued that the American republic, not the American empire, required protection from the “murderous, fanatical dregs of Europe, who seek our shores.”³³⁵

This chapter takes this complex history of anti-immigrant nativism, federal growth, and empire and puts them into direct relationship with the anti-anarchist attitudes that defined American popular and political culture in the early years of the twentieth century. It argues that American legislative efforts to regulate anarchist immigrants were intimately intertwined with a cultural background defined by imperial thought and

³³⁵“President McKinley,” *Ohio Farmer*, Vol. 100, No. 11 (September 12, 1901), 186. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/OF100-11a.htm> (Accessed 10/25/2013).

imagery, despite policymakers' desires to disentangle anti-anarchist policy and law from circulating popular discourses on empire.³³⁶ The creation of the Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903 did not occur in a political vacuum. With the help of the popular and nativist press, Americans assumed that anarchists were foreign and other, alien and invasive. It was stated in the popular press that anarchists emerged out of Old World imperial problems, bringing their discontents to American shores as they immigrated overseas, mixing the language of anti-immigrant racism with that of anti-anarchist national security concerns. It would be this culture of domestic purity and modern national security, an ideological landscape defined by imperial assumptions concerning the presence of alien bodies and thoughts in the American nation that characterized American popular culture during the formation of the U.S.'s anti-anarchist immigration law.

This chapter also reveals that professionals in the fields of sociology, psychology, and criminology, in particular, played an essential role in the ways that American popular discourse circulated ideas about the anarchist at the turn of the twentieth century. Commentators turned to the latest theories endorsed by the behavioral sciences, which characterized the anarchist not only as a social menace, but carriers of a mental disease.³³⁷ And like a disease, anarchism had to be monitored, diagnosed, and expelled

³³⁶ William Preston Jr.'s seminal work on anti-radical culture and law in the early twentieth century, *Aliens and Dissenters*, tells this historical narrative by providing important instances of American nativist and xenophobic sentiment and their application in anti-radical law. Missing from this account is an analysis of the ways that discourses of empire and political purity characterized responses to anarchists and other radicals of the era. William Preston Jr. *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, 2nd Edition, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963, 1994)

³³⁷ This history has been largely ignored by historians of U.S. immigration. The field of Anarchist Studies has seen more works published on the relationship between the behavioral sciences and anarchism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but the focus has been either the production of these discourses or their effects on anarchist communities themselves rather than in reference to ideas about government.

from the social body.³³⁸ These languages of biology, race, and empire were employed to justify anti-anarchist immigration policy and law, and in the process, gave rise to a language of national security premised upon surveillance, administrative identification, and expulsion from the civic body.³³⁹ Historians have documented the ways that turn of the century discourses of physiology and pathology impacted immigrant communities in the United States, but little has been said about the relationship between the regulation of immigrant bodies and the desire to monitor political thought on a nation-wide governmental level.³⁴⁰ I argue that anti-anarchist popular discourses on the medical condition surrounding anarchist political thought played a foundational role in the

See, Edward James Erickson, Jr. "The Anarchist Disorder: The Psychopathology of Terrorism in Late-Nineteenth Century France" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1998). Terrence Kissack's work analyzes the ways that anarchist sexuality was translated into biomedical discourse in *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917* (Oakland, California: AK Press, 2008). Daniel Pick, "The Faces of Anarchy: Lambroso and the Politics of Criminal Science in Post-Unification Italy," *History Workshop*, No. 21 (Spring 1986): 60-86. The assertion that science, and medical science in particular, carried a number of imperial assumptions in the early twentieth century has been made by historians of science. For an excellent account of this history from the acclaimed Stephen Jay Gould, see *The Mismeasure of Man*, Revised and Expanded Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981, 1996).

³³⁸ Alan M. Kraut has argued that mental disease and undesirable politics have played an important role in America's relationship to immigrant communities, but these arguments get eclipsed by larger points that deal with physiological disease, rather than mental political corruption. See *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson Publishing 2001) and especially, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the Immigrant Menace* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

³³⁹ For more on the ways that biopolitics and biopower influence state power, see Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France*, transl. Graham Burchell, (New York: Palgrave, 2007), Amy Fairchild, Ronald Bayer, and James Colgrove, *Searching Eyes: Privacy, the State and Disease Surveillance in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

³⁴⁰ For a brilliant account of ideas concerning space, race, and contagion in nineteenth century Chinese immigration into the U.S., see Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). For an excellent account of these discourses in relationship to anti-radicalism, see Isaac Land, "Men with the Faces of Brutes: Physiognomy, Urban Anxieties, and Police States," in *Enemies of Humanity: The Nineteenth-Century War on Terrorism*, ed. by Isaac Land (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Publishing, 2008), 117-135.

formation of a security-centric culture of state power premised upon a federal police gaze and the expulsion of undesirable social actors and their political beliefs.

But how does a government effectively locate, identify, and police anarchist political ideology and thought? Administrative efforts to enforce the 1903 anti-anarchist immigration law were largely ineffective. The final aspect of this chapter argues that immigration administrators were incapable of regulating the presence of anarchists within the country, leaving a void in the administrative technique of U.S. attempts at national security. This resulted in low-level enforcement filling in the cracks in the bureaucratic foundation with the nativist, imperial, and anti-radical language and assumptions defined by American popular culture writ large; America's administrative technique of providing for national security, allotted a space in the which culture of nativism and anti-immigrant xenophobia filled in the gaps. America's popular and political responses to McKinley's assassination sent anxieties surrounding imperial discipline and republican political purity on a collision course, resulting in the emergence of popular culture of state power built upon the languages of national security and the surveillance of political belief.

The Anarchist as an Outsider

The debate surrounding the presidential protection bill proved intense. Newspapers like the *New York Times* printed headlines, stating that "Bill for Protection of the President Passed" with nervous anticipation, as the articles themselves described a government torn on where security legislation should head.³⁴¹ The debate occurred at a

³⁴¹ "Bill for the Protection of the President Passed," *New York Times*, March 22, 1902: 3.

time when popular newspapers printed numerous articles, contending as did a September 12, 1901 *Ohio Farmer* editorial, that “clearly our law against anarchistic societies... must be more strict and more strictly enforced.”³⁴² Many of these calls for a strong governmental response exhibited the bellicose rhetoric of the era, calling anarchists “political enemies” and their activities “treasonable,” while declaring that “There is no occasion for its existence here.”³⁴³ America’s experiences with empire sustained these bellicose calls for a strong governmental response to anarchists living in the country. But overseas imperial warfare officially came to an end in July of 1902 with American victory declared in the Philippines.³⁴⁴ The United States was no longer a ‘wartime’ state—and even though the cultural war against anarchy continued on the home front, the tactics of national defense shifted focus. Legislators believed that American empire could not exist in the domestic arena and as policymakers sought legislative action against domestic anarchism, they turned to what they believed would be a republican, not imperial solution: protecting the entire nation from immigrant anarchists. At the same time, press outlets like the *Ohio Farmer* printed articles, arguing that “immigration laws must be made more strict and more rigidly enforced” in an effort to protect the American population.³⁴⁵ Popular media sources made it appear as though anarchism signified a

³⁴² “President McKinley,” *Ohio Farmer*, 186.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ The official end of the Philippine-American War, however, did signal the end of violence or the U.S.’s imperial relationship with the Filipino people. For the U.S.’s continued relationship with the Philippine Islands in the twentieth century, see Alfred McCoy’s *Policing America’s Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

³⁴⁵ “President McKinley,” *Ohio Farmer*, 186.

foreign problem, one based in immigration all while legislators debated anti-anarchist security law.³⁴⁶

Lawmakers also viewed anarchism in these terms, hoping that they had found a way to circumvent what they considered to be potentially disruptive, European-styled imperial reform. They believed that any attempt to create U.S. anti-anarchist policy and law would have to retain exceptional, republican qualities that protected the entire social body, not just that of the political leadership or the national elite. The amendments that constituted what had been considered to be the imperial qualities of the bill were voted out and replaced under the pretexts of these concerns. Legislators eventually reached consensus and agreed upon what they believed would be the most effective form of

³⁴⁶ The literature on immigration policy and culture is vast, offering important historical insights into many of the prevailing anxieties that defined practices of exclusion and deportation. For more information on the Chinese Exclusion Act, especially in regards to the attached racialized and classed assumptions that went into the legislation, see Lucy E. Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), Estelle T. Lau, *Paper Families: Identity, Immigration Administration, and Chinese Exclusion* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), and Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill, 2003). For excellent accounts of this immigration legislation throughout the twentieth century, also in regards to race and class in particular, see Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) and Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004). For an analysis of turn of the century immigration policy that highlights the dominant racial assumptions, familial obligations, public health concerns, and religious views that characterized the era, see Dierdre M. Moloney, *National Insecurities: Immigrants and U.S. Deportation Policy since 1882* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012). For the heteronormative and gendered assumptions and policy decisions made in regards to many of these policies, see Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009) and Jeanne D. Petit, *The Men and Women We Want: Gender, Race, and the Progressive Era Literacy Test* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010). For the connections between labor and immigration reform, see Kitty Calavita, *U.S. Immigration Law and Control of Labor: 1820-1924* (London: Academic Press, 1984).

national protection from the presence and activities of enemy anarchists within the country, while locating the blame for anarchism outside of the nation-state.³⁴⁷

This Anarchist Exclusion Act was ratified as part of the Immigration Act of 1903 and provided for the exclusion of immigrant anarchists from the American polity.³⁴⁸ Lawmakers understood it as the end result of a congressional debate that began with the assassination of McKinley, was then reconstituted in reactionary jingoism, and returned to a form that would protect American interests, safety, and exceptional identity. The law itself added the anarchist as an inadmissible immigrant class and barred any

person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching such belief in or opposition to all organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ According to historian Donna Gabaccia, “the rise of the United States to global leadership rested on expanding industries that in turn depended on the employment of millions of newly arrived immigrant workers, many of them from disintegrating foreign empires on the peripheries of Europe and East Asia,” leading to an American anti-immigration culture that centered around its imperial exploits. Donna Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012), 8.

³⁴⁸ The Immigration Act of 1903 was not the first piece of federal law aimed at regulating the influx of immigrants into the United States at the turn of the twentieth century; nor did legislation that conflated anxieties regarding national purity and domestic instability originate with anti-anarchist policy and law. For an overview of immigration policy in the U.S., both before and after 1893, see Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) and Edward P. Hutchinson, *Legislative History of American Immigration Policy, 1798–1965* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

³⁴⁹ *The United States Statutes at Large* “An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States,” 57th Cong., Sess. II, Ch. 1012, 32nd Stat. (March 8, 1903), 1221. It is also important to note that this immigration law added persons with epilepsy and those who suffered “two or more attacks of insanity” to the regulated classes of incoming immigrants. Douglas Baynton has argued that deaf communities, in particular, suffered from the prejudice and cultural assumptions made by eugenicists and immigration administrators in the enforcement of this legislation. See, Douglas Baynton, “‘The Undesirability of Admitting Deaf Mutes’: U.S. Immigration Policy and Deaf Immigrants, 1882–1924,” *Sign Language Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Summer 2006): 391–415. For more on the historical and cultural construction of deafness, see Douglas Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Specifically, policymakers felt that this law would ensure the security and safety of the American people by excluding “anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials.”³⁵⁰ For those in Congress and many others within the United States, this law would act as the first, federal step in the war on anarchy without sacrificing fundamental republican values in the name of empire.

In making this law, legislators did more than create regulations that they believed would further ensure the safety of the entire nation-state; they engaged in a cultural environment saturated with anti-immigrant sentiment and nativist xenophobia, beginning well before the ratification of the 1903 anti-anarchist protection law.³⁵¹ Since the nineteenth century, Americans popularly believed that anarchism stemmed from problems associated with immigration, especially immigration from Europe. As U.S. policymakers engaged in the act of creating anti-anarchist legislation that they believed would get at the heart of the cause and source of anarchy in the U.S., the popular press

³⁵⁰ *The United States Statutes at Large* “An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States,” 1214.

³⁵¹ Historians of the Progressive era have written extensively on the subjects of American nativism and anti-immigrant sentiments. An excellent and seminal account of this history can be found in John Higham’s *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002). Although I use the terms nativism and xenophobia to describe this era and the rise of anti-anarchist immigration restriction, it is important to note that these cultural, political, and legal processes were just as much about identity and nation building as they concerned exclusion. Immigration policy and law did more than delineate notions of inside versus outside, or “us” versus “them.” This relationship itself defined an important aspect of American identity and community-building, serving to form an American national culture premised upon ideals of inclusion and exclusion. See, Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2006).

circulated the belief that anarchism emerged out of foreign circumstances, only to invade the American social body, threatening America's security and safety.

On September 7, 1901 an editorial piece published in the popular New York City newspaper *Irish-American* argued that "These so-called anarchists have too long abused the freedom of our constitutional privileges...Toleration of their vile creed has emboldened them to presume on the patience of the nation. The hour for their total extirpation has come."³⁵² Like many Americans in the aftermath of McKinley's death, the author of the article believed that the U.S. government needed to take a strong stance against the presence of anarchism within the country, turning to the martial virtues associated with America's empire as a banner under which "all good citizens will unite."³⁵³ The issue of dealing with domestic anarchism was not seen as an entirely internal problem, however. The article's author understood anarchists as more than just the philosophical "enemies of public order," they seemed to emerge out of foreign circumstances, from "The scum of decaying European feudalism."³⁵⁴ The article's author argued that all anarchists living within the country "must be taught that there is no place for them among our free institutions and law-abiding citizens...and must be banished from the society of the freemen they contaminate even by their presence."³⁵⁵ The banishment of anarchist immigrants, according to the article, would be the instrument to

³⁵² "The Buffalo Tragedy," *Irish-American*, September 7, 1901: 4. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/IA53-36.htm> (Accessed 10/25/2012).

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

provide for the security of the nation, especially for believed to be outsiders like anarchists. The problem and solution appeared to lie in immigration.

But why was immigration reform seen as a tenable solution to the problems associated with anarchism? By using the press as an avenue for disseminating anti-anarchist sentiment, this editorial played into an American political climate dominated by a culture of anti-immigrant nativism and xenophobia. Progressive era Americans debated immigration with intensity and conviction; immigration opponents demanded restrictions on nonwhite, particularly Asian and Eastern and Southern European, immigrants while reformers turned to the ideals of assimilation and acculturation to argue for the benefits of immigrant incorporation into the nation.³⁵⁶ Despite the existence of debate amongst American citizens, however, nativism and xenophobia characterized the nature of the discussion itself; most of the nation's ills were blamed upon the immigrant from both sides of the immigration question.³⁵⁷ It was an era defined by a distrust of nonwhite outsiders and in the words of historian William Preston Jr., "the search for a foreign scapegoat."³⁵⁸ Reactionary debates surrounding anti-anarchism operated within a cultural climate encumbered by this racially and nationally charged framework, while

³⁵⁶ This is a simplification of a very complex chapter in American history. For a more detailed account of Progressive Era immigration policy and its cultural context, see Daniel J. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

³⁵⁷ Both pro-immigrant and anti-immigrant reformers often turned to xenophobic understandings of immigration in their efforts to enact change. For a great analysis of this confluence of opinion in the medical fields, see Kraut, *Silent Travelers*.

³⁵⁸ Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*, 29.

commentators in the press faulted immigration for the presence, rise, and violence of anarchism within the nation.³⁵⁹

Across the country, Americans searched for an answer that explained why someone would want to assassinate the president and true to the existing cultural climate, they looked outside the boundaries of the nation-state for blame. The burgeoning print media, in particular, played an essential role in placing inquiries regarding where anarchy came from and why it existed in the United States into a context defined by anti-immigrant sentiment.³⁶⁰ English language newspapers and magazines showed little inhibition in printing editorials that contained excited and derogatory rhetoric regarding who was to blame for the presence of anarchism in the country. McKinley's death agitated deep-seated fears about the violent and antisocial possibilities of the immigrant presence within the country—a social anxiety exploited by the press in order to sustain an excited readership (especially since most of the literate elite were white and wealthy). Editorials decried the “deplorable situation which confronts us,” one in which U.S. national order would be challenged and spoiled by the presence and activities of unwanted immigrants like anarchists, so much “that the task of regenerating society has been assumed by a lawless host composed of the lowest strata of humanity, the dregs of

³⁵⁹ See Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard university Press, 2002)

³⁶⁰ For more on the rise of influence that the media had on community and nation building at this time in American history, see George H. Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), Charles E. Clark, *Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), and Richard L. Kaplan, *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Also, for a discussion of newspapers in projects of nation-building, in particular, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

off-scourings of continental Europe.”³⁶¹ Scapegoating anarchism as an immigration problem allowed newspapers to play into a climate already ripe with sensationalized debate and anti-immigrant sensibility.

These conflations between the negative qualities of immigration and the rise of domestic anarchism in the United States altered the ways that Americans interpreted anarchists themselves, including the assassin Leon Czolgosz. Czolgosz, the son of Polish immigrants Paul Czolgosz and his wife Mary Nowak, was a U.S. citizen, born in Alpena, Michigan, but the press embellished his foreignness, often publishing articles that named him an immigrant from Europe.³⁶² Newspapers from across the country published articles and editorials that described Czolgosz as an alien of European birth, a native of foreign influence and upbringing. According to historian Chris Vials, “Czolgosz’s East European origins were foregrounded in most of his representations, and within a context where the face of ‘anarchy’ in general was unequivocally not American...yet it is not uncommon to see him referred to simply as ‘the Pole,’ seen for example in the headline ‘Police Think the Pole Alone Was Responsible’ (ironically, Czolgosz was actually born in the United States). In this climate, nativist sentiments were heightened once again.”³⁶³ Czolgosz’s imagined immigrant origins allowed many Americans to fantasize about the foreignness of anarchism itself. The press, in this way, operated as a technology of community-

³⁶¹ Charles Everett Benedict, “McKinley’s Posthumous Influence,” in *William McKinley: Character Sketches of America’s Martyred Chieftain*, compiled by Charles E. Benedict (New York: Blanchard Press, 1901), 49.

³⁶² For a more thorough discussion of the contentious depictions of Leon Czolgosz, see Chris Vials, “The Despotism of the Popular: Anarchy and Leon Czolgosz at the Turn of the Century,” *The Journal of American Popular Culture* Vol. 3, No.2 (Fall 2004). From http://www.americanpopularculture.com/journal/articles/fall_2004/vials.htm (Accessed 7/07/2013).

³⁶³ Ibid.

building, providing discourses of national purity that reinforced a cultural environment of patriotic nativism and characterized immigrant populations as inherently dangerous, especially when the topic of the immigrant anarchist arose.

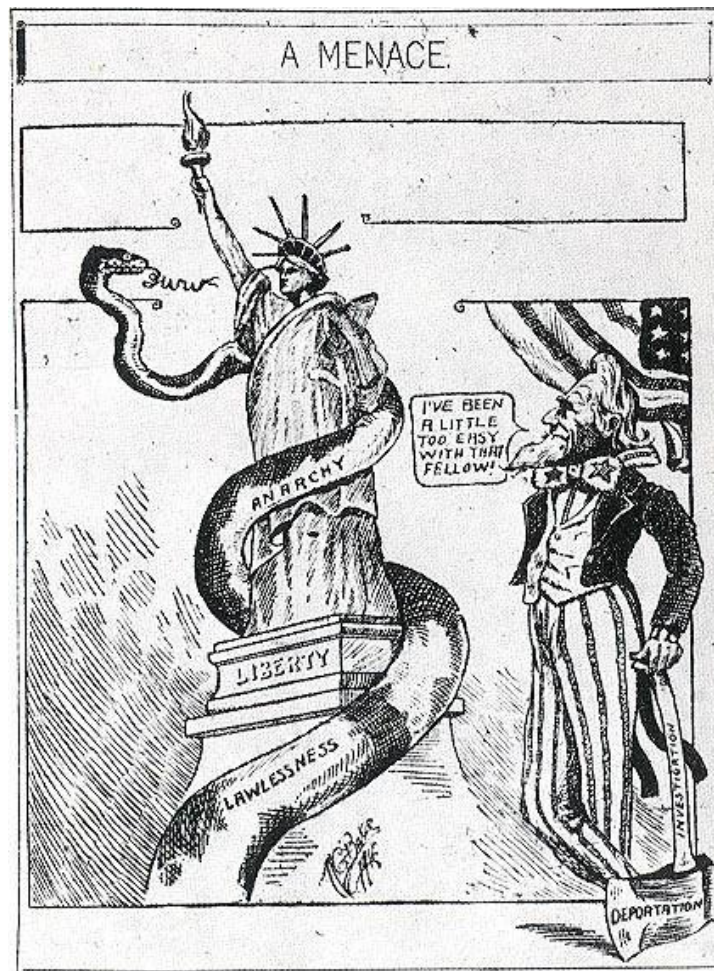


Figure 3.1 Unknown illustrator, "A Menace," *San Diego Union*, May 18, 1912. Although published nine years after the Anarchist Exclusion Act was signed into law, this image depicts the continued associations made between anarchism and immigration in the United States.

The media campaign to locate the origins of Czolgosz and anarchism writ large, at times, resulted in episodes of finger pointing that highlighted inter-ethnic tensions within immigrant communities themselves. On September 8, 1901 the *New York Times* printed a journalistic inquiry into the supposed linguistic origins of the name Czolgosz from the perspective of different ethnic groups within New York City's boroughs. The author of the article found that "Although he asserted that he was a Pole, there was considerable doubt expressed on the subject. The name was in many quarters taken to be more like Hungarian than Polish," whereas "On the East Side it was generally declared that the name Czolgosz was not Polish."³⁶⁴ In other parts of the city, "It was pointed out that the name was probably of Russian origin, in which it would be pronounced 'Sholgush.'"³⁶⁵ Anarchists too participated in the opportunity to use Czolgosz's supposed immigrant origins to separate their own sense of anarchist self-identity from the assassination. Pedro Esteve, a Spanish Catalan anarchist who resided in Paterson, New Jersey, denied the possibility that Czolgosz was a member of local anarchist circles, declaring at a Paterson anarchist meeting that "He is probably some German lunatic and fool."³⁶⁶ Even in these inter-ethnic finger-pointing episodes, Czolgosz-as-immigrant and foreign other was to blame for the assassination.

³⁶⁴ September 8, 1901 *New York Times* article "Czolgosz's Name Discussed," quoted in Chris Vials, "The Despotism of the Popular."

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Pedro Esteve quoted under the misspelled name Petro Esteve in "Anarchists Toast Nieman," *News and Courier*, September 7, 1901. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/N&C090701b.htm> (Accessed 11/15/2013). Esteve was a prominent anarchist Catalan activist, who spent a significant number of years in Paterson, New Jersey. He helped to found and print the Italian-language anarchist newspaper *La Questione Sociale* in the United States. For more information on Esteve, see Jennifer Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 158-159. Nieman was a surname often used by Czolgosz when interacting with anarchist circles previous to his arrest in 1901.

It may seem strange that immigrant communities in New York City or anarchists who were immigrants themselves turned to assumptions about Czolgosz's alien residence in the United States, but in reality, the origins of anarchism was an incredibly difficult phenomenon to pinpoint, making it particularly susceptible to critique and social distancing.³⁶⁷ Anarchy held a variety of meanings for diverse groups of people. But historians have shown that anarchism cannot be considered a discretely European or American institution—anarchists living within the United States drew particularly on their own experiences in the U.S., combined them with their knowledge of European anarchist movements, and participated in a complex transnational network of anarchist communities.³⁶⁸ Historian Michael Topp, for example, has argued that many of the anarchists in the United States at the turn of the century “were transnational radical migrants” that “disclaimed any relevance of any particular state,” placing the origins of anarchist identity and thought within a transnational space without clear geographic

³⁶⁷ Historians have researched and argued about the national origins of anarchists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with much debate, including whether or not it should be considered a nineteenth-century European movement. For an influential work on this debate that uses libertarianism as a tool to understand the history of anarchism, see George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, Revised Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962, 2004). For an argument for a more limited understanding of anarchist history and identity, see Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009).

