

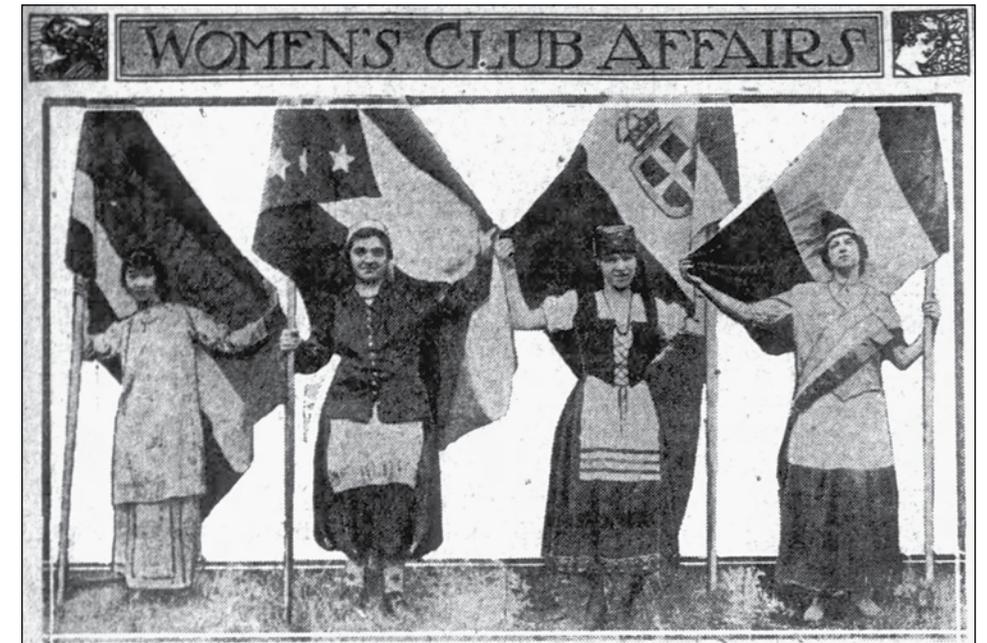
Women's "Positive Patriotic Duty" to Participate

The Practice of Female Citizenship in Oregon and the Expanding Surveillance State during the First World War and its Aftermath

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DURING THE UNITED STATES' participation in the First World War from 1917 to 1918 and in the war's aftermath, many Oregon women made active claims to citizenship and belonging in the state and nation. Most did so as voting citizens, but now also with new obligations of wartime citizenship defined by national and local officials as patriotic and loyal womanhood and 100% Americanism, what Oregon Governor James Withycombe called women's "positive patriotic duty." Women's actions took place in an emerging surveillance state that included new strategies for scrutiny. Wartime legislation, particularly the 1917 Espionage Act and the 1918 Sedition Act limiting free speech and press, crossed the lines of civil-liberties protections and criminalized dissent. Thousands of women in the state participated in the visible civic pageantry of parades and Liberty Loan drives and organized philanthropic war-related campaigns. Members of ethnic and immigrant communities and communities of color wrestled with the constraints of racism and 100% Americanism while attending to the imperatives, but also the possibilities, of wartime citizenship. Women resisted in a variety of ways. Some closed their doors to canvassers at the risk of being reported. Portland librarian M. Louise Hunt proclaimed her civil liberty to refuse to purchase a Liberty Bond, at the cost of her position and reputation. Dr. Marie Equi was sentenced to San Quentin for her critique of the war but also for engaging in same-sex relationships.

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PICTURED FROM THE LEFT are Pearl Moy, representing China; Hazel Cartozian, representing Armenia; Miss M. Gottiria, representing Italy; and Miss A. Lambert, representing France at the Pageant of Nations celebrating the Allied Victory in the First World War at Portland's Star Theater in November 1918. These women engaged in patriotic pageantry as part of their wartime claims for more complete citizenship. This image appeared in the *Oregon Journal* on November 17, 1918.

Oregon women were navigating the challenging civic waters that historians are trying to understand as we come to terms with the meaning of the First World War and its impact on the history of women, citizenship, and activism. Christopher Capozzola emphasizes the demands that local and national leaders placed on women to take on war work in what he terms "coercive voluntarism."¹ We cannot overstate the pressures on women to conform to wartime norms, enforced by legislation and national and local actors, particularly in the context of repressive wartime legislation. But with this in mind we can also understand that many women saw wartime as an opportunity to enhance and showcase their organized work, what Lynn Dumenil calls the "second line of defense" in support of the war effort.² To examine this complicated, multi-layered history with women's citizenship in mind, we must consider women positioned in different places in relation to these processes and goals.³

A close study of women civilians on the Oregon homefront with a focus on wartime Liberty Loan drives, other patriotic pageantry and fund-raising, and Portland's postwar "Survey of the Foreign-Born" demonstrates that Oregon

women were active in shaping their responses to the new imperatives of wartime citizenship. Some Oregon women used products of the surveillance state, such as surveys and house-to-house canvassing, to investigate and police other women citizens and residents in an effort to claim a more complete citizenship. Some women resisted these programs and policing, and others reshaped them to suit their own goals.