³⁶⁸ For the radicalization of European migrants in the United States, see, for example, Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 2007). For the cross-pollination of European and American traditions of radicalism, see Salvatore Salerno, *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989). For American anarchism, see David De Leon, *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) and James J. Martin, *Men Against the State: Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myer Publisher, 1970).

beginnings.³⁶⁹ An anarchist birthright cannot be simply defined in terms of national origins, but that did not stop commentators from viewing anarchy in these terms. The fluid and transnational nature of anarchist identity and movement served to both allow other migrant and ethnic groups to distance themselves from the various anarchist communities living in the United States and piqued media intrigue about anarchy's origins and history within the country.

Still, despite anarchy's transnational and fluid character, the U.S. popular press drew lines that connected the presence of anarchists in the United States to their supposed origins in Europe. Americans commonly conflated anxieties around the influx of immigrants at the turn of the century and the presence of anarchists in the country, assuming that the two were products of the same social, economic, and political conditions. Newspapers such as the *Los Angeles Times* published articles written by journalists who claimed to have professional insights on radical immigrant groups like anarchists and their origin stories. One such journalist, N. M. Babad, who had written extensively on radical immigrants in the U.S., sought to explain "The Growth of Anarchy in America."³⁷⁰ Babad turned to his professional experience with the radical working class, to point out that the 1880s witnessed the first arrival of anarchists in the country, when "immigration was at its height."³⁷¹ He described it as an era "already overcrowded with foreigners" as anarchist thought and political identity flourished amidst a situation

³⁶⁹ Michael Miller Topp, *Those without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2001), 5. Also, see Alexander Sedlmaier, "The Consuming Visions of Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century Anarchists: Actualising Political Violence Transnationally," *European Review of History—Revue europeene d'Histoire*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (September 2003): 283-300.

³⁷⁰ N. M. Babad, "The Growth of Anarchy in America," *Los Angeles Times*, September 11, 1901: 11.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

“embittered by the sting of poverty and injured pride, the great contrast between capital and labor.”³⁷² According to Babad, anarchism thrived on the downtrodden, European masses coming into the United States in large numbers at the end of the nineteenth century. Their birth in America resulted from immigration into the country, not domestic circumstances, or complex identities that transcended national borders.

This anarchist-as-immigrant narrative conveyed in American print media argued that alien anarchists migrated into the U.S. for more than reasons solely of spontaneity. Popular media outlets published professional and journalistic opinions, stating that immigrant anarchists were in the process of fleeing crumbling European empires, desperate for the freedoms associated with the American way of life. As America’s extra-continental imperial endeavors expanded, the more American citizens began to see themselves reflected within a global context, rationalizing the presence of dissident radicals within the web of imperial history, both European and American.³⁷³ Anarchy in America, in particular, would be translated within an imperial logic. As America’s influence spread, the outside world appeared to challenge domestic unity and security.³⁷⁴ Anti-immigrant Americans viewed anarchism as a quintessentially foreign and disruptive phenomenon, turning to the nation’s experiences with empire as a way to rationalize their existence within the country. Not only was the anarchist seen as a foreign threat that threatened the security of the US nation-state, it was characterized as the product of a

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations*.

³⁷⁴ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*.

dying European history. America searched for that immigrant scapegoat and located it in imperial Europe.

Take the findings of Henry Virstow, a prominent turn of the century journalist who wrote extensively on all subjects foreign, from articles on travel and leisure to immigrant labor. In the October 1901 issue of the popular magazine *Modern Culture*, his widely publicized article “Anarchism—A Study of Social Forces” hit the newsstands. It sought to explain the origin story of anarchism in America and provide an account of the history of “the first appearance of the monster [of anarchy] here.”³⁷⁵ Virstow characterized anarchism as an antisocial movement, “Driven from its habitat by the wisely repressive laws of European governments it takes refuge in free America, only to turn its blood-stained hands against our institutions and the highest person in our government” and in turn fomented “the direst hatred between the masses and the classes, and openly proclaim war upon all that we hold most sacred in the home, in society, and in the state.”³⁷⁶ Anarchism, for Virstow, existed outside the confines of America’s ‘imagined community,’ one defined by “the Anglo-Saxon love of fair play, righteous government, and regard for the rights of others, which are the foundations of this Republic.”³⁷⁷ It would be these assumptions about Europe’s imperial decline and the relationship that anarchists had with the process that justified an American culture

³⁷⁵ Henry Virstow, “Anarchism—A Study of Social Forces,” *Modern Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (October, 1901): 141. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/MC14-2e.htm> (Accessed 2/02/2014).

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid. For an analysis of the ways that newspapers and magazines, not unlike *Modern Culture*, contributed to cultural understandings and imaginings of national communities, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006).

preoccupied with the anarchist-as-immigrant narrative—empire, in this way, intertwined with surrounding anti-immigrant and xenophobic views on the outside world, particularly in reference to anarchy.

Anarchy as a Disease

Virstow's journalistic inquiry into the social and national origins of anarchism in America turned to the activities and works of prominent anarchist intellectuals in Europe as evidence of anarchy's alien origins. Applying extant social environmental theory, Virstow asserted that anarchists emerged out of the social, political, and economic circumstances of European history and formed under the intellectual influences of prominent radical and anarchist thinkers such as Karl Marx, Mikhail Bakunin, and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.³⁷⁸ He argued that anarchism "is an anti-social force of slow and insidious growth developing in the untrained intellects and undernourished brains of the half-starved laboring and peasant classes of southern and eastern Europe."³⁷⁹ Like a disease, Virstow believed that anarchy's intellectual tradition spread through the ignorant social classes of a crumbling imperial Europe and crossed the Atlantic to pollute the minds of radicals and laborers within the United States, warning that "it is not one of

³⁷⁸ It is important to note that although the works of these intellectuals sustained significant influence in anarchist communities across the globe in the twentieth century, the intellectual tradition of anarchy was by no means a European phenomenon. Anarchist intellectuals born and raised within the borders of the United States were read with avid interest and enthusiasm as well. See, Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Oakland, California: AK Press, 2005) and Paul Avrich, *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

³⁷⁹ Virstow, "Anarchism—A Study of Social Forces," 142.

those evils which will work their own cure.”³⁸⁰ Anarchism’s alien birthright appeared not only foreign and invasive for Virstow, but acted as an immigrant contagion that required a remedy.

Virstow’s commentary joined a large swath of newspaper articles and editorials arguing that “Anarchy is a disease; why is not the law justified in stamping it out as it does anthrax, smallpox, tuberculosis, yellow jack or any other dangerous disease?”³⁸¹ Biomedical discourse swept through the American popular press, describing anarchism as both a physical and intellectual blight upon an otherwise unadulterated American population. The anarchist in the early years of the twentieth century joined an expanding list of immigrant populations considered to be social pollutants upon the American social body.³⁸² Popular media sources stoked these anxieties about American racial and bodily purity by printing articles which stated that “This festering sore [anarchy] in our body politic calls for and should receive drastic treatment.”³⁸³ Popular print sources, however, described the anarchist as carriers of a worse kind of contagion than the other immigrant classes of the era. For one *Milwaukee Sentinel* editorial writer, “Responsibility for Czolgosz’ [*sic*] crime is a question not of race but of doctrine...It is a cancer eating into

³⁸⁰ Ibid, 141.

³⁸¹ “Notes and Comments,” *Milwaukee Journal*, September 7, 1901. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/MJ090701b.htm> (Accessed 2/02/2014).

³⁸² Medical discourse and the anxieties surrounding disease have been well-researched topics in the histories of U.S. immigration, but not much research has been done on the ways that political thought and ideology played into these biomedical narratives. See, in particular, Kraut, *Silent Travelers* and Shah, *Contagious Divides*.

³⁸³ “The Crime of Anarchy,” *American Lawyer*, Vol. 9, No. 10 (October-November, 1901), 513. MAI <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/AL9-10a.htm>, (Accessed 2/03/2014).

the breast of society at large.”³⁸⁴ This anarchist disease attacked the social body and the collective psychological well-being of the American population, according to the anarchist-as-immigrant discourses produced in the popular press.

These media discourses surrounding anarchy’s contagious-like influence on the American body politic led journalists to engage in inquiries that sought out both the origins of and solutions to the threats posed by immigrant anarchists. On September 11, 1901 the *New York Times* published an article that claimed to understand the appropriate path that could provide answers for such questions regarding anarchism, making calls for journalists, politicians, and medical professionals to seek out “The Sources of the Anarchist Disease.”³⁸⁵ The article claimed that America would have “to scan the pages of history that tell of the oppression of the ancestors of these men—particularly the social, economic, and personal history of their progenitors for a few generations back” to find the true origins of the anarchist menace.³⁸⁶ In this way, the article promised “we might be able to trace the progressive physical and mental degradation in which the true source of their monstrous delusions is to be found.”³⁸⁷ In this way, the press, following McKinley’s assassination, turned to professional insights in the fields of medical and human science, especially social environmental theory, criminology, and physiological pathology in order to understand the kind of effect anarchism had had upon American society—but the

³⁸⁴ “Not a Race Question,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 11, 1901: 4. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/MS23686a.htm> (Accessed 2/03/2014).

³⁸⁵ “The Sources of the Anarchist Disease,” *New York Times*, September 13, 1901: 6.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

more that theories about the origins of anarchism developed, the more anti-immigrant and xenophobic discourses worked into popular views on anarchists themselves.

Professional medical discourse added a tone of expertise and rational perspective that explained the existence of anarchism within the country, especially as a pathogenic anomaly residing with the political body. The popular press, in particular, printed the opinions of experts in the social and medical sciences in numerous newspaper articles, magazine exposés, and professional journals across the country, turning to professional discourse as a source of knowledge regarding the anarchist. H. M. Bannister, an expert on social and economic environmental theories, used his professional background to argue that anarchists, intellectually and psychologically speaking, emerged from foreign circumstances, not just their physical bodies. In an article published on the subject in the *Journal of Mental Science*, Bannister argued that “The psychology of the anarchist of the present day is, in some respects, a problem, and it is an unpleasantly large one in connection with a certain proportion of the foreign-born labour element in this country.”³⁸⁸ He knew enough about the events at Buffalo, New York to be aware of Czolgosz’s citizenship and American background; Bannister believed, however, that despite Czolgosz’s natal origins in the U.S., his mental and intellectual makeup came from a European tradition, arguing that “Czolgosz himself was hardly a native; though born in America, his associations had not been American.”³⁸⁹ The anarchist mind, as well

³⁸⁸ Dr. H. M. Bannister, “America,” *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. 48, No. 164 (January 1902): 124. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/JMS48-164.htm> (Accessed 2/03/2014).

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

as their bodies, was imagined as alien and other, as xenophobic views characterized anarchist political beliefs.

Assumptions abounded regarding the assassin's national and social birthright, but the media intrigue that developed around the background of Leon Czolgosz, in particular, quickly turned into an examination of the assassin's emotional, psychological, and pathological state of health, as anti-immigrant discourses incorporated into discussions of his belief systems.³⁹⁰ Czolgosz's trial was nothing short of a ritualized form of legal procedure; not only was Czolgosz's own admission of guilt overruled by the judge in order to force a trial, he refused to speak with his legal representatives, leaving them with little choice but to argue that the assassination was not the act of a criminal, but one of an insane man. As one of the jurors for the trial put it, "I could have voted for a verdict without leaving my seat."³⁹¹ Czolgosz protested the entire legal proceedings, mostly through non-participation and silence, including a general unwillingness to cooperate with the medical professionals who were assigned to assess the condition of his physical and mental health. These decisions shrouded the entire trial in intrigue, particularly in regards to the truth behind the assassin's mental health status. Bannister himself believed that Czolgosz and all anarchists were delusional and psychotic, and that "No one is inclined, however, to believe them irresponsible, and the prompt conviction and

³⁹⁰ American gothic literature often described murderers as mental aliens and after the assassination of McKinley, Czolgosz would be described in a similar fashion. Czolgosz and other anarchists, however, were described as threats to the national body in ways that characters in nineteenth-century novels tended to signify aberrant individual actions and mental conditions. See, Karen Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

³⁹¹ Frederick V. Lauer, juror no. 1, quoted in "Single Ballot all that was Necessary," *Buffalo Courier*, September 25, 1901. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/BC66-268a.htm> (Accessed 2/02/2014).

execution of Czolgosz has certainly had the full endorsement of the public opinion.”³⁹² Very few Americans questioned the legal proceedings, but the desire to discern, with scientific objectivity, the mental status of Czolgosz and others like him became a sensational topic in both the media and scientific communities.



Figure 3.2 Alan Lister Lovey, “The Soul of the Anarchist,” *Salt Lake Herald*, September 29, 1901: 1. Lovey drew this as a visual representation of the psychological volatility of anarchist Leon Czolgosz, intentionally foregrounding the emotional and psychological turmoil that he believed operated under the surface of Czolgosz and anarchists like him.³⁹³

³⁹² Bannister, “America,” *Journal of Mental Science*, 124.

³⁹³ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/SLH29-127a.htm> (Accessed 3/05/2014).

Walter Channing, with the assistance of Lloyd Vernon Briggs, both prominent mental health experts of the early twentieth century, engaged in their own retrospective assessment of Czolgosz's mental status leading up to and following the assassination.³⁹⁴ They believed that the rushed trial and Czolgosz's remonstrative relationship to the courts led to a misdiagnosis. Channing would become one of the rare voices that viewed Czolgosz as a nominally insane individual. *The Mental Status of Czolgosz* revealed Channing's interpretations of the many stories that were repeated in newspapers of Czolgosz's childhood, relationships with his mother and other women, impoverished background, and working habits.³⁹⁵ He wrote what the rest of nativist America was thinking, that anarchists were psychologically delusional, emotionally estranged, and socially prone to erratic and violent behavior, despite his charge and conviction. Channing's psychosocial study of Czolgosz echoed many of the sentiments that had been printed in newspapers across the country, but the book he wrote on the subject also participated in the development of a field of professional medical insights into the criminological and psychopathological temperament of the anarchist.

Channing's work added to a growing discourse at the turn of the twentieth century in both North America and Europe concerning the social, intellectual, and psychological status of dissident anarchists like Czolgosz. In support of his conclusion, that Czolgosz embodied delusional and antisocial tendencies, Channing turned to and referenced the

³⁹⁴ By this time in the United States, it was not uncommon for there to be discrepancies between legal decisions and professional medical opinions. For more on this medical/judicial divide in American history, see James C. Mohr, *Doctors and the Law: Medical Jurisprudence in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996).

³⁹⁵ Walter Channing, *The Mental Status of Czolgosz*, Reprint Edition (Charleston: Nabu Press, 1902, 2013). Originally published in 1902.

chief medical experts on anarchism. Ironically, the majority of the experts Channing referenced were products of the very same European system and imperial tradition that many in the U.S. believed gave birth to the rise of anarchism itself. The latest medical and scientific expertise in the field hailed largely from what was believed to be anarchist hotbeds in Europe, including England, Italy, and France. By supplying references to the works of Charles A. Mercier, Cesare Lambroso, and Emmanuel Regis, Channing contributed to a prominent psychiatric discourse with the anarchist as the primary subject of analysis.³⁹⁶ Collectively, these medical professionals represented a growing movement in the western world that viewed dissident anarchism in terms of mental illness, and in particular, carriers of a contagious intellectual disease, the origins of which were foreign and alien to American populations.

This medical and psychiatric discourse was not limited to the publications meant primarily for a medical profession consumer base, however. The writings of prominent British social environmental and psychiatric theorist, Geoffrey Langtoft, published his research and professional opinions in popular newspapers and magazines across Europe and North America on top of professional journals.³⁹⁷ In October 1901, Langtoft wrote an article for the *Fortnightly Review*, a popular British journal widely read by literate Anglophiles living in the United States, stating that anarchists “mark out rich men and

³⁹⁶ For Lambroso and the “Italian School” of criminology, see Daniel Pick, “The Faces of Anarchy” and Land, “Men with the Faces of Brutes.” For an analysis of French anarchism as a public health problem, see Erickson, Jr., “The Anarchist Disorder.”

³⁹⁷ For an analysis of the public opinion of anarchism in Britain during this era, see Haia Shpayer-Makov, “Anarchism in British Public Opinion, 1880-1914,” *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Summer 1988): 487-516.

rulers as enemies to be destroyed” all over the western world.³⁹⁸ Similar to authors writing in the United States, Langtoft viewed British history as exceptional and unique from that of the rest of Europe, stating that “The harvest which we are now reaping has grown from seed which was sown during the French Revolution, of which Socialism in its modern manifestation is the offspring. The Reign of Terror has in a sense never ended; it has but assumed a different form and spread to other countries.”³⁹⁹ These words would have resonated in the minds of his U.S. audiences, who also commonly associated the presence of anarchism in America as the product of historical changes in imperial Europe.⁴⁰⁰ Professionals in the fields of the behavioral and social sciences like Langtoft, repeatedly circulated the belief that the history of anarchism was entrenched in the circumstances of an archaic European past and spread to the enlightened nations of the world like Britain and the United States.

Langtoft’s works were also published widely in American newspapers like the *Chicago Tribune*. One such article, entitled “Anarchy a Crime, Not a Disease,” contradicted Channing’s findings, but ultimately would have engaged with a much larger

³⁹⁸ Geoffrey Langtoft, “Assassination a Fruit of Socialism,” *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 70, No. 418 (October 1, 1901): 577. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/FR70-418b.htm> (Accessed 3/05/2014).

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Popular representations of anti-anarchist sentiment in the British popular press often mirrored much of what was being produced in the American press at that time. The *Fortnightly Review* commonly reported on American current events for both its British and American readership and similar to the discourses surrounding anarchist mental health in the U.S., another October 1901 article argued that “Anarchist murder is not a conspiracy. It is a contagion. Methods of police can always break the backbone of an organisation, but they can no more grapple alone with the infection of perverted thought and sinister example, than smallpox can be fought with a bludgeon.” “Two Presidents and the Limits of American Supremacy,” *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 70, No. 418 (October 1, 1901): 555. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/FR70-418a.htm> (Accessed 3/05/2014).

audience.⁴⁰¹ Langtoft worried that if the scientific community continued to characterize anarchists as unfortunate products of social or psychopathological circumstances, it would mean that they would no longer be legally responsible for their actions in court. He lamented that “Everywhere there is a tendency among those who live and thrive by pleasing the multitude to palliate anarchy, to tolerate it, to represent it as a disease from which those who suffer from it are not responsible, but for which society is responsible because it has not dealt with them more friendly [*sic*].”⁴⁰² He criticized others in the medical professions for too easily providing an opportunity in which “That blessed word ‘environment’ leaps readily to the lips. That nobody is responsible. The Anarchist who stabs a ruler is not a criminal but an unfortunate; he is made by what he is not by his own wicked heart but by the wickedness of society towards him.”⁴⁰³ For Langtoft, anarchy resulted from alien and abnormal mental functions and social settings, but that did not mean they could not be held legally accountable in court.⁴⁰⁴

Langtoft tapped into a widespread debate that concerned legal and moral responsibility in the wake of the assassination. He ultimately echoed many of the popular sentiments regarding anarchist responsibility at the turn of the century: that Czolgosz was

⁴⁰¹ Geoffrey Langtoft, “Anarchy a Crime, Not a Disease,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 15, 1901: 13.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ This occurred at a time in American history when both medical and legal professionals began to see a person’s autonomous action in relationship to an individual’s social environment. This helped give rise to a legal and medical culture that sought out the connections between a criminal’s social, economic, and environmental background and the antisocial behavior they engaged in, connecting the individual’s actions to that of the greater community writ large. Concerns surrounding social justice and criminality, paradoxically, also led to an increase in size and depth of legal bureaucracies, which in turn resulted in greater forms of state power and the reduction of civil liberties. For a more detailed discussion of this process, particularly in the Municipal Court system of Chicago, see Michael Willrich, *City of Courts: Socializing Justice in Progressive Era Chicago* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

indeed insane, but ultimately morally and legally responsible.⁴⁰⁵ But how could Czolgosz's act of assassination have been the product of both mental illness and yet the act of a rational individual? A number of theories abounded in the months that followed the trial, including that he suffered from acute instances of epilepsy.⁴⁰⁶ But the most popular of these described anarchists as being socially, economically, and psychologically susceptible to the influence of diseased intellectual transmissions and political ideologies. Langtoft himself stated that "The germ of all the evil" of anarchism originated in the thoughts and words of European intellectuals such as Proudhon and Bakunin.⁴⁰⁷ For Langtoft, "These are the ideas which are fermenting in the minds of all Anarchists alike, exciting their brains, enflaming their passions, imbruting and dehumanizing them, and making them veritable wild beasts among men."⁴⁰⁸ In the minds of medical professionals such as Langtoft, anarchists spread intellectual diseases in their rhetoric and publications that proliferated in susceptible carriers of political discontent such as the American working-classes, an influence that actively alienated Czolgosz—but also for Langtoft, this psychosocial phenomenon should never indicate a lack of legal and moral responsibility for their actions and behaviors. Even when social, political, and

⁴⁰⁵ For a review of these arguments from the given perspective of a professional working in this era, see Henry Holt, "The Treatment of Anarchism," *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (February 1902): 192-200. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/AMRR25-2a.htm> (Accessed 3/06/2014).

⁴⁰⁶ J. Sanderson Christison, "Epilepsy, Responsibility and the Czolgosz Case," *The Kansas City Medical Index-Lancet*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (January 1902): 10-17. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/KCMIL23-1.htm> (Accessed 4/21/2014). In fact, epilepsy was commonly seen as a viable explanation for anarchist violence and antisocial behavior in the opinions of medical experts across Europe and North America. See Erickson, Jr., "The Anarchist Disorder."

⁴⁰⁷ Langtoft, "Anarchy a Crime, Not a Disease," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

economic circumstances did not justify anarchist activity, corrupt political thought built in European intellectual circles appeared as the originating culprit.

The concern went beyond that of popular understandings regarding American racial and ethnic purity; anarchism appeared to pollute the mind. The evaluations of psychologists, sociologists, and criminologists were printed in newspapers, magazines, and journals across the country, arguing that anarchist thought resulted from abnormal and alien mental function. These claims conflated anti-immigrant and xenophobic assumptions the mental, emotional, and political makeup of anarchists themselves. They searched for the “especial psychology peculiar to these curious anarchical associations which take root here and there like destructive parasites in the interstices of societies,” as did prominent criminologist Olindo Malagodi.⁴⁰⁹ Malagodi joined the chorus of professional medical discourse being produced and reprinted in American journals, newspapers, and magazines across the country. He argued in a *Chicago Tribune* special report on the origins of and responses to anarchism, that “Whilst the intellectual faculties of reasoning and criticism possess little expansive force, those of sentiment and imagination, based on simpler elements, are enormously contagious.”⁴¹⁰ He, like Langtoft and other experts in the burgeoning behavioral and psychiatric sciences, believed that anarchism resulted from a combination of environmental circumstances (i.e., poor, working class), psychological susceptibility (i.e., alienated, feelings of exploitation), and the dangers of anarchist doctrine (i.e., dissident, contagious rhetoric).

⁴⁰⁹ Italian criminologist Olindo Malagodi quoted in “Psychology of the Anarchist,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 15, 1901: 13.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

Anarchist print spread like a disease, contaminating the minds of other alienated workers, for Malagodi. He believed that “In these anarchical assemblages reciprocal excitation exerts an extraordinary influence and leads the whole group to such grades of visionary intoxication, to such paroxysms of imagination as not one of the individuals composing the group would be singly capable of experiencing.”⁴¹¹ In other words, it was anarchist thought that spread like a disease, not just their physical presence. By understanding anarchism in these medical terms, commentators characterized anarchists as an invasive, alien threat that not only potentially adulterated the social body, but polluted the social psyche as well.

Medical professionals like Bannister, Channing, Langtoft, and Malagodi played an instrumental role in the ways that many Americans interpreted and viewed anarchism in the wake of McKinley’s assassination. Their theories on anarchism helped to produce a U.S. culture that viewed the anarchist as not only a foreign blight on the American social body, but a corrupt mental phenomenon that embodied contagious qualities, those of a psychopathological disease.⁴¹² These medical, sociological, and psychological

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Mental health discourse had had a long tradition in both the courts and the medical professions by the time of Czolgosz’s trial. By the turn of the twentieth century, professionals in the fields of psychology and criminology had progressively eroded long held notions about moral responsibility in criminal behavior, turning to mental disease and social environmentalism as contributing factors for legal liability. Czolgosz’s trial and the surrounding culture of anti-anarchism occurred in the midst of this very process. As I argue in this chapter, these concerns surrounding criminality, legal responsibility, and psychopathology ultimately contributed to the rise of a system of governmentality built upon biopolitical purity. Arguments regarding the psychopathological status of anarchism existed not only in legal discourse, but in the broader popular culture on the ways that anarchist mental health status reinforced notions of American insecurity and the sense of a continued threat. For more detailed discussions on these histories of criminality, mental health, and liability in the long nineteenth century, see Susanna Blumenthal, “The Defiance of the Will: Policing the Bounds of Testamentary Freedom in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 119, No. 4 (February 2006): 959-1034, “The Mind of the Moral Agent: Scottish Common Sense and the Problem of Responsibility in Nineteenth-

interpretations of the anarchist disease also played into an American society saturated with anti-immigrant and xenophobic assumptions. The anarchist presence in the country was seen as the product of foreign and alien influences upon the nation, one that coincided with an expanding U.S. economic, military, and diplomatic reach. This view of foreigners in the American polity ultimately functioned as a powerful rhetorical tool in psychiatric and sociological theories regarding anarchists; according to the most up to date scientific examinations, anarchist immigrants appeared to contaminate the social makeup of the nation, but it would be their polluted doctrine that appeared to spread like a disease, affecting the alienated and non-alienated alike, thus making it a more serious concern for policymakers and administrators of the law.

Surveillance and Security as a Technique of Governance

By the time president Roosevelt signed the Immigration Act of 1903—and thus the Anarchist Exclusion Act—into law, the U.S. federal government had acquired years of experience in the regulation of foreign migrants coming into the country. The creation of the Page Act in 1875 and the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 led to the beginnings of a bureaucratic and administrative technique built around the surveillance and exclusion of unwanted immigrants based upon their ethnicity, physical health, class, and criminal

Century American Law,” *Law and History Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 2008): 99-159, and “The Default Legal Person,” *UCLA Law Review*, Vol. 54, No. 5 (June 2007): 1135-1265. Also see, Mohr, *Doctors and the Law*.

background.⁴¹³ Administrators of the Anarchist Exclusion Act would ultimately rely on these foundations in their efforts to police and exclude unwanted immigrant anarchists from the American polity. But how were policymakers and administrators to provide for the regulation of dissident anarchist ideology and thought? If immigrant anarchist physical and mental makeup were characterized as contagions to be regulated and purged, how could anti-immigration law and authority be used to achieve such ends? The simple answer is that the Anarchist Exclusion Act did not work. Immigration bureaucracies, although growing in size and reach, did not effectively achieve the goal of regulating immigrant anarchists in the ways that legislators had hoped. But in the process, the administrative procedure of surveillance and policing, especially around popular understandings of the anarchist as mental and physical outsider, led to the slow growth of the U.S. government premised upon a national security police gaze.

The immigration Act of 1903 was not the first piece of federal law aimed at regulating the influx of immigrants into the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, nor did legislation that conflated anxieties regarding national safety and domestic instability originate with anti-anarchist policy and law. Concerns over

⁴¹³ These anxieties surrounding nativism and xenophobia in American culture ultimately contributed to U.S. federal bureaucratic and administrative growth in unprecedented ways. For more on this, see Lee, *At America's Gates* and Higham, *Strangers in the Land*. For the history U.S. deportation policy at the turn of the twentieth century, see Torrie Hester, "Deportation: The Origins of National and International Power" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oregon, 2008), Hester, "'Protection, Not Punishment': Legislative and Judicial Formation of U.S. Deportation Policy, 1882-1904," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Fall 2010): 11-36, and Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*. But desirability itself is a contested and blurry concept. The U.S. immigration regime should not be viewed as one that clearly defined who does and does not belong to the American national community, even though the discourses produced may appear clean cut and well defined. For more on this historical conversation, see Zolberg, *A Nation by Design* and Kunal M. Parker, "Citizenship and Immigration Law, 1800-1924: Resolutions of Membership and Territory" in *The Cambridge History of Law in America: Volume II, The Long Nineteenth Century (1789-1920)*, eds., Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomlins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 168-203.

safeguarding of the nation dominated federal immigration policy since the enactment of the Page Act of 1875 and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.⁴¹⁴ In 1893, the U.S. Supreme Court presided over its first hearing centered on federal deportation.⁴¹⁵ In *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, the legitimacy of the federal government’s authority to deport aliens under the auspices of the Page Act and the Chinese Exclusion Act came into question. Ultimately, the Court upheld the constitutional right of the federal government to deport aliens not for the punishment of a crime, but as an administrative process that allowed for the removal of alien residents based on their undesirability. The syllabus to the justice’s decision articulated that this “right to exclude or to expel aliens, or any class of aliens, absolutely or upon certain conditions, in war or in peace, is an inherent and inalienable right of every sovereign and independent nation.”⁴¹⁶

Despite uneasiness about the safety of the nation, late nineteenth-century immigration policy differed in terms of both tone and purpose than those enacted after the death of McKinley in 1901. An anarchist physically and violently attacked the president, providing many with a very real sense of danger to national leaders and representatives of the state. But anarchism represented more than a physical threat to the nation and state—it symbolized the spread alien and foreign structures of political thought in ways that other immigrant groups did not. Popular discourses on anti-anarchism combined visions of anti-immigrant xenophobia with views on anarchist political thought, creating a

⁴¹⁴ Hester, “Deportation” and Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*.

⁴¹⁵ For an excellent and much more intimate account of the kinds of effects Chinese immigration law had on individual lives, see Mae Ngai, *The Lucky Ones: One Family and the Extraordinary Invention of Chinese America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

⁴¹⁶ *Fong Yue Ting v. U.S.*, 149 U.S. 698, 730 (1893).

language of state power that envisioned a government that would be capable of regulating political belief. Although state actors would find it difficult, if not impossible, to successfully monitor anarchist ideas, a popular and political culture of surveillance and policing arose as a tenable solution to the problems anarchism appeared to provoke in the country.

A language of nativism and xenophobia continued to define anti-anarchist discourse in the early years of the twentieth century, as those in the media sought solutions to the presence of anarchists and their political beliefs in the country. The September 1901 issue of *Physician and Surgeon* published an article entitled “Anarchists” that claimed “an anarchist makes war upon society as an institution and attempts to break it up...and rises at times to the heat of an epidemic, which spreads as by a contagion.”⁴¹⁷ The article employed the racialized and medico-political rhetorical flourishes popular in the era’s professional and media discourse, repeating oft-circulated phrases like “this social disease” and “the poisoned criminal,” often alongside wartime metaphors such as “enemy of good society,” as ways to characterize anarchists within the United States.⁴¹⁸ The primary concern for this article, however, involved “The control of the exciting cause or causes and the repression of the outbreaks of this social disease” since “the seeds of dissatisfaction are liable to be further spread.”⁴¹⁹

Explanations for the existence of anarchist populations and thoughts in the United States also turned to a professional medical understanding of the ways to eliminate the

⁴¹⁷ “Anarchists,” *Physician and Surgeon*, Vol. 23, No. 9 (September 1901): 422. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/PhyS23-9c.htm> (Accessed 4/21/2014).

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

anarchist presence within the social body. According to the *Physician and Surgeon* article, “From the point of view here assumed and reasoning by analogy, isolation and quarantine are most prominently indicated.”⁴²⁰ The article quoted prominent psychiatrist and psychologist William B. Noyes as saying that “segregation and breaking up their headquarters form the only remedy.”⁴²¹ The article ultimately argued that “The nature of our government possibly favors or allows the spread of anarchy, but as *the people* are now anxious and determined that repressive measures be instituted, we shall look to our legislators and executive officers to carry out their, *the people’s*, will.”⁴²² Just like other contagions of the body, anarchists required “analogy, isolation and quarantine” from the social body, but maintaining the professional tone of medical experts, the prescribed methods of dealing with anarchism turned to ideals of surveillance, identification, and elimination.⁴²³ Unlike other immigrant populations, anarchism represented a threat to both the body and mind of the national body, as popular discourses turned to the languages of the medical and behavioral sciences in their searches for a tenable solution.

But not all commentary on the origins of and responses to anarchism took on the rational tone of the professional social and medical sciences. In *Around the “Pan” with Uncle Hank: His Trip through the Pan-American Exposition*, novelist Thomas Fleming used his flamboyant and satirical title character Uncle Hank to approach opinions regarding anarchists in the United States with less journalistic and professional formality.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Ibid. The quote “segregation and breaking up their headquarters form the only remedy” was a statement made by William B. Noyes who wrote extensively on syringomyelia, neurasthenia, and epilepsy. He also studied the neurological disorders associated with anarchism, including the popular theories associated with anarchist epilepsy. The article takes this quote from *The Medical Review of Reviews*.

⁴²² Ibid. Italics are original to the document.

⁴²³ Ibid.

Intentionally hyperbolic and grammatically incorrect, Fleming's Uncle Hank, after witnessing McKinley's assassination, "voiced the sentiment of the majority of people when he said to a bystander 'Them Anarchists is like rattlesnakes; fust they rattle dangerous warnin's and then they strike a deadly blow. No civilized community ez safe while they're about.'" ⁴²⁴ Although a satirical character, Uncle Hank provides insights into the dominant discourses circulating in America, as he rearticulated and mocked the popular belief that anarchism embodied a dangerous threat to the safety and stability of the nation, employing metaphors that pitted the civilized world against the otherness of the zoomorphized anarchist, while a bellicose rhetoric and language of security characterized the text. But he also echoed the popular belief that anarchists were a foreign and invasive threat to the health of the country, continuing to iterate to a local passersby that "Naow ye see th' danger ov 'lowin' ther scum of Europe tew cum inter th' country. Yer quarantine yaller fever, but ye never think ov quarantinin *red anarchy*, which is a sight more dangerous disease."⁴²⁵ A popular trope of the era, both within and outside of the medical professions, anarchism appears here as a social and political disease that required quarantine from the bodies and minds of American society. Surveillance and expulsion appear as the most appropriate responses to the threats that anarchy posed to the social body as languages of anti-anarchist xenophobia intermixed with metaphors of polluted anarchist thought.

⁴²⁴ Thomas Fleming, *Around the "Pan" with Uncle Hank: His Trip through the Pan-American Exposition* (New York: Nut Shell, 1901), 146.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

Anarchists may have been seen as a social disease, but it was also their ideology that was impure and contagious, making it the most dangerous of the other social ills that seemed to plague the country at the turn of the twentieth century. The corrupting power of anarchist thought heightened the wartime rhetoric Americans used at this time as well. Not only did anarchists pose a physical threat to the health and the safety of the American social body, but their ideas appeared as foreign, alien, and invasive—all popular tropes of American culture. The weekly publication, *Public Opinion*, placed these interconnected cultural ideals of war, disease, and immigration next to each other in a cartoon sent out to their readers on September 19, 1901.⁴²⁶ The image combines three of the most popular cartoons surrounding the anti-anarchist attitudes that defined American culture in the months following McKinley’s assassination: “Draw and Strike,” “Put them Out and Keep them Out,” and “Time to Stop Acting as a Sewer for the World.”⁴²⁷ The middle image, in particular, reveals many of the anxieties that Americans held towards immigrants coming into the United States in the wake of anarchist violence.⁴²⁸ The imagery revealed in the cartoon shows a flood of unwanted immigrants washing into the body of water that represents the social body of the United States population. The water representing immigrants flowing in from what were popularly seen as hotbeds of anarchist activities, including Russia, Italy, and Austria is seen as polluted by the tenets and activities of

⁴²⁶ *Public Opinion*, Vol. 13, No. 12 (September 19, 1901). *Public Opinion* reprinted many of the opinions and statements from several of the top newspapers and journals regarding relevant and popular topics from around the country in a weekly publication.

⁴²⁷ For more information regarding “Put them Out and Keep them Out” reference the discussion surrounding Figure 1.6 in the first chapter of this dissertation. For more information regarding “Draw and Strike,” see Figure 2.2 and the relevant discussion in the second chapter of this dissertation.

⁴²⁸ Richard Bach Jensen, “The United State, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism, 1904-1914,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 15-46.

“anarchy,” “nihilism,” and the “mafia.” It is sandwiched between two other popular cartoons that defined the era, two that are defined by concerns over the paradigms of legal order and anarchic chaos and anarchists as martial threats to the American nation-state.

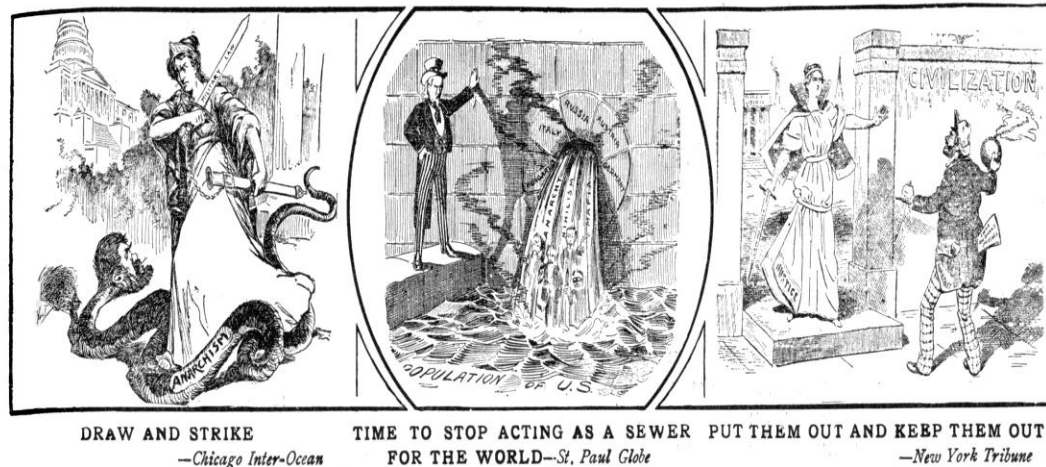


Figure 3.3 *Public Opinion*, Vol. 13, No. 12 (September 19, 1901). This image places three of the most popular cartoon depictions of anti-anarchist America after McKinley’s assassination. The central image, in particular, represents a vision of state power premised upon techniques of surveillance and monitoring, rather than the warlike qualities of an imperial state.

These three images reveal insights into the most popular motifs and metaphors surrounding anarchism in the early years of the twentieth century: anarchy’s centrality as the state’s other, the imperial war on anarchy, and anarchism as an immigrant pollutant. The center image codifies the other two into the belief that anarchism represented a foreign, invasive element that plagued American society. The image shows Uncle Sam as an iconic representation of the American state, watching disapprovingly as Eastern and Southern European immigrants flowed into the waters of the national social body. He is

the male embodiment of white, patriotic America in this image.⁴²⁹ The water shown is polluted, not only emerging from the sewers of European origins, but emanating a foul and noxious fume, possibly indicating the incorporeal contamination of anarchist political and intellectual thought. It is important to read the middle image alongside the other two bellicose cartoons; it represents the republican solution to the problems associated with anarchism, enclosed and informed by the martial motifs that also preoccupied American popular culture.

Wedge between two other popular images of the era, the central picture reproduces the antipodal concerns regarding the anarchism and anarchist violence. Within the incoming stream of contaminated water, figures can be seen wielding the implements of anarchist warfare, including a bomb, revolver, and dagger. But unlike the outer images, these immigrant-adulterants invade the body of water representing the population of the United States. Putting predominant medico-political discourse into an iconographic form, this image reveals that anarchists retained qualities that contaminated the nation-state. They are imagined as foreign, invasive, alien, and potentially diseased. Also unlike the two outer images, the iconography representing the American state stands less defiant, surveying the situation, instead of preparing for battle. This is not the image of wartime justice, with a sword in hand. The central image reveals an American state

⁴²⁹ It is important to note that these ethnic and nationality groups from Europe were immigrating into the United States in very large numbers at the turn of the twentieth century, often resulting in the racialized and medicalized stereotyping of these communities. See Daniel E. Bender, *Sweated Work, Weak Bodies: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns and Languages of Labor* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), Howard Markel, *Quarantine!: East European Jewish Immigrants and the New York City Epidemics of 1892* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). For the ways that European immigrants responded these stereotypes, see Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

willing to wage the war on anarchy with an approach built upon surveillance and policing. But the iconography presented still retains the iconography and languages of war, empire, and security discussed in Chapter 2. According to these configurations, the war on anarchy could not be won by martial antagonism, but protection and security; empire and republic would have to merge in the name of national protection. This is the image of the national security state—one concerned with protecting the national body from social and political contaminants, through surveillance and the policing of populations. The war on anarchy would be waged via the restricting of foreign immigration and the policing of domestic populations for anarchistic impurities.

It is also important to note the gender dynamics present in these images. As discussed in Chapter II, the iconographic representation of strong female figures progressively loses prominence in anti-anarchist political cartoons and imagery after 1901. The same applies to the central image, except that the imagined role of the male Uncle Sam does not stand in such a combative posed as in the cartoon “The Cradle of Liberty.” This image reveals a new normative understanding of the gendered state—it depicts the professional administrative state seen through the gaze of a monitoring Uncle Sam. As American legislators debated the style of governmental response to dissident anarchism, pitting cultures of imperialism and republicanism against each other, popular political cartoons envisioned these debates in the surrounding print media of the era. If America wanted to retain its republican qualities, it would act more like the man in the central image, with an administrative technique and the professional air of a surveillance state centered upon security and protection.



Figure 3.4 “About Time to Stop Acting as Sewer for the Entire World,” originally published in *St. Paul Globe*, September 8, 1901: 1. Unlike the imperial depictions of anti-anarchism in the exterior images, this cartoon reveals a gendered state ideal premised upon security, surveillance, and expulsion.

The surrounding cultural environment married the perceived effectiveness of the medical professional’s gaze and the U.S. federal government’s bureaucratic surveillance of anarchist immigrants in profound ways. On September 15, 1901 the *Chicago Tribune* published an article by George B. Billings, the Immigration Commissioner of Boston, MA in which he argued that “Stronger Immigration Laws [are] Needed.”⁴³⁰ Much like the biomedical culture that surrounded anti-anarchist discourse, Billings turned to ideals of

⁴³⁰ George B. Billings, “Stronger Immigration Laws Needed,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 15, 1901: 13.

the professional medical expertise in order to argue that immigrant anarchists required surveillance apparatuses that mirrored the medical world. He maintained that “The Immigration Bureau has adopted the plan of enlisting the services of the physicians of the marine hospitals to pass upon the physical and mental health of every intending immigrant. This plan has worked well, the physicians recommending the prevention of immigration in many cases.”⁴³¹ Billings believed that the same biomedical expertise would prove an asset in the identification and removal of anarchists in the polity, stating that “I assume that nobody but a madman of the nature of a wild beast would commit an atrocity like that which has startled and horrified us all at the present time, and it seems reasonable to suppose that closer investigation of the character, disposition, and environment, and of the political and social affiliations of intending immigrants, would exclude many more dangerous persons than the laws can now reach.”⁴³² For Billings, immigration legislation and officiating should take note from the professional techniques of surveillance, identification, and expulsion of unwanted pathogens existent in the medical sciences.

Biomedical understandings of both the anarchist threat and the prescribed governmental responses proliferated in both the media and in professional anti-anarchist discourse. And in the same ways that nativist political clubs and veterans unions worked to expand America’s extant imperial culture into congressional discourse, they performed a similar function in providing policymakers insights into popular understandings of the anarchist-as-immigrant and psychosocial contagion. The Jr. Order of United American

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

Mechanics in Ohio wrote to their representatives bemoaning “the landing upon our shores of the vicious, lawless, pauperized and anarchistic elements of the foreign countries” and demanded new laws that would exclude these foreigners from the American social body.⁴³³ The JrOUAM based out of Maryland likewise argued that “the landing on our shores of the professed Anarchists, and those of like belief, and the ignorant, vicious and criminal elements” were “of the old world” and thus the federal government needed to create new laws to exclude anarchist immigrants from the polity.⁴³⁴

The JrOUAM proved a particularly vociferous political organization built on nativist and xenophobic understandings of the American nation-state, but the thoughts they articulated within their meeting halls echoed those across the country, rather than that of an isolated patriotic club. Anarchists were of foreign birth in the eyes of not only the press, but of political organizations throughout the country as well, and their alien ideologies had no place within the country. The resolutions passed by political clubs and organizations did not typically employ the same rational tone as those articles published by and for medical professionals, but the assumptions remained the same. In particular, they conflated discourses associated with America’s imperial culture with that of anti-anarchist immigrant sentiment in order to rationalize the formation of national security law that monitored, arrested, and excluded immigrant anarchists. If the media coverage

⁴³³ Resolutions passed by State Council of Ohio, Jr. Order United American Mechanics, adopted Sep. 10-11, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

⁴³⁴ Resolutions passed by the Jr. Order of United American Mechanics and the citizens of the Commonwealth of Maryland, adopted on an unknown date and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

on anarchism failed to reach the houses of Congress, these letters written by political committees such as the JrOUAM all but guaranteed that policymakers engaged in the popular discourses circulating throughout the nation at this time.

When American legislators conferred over how best to deal with anarchists in the country, they did so within this context, one defined by xenophobic, medical, and ideological understandings of anarchism. These discourses circulated within the houses of Congress, articulating the belief that the anarchist represented not only the influx of undesirable immigrant masses coming into the United States, but an alien and invasive force that corrupted the entire nation. They continued to receive resolutions passed by political organizations that mobilized metaphors of empire and war, conflating understandings of anarchists with an invasive, enemy, and alien force that posed a threat to the government and society. Veterans unions, in particular, made use of this rhetorical framework, as did the Union Veterans' Union based out of Wichita, Kansas, which "demand[ed] of Congress at its next session that it pass such drastic laws as will prevent the immigration of Anarchists and deport all anarchists now residents of this country, they being enemies of all government and all organized society."⁴³⁵ Languages of empire, anti-immigrant xenophobia, and medical expertise intimately intertwined in the political discourses calling for governmental responses to dissident anarchism.

⁴³⁵ Resolutions passed by George H. Thomas Regiment, No. 2, Kansas Division Headquarters, Union Veterans' Union, adopted Oct. 14, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

Veterans and nativist organizations may have been the most boisterous in their articulations of war, empire, and nativism, but they were not the only ones to associate anarchism as a foreign, invasive, and violent force that imperiled the security of the nation in their implorations to congressional representatives. Many, but not all, of these letters to Congress included metaphors of anarchist disease; the citizens committee of Conway Springs, Kansas, for example, described the need for immigration reform in terms of bodily cleanliness, stating that, “We favor the purification of politics and of society, by means that are purer than [sic] that we wish to purify and by hands that are cleaner than those we wish to clean.”⁴³⁶ Ultimately, these organizations provided a political rationale that justified anti-immigration law in the name of national protection, putting the anarchist-as-immigrant discourse directly into the mailboxes of American policymakers. The citizens of Conway Springs argued, in particular that the “teachings of anarchy...which make life, property, and reputation insecure” required restrictive governmental measures.⁴³⁷ Like the veterans clubs, the citizens of Conway Springs likewise believed that immigration policy offered the most effective solution towards national defense, asserting that “while we welcome to our shores the thrifty and well meaning [sic] foreigners, yet we ask that the doors of our ports be forever closed against

⁴³⁶ Resolutions passed by Citizens Council of Conway Springs, Kansas, adopted Sep. 19, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

⁴³⁷ Resolutions passed by the Citizens of Conway Springs, Kansas and vicinity, adopted Sep. 19, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

those who come seeking to destroy our institutions and government.”⁴³⁸ Assumptions regarding immigration, anarchism, and the American republic melded into a collective concern over national security, feeding the calls for a governmental response.

On December 3, 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt in a message to Congress, stated that “we should wage war with relentless efficiency not only against anarchists, but against all active and passive sympathizers with anarchists,” proposing federal solutions to rid the nation from anarchy.⁴³⁹ Ever the anti-anarchist and supporter of American imperialism, Roosevelt employed the popular rhetoric of the era, a quality that enlivened politicians and the media alike. He too viewed anarchism as a foreign problem, suggesting “a proper immigration law” that would bar “all persons who are known believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies.”⁴⁴⁰ Roosevelt was not averse to articulating the popular trope of anarchism as a disease, either, believing that it stemmed from the “pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.”⁴⁴¹ Roosevelt’s lightning rod media persona ultimately contributed to the discursive framework that led legislators to push for anti-anarchist national security law. Also like his contemporaries,

⁴³⁸ Ibid. Associations between safety, security, and an increased need for the regulation of immigration can be found throughout the Committee on the Judiciary records. On Dec. 13, 1901 the Daughters of Liberty in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania similarly claimed that “The welfare of our Country, the safety of our Institutions” demanded “A more General Restrictive Immigration Law,” including a “Law to prohibit landing and for the deportation of Anarchists.” Resolutions passed by Daughters of Liberty, No. 57, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, adopted Dec. 13, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

⁴³⁹ Theodore Roosevelt quoted in Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*, 31.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

Roosevelt viewed the anarchist threat as a blight upon the physical and mental makeup of the nation. And it would be within this rationale that legislators debated the feasibility of imperial versus republican styles of legislation.

And like their counterparts in the social, medical, and political arenas, congressional representatives assumed that the most effective way to rid the nation of the disease of anarchy would be to regulate it, quarantine it, and expel it from the social body. They believed that they had found this in immigration policy and law—this would be the republican solution to the anarchist menace that plagued the country. By 1901, the anarchist represented a new kind of threat, one that challenged patriotic and nativist notions of unity and security and in the words of Senator Chauncey Depew, “We must begin at the fountain-head and stop the reservoirs of European anarchy pouring into our country.”⁴⁴² As a result, the act for the “Protection of the President” slowly turned into the “Anarchist Exclusion Act,” and was signed into law with popular support in 1903, as policymakers hoped that they had found a solution that would purge the imperial connotations from America’s national security state.

Filling the Bureaucratic Void

Roosevelt signed the Anarchist Exclusion Act into law on March 3, 1903 as part of the Immigration Act of 1903, with overwhelming support from the popular press, medical experts, and politicians across the country. He hoped that this anti-anarchist

⁴⁴² Chauncey Depew quoted in, “From Europe Come Many Anarchists to This Country. Senator Depew Would Stop Their Immigration,” *Boston Globe*, September 16, 1901: 8.

immigration law would allow the federal government to effectively protect the country and remove dissident anarchists from the national body in ways that the proposed presidential protection legislation could not; they believed it to be a republican solution to a problem that was framed in the language of empire. Policymakers had hoped that a professional, administrative technique of surveillance could rid the nation of the anarchist disease in the manner of an expert pathologist: to monitor, locate, and purge. In an effort to achieve this, legislators expanded the breadth and scope of U.S. immigration bureaucracies, adding to the administrative reach of the federal government, including transferring the regulatory authority of the Bureau of Immigration to the newly created Department of Commerce and Labor in order to expand its reach, funding, and manpower. The task for this newly formed state authority became to identify and exclude political dissidents both domestically and upon entry—specifically anarchist immigrants both already present and those coming into the country.

The law itself permitted immigration officials to disallow the arrival of immigrant anarchists from the country and the ability to deport them within three years of entry. Anarchists, alongside beggars, epileptics, and prostitutes, were added to the growing list of undesirable immigrants with the 1903 immigration law. It also allowed for the explicit federal regulation of immigrant political and dissident thought for the first time in American history since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.⁴⁴³ As the surrounding

⁴⁴³ Although the US Congress did pass the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798, legally prohibiting “any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination” or “writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States,” there were two important differences between the Sedition Act of 1798 and the Immigration Act of 1903. First, the Sedition Act of 1798 expired on the predetermined date of March 1, 1801. The 1903

imperial, anti-immigrant, and biomedical culture in America defined popular anti-anarchist reactions to McKinley's assassination, it too defined the U.S.'s legal framework and response. Federal immigration authorities sought to extend its bureaucratic gaze as a way to not only regulate the bodies of dissident anarchists, but their radical ideologies as well. This proved to be a drawn out and difficult task in the early years of the twentieth century as federal immigration bureaucracies felt the growing pains of codifying their authority. The law had been passed, but regulators had a difficult time distinguishing anarchist immigrants from non-anarchists, creating cracks and fissures in the bureaucratic facades of the U.S.'s national security authority and coherence. And the more difficulty immigration officials experienced in implementing the law, the more that the popular cultures of empire, anti-immigration, and biomedical discourse worked their ways back into the operational function of the national security state.

John Turner, a Scottish anarchist, became the first anarchist alien to be deported under the guidelines of this newly created law. Turner arrived in the United States in 1903 in order to present a series of lectures about anarchist philosophy and political action, including a memorial to the anarchists who participated in the Haymarket Riot of

legislation did not entail a foreseeable end-date. Second, there was little to no federal bureaucratic method or means in place at the turn of the nineteenth century that enforced the 1798 act. The regulation of the act occurred within and functioned under individual state authority. After 1903, a process of federal bureaucratization developed around the enforcement of the Anarchist Exclusion Act, unlike any other act in American history. To read the language of the Alien and Seditions Act, see U.S. Congress, United States Statutes at Large, Public Acts, "An Act for the Punishment of Certain Crimes Against the United States," Fifth Congress, Second Session, Chapter LXXIV, July 14, 1798. For more information regarding both the federal and states governments' power to enforce this early legislation, see Michael Kent Curtis, *Free Speech, "The People's Darling Privilege": Struggles for Freedom of Expression in American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000) and Geoffrey R. Stone, *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004).

1886. He had not planned to permanently relocate to the United States, but was arrested nonetheless in New York City, while presenting a lecture to more than “five hundred alleged anarchists,” including Emma Goldman.⁴⁴⁴ Taken immediately to Ellis Island, Turner waited in prison for an immigration inspector to evaluate him as either a desirable or undesirable alien. His presence as a foreign radical raised suspicion among government officials; in particular, he was found to have a copy of Johann Most’s publication *Free Society* in his possession along with a lecture schedule for future anarchist meetings. These, in the minds of Bureau of Immigration officials, were the literary expedients of anarchy’s contagious-like political doctrine and ideology, leading administrators of immigration law to execute the deportation process.

Turner ultimately challenged the authority of the U.S. government to exclude an alien due to political belief, bringing his deportation case to the Supreme Court. Emma Goldman along with other prominent anarchists and radical sympathizers founded the Free Speech League in order to garner support for Turner, recruiting Clarence Darrow and Edgar Lee Master to represent him in court.⁴⁴⁵ The defense rested on highlighting the differences between the various intellectual roots of anarchist thought. They asserted that as a “philosophical anarchist,” Turner did not pose a security threat to the American nation-state, differentiating his identity from other anarchists who engaged in acts of violence. According to Turner’s lawyers, the immigration law of 1903 allowed for the

⁴⁴⁴ “Anarchists are Raided: Murray Hill Lyceum Meeting Goes Wild with Rage,” *New York Times*, October 24, 1903: 1.

⁴⁴⁵ Historians have argued that anarchist understandings of free speech and the Free Speech League, in particular, have had a profound effect on the ways that the freedom of speech has been understood in both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For more information on this fascinating history, see David M. Rabban, *Free Speech in its Forgotten Years, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

“exclusion of an alien because he is an anarchist,” without providing a solid definition of what an anarchist actually meant or stood for.⁴⁴⁶ The Supreme Court Justices eventually upheld Turner’s deportability, however, and under the auspices of the newly passed Anarchist Exclusion Act, he became the first radical immigrant to be expelled from the United States for being an anarchist. To the U.S. Supreme Court, there existed little difference between a philosophical and violent anarchist; this decision reflected American society writ large, each locating the blame for anarchist violence not only on dissident activists like Czolgosz, but the disease-like propaganda that intellectually minded immigrant anarchists like Turner propagated.

Although Turner was successfully and relatively seamlessly deported in 1903 his case did not serve to clarify the expectations placed on the Bureau of Immigration and their administrative personnel. Were immigration officials capable of distinguishing between anarchists, philosophical or otherwise, and other undesirable immigrant groups that did not fall within the auspices of the law? What were the noticeable characteristics of a deportable anarchist?⁴⁴⁷ How were immigration officials to distinguish between those who were deportable and those who were not based on their political and ideological structure? In short, immigration officials faced a number of difficulties when regulating alien anarchists.

⁴⁴⁶ U.S. Supreme Court, *U.S. ex Rel. John Turner v. Williams*, 194 U.S. 279 (1904). Also, see U.S. Supreme Court, *U.S. ex Rel. John Turner v. Williams*, 126 F. 253 (C.C.N.Y. 1903). Each of these was accessed from “The Clarence Darrow Digital Collection,” housed at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities Law Library. Found at <http://darrow.law.umn.edu/trials.php?tid=16> (Accessed 10/20/2012).

⁴⁴⁷ For more on the ways these types of questions informed American views on immigration, see Zolberg, *A Nation by Design*.

Turner was one of the very few anarchists actually deported within the first several years of the immigration law's passage. The manpower, structural support, and personnel training proved insufficient for sifting through the thousands of immigrants arriving on American shores in the first years of the law's effect, let alone those already present within the country. Immigration officials claimed in reports made to Congress that "The lack of expert assistance in training and directing clerks" made enforcement nearly impossible, finding difficulty in all aspects of regulating immigrant populations, not just anarchists; by the end of their first fiscal year, the Bureau of Immigration bemoaned "the utter inadequacy of such laws."⁴⁴⁸ In particular, they felt that "the Government ought not to be restrained from removing from this country an anarchist, a criminal, or a moral degenerate because such person has been able to avoid detection for three years."⁴⁴⁹ They were concerned that immigration officials would be unable to completely rid the country of alien anarchists, which turned out to be a unique problem since both of the bureaucracy's manpower and resources rested along the border and ports of entry. Ultimately, the Commissioner General of Immigration reported that

⁴⁴⁸ United States Department of Commerce and Labor, *First Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor* (Washington: Government Printing House, 1903), 23 and United States Treasury Department, *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year, Ended June 30, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 67.

⁴⁴⁹ United States Department of Commerce and Labor, *Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor* (Washington: Government Printing House, 1908), 17. Even though immigration officials decried the three-year limit on deportability, successive legislation in 1907 and 1910 that reenacted anarchist exclusion clauses did not change the time limit.

between 1903 and 1914, a total of fifteen “anarchists” were denied entry into the United States.⁴⁵⁰

The reason for such a small number of anarchist deportations and denials of entry can be attributed to a number of causes. According to historian William Preston, Jr., “Lacking the tools and the emergency conditions that would justify extraordinary procedures, the national administration could only wait for more propitious circumstances” that would justify a mass purge of anarchists and other radicals from the nation-state.⁴⁵¹ The hyper-sensationalized rhetoric of imminent anarchist warfare and invasion that many in the press and in Congress had warned of did not materialize.⁴⁵² Czolgosz’s death at the hand of the law had also deflated many of the immediately passionate responses to anarchism, with many believing that the trial and execution had adequately “avenged the murder of William McKinley...The others will be punished in good time.”⁴⁵³ Most importantly, bureaucratic infancy also prevented immigration officials from successfully deporting anarchist immigrants in mass, with immigration officials themselves decrying their lack of funding, manpower, and expertise in successfully isolating anarchists from other desirable immigrants.

Due to the low numbers of arrests and deportations of anarchists in the early years of the Anarchist Exclusion Act’s passing, by 1908 the Bureau of Immigration and the Department of Commerce and Labor attempted to compensate by expanding its

⁴⁵⁰ United States Treasury Department, *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1914* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 7.

⁴⁵¹ Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*, 5-6.

⁴⁵² *Ibid*, 33.

⁴⁵³ “As Czolgosz Died,” *Buffalo Evening News*, October 29, 1901: 2. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/BEN43-16a.htm> (Accessed 10/25/2013).

administrative reach and depth. According to Preston, Jr., “The Department of Commerce and Labor, worrying about its poor showing in this field, exhaustively surveyed the nationwide conditions of anarchy in 1908.”⁴⁵⁴ They did this, first, by amassing and centralizing all information that related to the presence of anarchists across the country. They turned to local and state police authorities, collecting any information pertaining to the presence and activities of anarchists within local jurisdictions.⁴⁵⁵ They gathered intelligence regarding the presence and activities of suspected anarchists throughout the country, forging information networks and correspondences and ultimately widening the bureaucratic gaze and reach of federal immigration officials that expanded across the entire country and its territories, broadening the surveillance scope and technique of administrators beyond that of borders and ports of entry. By doing this, federal immigration bureaucracies not only expanded and strengthened their administrative depth, they did so in the name of monitoring, policing, and the surveillance of entire immigrant populations, searching for potential anarchistic threats to the nation. In this way, the administrative expansion of the U.S. government’s domestic policing bureaucracies became widespread in the country’s national security apparatus.

These efforts too were plagued with inconsistencies and inefficiency. According to Preston, Jr., “Circulating every major immigration station and working with the Secret

⁴⁵⁴ Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*, 33.

⁴⁵⁵ National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 303, Files 51924/30A and 51924/30. These files contain the correspondence between the Commissioner-General of Immigration and local immigration officials and police departments of various cities across the United States, confirming their roles in the identification, policing, and deportation of possible anarchists throughout the country. They include numerous letters and telegraphs of local and state officials geographically interspersed between Honolulu, Hawaii to St. Louis, Missouri to San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Service and local chiefs of police, the Immigration Bureau sought to uncover deportable resident radicals. The response was overwhelmingly negative. Twenty-three areas reported no cases at all, and some four districts discovered a handful of anarchists who had lived in the country longer than three years.”⁴⁵⁶ Immigration officials were simply unable to effectively identify, arrest, and deport immigrant anarchists that had already arrived upon American shores. In particular, they found it difficult to distinguish anarchists from other undesirables already living within the country. But this did not stop them from trying. Even when local officials like the Officer Commissioner of Immigration from Boston, Massachusetts related the information that “The disease of anarchism has not seriously invaded this part of the country,” they still believed that anarchism continued to contaminate the thoughts and minds of the American social body and ensured that the “harmony of action between this office and the local police officials and the co-operation of the latter in the enforcement of the laws relating to alien anarchists and criminals” would continue.⁴⁵⁷

Through their efforts to expand their bureaucratic depth and purview in 1908, immigration officials began amassing files on potential anarchist activities, encouraging administrators of the law to police, detain, and deport anarchists throughout the country at an unprecedented rate and with conviction. This process, however, proved difficult for immigration and police officials as culturally pervasive stereotypes and anxieties blurred

⁴⁵⁶ Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*, 33.

⁴⁵⁷ Correspondence between the Officer Commissioner of Immigration in Boston, Massachusetts and the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 303, File 51924/30.

the lines between social undesirability and the purview of the anti-anarchist law. Preston, Jr. has stated that “Immigration officials could hardly be expected to be self-critical when sustained by such high authority. The average inspector pictured himself as the heroic protector of the public welfare” and the policing of dissident anarchists within the country proved no different.⁴⁵⁸ Much like the surrounding cultural environment of the era, immigration officials conflated anti-anarchist sentiment with general nativist xenophobia regarding the influx of immigrants into the country, especially those from eastern and southern Europe.⁴⁵⁹ Immigration inspectors themselves believed that they were purging unwanted and infectious people and ideologies from the national body, adding to their sense of authoritarian and moral conviction.

Those immigrants that came under suspicion of harboring anarchist thought and demeanor were rarely deported for that reason, but several deportations of suspected anarchists did take place due to unrelated crimes committed prior to or after arrival. If an immigrant, especially those stereotyped as male, poor, working class, alienated, and radical, committed or threatened to commit an act of violence towards a respected member of American society, chances were that they were suspected of being an anarchist and fell under the gaze of immigration officials; this proved especially true if that immigrant originated from eastern or southern Europe. Ultimately, immigration inspectors knew very little about anarchism or anarchists, but they did know that they were unwanted and deportable. Since political ideology proved to be nearly impossible to

⁴⁵⁸ Preston, Jr. *Aliens and Dissenters*, 15.

⁴⁵⁹ For more on the ways that immigration officials filled the “unknowns” with prevailing cultural assumptions, see Baynton, “The Undesirability of Admitting Deaf Mutes.”

locate and exclude, despite nativist America's wishes that the Immigration Act of 1903 and subsequent bureaucracy building had provided for such a process, immigration officials filled the monitoring, policing, and excluding process with the dominant imperial, anti-immigrant, and biomedical assumptions of the era.

Allegations of harboring anarchist political belief typically arose after an immigrant was arrested or suspected of committing an unrelated crime. Polish immigrant Florgan Kendzierski, for example, was brought down to the police station in St. Joseph, Missouri under allegations that he was selling stolen shoes at his local cobbler shop, under the alias Yan Schmidt.⁴⁶⁰ While interrogated for crimes relating to theft, the officiating police officer claimed that Kendzierski stated that "the President of this country was worse than the rulers of the old country, and that they all ought to be blown up," and upon reflection the officer added that Kendzierski had stated "something to that effect," indicating that the officer was unsure about this claim.⁴⁶¹ A warrant was issued for Kendzierski's arrest, who was subsequently detained at the police station for suspicion of being in violation the anti-anarchist law. Despite the local chief of police's admittance that he could "not remember the exact words of the officers in telling me the circumstances," he was certain that Kendzierski and his brother, who also lived in Missouri, "are not very good as citizens anyway. I have heard they were in some crooked deal in St. Louis" even though the local police "could not have verified it."⁴⁶² At a time

⁴⁶⁰ Immigration file of Florgan Kendzierski, alias Yan Schmidt, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 305, File 51924/97.

⁴⁶¹ March 30, 1908 statement of St. Joseph Chief of Police in Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

of bureaucratic infancy and diverse transcription norms, this immigration proceeding would be defined by the police chief's word versus that of a suspected anarchist.

Throughout the investigation, Kendzierski asserted that he was a socialist, not an anarchist and that "God damn all the anarchists, the chief of Police here, and the Chief of Police in Chicago...and all the Presidents, and Senators; they are all anarchists, we are not anarchists; they are anarchists."⁴⁶³ Despite this, immigration officials argued that his demeanor and appearance fit the bill, expressing the "desire to state, that this man's appearance, and his wild looks, would lead me to believe that he would be capable of doing any of the acts that he expresses himself as being in favor of."⁴⁶⁴ Kendzierski looked the part—he was poor like Czolgosz, felt isolated and alienated like Czolgosz, and was prone to radical ideas like Czolgosz. He also had a foreign sounding name like Czolgosz, which indicated an immediate alien and suspect quality. According to normative biomedical understandings of the archetypal anarchist, Kendzierski was guilty. He would not be found guilty, however, and after several months of investigation, Kendzierski's warrant was canceled and the deportation process did not ensue. It was concluded by the acting Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Charles Earl, that too little evidence proved that Kendzierski was an anarchist under the auspices of the statute and that future suspected anarchists needed to be held more accountable to the law, sternly expressing the need for "the statutory definition and not the popular

⁴⁶³ Interrogations by M. F. Maguire, Inspector of Immigration, in Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ March 30, 1908 letter from M. F. Maguire to James R. Dunne, Inspector in Charge in Ibid.

acceptation of the word [anarchist] governs the deportation proceedings.”⁴⁶⁵ Kendzierski’s interactions with America’s immigration policing bureaucracy did not result in deportation, but the administrative process that occurred reflected an important facet of the U.S.’s slowly growing national security apparatus. Suspicion arose because an immigrant fit into prevailing stereotypes and assumptions; immigration officials may not have found their anarchist with undeniable evidence, but they did engage in a state authority slowly growing around the tenets of national security, albeit in a slow and clunky way. America’s surveillance state grew, expanding around the languages of xenophobia, empire, and biomedical interpretations of anarchist threats to the national body.

Immigration and police personnel also commonly conflated anxieties regarding other undesirable aliens in their efforts to police the presence and activities of anarchists within the country. Socialists and political and labor radicals were often monitored, arrested, and interrogated under the pretense that they harbored anarchist thought and belief, as Kendzierski’s case highlights; but administrators of the law also found it difficult to distinguish alien anarchists from other undesirable groups, especially the Italian mafia. Italian immigrants Paolo Navarro, Vincenzo Chiappetta, and Stanislao Cipolla each found a spot on investigators’ lists of suspected anarchists despite the lack of any clear connections to anarchist doctrine or action. Navarro, according to New York City’s police commissioner, “was at the head of a gang of young thieves who went around day and night robbing houses while the people are at work. He has been suspected

⁴⁶⁵ Letter from Charles Earl, Acting Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, to Inspector in Charge of Immigration in St. Louis, Missouri at an unknown date in Ibid.

of exploding many dynamite bombs.”⁴⁶⁶ The New York City police department based their evidence upon letters written by concerned city dwellers that had seen Navarro in the streets after hearing an explosion, assumed to be a “dynamite bomb.” Both the local population and police personnel associated Navarro’s Italian-ness with anarchist activity, earning him the attention of bureaucratic officials. Navarro’s otherness transgressed America’s imperial imaginary; he too appeared to embody the demeanor and mental capacity that many used to describe anarchism at this time. Despite suspicions that Navarro associated with criminals who were “notorious as a black hander,” however, he would not be deported under the purview of the Anarchist Exclusion Act either.⁴⁶⁷ Surveillance, policing, arresting, and interrogation increasingly became the tactics of America’s domestic policing bureau, the Bureau of Immigration. Again, they may not have found their anarchist, but the techniques of a national security state were beginning to be employed in small-scale and newly justified ways.

Vincenzo Chiappetta and Stanislao Cipolla also ended up on the Immigration Bureau’s list of suspected anarchists due to supposed associations with the infamous Black Hand mafia, in New Orleans rather than New York City. They were arrested in

⁴⁶⁶ August 6, 1908 letter from New York City’s Acting Police Commissioner to William R. Wheeler, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 303, File 51924/69.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. “Black hander” refers to a prominent mafia gang called the Black Hand that operated throughout the Eastern and Southern states of the United States at this time in American history. Although members of Black Hand organizations may have harbored admitted anarchists or behaved in anti-authoritarian ways, there is no reason to make an association that the organization was an anarchist one. For more information on the Black Hand and organized crime in the United States, see David Critchley, *The Origin of Organized Crime: The New York City Mafia, 1891-1931* (New York: Routledge, 2008) and Mike Dash, *The First Family: Terror, Extortion and the Birth of the American Mafia* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2009).

June 1908, under suspicion for detonating a bomb intended to destroy a storefront and private residence in New Orleans, but the official documentation justified arrest and detention under the pretext that “the said alien is an anarchist and specifically debarred from admission into the United States.”⁴⁶⁸ During the investigation, immigration officials asked the local police if Chiappetta and Cipolla had “anarchistic tendencies and believe in the overthrow of organized government?”⁴⁶⁹ The response was an unvarying “Yes, I know that they do not believe in laws; they believe in taking the laws into their own hands.”⁴⁷⁰ The local police force felt that the mafia and anarchism went hand in hand and that members of the mafia, “Being anarchists...are opposed to all kinds of government.”⁴⁷¹ Throughout the investigation, however, neither suspect admitted to believing in anarchistic doctrine or identifying themselves as an anarchist. This did not dissuade immigration officials from believing otherwise, as the immigration inspector in charge asserted, “While the aliens in their testimony deny absolutely that they are anarchists, there is no doubt in my mind that they have been coached as to the statements that they should make before the board of special inquiry.”⁴⁷² But how could these immigration officials have known this? They had not had any training in anarchist

⁴⁶⁸ Department of Commerce and Labor warrant of arrest for Stanislao Cipolla, June 19, 1908, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 303, File 51924/69.

⁴⁶⁹ Board of Special Inquiry, convened at Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, in the cases of the alleged anarchists Stanislao Cipolla and Vincenzo Chiappetta, June 23, 1908, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 303, File 51924/69.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² June 26, 1908 letter from the inspector in charge to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 303, File 51924/69.

doctrine or belief structure; instead, they only had popular assumption to turn to in their conclusions about the execution of anti-anarchist security law. It can be assumed that both immigrants were deported, indicated by their immigration files, but the files are unclear as to the end result for these two suspected anarchists. Deported or not, their proceedings indicate a state structure that operated alongside and in conjunction with popular discourses surrounding anti-anarchism and a technique of national security surveillance.

Kendzierski, Vincenzo, Chiappetta, and Cipolla were only four of the many cases that wound up on the surveillance radars of local and federal immigration and police forces. Their cases offer insightful instances to the operational apparatus that defined an early immigration policy and law that was intent on regulating and policing political belief in the United States. Just as immigration officials had worried, insufficient funds, manpower, and expertise plagued the institutional procedures from the very beginning. Popular interpretations of anarchist thought and identity bled into the activities of immigration bureaucrats, who often turned to the widespread discourses on anarchy that defined understandings of anarchist in the early years of anarchist exclusionary policy. According to Preston Jr., “In the years before World War I, Immigration Bureau customs steadily became more repugnant to normal judicial procedures and to commonsense notions of fair play. There was neither mystery nor conspiracy behind this trend. It was the natural growth of an administrative technique unrestrained by publicity or opposition”⁴⁷³ With this in mind, immigration and police administrators were not far

⁴⁷³ Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*, 18.

removed from the popular imperial, racialized, nativist, and psychopathological languages that (in)security that characterized anarchist immigrants in early twentieth-century popular discourse. Even the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Charles Earl, showed a sense of frustration that popular stereotypes informed the personal opinions and thus the professional decisions of immigration and police personnel in their efforts to exercise the authority of the law when he demanded that “the statutory definition and not the popular acceptance of the word [anarchist] governs the deportation proceedings” of cases like that of suspected anarchists, as indicated in Florgan Kendzierski’s file.⁴⁷⁴ But the simple mechanical operation of immigration bureaucracies meant that popular discourse and policy enforcement were impossible to disentangle.

A number of similar cases can be found within the National Archives and Records Administration’s Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service files. Most of these mirror the cases of Kendzierski, Vincenzo, Chiappetta, and Cipolla in the ways that immigration personnel and general operations of the Bureau of Immigration conflated the popular imperial, xenophobic, and biomedical cultures of the era into the administering of the Immigration Act of 1903. And these are just the files that can be found with direct reference to the anarchist exclusion clauses within the Act. These cultures and discourses were so prevalent in America’s social, political, and legal structures that they

⁴⁷⁴ Letter from Charles Earl, Acting Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, to Inspector in Charge of Immigration in St. Louis, Missouri at an unknown date in Immigration file of Florgan Kendzierski, alias Yan Schmidt, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., RG 85 Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy, 1893-1957, Box 305, File 51924/97.

fundamentally altered the language in which immigration bureaucracies functioned and categorized their proceedings.

The law itself proved incredibly difficult to enforce. How were immigration and police personnel supposed to identify and then exclude political thought? It was in this negative space that officials filled with popular interpretations and understandings of anarchists and their origins. They filled a procedural void with imperial, xenophobic, and biomedical interpretations of immigration, immigrants, and anarchists, influencing their efforts to regulate them.⁴⁷⁵ They turned to understandings of the body as a way to regulate, as immigration bureaucracies turned out to be rather effective at monitoring the looks and demeanors of immigrants coming into the country, even if they were not always correct in their assertions. If an immigrant looked or acted like what had been popularly conceived of as an alien anarchist—i.e. unkempt, impoverished, male, alienated, and European—they earned a place in the surveillance and police files of immigration bureaucracies. But immigration and government officials were ultimately ineffective in their abilities to police, regulate, and exclude based on political thought. The body may have been becoming more pure, in a white, patriotic sense, but the mind remained at risk. The nation was still neither secure nor safe in the eyes of American politicians, legislators, and the general public.

⁴⁷⁵ For more on the ways that both personal and cultural assumptions have been applied in American law, see Ariela J. Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

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When Johann Most, a well-known anarchist who resided in turn of the century New York, heard that the U.S. Congress would be debating the possibility of expanding the role of the military and the Secretary of War into domestic anti-anarchist efforts, he was quoted in a *New-York Tribune* article as saying “The Secretary of War will drive anarchists from the country, will he? Ha! Bah! Let him try! How will he do it? How will he know them? Would any one [*sic*] take me for an anarchist? Certainly no one would suspect the little, fat German, with his white hair and beard, of being a bloodthirsty ‘red.’”⁴⁷⁶ Although it would take close to two years for Congress to agree on the appropriate legislative response to McKinley’s assassination and the presence of anarchists in the country, Most’s words highlight many of the tensions that surrounded the entire political debate. He would ultimately be both correct and incorrect in his claims about the government’s role in the anti-anarchist environment that defined the early years of the twentieth century. For example, despite Most’s claims, the Secretary of War would only play a minor role in the policing and expulsion of unwanted anarchists from the American polity, despite serious congressional debate; policymakers elevated the authority and reach of the Bureau of Immigration with the passing of the Anarchist Exclusion Act in 1903, hoping that it would provide a more civil, republican style of administrative justice instead of the imperial-oriented, martial possibilities associated with the military branches of the government.

⁴⁷⁶ Johann Most quoted in “Roosevelt Too, Says Most,” *New-York Tribune*, September 10, 1901: 3. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/NYTrib61-20022c.htm> (Accessed 4/21/2014).

Ironically, Most would also be incorrect in his assertion that America's national security officials would not suspect "the little, fat German." By 1908, administrators of the anarchist exclusion legislation typically profiled Eastern (Poles, Russians, etc) and Southern (Italians) Europeans as the perpetrators of anarchist crimes and according to prevailing cultural assumptions regarding race, putting most of their efforts in the monitoring, policing, and deporting of immigrants coming from these countries.⁴⁷⁷ Immigration officials did, however, take physical characteristics like body type and demeanor into consideration during many of the proceedings that followed, as Most had suspected. Also, when Most scoffed at the political desire to police and drive out anarchists from the country, he did so at a time when the federal government had little regulatory power in the early years of the twentieth century. There was no federal domestic police force outside of the Secret Service and the nation's immigration bureau was plagued with deficiencies. The Immigration Act of 1903 provided the administrative push to provide for the expansion of the federal government's regulatory and police powers, especially when domestic national security was involved. But this too did not go according to desired expectations; immigration officials found the law difficult to implement. Most would not end up being the only person to ask "How will he do it? How will he know them?" When Most said this, he was intentionally being antagonistic and, as a media professional himself, attempted to get newspaper consumers to pay attention to

⁴⁷⁷ This does not mean that German immigrants would not be subject to future profiling and scrutiny from U.S. national security policy and law similar to the Anarchist Exclusion Act and Immigration Act of 1903. The World War One years witnessed a devastating anti-German culture in the United States, as the federal government applied anti-anarchist and anti-radical policy to German and German-Americans living within the country. See, Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of Modern American Citizenship* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008).

his sensationalized rhetoric. But he did not know the full extent to which these questions defined the entire anti-anarchist immigration policy that followed McKinley's assassination. On top of this, the police of New York City did end up suspecting the "little, fat German," arresting him a little over a month after McKinley's assassination for authoring and printing an article on political murder in his anarchist newspaper, *Freiheit*.⁴⁷⁸

Despite the embryonic emergence of administrative techniques of a national security state, American politicians and legislators ultimately failed in their attempts to abate the threat of anarchy solely with immigration policy and law. These administrative techniques of regulation and screening only identified the physical qualities of enemy anarchists coming into the country and governed accordingly—or at least, the racialized traits that were popularly associated with anarchists. They believed that such technologies of governance and control furthered the security and safety of the nation, but they were unable to get at the heart of the problem. The social body may have become more secure with the development and codification of federal immigration bureaucracies, but the mind remained at risk. Anarchism continued to pollute the social body along with its psyche as immigration officials found it increasingly difficult to police domestic populations. They believed that more needed to be done if the nation-state would truly become secure from the threats posed by anarchists. This occurred with the formation and solidification of a domestic federal police force unlike any other in American history. This was where, many in the press, in political office, and in Congress believed that security would

⁴⁷⁸ "Johann Most Goes to Prison," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 16, 1901: 12.

become manifest, in a domestic, professional, and federal police force. This is the subject of my next chapter.

Chapter IV

The Teratological Anarchist Monster: Discourses of Disease, Surveillance, and Censorship of Anarchist Press

In January 1902, Charles Hamilton Hughes, writer and publisher for the American medical journal *Alienist and Neurologist* and well known in the psychiatric and surgical communities in both Europe and North America, joined in the media fascination with anarchism, publishing an article that claimed insights into the “Medical Aspects of the Czolgosz Case.”⁴⁷⁹ Hughes argued that the anarchist mind tended to exhibit the characteristics of a diseased brain and neurosis. He also criticized the legal proceedings of Czolgosz’s trial as too rushed and wrought with reactionary emotionalism, which resulted in denying the scientific community the opportunity to study anarchist mental deficiency and disease. He believed that “Czolgosz should have been kept alive, under duress and scientific psychological surveillance, as the botanist would keep a newly found exotic, until more might have been learned of his strange mental make-up.”⁴⁸⁰ For Hughes, Czolgosz deserved the court sentence given, but he also believed that “Law should concern itself, not alone with the question of complete or non-responsibility, but with degrees of responsibility and considerations of public safety.”⁴⁸¹ Ensuring the security of the nation and republic should function as the paradigm in which the law operates, according to Hughes, not just the meting out of legal justice; he worried that

⁴⁷⁹ Charles Anthony Hamilton, “Medical Aspects of the Czolgosz Case,” *Alienist and Neurologist*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (January 1902). MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/A&N23-1b.htm> (Accessed 4/21/2014).

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, 41.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 51.

Czolgosz's swift trial and execution destroyed a diseased mind, not the disease itself. Hughes, like many within the psychiatric profession, believed that "Brain disease loosens moral restraint, not only in delirium but in disease far short of that."⁴⁸² And for Hughes the origin of this disease could be found in the print culture of dissident anarchism and spread through the "public press," in general.⁴⁸³ In particular, Hughes argued that anarchists

are teratological mental defectives incapable of living in harmony with the lawful regulations and duties of free and equal government whose organic mental misadaptability should be understood. Such persons should be sequestered and supervised and denied the franchise or any part in government. They are more dangerous to society, if allowed the freedom and privileges of rational citizens, than the ordinary criminal or lunatic who is now executed or secluded from lawfully organized society, and all social and law-regulated political life.⁴⁸⁴

Hughes described anarchists as teratological monsters residing within the United States, spreading contagious thought and polluting the national body.

Hughes provided an especially lurid analysis of anarchist mental health, but his account of the kinds of threats that anarchists posed to the country reflected a national environment rife with discourses surrounding concerns over public safety, anarchist mental disease, and the influence of print media. Hughes described anarchists as teratological anomalies that threatened that health and safety of the nation, referring to the study of monsters or abnormalities in living beings. Teratologists study the origins of these abnormalities, specifically the introduction of disadvantageous or toxic elements to otherwise healthy or semi-healthy organisms. By employing a metaphor of teratological

⁴⁸² Ibid, 44.

⁴⁸³ Ibid, 44.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid, 52.

toxicity, Hughes contributed to a popular culture of national security that described anarchist print media as a contaminant that compromised an otherwise healthy or semi-healthy national body.⁴⁸⁵ These discourses described the nation as mentally susceptible to the disease of anarchy and that the introduction of the poisonous qualities of anarchist print made the anarchist a danger to both the state and its peoples. Within this language and paradigm of national health, commentators like Hughes believed that anarchist print required regulation, policing, and suppression in the name of national security.

After McKinley's assassination, discourses on national security described the anarchist as alien in both body and mind. This chapter discusses metaphors of the anarchist mind. Anti-anarchist immigration law provided the American nation-state with an embryonic form of governance built upon security, surveillance, and exclusion, but ultimately proved ineffective in the intended efforts to successfully regulate anarchist doctrine and thought within the country. This chapter argues that America's popular culture of (in)security, centered upon discourses of national health and the demonization of anarchist political thought that followed McKinley's assassination, gave rise to new justifications for the formation of a federal police force beyond the Secret Service. Focusing on the cultural context in which American policymakers made the decision to

⁴⁸⁵ Historians have been aware of the ways these discourses and metaphors had been applied in American anti-anarchism. According to historian Julia Rose Kraut, for example, "Not only did they [Americans] identify anarchism as a 'foreign' ideology imported to the United States by immigrants, but they also believed that it could spread across the nation and was as dangerous as a contagious disease. Just like tuberculosis, anarchism could infect healthy law-abiding Americans and turn them into assassins. Thus, as a disease, anarchism had to be prevented, and the infected quarantined and expelled." Julia Rose Kraut, "Global Anti-Anarchism: The Origins of Ideological Deportation and the Suppression of Expression," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 2012): 182. Kraut describes the era in accurate detail but does not provide a critical analysis of these discourses on national health. She ultimately makes this statement in passing as a historical truism rather than an object of historical inquiry.

create the nation's first federal police force, the Bureau of Investigation (the precursor of the FBI), this chapter argues that the foundation and growth of the U.S.'s domestic administrative police force developed out of a political and cultural backdrop defined by concerns over protecting the health and safety of the national body from dissident anarchist thought.⁴⁸⁶ It shows that in order to understand the foundations of America's national security state, historians must first look at the surrounding cultural environment that gave rise to the Bureau of Investigation, an environment defined by conflicting visions of American identity, between empire and republic, security and freedom.

This chapter is not meant to act as a comprehensive history of the formation of America's first federal police force outside of the Secret Service. Instead, it highlights the cultural and ideological setting that rationalized and accommodated the Bureau of Investigation in its formative years. It is difficult to pinpoint an exact reason for the formation of the Bureau of Investigation. The Bureau's secretive nature has left researchers with little archival resources to work with, especially in regards to its formative years, restricting the possibilities for an empirically satisfactory explanation for

⁴⁸⁶ Concerns over national health and security have been seen as correlative to the growth of modern governmental power. See, in particular, Amy L. Fairchild, Ronald Bayer, and James Colgrove, *Searching Eyes: Privacy, the State, and Disease Surveillance in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) and Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Concerns over biology and "biopolitical" power have been seen as characteristics of modern state power. For more, see Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France*, transl. Graham Burchell, (New York: Palgrave, 2007), and Joseph Pugliese, "'Identity Dominance': Biometrics, Biosurveillance, Terrorism and War," in *Biometrics: Bodies, Technologies, Surveillance* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 80-109.

the Bureau's formation.⁴⁸⁷ As a result, historians have relied on peripheral evidence in their arguments regarding the rise of the FBI, turning to what Regin Schmidt has explained as an attempt "to place the FBI's role in a larger context and explained it in relation to the deeper beliefs and values of the American political culture."⁴⁸⁸ Historians like William Preston, Jr. have argued that the Bureau's formation resulted from the actions of individual political leaders unrestrained by bureaucratic checks and a developing federal government still in its nascent stages.⁴⁸⁹ Others have turned to analyses of a nascent administrative professional culture that dominated the American landscape in order to explain Bonaparte's easy transition to organizing a federal police power.⁴⁹⁰ With Schmidt's quote in mind, the goal of this chapter is to show the ways that popular discourses on anti-anarchism turned to visions of a professional federal police force as an appropriate form of governmental power for the protection of the social body from concerns over anarchist politics, contributing to the political environment and cultural background that saw the rise of one of the U.S. national security state's most powerful tools, the FBI.

⁴⁸⁷ Due to the sparse, missing, and secretive nature of the bureau's archived material, coming to a directly documented account of this history can be rather difficult. Schmidt describes research into the Bureau's files as at times inaccessible and extremely time-consuming, which characterized my own research at the National Archives. For a discussion of these archival constraints, see Regin Schmidt, *Red Scare: FBI and the Origins of Anticommunism in the United States, 1919-1943* (Copenhagen: Museum of Tusculanum Press, 2000), 21.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁴⁸⁹ Williams Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, 2nd Edition, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994). David Williams, "Without Understanding": *The FBI and Political Surveillance, 1908-1941* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 1981).

⁴⁹⁰ Schmidt, *Red Scare* and Tim Weiner, *Enemies: A History of the FBI* (New York: Random House, 2012).

The Language of Policing Political Thought

Surveillance, monitoring, and professionalism became the primary concerns for proponents of a national police force during these critical years of administrative growth in American history. All three went hand in hand for the American public who witnessed the growth of governmental power and reach built upon the technologies of governance through administrative technique and bureaucratic efficiency.⁴⁹¹ According to Regin Schmidt, the growth of the Bureau of Investigation must be put “in proper perspective...as an integrated part of the growth of the modern centralized bureaucratic state and its increasing control and regulation of all aspects of society.”⁴⁹² This, according to Schmidt, and generally accepted by Progressive Era historians, led to a social, political, and legal environment “characterized by a process of modernization...shaped by bureaucratic values” that led to the formation to what historians have called an “administrative state.”⁴⁹³ Under the normative structures of this formalizing administrative state, Americans increasingly turned to bureaucratic solutions to the problems associated with anarchy, primarily in the form of the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Investigation. As the Bureau of Immigration seemed incapable of confronting the task of regulating anarchism within the country, Americans found

⁴⁹¹ The administrative techniques that defined the Progressive Era were also developed with and around normative gender roles. Camilla M. Stivers, *Bureau Men, Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000).

⁴⁹² Schmidt, *Red Scare*, 40.

⁴⁹³ Ibid, 40-41. For Schmidt’s discussions of the “administrative state” taking hold in American politics, see pages 43-50. Also see, Martin J. Sklar, *The United States as a Developing Country: Studies in US History in the Progressive Era and the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966).

themselves searching for domestic solutions, particularly in terms of domestic policing and surveillance. The positive associations that came with professional bureaucrats, while taking note from the professional surveillance techniques of medical experts, seemed appropriate for an American popular discourse that voiced a desire to survey and police anarchist individuals and communities throughout the country.

McKinley's assassination energized a media debate regarding the necessity of a newly formed federal police in order to protect the nation from domestic threats like anarchism, as commentators turned to paradigms of American administrative police power for solutions to anarchism. As those in the press, patriotic political committees, and the houses of Congress clamored for a political and legal response to anarchism in the years that followed McKinley's death, they began calling for an increase in the federal government's power to police domestic populations. Police personnel, from both private and public institutions, in particular expressed the need for a national police force in the effort to exclude anarchists from the national body. Robert A. Pinkerton, brother of the infamous anti-radical Allen Pinkerton and co-founder of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, upheld the family name in his assessment that following the 1901 assassination, "These people should all be marked and kept under constant surveillance," referencing anarchists who resided in the United States.⁴⁹⁴ Although Pinkerton believed, at least ideally, that "The matter must be undertaken in a clean-cut, businesslike manner and the system kept absolutely free from the taint of political influence," he was willing

⁴⁹⁴ Robert A. Pinkerton, "Detective Surveillance of Anarchists," *North American Review*, Vol. 173, No. 540 (November, 1901): 617. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/NAR173-540.htm> (Accessed 8/08/2013).

to accept the formation of a government bureaucracy intended to police anarchism.⁴⁹⁵ According to Pinkerton, “If the government is to take an active hand in the suppression of anarchism, I would advocate the forming of a special department for this purpose, whose whole attention could, at all times, be given to this serious question.”⁴⁹⁶ It was this very concern surrounding anarchism and radicalism in the country that led Pinkerton, one of the most vociferous proponents of privatized policing, to specifically call for the codification of the Bureau of Investigation’s authority around the policing of anarchists and other political dissidents in the nation years later during the First Red Scare.⁴⁹⁷

Herman F. Schuettler, the chief of police in Chicago, Illinois would have agreed with Pinkerton’s assertion that anarchist activities required surveillance and monitoring, believing himself that “Only by eternal watching can we keep track of them and be safe.”⁴⁹⁸ Both men found a common ground along the idea that the security of the state required a professional police force, skilled in the techniques of surveillance and investigation, and under the authority of a “head man, who knows how to hold his councils, and he should be able to choose his men where he would.”⁴⁹⁹ Ultimately these views on police authority differed in terms of where that power should come from; Pinkerton believed in the viability of a private police force, reluctantly supporting the federalization of a police unit if push came to shove, whereas Schuettler argued that “it should be established and maintained by the general government and should govern all

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, 609.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Schmidt, *Red Scare*, 54.

⁴⁹⁸ Herman F. Schuettler, “How Anarchy Should be Watched,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 15, 1901: 13.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

large towns.”⁵⁰⁰ Although Schuettler wrote these words before the establishment of the Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903, he questioned the government’s ability to completely restrict and exclude anarchists from the American polity, asserting that anarchism “cannot be stamped out, it can only be watched and controlled.”⁵⁰¹ For policemen like Pinkerton and Schuettler, when the question “How can anarchists in their secret societies be watched so that the authorities can know in advance when they are plotting such crimes and so prevent them?” arose, the answer appeared simple: create a professional police force that would be up to the task.⁵⁰² And when push came to shove, the federal government should step in and act as that force of social control.

Pinkerton and Schuettler were both professionals of policing and surveillance, so their expressed desire for the formation of a national police force appeared congruous to a social and political environment turning towards governmental administrative power; but they were not the only ones to turn to such solutions at this time in American history. Newspapers across the country published articles and opinion pieces that articulated a similar point of view. For these authors, surveillance meant the monitoring of anarchist press throughout the country. In particular, these articles expressed a clear and pressing desire for the governmental regulation of public expression, particularly in its written form. Authors of such articles feared that anarchist doctrine and thought found particular suasion in the press. They argued that anarchist political ideology contaminated the minds of individual Americans, ultimately corrupting the heart and soul of the social

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

body. These fears were not entirely unfounded since anarchist tracts circulated throughout the entire country, providing the disenchanted with a forum that questioned the fundamental values of American democracy and liberal republicanism.⁵⁰³ However, these calls for an increase in the policing of the rights to freedom of speech ultimately played into an expressed need for the formation of America's first federal domestic police unit.

After the assassination of McKinley, opinions voiced in the American popular press also articulated a need for a more centralized police force within the federal government. The problem for these commentators, however, almost always appeared in the texts of anarchist newspapers and in the lines of anarchist speeches, not just in the physical presence of immigrant communities, radical or otherwise. On December 8, 1901, the *Los Angeles Times* reproduced a speech given by a vociferous proponent of the censorship of anarchist press, Reverend L. W. Mulhane, who believed that "Liberty of speech and liberty of the press must not be allowed to overstep the bounds of common decency and common sense. Liberty is not liberty that allows men to promulgate in public speech and in print doctrines subversive of all society, of all government, or of all lawfully constituted authority."⁵⁰⁴ Mulhane appealed to the prevailing medical

⁵⁰³ Scholars of anarchism have pointed out with keen historical awareness the ways that print culture helped to define and proliferate anarchist communities. See, in particular, Elizabeth Miller, *Slow Print: Literary Radicalism and Late Victorian Print Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013). Miller argues that radicals communities like nineteenth-century anarchists turned to ideals of "slow print," that is a print culture and medium that entailed a small scale and slow publication process in relation to the rapidity of mass-produced popular journals and newspapers. Also see Marcela Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture: The Idealism of the Sovversivi in the United States, 1890-1940* (New York: New York University Press, 2011) and Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (New York: Verso, 2005).

⁵⁰⁴ Rev. L. W. Mulhane quoted in "What Anarchy Is," *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1901: C6.

assumptions regarding anarchy's pathogenic blight upon the American social body, declaring that "Anarchy is a pestilence. It must be quarantined and destroyed by public authority."⁵⁰⁵ His rhetoric mirrored anti-anarchist immigration debates taking place in the country at the same time, but he proposed a solution that he claimed would reach the origins of the spread of anarchism: anarchist political thought. According to Mulhane,

Already we have laws that guard the postal service in the interests of morality. Let it be extended to the books, papers, and literature of anarchy. Let them be barred from the United States mails. Anarchy fears not God, fears not human law, but despises God's law as well as man's. Hence its principles are destructive of society and society has the inherent right to protect itself. Abolish their literature. Suppress all their meetings. Let the rigid and iron hand of the law place itself on them once and for all.⁵⁰⁶

Mulhane placed all the anxieties that surrounded the anti-anarchist popular culture of the early twentieth century into his pleas for a more restricted understanding of free speech. The lines that separated security and liberty all collapsed into the need for censorship as the author mobilized psychosocial rhetoric of the diseased mind.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.



Figure 4.1 Charles Lewis Bartholomew, “House Cleaning,” *Minneapolis Journal*, September 13, 1901: 2. The caption reads “High Time, Indeed to Disinfect Against the Germs of So Terrible a Disease.” Medical and psychiatric discourse played into America’s understanding of the figure of the anarchist. Many commentators believed that the monitoring, policing, and censorship of the anarchist press provided an opportunity to “disinfect” the anarchist disease.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁷ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/MinnJ091301a.htm> (Accessed 4/21/2014).

And like the imperial-centric rhetoric that fueled anti-immigrant sentiment within the country, the use of professional biomedical and psychiatric discourse provided expert insights into the dangers of anarchist rhetoric and print culture. Psychiatrists and criminologists across North America and Western Europe studied the anarchist psychic makeup with much of the same intrigue and fascination that characterized popular discourse. Popular science journals like *Scientific American* printed numerous articles on the foreign and pathogenic qualities of the anarchist mind and the effects that it was having on American society. A representative article printed on September 14, 1901 argued that “The only explanation of such an act seems to be that there is disease prevalent in the land; that such an act can only be conceived by a disordered brain.”⁵⁰⁸ The article assured their American readership that “The professional anarchists living within this country have almost without exception been of foreign birth,” but warned that its pathogenic qualities spread through the dissemination of thought, putting the entire nation at risk, and that “There is no difficulty in reaching the individual after the crime has been committed, but the disease is too serious in its nature to admit of our expecting a cure through any post-mortem treatment. The disease must be grappled with in its infancy. It must be strangled before the germ has been allowed to spread and attack the body politic.”⁵⁰⁹ Applying extant psychiatric analysis to paradigms of anarchist mental health, the article asserts that the threats posed by anarchism to the security of the

⁵⁰⁸ “The Attempt on the President,” *Scientific American*, Vol. 58, No. 11 (September 14, 1901): 162. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/journals/SA85-11.htm> (Accessed 4/22/2014).

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

nation required preventative measures, mainly the censorship of anarchist print media.

According to the article,

It is against the spirit of our country and also of the times in general to curb or to punish the individual for holding opinions, even though these opinions may seem unhealthy, even dangerous. It has always been the policy of our institutions to allow freedom of speech in the broadest sense; that is to say, it has been our custom always to recognize freedom of speech in the *rational* being. If, however, a lunatic endeavors to incite his neighbors to murder or to arson, we cease to consider his act 'freedom of speech,' and we promptly place him out of harm's way within the walls of an asylum. Why not treat the anarchist in the same manner? He is equally dangerous to the individual and to the community.⁵¹⁰

Scientific discourse too collapsed concerns over the national security of the American body politic, seeing the freedoms of press and speech in increasingly restrictive ways.

The presence and proliferation of anarchist print culture provoked serious anxieties in the mainstream media readership, pushing reexaminations of the freedom of speech and the press into the forefront of political debate. In previous eras in American history, concerns over wartime and military defense had been evoked in order to place limits on what could be published in newspapers or magazines; but these policies took place during actual congressional declarations of war.⁵¹¹ The anti-anarchist rhetoric of early twentieth-century America described the existence of anarchism in a similar logic, except that the nation engaged in a more covert and rhetorical style of warfare. Along with concerns over the freedoms of speech during America's war with anarchy, the popular press and patriotic citizens began making calls for certain sacrifices in the name of security. In order to ensure the future security of the nation, they believed, American

⁵¹⁰ Ibid. Italics are original to the source.

⁵¹¹ Geoffrey R. Stone, *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004).

citizens and patriots would have to reexamine the rights and liberties associated with the U.S. republic, and in particular, the freedom of speech.

Debates circulated in the press that revealed concerns over the concept of American liberty. Many American anarchists considered themselves to be social and political libertarians; and as patriotic U.S. citizens sought to separate themselves from anarchist action and thought, they began to see American liberty in increasingly restricted ways in order to disassociate patriotic political identities from anarchist visions of libertarian rights and freedoms. Mass media outlets began collapsing ideals of liberty and national security into calls for governmental restriction and policing of radical and anarchist print. The October 1901 edition of *Gunton's Magazine* pleaded to its readership that “This is no time for sentimental concern about ‘liberty’ for those who want only the liberty to destroy.”⁵¹² The article suggested that like other periods of warfare, the American government needed to begin monitoring, policing, and censoring anarchist publications, which appeared as seditious and treasonous and that

It is of the same essential nature as a declaration of war by a foreign power, and the nation should put itself on a tentative war basis, as it were, with reference to the anarchist propaganda. Because these men, as a group, are not literally bearing arms is not a vital point; neither are the executive officials of a government with whom we are at war. But that government is the director and planner of the measures of force used by the military, and in the same sense anarchist societies are the devisers and instigators of the murderous assaults upon public officials or the plots laid for overthrowing governments. If we do not go to the length of imprisoning them, we can at least deprive these voluntary outlaws of their power for evil, so far as that power comes from tongue or pen.⁵¹³

⁵¹² “Suppression—to What Extent Feasible,” *Gunton's Magazine*, Vol. 21, No. 4. (October 1901): 305. MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/GM21-4j.htm> (Accessed 4/22/2014).

⁵¹³ Ibid, 304-305.

Surveillance and censorship would become key components of the American state's efforts in the war on anarchy and to ensure that the nation was safer and more secure.

The patriotic organizations and political committees that endorsed domestic visions of American (in)security were also particularly vocal proponents of extending the federal government's police powers. The same bellicose and warlike language that drew lines separating liberty and license in the ways that Americans envisioned their own national identities were also mobilized in order to justify press censorship and limitations on the freedoms of speech.⁵¹⁴ Veterans unions were especially familiar with the power of press censorship during wartime, a tactic that had been used in recent memory during both the Civil War and America's wars with Spain and the Philippines, and expressed their desire for such wartime tactics in numerous letters to Congress.⁵¹⁵ Most of these petitions mirrored the sentiments of the Civil War veterans organization of Tompkins, New York, that "we further pray for the passage of such laws as shall make the publication of any newspaper, periodical, or the publication of any article in any form wherein shall be contained matter encouraging the doctrines of socialism or anarchism in any form and for the publication, promotion, circulation or attempt to circulate the same, a felony."⁵¹⁶ Censorship and restricted radical press were increasingly seen as essential tools in winning the war on anarchy.

⁵¹⁴ See chapter II of this dissertation for a discussion of imperial understandings of liberty and license.

⁵¹⁵ Stone, *Perilous Times* and McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*.

⁵¹⁶ Resolutions passed by The Sailors and Soldiers of the Army and Navy in the War for the Union, Residents of the County of Tompkins, New York, adopted on unknown date and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

Almost all of these calls for increased censorship and regulated free speech were stated alongside nativist assumptions regarding the otherness of anarchists living within American borders. Members of the Grand Army of the Republic in Bluff City, Kansas claimed that McKinley “was a victim of the ignorance and hate of foreign political ruffians.”⁵¹⁷ They believed that the impoverished masses that immigrated into the United States “are encouraged and abetted in their infernal propaganda by slanderous, untruthful journalism: inconsiderate extravagant political speeches: vile cartoons and other abuses of free speech.”⁵¹⁸ For these concerned patriots, anarchism itself, not just the assassin Czolgosz, abused the freedoms associated with American republicanism, believing that not only should immigrant anarchists be regulated according to surrounding visions of nativism and national belonging, but the same process should apply to the spread of their ideologies and beliefs.

In these letters to Congress, veteran clubs and organizations did more than engage in a process of othering domestic anarchists as foreign in both body and mind as justification for federal policing, they indicated an emergence of a new style of citizen-ideal developing in the early years of the twentieth century. The more popular discourses on anti-anarchism envisioned the nation engaging in an ongoing war with enemy anarchists, the more ideas about national-identity would be described in restricted,

⁵¹⁷ Resolutions passed by Grand Army of the Republic, Headquarters of Bacon Post #451, Bluff City, Kansas, adopted on unknown date and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

wartime terms. Sacrifice in the name of security became a trope of this popular and political discourse of (in)security.

Veterans clubs and organizations, in particular, questioned the rights of free speech in the wake of anarchist violence, writing to their congressional representatives with an authoritative tone and sense of purpose. At a reunion assembly in Walton, New York a group of Civil War veterans demanded “that proper legislation be enacted wherein the liberty of speech and the rights of assembly be defined and regulated, and that the alien doctrine of anarchy, and all other doctrines akin to it be suppressed, and their advocates and supporters banished and excluded from the United States and its territories forever.”⁵¹⁹ They believed, that similar to any other time of war, Americans needed to sacrifice certain rights and liberties in the name of victory; if the regulation of the press meant that the federal government could effectively rid the nation-state of anarchism, the veterans of Walton believed that a reconfigured vision of restricted rights would be a necessary casualty of war, and the production of political thought became the center of these concerns.

Members of the Grand Army of the Republic in Elgin, Illinois articulated a similarly restricted view of American citizenship. Much like their counterparts across the country, they wrote to Congress expressing that “we condemn and sadly deplore that unpatriotic tendency of thought and speech...which inevitably leads to disorder and

⁵¹⁹ Resolutions passed in the Secretary’s Report of the Eight Annual Reunion of the Survivors’ Association of the 8th Independent N. Y. Battery, Held at Walton, NY, adopted on September 19, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

crime.”⁵²⁰ But concerns regarding the freedoms of speech underlie their letter, that “We deplore freedom of speech gone mad; liberty perverted to license, and the wild passions of men stimulated by false statements...they have planted in the minds of ignorant and passionate individuals.”⁵²¹ By describing the anarchist in the imperial, xenophobic, and medical discourses that defined American culture at that time, these veteran clubs and organizations also engaged in a process of reexamining the tenets of American citizenship. They believed that in order to win the war on anarchy, Americans would have to reconsider the federal government’s role in the policing and regulation of not only domestic populations but the literature and speech that they produced, placing a culture of federal policing and surveillance into newly negotiated understandings of patriotic citizenship in the name of national security.

⁵²⁰ Resolutions passed by Grand Army of the Republic, Headquarters Veterans Post #49, Elgin, Illinois, adopted on September 13, 1901 and sent to Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the United States House of Representatives 57th Congress, Record Group 233, Committee on the Judiciary, Box No. 104, File Folder HR 57A-H14.1, Committee on the Judiciary.

⁵²¹ Ibid.



Figure 4.2 Harry E. Warren, “Uncle Sam’s Vengeance,” *San Francisco Call* September 11, 1901: 2. Immediate reactions to McKinley’s death were heated and fraught with the metaphors and iconography of war and empire, such as the exoticized form of the serpentine anarchist. Americans also believed that in order to ensure the nation’s security, they must both throttle the enemy anarchist and squash its primary weapon, the press.⁵²²

⁵²² MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/SFC90-103b.htm> (Accessed 10/13/2013).

Numerous articles published in the popular press likewise supported measures for the increased monitoring and suppression of publications within the country. On March 25, 1908 the *Chicago Daily Tribune* published an article in favor of federal efforts to censor and bar anarchist press from the mail system, stating that “such literature is immoral and poisonous.”⁵²³ The author of the article acknowledged that “The freedom of the press has long been a cherished theory of the English-speaking race,” but ultimately Americans required a reevaluation of their rights in the wake of anarchistic violence, and that “The power of the sentiment behind it has been so great in the United States that the freedom has often become license.”⁵²⁴ Previous eras of media censorship—the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and Civil War press control—were highlighted in the article as examples of highly unpopular uses of federal regulatory measure in America’s past; but, according to the author, “The present case is entirely different from the cases which have arisen in the past...Its theories are dangerous to the state and harmful to the people.”⁵²⁵ The author ends the article by supporting further governmental measure that would provide for the increased monitoring and policing of anarchist press in order to further protect and ensure the safety of the entire nation-state.

War, security, and liberty all collapsed into concerns over the domestic policing of anarchist political thought within the United States. Even though legislators viewed the creation of the Anarchist Exclusion Act as a strong first step in the war against anarchy, commentators showed concern that more had to be done in order to regulate anarchist and

⁵²³ “Barred from the Mails,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 25, 1908: 6.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

anarchist thought within the borders of the nation. John Callan O’Laughlin, a journalist for the *Washington Post*, encapsulated all of these concerns on the front page of the March 30, 1908 edition of the paper, in an article entitled “War on Anarchists.”⁵²⁶ O’Laughlin claimed that President Roosevelt was working in tandem with Attorney General Bonaparte, who had “come to the conclusion that further enactments are necessary” in a reinvigorated effort to win the war on anarchism.⁵²⁷ By March 1908, O’Laughlin could not have known that this would eventually result in the creation of the Department of Justice’s Bureau of Investigation, but he did assure his readership that “Anarchists will be reached in every way possible” and that “It is evident from this that every interested department in the government is engaged in the movement to prevent the spread of anarchism and the occurrence of its manifestations in America.”⁵²⁸ Despite this, O’Laughlin’s article expressed anxiety towards the possibility of unnecessary restrictions against the American citizenry in the name of national security and increased federal policing. He warned that “Both the executive and legislative branches of the government must be careful not to violate the guarantee of the Constitution for liberty of speech and of the press” especially since “The President is convinced that the courts, while upholding liberty, will suppress license, and he believes the same view should be taken up by Congress.”⁵²⁹ Again, O’Laughlin assures his readers that “Officials of the administration point out, however, that there is no intention of infringing individual

⁵²⁶ John Callan O’Laughlin, “War on Anarchists,” *Washington Post*, March 30, 1908: 1

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

rights.”⁵³⁰ Ultimately, O’Laughlin claims that the result of Roosevelt and Bonaparte’s concerted efforts would result in “the first step in this direction men must be suppressed who act as anarchistic propagandists and induce the weak-minded to commit crime.”⁵³¹

This last statement, although lacking the professional rhetoric and literary style of medical and criminological interpretations of anarchist thought and origin, points towards the associations that the political ideologies of anarchist literature threatened the purity of the American social psyche. In all, though, O’Laughlin’s article shows that a popular culture of national security began to develop around the tenets of monitoring, surveillance, and exclusion of anarchist political thought within the confines of the American nation-state. Concerns surrounding license and liberty collapsed in the debates about the possibilities of creating a federal police force capable of surveying anarchist communities and their dissident newspapers and speeches—and all of it would be understood and internalized under the premise that the people of United States and the American government engaged in what O’Laughlin’s and others in the popular media deemed the “War on the Anarchists.”⁵³²

The Yellow Press and Metaphors of Empire

When O’Laughlin wrote his article on the U.S. government’s new approaches to winning the war on anarchy, he believed that America’s republican and exceptional

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Ibid.

identity would characterize the nation's anti-anarchist efforts. He guaranteed that "The United States has no such system as Europe, and Congress would be loth [*sic*] to introduce it...the government should be restricted as much as possible consistent with the public welfare in its surveillance over private individuals and that it would be neither wise nor advisable to create such a service as exists" within imperial Europe.⁵³³ O'Laughlin, instead, emphasized that the government had "no intention of infringing individual rights," ensuring his readers that any domestic police effort would affect those "who act as anarchist propagandists and induce the weak-minded to commit crime."⁵³⁴ But empire proved more difficult to disentangle from America's culture of domestic policing than O'Laughlin would have hoped. Languages and metaphors of empire operated as driving mechanisms for the justification of the federal government's efforts to police anarchism within the nation.⁵³⁵ In particular, empire, anarchy, and domestic policing all collided along popular understandings of anarchist print culture's 'yellowing' of American society.

Terms like 'yellow journalism' and 'anarchist propaganda' were often used interchangeably in efforts to delegitimize anarchist press. The term *yellow journalism* itself embodied an array of contradictory appeals and criticisms in turn of the century

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ Alfred McCoy has eloquently shown the ways the America's imperial relationship with the Philippines informed the bureaucratic formation of the modern U.S. national security and surveillance state in powerful ways. Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

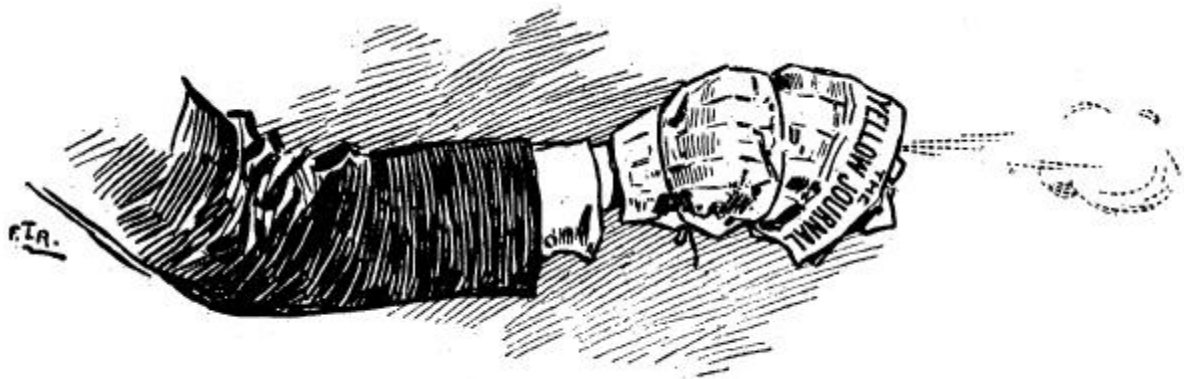
America.⁵³⁶ The genre held an appeal of its own with a large and emboldened typographical style, catchy headlines, and aggressive journalistic style; but when Americans applied the term to anarchist print, they appealed to the negative assumptions regarding the genre, including sensationalized storytelling, questionable truth-telling, and profiteering.⁵³⁷ These associations were clearly expressed in a September 13, 1901 editorial printed in the *Los Angeles Times* that exclaimed “The demand for the suppression of this pernicious influence is universal. Relentlessly, indecently, outrageously, yellow journals have denounced every man in public life” and that “Yellow journalism should be suppressed by law.”⁵³⁸ Yellow journalism, for the author of this piece, meant those newspapers and tracts published by anarchist presses, reminding the reader, “Let no one forget, however, that President McKinley has been denounced and vilified by these yellow anarchists.”⁵³⁹ Although yellow journalism held a number of connotations in early twentieth-century America, when in reference to anarchist print culture, it embodied everything wrong with modern print practices.

⁵³⁶ For a thorough analysis of these traits of yellow journalism in U.S. history, see W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001).

⁵³⁷ Much of these negative associations surfaced due to the “arrogance, wealth, and ambitions of its leading practitioner, William Randolph Hearst.” Ibid, 2.

⁵³⁸ *New Haven Leader* editorial, “Yellow Anarchists” reprinted in the *Los Angeles Times*, September, 13, 1901: 5.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.



“ WAS IT A HANDKERCHIEF ? ”

Figure 4.3 Cartoonist F. T. Richards’ conflates anxieties regarding anarchism and yellow journalism in this October 3, 1901 *Life* sketch entitled “Was it a Handkerchief?” Anarchist print culture was seen as much to blame for McKinley’s assassination as was immigration, as many in the press made calls for the policing and censorship of anarchist newspapers and political tracts.⁵⁴⁰

To early twentieth-century Americans, “yellow journalism” represented more than assumptions about journalistic validity, the term contained cultural connotations that connected to empire and nativist xenophobia, especially discourses surrounding understandings of disease and national purity. The discourses regarding the yellowness of anarchist press worked into popular applications of the term yellow in popular culture. The word itself, as used in this context, may have emerged as a reference to the “yellow flag [that] designates a quarantined district, a disease infected district and other places to be avoided.”⁵⁴¹ According to turn of the century American press, the etymological origins of the term “has not been fully established,” but the associations between yellowness and

⁵⁴⁰ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/magazines/Life38-987c.htm> (Accessed 4/22/2014).

⁵⁴¹ “Note and Comment,” *Cincinnati Times-Star* March 12, 1898: 4, quoted in Campbell, *Yellow Journalism*, 41.

disease were not uncommon during this time in American history.⁵⁴² There has been a well-documented history of the ways that terms like “yellow peril” were used to characterize and demonize late nineteenth-century Chinese immigration into the United States as a social, economic, and physical ailment upon the American social body.⁵⁴³ This occurred alongside the professionalization of medical expertise, especially in the work of physicians and social workers, who made claims about the interconnectedness of impoverished populations and diseases like yellow fever.⁵⁴⁴ And all of this worked within an imperial framework and rationale, applying to popular anti-anarchist discourses as well. It was within this context that newspapers in the country, like the *New York Press*, printed editorial letters, proclaiming that “‘Yellow Journalism’ is to morals as yellow fever is to life...a living stench in the nostrils of respectable American citizens.”⁵⁴⁵ In other words, the yellowness of anarchist press came with all of the trappings of an era saturated with a concern over the yellowing, or diseasing, of American life. The anarchic associations of empire and nativist purity appeared manifest in anarchist print culture, spreading the germs of dissent in every newspaper that anarchist groups published and disseminated.

It was within this cultural context of concerns over national health that continued to drive the justifications for the increase in federal monitoring of anarchist activities and

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ See, in particular, Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Similar associations were also being made between race, disease, and poverty in Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Filipino immigrants.

⁵⁴⁴ For an excellent account of these emergent professions and the roles that they played in U.S. imperial policy and culture towards Puerto Rico, see Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁵⁴⁵ “Yellow Journalism. As Bad for Morals as Yellow Fever is to Life,” letter to the *New York Press*, February 27, 1897: 6, quoted in Campbell, *Yellow Journalism*, 38.

literature, especially when commentators referenced yellow journalism. According to a September 13, 1901 *New York Times* article entitled “The Source of the Anarchist Disease,” Americans were commonly “told that the yellow journals are the great school of instruction in the doctrine of Anarchists, the most powerful stimulant of their passions, the chief provocative of their criminal assaults on society...The only distinction among newspapers recognized by the Anarchists is that the journals devoted to the propaganda of his gospel of destroying all Governments are acceptable to him, while all others are alike abominable.”⁵⁴⁶ The health of the national psyche appeared to be under attack as articles like these described the threats that anarchism posed. Even those of sound mind seemed to be at risk of anarchist thought and political ideology, according to the *New York Times* article, since “The journals whose yellowness nauseates the decent mind, whose appeals to discontent and the passions of disorder make them in the opinion of many a public peril, are undoubtedly associated in the mind of Czolgosz, so far as he has ever thought about them at all, with the most virtuous and high-minded newspapers in the country. In his colorblindness they all look alike, and they all ought to be destroyed together.”⁵⁴⁷ Anarchism threatened both the social body and mind, like an invasive, enemy disease.

The connections between anti-anarchist yellow press discourse and American empire cannot be exaggerated. America’s popular media syndicates famously fought over the legitimacy of yellow journalism leading up to and during the U.S.’s wars with Spain and the Philippines. “Remember the Maine” became the rallying cry of America’s

⁵⁴⁶ “The Sources of the Anarchist Disease,” *New York Times*, September 13, 1901: 6.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

empire, bolstered by numerous jingoist and inflammatory articles published by the newspapers of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, names infamously associated with yellow journalism. In the early years of the twentieth century, as Americans grew weary of the country's international imperial endeavors, a middle-class wariness of sensationalized yellow journalism began to take hold in popular media consumer habits.⁵⁴⁸ Although anarchist print culture and imperial journalism had little to do with one another, the anti-anarchist print culture that defined American society following McKinley's assassination turned into an opportunity to voice popular discontent towards unregulated press publications. The yellow journal became the symbol of press censorship in the United States, and reactionary anti-anarchism acted as the fuel in which America's police and censorship culture thrived.

⁵⁴⁸ For an account of the shifting trends in newspaper production and consumption, see Richard L. Kaplan, *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).



Figure 4.4 Harry E. Warren's cartoon, "Two Venomous Confederates of Whom America Must Be Rid," printed in the September 13, 1901 edition of the *San Francisco Call* reveals the conflated anxieties of empire, xenophobia, and yellow journalism that many nativist Americans held towards anarchists and the literature that they produced.⁵⁴⁹

Cartoonist Harry E. Warren published multiple anti-anarchist drawings in the *San Francisco Call* in the months following McKinley's assassination. He was especially interested in the connections between anarchist print culture and the influence of yellow

⁵⁴⁹ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/SFC90-105a.htm> (Accessed 4/22/2014).

journalism in turn of the twentieth-century America; the iconography of America's empire characterize his imagery and style, highlighting many of the associations drawn between empire, anarchy, and media censorship in American popular culture. The image "Two Venomous Confederates of Whom America Must Be Rid," in particular, reproduces two of the most popular images of American empire—the snake and the 'Yellow Kid'—in mutual embrace, representing anarchist and imperial yellow print culture. The 'yellow kid' became the most popular symbol of speculative, yellow journalism in the country.⁵⁵⁰ Warren and other cartoonists of the time commonly depicted symbols of anarchist, most popularly as a zoomorphized and exoticized snake, and the yellow journal, either as the yellow kid or a contagious disease, interchanging imperial anxieties in popular cartoons published in newspapers across the country. Warren's *San Francisco Call* cartoons used these imperial references of metaphors in order to support the increased federal regulation of print production in the United States, an increasingly popular idea amongst security-minded patriots and other xenophobic Americans who viewed anarchism as a by-product of European imperial regimes, racial progeny, and alien and potentially contagious intellectual traditions.

⁵⁵⁰ The "yellow kid" was actually a quite popular cartoon character in late nineteenth century popular print culture in the United States, with successful merchandising on the part of newspaper syndicates Hearst and Pulitzer. The cartoon's popularity quickly waned with the onset of the Spanish-American War and the imperial backlash that followed in the early years of the twentieth century. For more on the "yellow kid," see Campbell, *Yellow Journalism*.

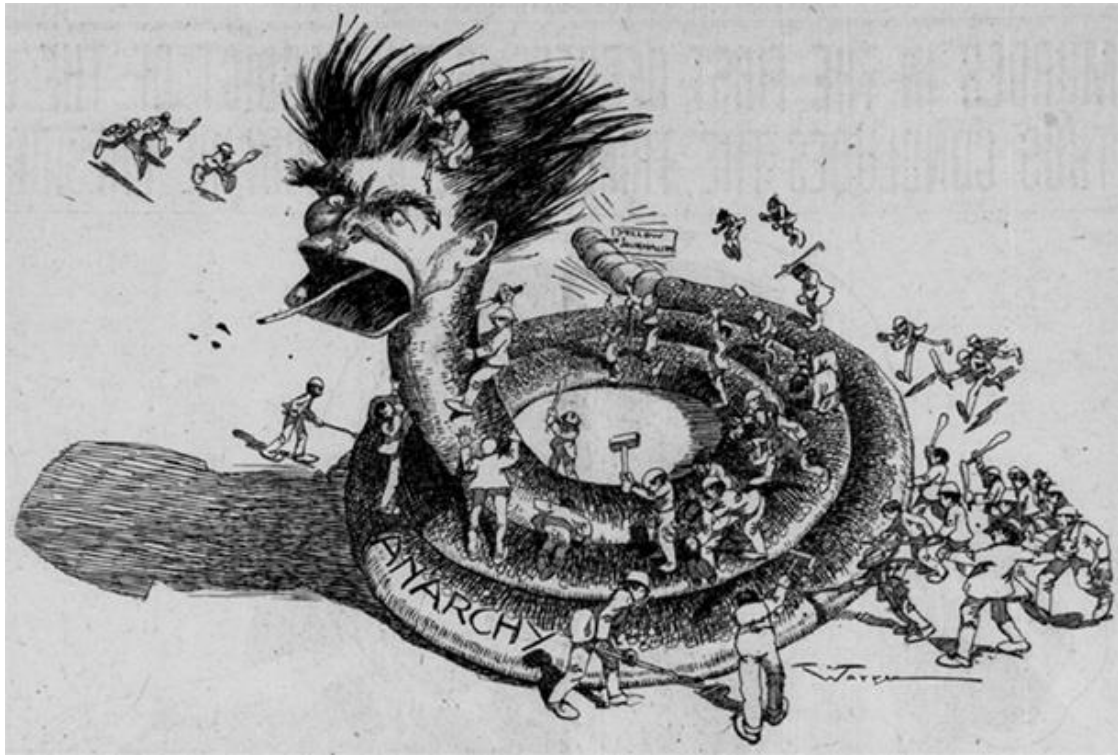


Figure 4.5 Harry E. Warren’s September 25, 1901 *San Francisco Call* cartoon, entitled “The American People Will Destroy Anarchy and Silence Its Deadly Rattle—Yellow Journalism.” Warren popularized the iconography of empire and disease in anti-anarchist cartoons. In particular, commentators like Warren believed that press censorship and increased federal regulation of anarchist print media would be required in order to provide for the health and safety of the American political body.⁵⁵¹

Rationalizing the increased regulation of domestic print production within the United States within the languages and metaphors of empire and nativism also allowed the nation to imagine an alternative to empire. America’s overseas empire never quite blossomed into what late-nineteenth jingoists had hoped for. By the time Czolgosz shot the President, Americans had already begun to second guess the country’s overseas imperial ambitions. And by the time America’s war with Filipino nationalists officially

⁵⁵¹ MAI, <http://mckinleydeath.com/documents/newspapers/SFC90-117a.htm> (Accessed (4/21/2014)).

ended in 1902, America's political, social, and military cultures embarked on the task of rearticulating what patriotic citizenship meant in the twentieth century.⁵⁵² By criticizing imperial journalism in America's anti-anarchist discourse, media professionals and their readership engaged in a restructuring of American identity. Languages of empire, national purity, and domestic strength all informed discourses of anti-anarchism for early twentieth-century America, but the governmental solutions that were sought would be purely American, not the result of a European-styled empire.

On September 19, 1901, the *New York Times* articulated many of these sentiments when an article entitled "The Principles of the Anarchists" described the figure of the anarchist as "universally and justly denominated an enemy of the human race" and stated that the country needed to actively seek out a "remedy" or "cure" for the "further affliction" that anarchism may cause upon the nation and the government.⁵⁵³ Commentators in the popular media and in professional medical journals disseminated their own "great anarch-cure[s]" for what many had considered "this moral disease," hoping that the federal government would enforce laws meant to monitor and police not only anarchist immigrants, but the dissemination of anarchist political thought and ideologies in the country.⁵⁵⁴

This is not to say that debate did not exist. An ongoing editorial communication between the editor of the *Washington Post* and an outspoken opponent of speech

⁵⁵² For the ways that the U.S.'s experiences with overseas empire contributed to ideas about citizenship, national belonging, and American culture writ large, see Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard university Press, 2002).

⁵⁵³ "The Principles of the Anarchists," *New York Times*, September 19, 1901: 6.

⁵⁵⁴ "Smith's Cure for Anarchy," *Los Angeles Times*, November 1, 1901: 8.

regulation, Reverend Alexander Kent highlighted the extent to which Americans debated the rights to free speech in an era defined by anti-anarchist popular culture. According to Kent, the debate surrounding anarchist exclusion law and possible censorship legislation “is far deeper than that of our right to prescribe conditions of immigration, and reaches the fundamentals of free thought and free speech. These...are doomed in our country unless we modify materially our tendency to legislate against opinions.”⁵⁵⁵ He feared that any attempt to regulate and prevent the circulation of anarchist literature would make “honest speaking and thinking a crime.”⁵⁵⁶ The newspaper’s editor disagreed. By arguing that exclusion and censorship “is as much our right and we believe it is as much the part of wisdom as to exclude in like manner the alien with a leprous taint,” the paper’s editor compared the spread of anarchist doctrine, thought, and physical presence to that of a disease, a common trope of the era.⁵⁵⁷ Along similar lines, he continued that the government’s right to monitor and censor anarchist press was justified under the premise that “the danger...lies in the effects of his teachings upon the minds of those less logical than his own.”⁵⁵⁸ The *Washington Post* editor believed that Anarchist thought operated like a disease, spreading to corrupt the minds of the American public. The ends justified the means, according to the argument, “even at the risk of interfering with some fellow-

⁵⁵⁵ Editor of the *Washington Post* reiterating Alexander Kent’s arguments from the previous day’s editorial section of the newspaper in “The Line of Common Sense,” *Washington Post*, January 12, 1904: 6. It is noteworthy that Kent defended access to unregulated speech and press, since many of his contemporaries in the Christian clergy tended to support more restrictive measures.

⁵⁵⁶ “Exclusion of Anarchists: Lack of Justification for the Law and Its Lack of Efficiency,” *Washington Post*, January 18, 1904: 9.

⁵⁵⁷ “The Line of Common Sense,” *Washington Post*, January 12, 1904: 6.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

citizen's freedom."⁵⁵⁹ But this did not mean that many Americans asked the question raised by Kent: "Are we ready to engage in such [a] campaign of suppression?"⁵⁶⁰

When viewing the popular rhetoric circulating in early twentieth-century American newspapers, the answers typically pointed to yes. Popular discourses surrounding empire, nativism, and medical expertise defined attempts to regulate and dispel anarchist influence within the national body. Even when debate existed, renegotiated ideals of patriotism and concerns over national security posed significant questions regarding the roles of freedom and liberty in their relationship to American identity and citizenship. The war on anarchy justified an increase in the powers of federal regulation and police authority in the wake of national tragedy and insecurity. Anarchy appeared to invade the social body, threatening its health and safety, as popular media sources painted anarchists as disease-minded foreigners whose radical thoughts and ideals potentially contaminated the collective American psyche. Languages of surveillance, policing, and exclusion soon came to define the relationship between society and state, security and freedom.

The Bureau

When the American Congress debated techniques of domestic policing and surveillance in the wake of McKinley's assassination, they did so in a cultural environment saturated with the languages and metaphors of empire, anti-immigration,

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ "Exclusion of Anarchists" *Washington Post*, 9.

and medical expertise. Legislators believed that they had found a uniquely American answer to the threats posed by dissident anarchism, one in which the Anarchist Exclusion Act and Immigration Act of 1903 would purge the United States social body of unwanted immigrant anarchists. In particular, these policies were lauded for their exceptional, republican qualities—the sort that provided a social and political buffer from the historical arcs of the ways that American popular culture imagined Europe’s imperial past. But those efforts that manifested in immigration law ultimately failed as officials became frustrated with the lack of support and the inability to regulate political thought; and according to these discourses on the American social and political body, arguments were made for a professional bureaucracy capable of policing the national body, identifying anarchist political agendas, and isolating the disease-like rhetoric and influence in order to purge it from the populace.

American anti-anarchist culture did not engage in this debate in an isolated context. Many of the nations of Europe also suffered their own tragedies of anarchist violence and assassination, engaging in the cultural, political, and legal processes of anarchist exclusion and policing.⁵⁶¹ Many European governments created their own pieces of anti-anarchist legislation, similar to the United States, but the most historically significant of these efforts manifested in the international anti-anarchist conferences that

⁵⁶¹ For anarchist violence in Europe during the nineteenth century, in particular, see Richard Bach Jensen, “Daggers, Rifles, and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 2004): 116-183.

took place at the turn of the century.⁵⁶² The United States engaged in the production of anti-anarchist popular culture that defined this era for both American and European nations, but ultimately declined to sign the St Petersburg protocol, effectively refusing to participate in efforts for international police cooperation. For much of the western world, international solidarity became a key initiative in anti-anarchist efforts.⁵⁶³ President Roosevelt himself provided a sense of quasi-support for international cooperation in a 1901 message to Congress, stating:

Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should ban against him His crime should be made an offence against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of manstealing [*sic*] known as the slave trade; for it is a far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such dealings would give to the Federal government the power of dealing with the crime.⁵⁶⁴

But Roosevelt did not sign any international agreements.

Why did the United States opt out of attempts at international cooperation in the wake of anarchist violence across Europe and North America?⁵⁶⁵ Historian Richard Bach

⁵⁶² For an excellent review of many of these legislative acts, see Richard Bach Jensen, "The International Campaign against Anarchist Terrorism, 1880-1930s," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January, 2009): 89-109; reference page 91, in particular.

⁵⁶³ Richard Bach Jensen, "The International Anti-Anarchist Convention of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (April 1981): 323-347.

⁵⁶⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, "President Roosevelt's Message to Congress," *Washington Post*, December 4, 1901: 13.

⁵⁶⁵ For Jensen's work that seeks to answer this question, in particular, see Richard Bach Jensen, "The United State, International Policing, and the War against Anarchist Terrorism, 1904-1914," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 15-46. According to Jensen, the historical significances of the U.S.'s opting out of international agreements "have seldom, if ever, been noted by historians. Nor have historians investigated the diplomatic efforts to bring America into the European anti-anarchist dragnet," (page 16). Jensen has written extensively on this history, but he has been a lone voice in the historical narrative. For his most recent book on the topic, see Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). I am also aware of a rising group of young scholars who are interested in this history. At the time of writing, works by these scholars are in their initial stages, but I am excited to see what they produce in the ensuing years.

Jensen has been at the forefront of these inquiries, arguing that American traditions in isolationism and the complete lack of a federal police force restricted the U.S. government's ability to even take part in the international agreement developing in Europe.⁵⁶⁶ According to Jensen, this decision led European and American anti-anarchist police efforts along two divergent paths, resulting in the formation and development of Interpol and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These historical circumstances have led Jensen to ask the question: "Was this new agency created in part to deal with the anarchist menace?"⁵⁶⁷ Jensen argues that the answer is yes.

The remainder of this chapter furthers Jensen's claims by asserting that the surrounding cultural environment helped to provide impetus for the creation of the Bureau of Investigation in 1908. Anti-anarchist immigration law provided the American nation-state with an embryonic form of the technologies of governance built upon security, surveillance, and exclusion, specifically in reference to political ideology, but ultimately proved ineffective in the intended efforts to successfully regulate anarchist doctrine and thought within the country. As a result, American bureaucrats sought more expansive measures that could extend the administrative reach of federal authorities in the regulation of anarchist press, activities, and movements. The combination of the ineffective monitoring of immigrant anarchists and their political thoughts alongside the lack of a usable domestic police force ultimately led to the formation of what became the Department of Justice's Bureau of Investigation. The history of the Bureau's foundation is limited by thin empirical evidence, but when this history is placed alongside the

⁵⁶⁶ Jensen, "The United State, International Policing, and the War against Anarchist Terrorism, 1904-1914."

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, 32.

discourses of national security that circulated in American popular and political culture and the attempts to regulate anarchist political thought at this time, it can be concluded that these processes were interrelated.

As the federal government's ambitions towards controlling anarchism expanded, so did their desire for a domestic police force, leading many politicians, including Roosevelt, to believe "that a federal detective force was absolutely essential to prevent and punish crime."⁵⁶⁸ The enforcement of the 1903 Anarchist Exclusion Act proved much more difficult than anticipated. Shortage of manpower and funding left the immigration bureaucracy limited in its abilities to monitor and expel despite any intent to do so efficiently and accordingly to the law.

The law itself proved difficult, if not impossible, to enforce. Almost immediately after the creation of the Anarchist Exclusion Act, immigration officials found themselves limited by insufficient funding, personnel, and professional experience in identifying alien anarchists from other immigrants who did not fall under the purview of the law. A March 5, 1908 *New York Times* article lauded the anti-anarchist immigration act as the "first step in the war the Department of Commerce and Labor will wage against Anarchists and the members of pernicious secret societies."⁵⁶⁹ Despite this widely supported effort to monitor and exclude anarchists from American society, however, this article also highlighted a developing problem with regards to the enforcement of this newly formed law for national security, especially in reference to those immigrants already present in the country, stating that "immigration officials say that what is needed

⁵⁶⁸ Jensen, "The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism," 32.

⁵⁶⁹ "May Deport Many Alien Criminals," *New York Times*, March 5, 1908: 3.

is a new law giving the department more power over those who have already passed through the portals and have been found undesirable persons.”⁵⁷⁰ From the onset, early manifestations of federal anti-anarchist police efforts suffered a series of setbacks, as the law itself proved difficult to enforce and failed to effectively police immigrant anarchists once inside of the United States.

As a result, immigrations officials pooled their efforts together with that of local police units and from Secret Service agents scattered across the country, since they operated as the closest thing to a national police force at the federal government’s disposal. But these efforts were also plagued with undesirable results: very few immigrants were deported under the auspices that the law provided as a definition of anarchism, officials conflated popular anxieties regarding immigration in general with their effort to police and deport anarchists, limiting the law’s affect, and anarchist organizations continued to hold meetings, seeming to flaunt the country’s bureaucratic ineffectiveness. Local and federal police and immigration officials worked in tandem to compile lists of suspected anarchists, create administrative interchange between disparate government bureaucracies, and increase the surveillance of suspected anarchists throughout the country, but due to the growing pains of a bureaucratic authority in its infancy, administrators of the law found anti-anarchist policy difficult to enforce.

During the years immediately following McKinley’s death, the surveillance and policing of anarchist activities was left to two federal agencies: the Secret Service and the Bureau of Immigration. The Secret Service had been collecting information regarding the

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

presence and activities of anarchists in the country prior to the assassination in 1901, but these efforts mostly resulted in the compilation of lists of confirmed or suspected anarchists rather than actual arrests or deportations. After 1901, the service's role in the cultural war against anarchy changed very little. They continued to compile lists of suspected anarchists with the help of local police, concerned citizens, and eventually the Bureau of Immigration. Local Secret Service members would send information to the federal Secret Service office, detailing the activities of immigrants who they believed were anarchists. These efforts typically resulted in an affirmation that anarchist groups "discussed anarchy in the usual manner, but did not use violent or threatening language."⁵⁷¹ Private citizens showed a desire to help in the Secret Service's efforts to gain more information on resident anarchists in the country. R. S. McKinney, a road and bridge commissioner of Mexico, Missouri sent a letter to Secret Service officials, expressing a desire to aid efforts to police anarchists "because I have information concerning this class."⁵⁷² He also worried that agents would find his position of knowledge suspect, beseeching "please do not entertain that I am or ever was, one of this villainous crew."⁵⁷³ At the end of the letter, McKinney provided names, descriptions, and meeting addresses of those he suspected of engaging in anarchistic activity. Typical of

⁵⁷¹ April 24, 1903 Secret Service letter, written by M. Hymans to John E. Murphy, St. Louis, Missouri, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland., Records of the United States Secret Service, Department of the Treasury/Secret Service Division, Entry # A1 4: Reports of Agents on Special Investigations, 1871-1933, Record Group 0087, Committee on the Judiciary, Container No. 2, File Folder Investigation of Anarchists, St. Louis Division, 1903-1913.

⁵⁷² October 10, 1903 Letter, written by R. S. McKinney to John E. Murphy, St. Louis, Missouri, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland., Records of the United States Secret Service, Department of the Treasury/Secret Service Division, Entry # A1 4: Reports of Agents on Special Investigations, 1871-1933, Record Group 0087, Committee on the Judiciary, Container No. 2, File Folder Investigation of Anarchists, St. Louis Division, 1903-1913.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

the popular associations of the era, those who contributed to the “cause” were foreigners, speaking in this case the “French language,” made “wild speeches,” and exhibited a “violent” countenance.⁵⁷⁴

Secret Service officials took information from sources like these in order to compile lists of those they suspected of engaging in anarchist activity. They observed anarchist meetings and scrutinized the potentially radical speeches, with these lists in hand, waiting for remarks that openly condoned violence against the American government or its peoples. Written in the margins, notes were often scribbled that indicated how dangerous each individual might be to the nation. One such catalogue of suspected anarchists who congregated at an “anarchistic convention” in St. Louis, Missouri contained twenty-four names of those assumed to be present; out of those twenty-four, nineteen names had the word “terrorist” written next to it.⁵⁷⁵ But proclamations of violence rarely occurred. Rather than taking a primary role in the policing and arresting of alien anarchists within the country, the Secret Service ultimately worked in tandem with immigration officials in their efforts. They also used the collected information to inform local police personnel about suspected anarchists in order to quarantine them from political leaders and ensure the safety and security of those visiting a given area, especially the president.⁵⁷⁶ If the Secret Service played a minor role in the

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Treasury Department list of Suspected Anarchists present at a September 10, 1904 Anarchist Convention in St. Louis, Missouri, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland., Records of the United States Secret Service, Department of the Treasury/Secret Service Division, Entry # A1 4: Reports of Agents on Special Investigations, 1871-1933, Record Group 0087, Committee on the Judiciary, Container No. 2, File Folder Investigation of Anarchists, St. Louis Division, 1903-1913.

⁵⁷⁶ Office of the Secretary of the Treasury to Chiefs of Police outlining protocol for ensuring the safety of the president and other political leaders, March 17, 1903 National Archives and Records

policing of anarchists, the use of their personnel was all but cut off in May 1908 when Congress resolved to forbid government agencies from using Secret Service agents in investigations regarding violations of the law, even the presence of anarchists in the country.⁵⁷⁷

This sectioning off of Secret Service agents came about in part as a result of congressional scandal in the early years of the twentieth century. Corporate interests had been carving up public property for years in the name of private profit and resulted in the payment of bribes to American politicians in efforts to ease profiteering efforts off of federally protected land. An investigation surfaced in 1905, led in part by a Secret Service agent named William J. Burns that ultimately resulted in the conviction of Senator John H. Mitchell and Representative John H. Williamson, both from Oregon, for their roles in selling off public lands in the Cascade Range to private companies. Senator Mitchell died while his case was on appeal, Representative Williamson's conviction was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court due largely to Burns' tampering with jurors and witnesses, and Congress eventually barred any use of Secret Service agents by any federal bureaucracy except the Treasury as a result from the scandal that emerged from Burns' actions.⁵⁷⁸ The unfolding of these events led to a general distrust of the ways that

Administration, College Park, Maryland., Records of the United States Secret Service, Department of the Treasury/Secret Service Division, Entry # A1 4: Reports of Agents on Special Investigations, 1871-1933, Record Group 0087, Committee on the Judiciary, Container No. 2, File Folder Investigation of Anarchists, St. Louis Division, 1903-1913.

⁵⁷⁷ Richard Bach Jensen, "The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism, 31. According to Jensen, "Without this congressional prohibition, the Secret Service might eventually have evolved into some version of the FBI, the CIA, or even a combination of the two."

⁵⁷⁸ According to Weiner, "Burns left the government and became a famous private eye; his skills at tapping telephones and bugging hotel rooms eventually won him a job as J. Edgar Hoover's boss at the FBI." Ibid, 10.

government bureaucracies were using Secret Service personnel in their investigations of illegal activities across the country. In particular, they felt that the Department of Justice had mishandled the affair, opting in 1908, to cut off the department's, along with other federal bureaucracies' access, to Secret Service agents.

After Congress decreed to limit the use of inter-departmental use of Secret Service agents, immigration officials were practically alone in their efforts to police the influx and presence of anarchists into the nation. Despite holding the authority to regulate anarchists, they were simply incapable of doing this effectively or efficiently. Due to a combination of bureaucratic infancy, lack of funding, and inexperienced personnel, the Bureau of Immigration found it more difficult to enforce anarchist exclusion legislation than had been desired. Moreover, immigration administrative technique simply proved incapable of policing the political beliefs of immigrant anarchists, especially once they had already landed upon American shores. Immigration officials conflated popular anxieties within the purview of the law in their efforts to police and regulate alien anarchists in the first years of the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1903, turning to nativist understandings of anarchists as European, impoverished, and male. They could not ascertain what qualified as anarchist thought, only what they believed the anarchist to look like. This ultimately left a void in the administration of American security and policing protocol in the early years of the Anarchist Exclusion Act—a void that officials believed should be filled with increased bureaucratic proficiency and scope.

In addition, immigration officials were also spread thin over additional efforts to regulate the existence of prostitution, or the “white slave trade,” in the United States.⁵⁷⁹ Much like the enforcement of anti-anarchist legislation, laws that attempted to regulate international prostitution proved difficult to enforce. Commissioner-General Daniel Keefe’s 1910 complaints to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor “that the resources at [the Immigration Bureau’s] command were wholly inadequate to cope with the situation” regarding the policing of prostitution rings in the United States, echoed the same concerns that plagued the immigration bureau’s ability to regulate anarchism.⁵⁸⁰ The Commissioner-General of Immigration, who had already expressed concerns to Congress regarding the immigration bureau’s inadequate funding and manpower in the war against anarchy, now found the bureaucracy responsible for the regulation and elimination of international prostitution rings all at the same time that the American Congress was hit with scandal in the early years of the twentieth century.⁵⁸¹

The immigration bureau may have been limited by the congressional decision to restrict the use of Secret Service agents, but the Department of Justice was all but cut off from investigative personnel. According to historian Richard Bach Jensen, “the impact of the congressional decision was to severely diminish the effectiveness of the Justice

⁵⁷⁹ For more information on the “White Slave Trade” in Progressive Era America, see Mark Thomas Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

⁵⁸⁰ January 12, 1910 report of commissioner-general Daniel Keefe to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, as quoted in Jensen, “The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism, 1904-1914,” 31.

⁵⁸¹ According to historian Richard Bach Jensen, when “the government decided to adhere to the anti-white slave trade convention, the United States proved largely unable to comply with its provisions,” adding to a bureaucratic authority already buckling under the stress of executing the impossible task of regulating anarchist political ideology. Jensen, “The United States, International Policing, and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism,” 30.

Department, since it and other federal bodies had long relied on borrowing Secret Service agents for all their investigative needs.”⁵⁸² Since the government banned the hiring of the Pinkerton police firm in 1892 after a violent confrontation at the Carnegie Steel Company in Homestead, Pennsylvania left three Pinkerton personnel and five workers dead, the federal government, and especially the Department of Justice, had relied primarily on Secret Service agent to police the domestic population.⁵⁸³ After the resurgence of anti-anarchist and anti-radical political thought in 1907 and 1908, and with a limited domestic police force, Attorney General Charles J Bonaparte, with President Roosevelt’s full support, turned to Congress in order to garner the legal and monetary support for a new federal investigation unit, arguing that the “Department of Justice with no force of permanent police in any form under its control is assuredly not fully equipped for its work” and thus required “a small, carefully selected, and experienced force under its immediate orders.”⁵⁸⁴ Both Roosevelt and Bonaparte believed that a domestic police force of special agents would prove both as a more effective investigative tool for the federal government and cut down on the bureaucratic inefficiency that resulted from interdependent local police forces, immigration personnel, and the Secret Service.⁵⁸⁵

Congress disagreed. Similar to the congressional discourse that surrounded the Protection of the President bill, several representatives worried that a federally created domestic police force symbolized a move towards an imperial police state.

⁵⁸² Ibid, 31.

⁵⁸³ Tim Weiner, *Enemies*, 9.

⁵⁸⁴ United States Department of Justice, *Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States, 1907*, p. 10. http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/brief-history/docs_ar1907 (Accessed 8/08/2013).

⁵⁸⁵ The Attorney General believed that “the necessity of having these officers suddenly appoint special deputies, possibly [*sic*] in considerable numbers, might be sometimes avoided with greater likelihood of economy and better assurance of satisfactory results.” Ibid.

Representative George E. Waldo from New York, for example, argued that such a police force represented “a great blow to freedom and to free institutions if there should arise in this country any such great central secret-service bureau as there is in Russia.”⁵⁸⁶ But this did not stop the President and the Attorney General from pushing for the creation of a special police force subject to the Justice Department’s directives. Historian Tim Wiener has argued that “Bonaparte waited until after Congress adjourned at the end of June [1908]. Then he dipped into the Justice Department’s expense fund to hire eight veteran Secret Service agents as permanent full-time investigators. On July 26, 1908, Bonaparte signed a formal order establishing a new investigative division with a thirty-four-man force of ‘special agents.’”⁵⁸⁷ Furthermore, according to Weiner, “Congress was notified about the creation of the Bureau of Investigation after the fact, in December 1908, in a few lines of Bonaparte’s annual report on the work of the Justice Department.”⁵⁸⁸ Bonaparte claimed that “It became necessary for the department to organize a small force of special agents of its own,” adding that “Such action was involuntary on the part of this department.”⁵⁸⁹ Wiener goes on to claim that “This shaded the truth, since the president had ordered the Bureau’s creation.”⁵⁹⁰ The Department of Justice was going to have their own domestic police force, with or without the supposedly requisite permission from Congress.

⁵⁸⁶ George E. Waldo, *Hearings of House Appropriations Committee on Deficiency Appropriations*, 59th Congress, 2nd Session (1907) quoted from Wiener, *Enemies*, 11.

⁵⁸⁷ Wiener, *Enemies*, 11.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 12.

⁵⁸⁹ United States Department of Justice, *Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States*, p. 7.

⁵⁹⁰ Wiener, *Enemies*, 12.

With Roosevelt's blessing, the Attorney General of the Department of Justice, Charles J Bonaparte, secretly bypassed congressional support in 1908, creating an investigative police force subject to the authority of the attorney general of the Justice Department, rather than the chief of the Secret Service.⁵⁹¹ Congress feared, however, as they did with the bill for the Protection of the President, that the creation of such a federal police force would lead the U.S. down the path of an imperial police state. But the political imperative for a professional investigative police force surpassed the formality of congressional approval, resulting in the formation of a quasi-illegal agency composed of ex-Secret Service agents without the theoretically requisite congressional support.

The surrounding cultural environment of national security provided the backdrop for the decision to increase the growth federal policing and surveillance. The formation of the Bureau of Investigation in 1908 was not the first time in American history that the U.S. government attempted to monitor and censor what many considered licentious or radical political commentary, but this process did indicate a national trend that viewed potentially radical literature as threatening to the health and security of the entire national body. Outside of wartime justification for press censorship, state police and postal service officials had made use of the Comstock Laws, enacted in 1873, to prohibit the circulation of anarchist newspapers and journals in the mail systems, arguing that the content of anarchist literature fell under the definition of 'obscene,' and was thus prohibited under

⁵⁹¹ Richard Bach Jensen has pointed out that Roosevelt along with other political leaders "directed attorney general Bonaparte to organize an investigative service...inside the Justice Department," indicating that Bonaparte was not a lone maverick in his efforts to police the domestic population in Ibid. This investigative service would be named the 'Bureau of Investigation' in 1909 and ultimately renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935.

the law.⁵⁹² State officials used these laws to monitor newspaper and tracts circulating in the mail systems, shutting down presses, and arresting editors who were in violation of the law leading up to the assassination of McKinley in 1901, although not on the same scale.

The regulatory authority to censor and bar potentially licentious materials fell under the power of the Postmaster General and was ultimately executed by the postal workers of individual counties and states. This famously resulted in the suppression of the birth control movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a movement that anarchist men and women often advocated for.⁵⁹³ This marked the beginnings of America's normalization of press censorship and surveillance, but the regulation of radical texts typically centered upon concerns regarding morality, sexuality, and disease. Anarchist communities were monitored and their political texts censored as part of this birth control debate, but criminal charges were rarely filed and presses were infrequently permanently shut down for non-sexuality related discourse.⁵⁹⁴ After the assassination of McKinley, however, appeals for the censorship of anarchist print took on a tone of immediacy and necessity, whether or not the publications concerned appealed to debates surrounding sexuality. After Congress revised immigration legislation to include anarchists as an inadmissible immigrant class in 1903, several states followed with their

⁵⁹² For an excellent microcosmic account of this history, told through the censorship of the Washington anarchist commune Home's published materials, see Brigitte Koenig, "Law and Disorder at Home: Free Love, Free Speech, and the Search for an Anarchist Utopia," *Labor History*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (May 2004): 199-223.

⁵⁹³ Linda Gordon, *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*, 3rd Ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002). In reference to anarchism and the anxieties surrounding radical sexuality, see Terrence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917* (Oakland, California: AK Press, 2008).

⁵⁹⁴ Koenig, "Law and Disorder at Home."

own anti-anarchist legislation. New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and Washington all enacted laws making it a felony to advocate anarchist doctrine in public or in press, with or without evidence of ‘licentious’ content.⁵⁹⁵ Any newspaper, journal, or political tract that publicized anarchist doctrine and/or thought, whether or not the text condoned violent or anti-social behavior, proved enough for regulation and censorship in the minds of state and federal officials.

McKinley’s assassination also energized ideas about empire, nativism, and understandings of the political body in profound ways. Justifications for the creation of the Bureau of Investigation, a professional police force believed to be capable of regulating the presence of anarchist bodies and political ideologies within the nation were founded upon and sustained by discourses of national security. The assassination of McKinley heightened and intensified efforts to regulate anarchist press in the United States, pushing the country to engage in a process of renegotiating proper citizenship. Those who argued for the increased surveillance and monitoring of anarchist press did so by appealing to the militarism of patriotic citizenship in order to bolster the state’s efforts to ensure the security of the national body.

In April, 1908 President Roosevelt emboldened this discourse in a widely circulated congressional address that argued for increased monitoring and regulation of anarchist print in the federal mail system—a call for governmental reform that was given at the same time Attorney General Bonaparte made his case for a federal police force under the authority of the Department of Justice. Appealing to the dominant rhetoric of

⁵⁹⁵ Linda Cobb-Reiley, “Aliens and Alien Ideas: The Suppression of Anarchists and the Anarchist Press in America, 1901-1914,” *Journalism History*, Vol. 15, No. 2-3 (Summer/Autumn 1988), 53-54.

militaristic patriotism, defense, and xenophobia, Roosevelt articulated his position as one of the necessities applicable to wartime defense against immigrant anarchists and their alien ideals, stating that

I herewith submit a letter from the Department of Justice which explains itself. Under this opinion, I hold that existing statutes give the President the power to prohibit the Postmaster-General from being used as an instrument in the commission of crime; that is, to prohibit the use of the mails for the advocacy of murder, arson, and treason; and I shall act upon such construction. Unquestionably, however, there should be further legislation by Congress in this matter. When compared with the suppression of anarchy, every other question sinks into insignificance. The anarchist is the enemy of humanity, the enemy of all mankind, and his is a deeper degree of criminality than any other. No immigrant is allowed to come to our shores if he is an anarchist; and no paper published here or abroad should be permitted circulation in this country if it propagates anarchistic opinions.⁵⁹⁶

In this address, Roosevelt articulated the martial citizen-ideal that framed anti-anarchist discourse in the early years of the twentieth century. By mobilizing this rhetorical framework, he believed that a strong, masculine, and bellicose style of citizenship would appropriately respond to anarchist threats in the country, not only in terms of regulating those immigrant anarchists that came into the country, but those that spread their political beliefs as well. Roosevelt made these claims within a discursive framework that not only appealed to the popular associations that came with anti-anarchist discourse in the aftermath of McKinley's assassination, it showed an explicit call for an increase in the governmental technologies of policing and surveillance. In

⁵⁹⁶ National Archives, Washington D.C, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service RG 85, Subject and Policy Files, 1893-1957 Box 303 Folder 51924/30, "Message from the President of the United States to the Committee on the Judiciary," April 9, 1908.

particular, Roosevelt took a restrictive view on free speech at a time when U.S. federal administrative power gained formative momentum.

This era was, at the same time, defined by discourses that conflated cultural paradigms of empire, nativism, and the purity of the national body in the wake of anarchist violence. All of these forces combined to form a political and cultural environment that questioned foundational American values and ideals, especially in regards to free speech.⁵⁹⁷ According to legal scholar David M. Rabban, this was a time in American history when “most Progressives challenged traditional conceptions of individual rights protected by the Constitution...Progressives often appreciated free speech, and even dissent, as qualities that a democratic society should nurture. But many reacted against dissent that was not directed toward positive social reconstruction. Progressives often saw no value in speech that expressed the structural inevitability of class conflict or that denied the feasibility of ultimate social unity.”⁵⁹⁸ In this way, a culture of national security arose in paradoxical and often contradictory conditions, informing the ways the legislators viewed possible governmental action; languages of (in)security mobilized an American popular and political culture that appeared progressive and restrictive, imperial and republican, unifying and xenophobic—all as long the security of the nation-state would be advanced.

⁵⁹⁷ For an excellent discussion of the complexities and contradictions that have defined American understandings of the freedom of speech, see Michael Kent Curtis, *Free Speech, 'The People's Darling Privilege: Struggles for Freedom of Expression in American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

⁵⁹⁸ David M. Rabban, *Free Speech in its Forgotten Years* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

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The creation of the Bureau of Investigation would have profound effects on the ways that the U.S. government engaged in the process of securing the nation. Diplomatically, policymakers believed that the formation of the nation's first federal police bureau disentangled U.S. interests from that of Europe. But, as this chapter has argued, despite an emphasis on republican, exceptional American virtue, languages and metaphors of empire, xenophobia, and (in)security worked its way back into justifications for domestic policing and surveillance. Imperial, xenophobic, and martial assumptions regarding the nation's physical and political health and security defined a popular culture that called for increased domestic surveillance and policing. As part of the anti-anarchist environment that dominated early twentieth-century politics, society, and law in America, justifications for the creation of a federal police force developed with a backdrop characterized by a perceived need to regulate both anarchist bodies and their minds.⁵⁹⁹ In the process, the techniques that defined political and governmental responses developed around the monitoring, surveillance, and censorship of radical anarchist speech and literature. Popular discourses on empire, xenophobia, and national political health

⁵⁹⁹ The regulation of dissident or radical literature became a defining quality associated with the Bureau of Investigation and later the FBI. Bureau agents have combed through believed to be disruptive newspapers, novels, political tracts, etc. in the name of national security from the era discussed in this dissertation through both of the Red Scares and up until the current War on Terrorism. This has led to a national security regime that has amassed an incredibly large amount of files due to the bureaucratic oversight of writers, film makers, and internet bloggers since its foundation. For information regarding this process in the twentieth century, see Natalie S. Robins, *Alien Ink: The FBI's War on Freedom of Expression* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1992) and Ivan Greenberg, *The Dangers of Dissent: The FBI and Civil Liberties since 1965* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010).

founded and nourished America's concerns over domestic security, as federal police and surveillance power appeared as the cure to what plagued the nation-state.

Conclusion

In April 1920, the U.S. House of Representatives called for the impeachment of Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post for the cancellation of hundreds of warrants of arrest and deportation decisions against immigrant anarchists and communists.⁶⁰⁰ This occurred a little under two years after the death of Randolph Bourne and the ending of World War One. Bourne had described the war years as one where “the rage for loyal conformity” permeated every aspect of society and government, where Post would later describe the Red Scare years that followed the war as an era in which the American nation-state went through a “delirium” that resulted in mass deportations and infringed civil liberties.⁶⁰¹ For Bourne the tangible effect of military wartime entanglements energized a new sense of state power at the detriment of the national populace, while Post believed that this wartime culture spilled into the peacetime years that followed. Bourne and Post believed that the war had a profound and exceptional effect on the nature of

⁶⁰⁰ Post was only in the position to authorize such cancellations for a very short period of time due to the personal leave of Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, but managed to counteract against hundreds of the warrants of arrest issued by prominent anti-radicals in the Bureau of Immigration and Bureau of Investigation, including Anthony Caminetti, Alexander Mitchell Palmer, and J. Edgar Hoover. For more on the transition from Wilson to Post, see Anthony W. Gengarelly, “Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson and the Red Scare, 1919-1920,” *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (1980): 311-330. Historians have speculated that this timely departure from office may have resulted from Wilson’s frustration with straddling the delicate balance between labor rights and the anti-radical sentiment that manifested during the WWI. On page 322, Gengarelly speculates that “on 6 March, the labor secretary took a personal leave of absence, ostensibly to care for his ailing wife and mother. Even though this explanation for the secretary's departure has a hollow ring, no factual data has been uncovered to categorically refute it. Yet, the evidence leading up to Wilson's exit certainly indicates that his leave at this time had something to do with his inability to confront the odious question of alien deportations.” For the impeachment trial, see U.S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, *Investigation of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, in the Manner of Deportation of Aliens*, 66th Congress, Second Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920).

⁶⁰¹ Randolph Silliman Bourne, “The State,” in *The Radical Will: Selected Writings, 1911-1918*, edited by Olaf Hansen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 360. Louis F. Post, *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty* (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Company, 1923).

United States governmental power and domestic patriotic sentiment, resulting in both a state structure and national culture centered upon anti-immigrant xenophobia, nativist patriotism, and anti-radical hostility.

Both Bourne and Post were prominent Progressive intellectuals who have left their mark on contemporary understandings of the origins of the modern national security state. Their views on U.S. state power and patriotic conformity have been rearticulated in history books since the creation of the National Security Act of 1947. Historians who have sought out the cultural, legal, and political origins of America's national security state have found similarities between World War II anxieties regarding domestic enemy threats, a centralization of state power, and the unification of national patriotic sentiment and the debates that Progressives like Post and Bourne engaged in.⁶⁰² In particular, historians have traced the continuation of these wartime processes in postwar politics and society, during both of the Red Scares, the Cold War, and to the current War on Terrorism. WWI and its aftermath have been historicized as the origins of America's modern state structure, including the national security state.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰² See, Roberta S. Feuerlicht, *America's Reign of Terror: World War I, the Red Scare, and the Palmer Raids* (New York: Random House, 1971), Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of Modern American Citizenship* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), Nancy Gentile Ford, *The Great War and America: Civil-Military Relations During World War I* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), and in particular Mark R. Shulman, "The Progressive Era Origins of the National Security Act," *Dickinson Law Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (2000): 289-330.

⁶⁰³ For post-WWII narratives see, for example, see Julian Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy: The Politics of National Security—From World War II to the War on Terrorism* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), Andrew J. Bacevich, ed., *The Long War: A New History of U.S. National Security Policy Since World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), Michel J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945-1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and Christopher M. Finan, *Palmer Raids to the Patriot Act: A History of the Fight for Free Speech in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007).

But as many of these historians have shown, America's political culture has remained a central and influential component of the U.S.'s national security regime.⁶⁰⁴ My dissertation joins this historiographic trend, in an effort to take seriously the prominence of language about security, empire, national health, and anti-anarchism in the rhetoric and metaphors of national security. Too often, histories of the national security state provide too much sanctity to the concept of the state itself. And although America's national security regime took on its more recognizable bureaucratic and legal forms during the inter-war years and in the latter half of the twentieth century (i.e., the FBI, CIA, NSA, etc.), these eras and institutional representatives of state power have been privileged in national security historical narratives.

As I have argued, the culture and language of national security that emerged, beginning in 1901, provided an ideological structure and set of meanings to those policymakers and legislators who searched for solutions that appeared to challenge the nation's security and well-being. In particular, these discourses on national security provided state actors and bureaucracies with a language of authority, necessity, and right in policing the activities and writings of anarchists. According to Michel Foucault:

The state does not have an essence. The state is not a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power. The state is nothing else but the effect, the profile, the mobile shape of a perpetual statification (*étatisation*) or statifications, in the sense of incessant transactions which modify, or move, or drastically change, or insidiously shift sources finance, modes of

⁶⁰⁴ See for example, Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East*, Updated Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, 2005), McAlister, "A Cultural History of the War Without End," William L. O'Neill, "The 'Good' War: National Security and American Culture," in *The Long War*, Bacevich, ed., 517-550, and Robert J. Corber, *In the Name of National Security: Hitchcock, Homophobia, and the Political Construction of Gender in Postwar America*, 2nd Printing (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993, 1996).

investment, decision-making centers, forms and types of control, relationships between local powers, the central authority, and so on...The state is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities.⁶⁰⁵

In other words, state power cannot exist and exert influence without networks of cultural, political, and economic support.⁶⁰⁶ The language of national (in)security found in America's popular and political culture of the early years of the nineteenth century would provide a new meaning behind state power and the right to govern, echoes of which could be found in the activities of representatives of state power during WWI, WWII, and arguably forward.

When Post defended his actions in front of members of the House, his arguments rested on the differences between "philosophical anarchism" and the "general definition of the term," indicating to the anti-anarchist legislation passed in 1903 and amended in 1907 and 1918. He criticized government personnel for what he viewed as the wholesale arrest and imprisonment of anarchists and communists residing within the country, without any regard to the kinds of threats that these individuals and/or groups posed to the nation.⁶⁰⁷ Post ultimately would not be removed from office due to these

⁶⁰⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 77.

⁶⁰⁶ My dissertation has focused primarily on the popular and political culture of American national security. More work needs to be done that analyzes the ways that economic policy and culture, particularly in terms of liberal capitalism, has defined the historical origins of the U.S. national security regime. Although not explicitly written with national security historiography or the biopolitics of economic security regimes in mind, Regin Schmidt, *Red Scare: FBI and the Origins of Anticommunism in the United States, 1919-1943* (Copenhagen: Museum of Tusculanum Press, 2000) is an excellent starting point for such historical inquiries.

⁶⁰⁷ The post-WWI era has been referred to as the First Red Scare. For a seminal and comprehensive history of this era, see Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

interpretations of the anti-anarchist laws passed in the previous fifteen years.⁶⁰⁸ But this did not indicate the end of the American nation's obsession with national security, either.

Press censorship, the monitoring of the mail systems, and the use of intricate radical press networks in order to locate, police, and arrest perceived threats to the nation were all used by state personnel during the WWI-era anti-radical and anti-anarchist efforts.⁶⁰⁹ Commissioner General of Immigration Anthony Caminetti, a central figure in bringing Post's impeachment trial into fruition, believed that censorship and restricted press freedom were key components of a more secure America, arguing in 1919 that

the question of further proceedings to be had looking at the deportation of aliens of the anarchist class, I have to request that there be obtained from the Department of Justice, the Post Office Department, and such other source or sources as may be available, list of the newspapers or periodicals published in this country known to be anarchistic, with the addresses where published and names of the publishers. It is the purpose to forthwith to direct the various officers in the district where these papers or periodicals are published to initiate such a discreet inquiry as will to determine whether or not the proprietors or editorial staff (or any of them)

⁶⁰⁸ These "Red Scare Years" have commonly been remembered as a moment when the U.S. state embarked upon an anti-radical campaign with unfortunate consequences, a quality that would subside in the state's operations only to resurface during later, more acute periods of national security crises like WWII and the Cold War. According to William Preston, Jr., "many of the procedures had remained unchallenged, the powers untested, until they were exposed to public scrutiny during the red scare and fully debated for perhaps the first time and last time" in American history. William Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, 2nd Edition, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 11. For more on the "normal" operations of wartime and peacetime law, see Geoffrey R. Stone, *Perilous Times, Free Speech in Wartime: From the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), Mary L. Dudziak, *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequence*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), and Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁶⁰⁹ During WWI and the First Red Scare, Immigration, Post, and Bureau of Investigation officers all used the mailing lists of the radical presses (including those published by anarchist, communist, and socialist groups) in order to locate the residences of suspected radicals, often raiding their homes and arresting them just for receiving literature that was considered a threat to the nation and state. Many of these lists and police files of these arrests can be found in the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy Files 1893-1957, Record Group 85. Also, see Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters*.

are aliens and anarchists within the meaning of the law, and to proceed for the arrest in the deportation proceedings of such as prove to be.⁶¹⁰

The press would continue to hold significance to the American national security state throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.⁶¹¹

Post's defense rested on the theoretical difference between philosophical and violent forms of anarchist politics, but anarchism represented something much more fundamental to turn of the twentieth-century American political culture. The anarchist symbolized a deep and long-held anxiety in modern understandings of governance, the fear that a move towards statelessness would result in violence and chaos. This polarity of anarchic chaos versus state order allowed supporters of federal growth to collapse a variety of social and political problems into the figure of the anarchist. Post believed that state actors did exactly this during and after the WWI years with alarming consequences.⁶¹² And although America's concerns about national security have not

⁶¹⁰ "Memorandum for the Law Division," letter authored by United States Commissioner General of Immigration Anthony Caminetti on January 23, 1919, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Subject and Policy Files 1893-1957, Record Group 85, Box No. 2802, File 54235/36-C.

⁶¹¹ For two excellent collection of essays that center upon issues of liberty and security in the twenty-first century, including the freedom of the press, see David B. Cohen and John W. Wells, eds., *American National Security and Civil Liberties in an Era of Terrorism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) and M. Katherine B. Darmer, Robert M. Baird, and Stuart E. Rosenbaum, eds., *Civil Liberties Vs. National Security in a Post-9/11 World* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2004).

⁶¹² Historians have analyzed the roles that the press and media have played throughout America's national security regimes from the WWI era to the current War on Terrorism. Howard Abramowitz, for example, has shown how WWI-era anxieties regarding radical print culture spilled into the First Red Scare years and have been imprinted upon efforts to curb radicalism throughout the twentieth century. Howard Abramowitz, "Chapter Four: The Press and the Red Scare, 1919-1921," in *Popular Culture and Political Change in America*, Ronald Edsforth and Larry Bennett, eds. (Albany: University of New York Press, 1991), 61-80. Other works like that of Shirley A. Wiegand and Wayne A. Wiegand, *Books on Trial: Red Scare in the Heartland* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), Natalie S. Robins, *Alien Ink: The FBI's War on Freedom of Expression* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1992), and Ivan Greenberg, *The Dangers of Dissent: The FBI and Civil Liberties since 1965* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010) have similarly shown how issues surrounding the press and the freedom of speech have dominated national security efforts since the Cold War.

abated, the face of the threat has changed since the early twentieth century. But the fear of stateless chaos and violence has continued to haunt the language and iconography of national security since. International relations theorist Alexander Wendt has made the case that “Anarchy is What States Make of It.”⁶¹³ From the Cold War to the War on Terror, the chaotic potential that the outside world represents continues to haunt the American imagination, where anarchy is evoked and made by a state and society concerned with the nation’s sense of security.

⁶¹³ Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It,” *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992): 391-425.

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