During the war years and after, wartime fears and concerns of middle-class and elite, White Americans brought a renewed emphasis on the duties and obligations of citizenship: service to the state, and loyalty to the state's aims.⁴ Immigration and naturalization legislation defined the characteristics that made a "true" citizen by linking Whiteness and heterosexual marriage to the "qualities" of a good citizen, and brought particular scrutiny of women of color and women suspected of prostitution.⁵ Advocates for more complete citizenship for women and Americans of color emphasized the political rights of voting and office-holding. Wage-earning working-class Americans and their supporters advocated for a more complete economic citizenship through maximum-hour and minimum-wage legislation, and through laws and policies for healthier workplaces. Others advocated radical economic and social revolution. Some activists emphasized a participatory social citizenship to reform community life and to promote social justice and equality before the law.⁶

Other Americans wished to compress and isolate citizenship into a movement for the restriction and assimilation of immigrants in "Americanization" campaigns throughout this period; members of immigrant communities and reformers responded in various ways. Government and civic leaders during the war years and after defined the practice of citizenship as unquestioning loyalty to the government and its goals, action they claimed was vital to national security, and continued to frame a series of postwar crises that required similar civic practices. They voiced fears of political and labor radicalism in response to the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies), Socialism, and the Russian Revolution abroad and "Red Scare" at home, and they often associated migrants with such movements. The nativist and restrictive Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1924, which established entry quotas, were a major result and accompanied the continued exclusion of many Asian Americans. Two Supreme Court cases, including the 1923 Oregon case of Punjabi immigrant Bhagat Singh Thind, declared that Japanese and East Indian immigrants were not "White" and therefore were ineligible for citizenship. A movement to exclude Mexican immigrants based on the same principles paralleled these developments. The Oregon legislature passed an Alien Land Act in 1923 to prevent those residents who were ineligible for citizenship, such as first-generation Japanese Americans, from owning land. Oregon voters approved a Compulsory School Bill in 1922,

backed by anti-Catholic and Ku Klux Klan forces, but the Oregon Supreme Court overturned the law in 1925.⁷

We can collect Oregon women's claims to the obligations and rights of citizenship in this particular historic context into three main conceptual threads: the *status* of citizenship, the *practice* of citizenship, and the citizenship of *shared experience*. Women did not achieve full equality in these three arenas, but their wartime actions compose an important chapter in the history of women's civil-rights and civil-liberties activism. Ruth Lister, a feminist social policy scholar, invites us to consider that citizenship is always more than "a set of legal rules governing the relationship between the individual and the state" defined by those in authority. Citizenship is a constantly evolving "set of social relationships" defining the complicated interactions among individuals, communities, and the state.⁸ It is the result of people as active agents working within social and cultural relations of power. Lister suggests categories to differentiate two important elements of citizenship: the status of citizenship and the practice or performance of citizenship. Most Oregon women achieved the *status* of voting citizens in 1912, for example, but some women, including first-generation Asian American women and some Native American women, were still excluded by federal law from that status of citizenship through the war years and beyond. Oregon women were limited in their civic status as jurors until 1921, with some restrictions that continued until World War II. The Federal Expatriation Act of 1907 decreed that married women took on the citizenship of their husbands, which meant that women who were U.S. citizens who married non-citizen men lost their U.S. citizenship status. The Cable Act of 1922 began to address these barriers to women's full citizenship.⁹ During the World War I years and after, the public performance of absolute loyalty in programs such as the Liberty Loan drives exemplified the *practice* of citizenship requiring adherence to the behavior of patriotic motherhood and womanhood.¹⁰ Citizenship was not merely a status but also a set of practices that needed to be engaged in and proved again and again, and those who demonstrated their loyalty might make a stronger claim to citizenship status. Some women in this study envisioned citizenship as what Ernest Gellner later defined as the citizenship of shared experiences, ideas, "associations and ways of behaving and communicating," and shared concepts of "mutual rights and duties to each other" based on membership in a community — what other scholars have termed "social citizenship." Some clubwomen hoped that their wartime work would demonstrate the *citizenship of shared experience* with their male counterparts. And some women from ethnic communities and communities of color hoped that this shared experience would bridge the civic divide between themselves and other women citizens.¹¹



AS THIS POSTER for the 1919 Victory Liberty Loan suggests, U.S. officials encouraged residents from all nations to demonstrate their loyalty by purchasing war bonds. Some women in immigrant communities supported Liberty Loan drives as a way to demonstrate their claims to more complete citizenship.

During the World War and its aftermath, there were more agents of surveillance in American life than ever before, enforcing the sanctioned practices and performances of citizenship. These included the Bureau of Investigation in the Justice Department (soon to be known as the F.B.I.); the Secret Service (part of the Treasury Department); the Post Office and postal employees throughout the nation authorized to inspect the mail and to register and observe enemy aliens; the Army's Military Intelligence Division; local police forces augmented by wartime "vigilance" organizations of civilians such as the American Protective League, Home Guards, and The Vigilantes; and private forces such as the Pinkertons and the Burns Detective Agencies called on to quell strikes, challenge public demonstrations, and enforce draft laws. Members of Social Hygiene and other voluntary organizations policed sexuality and sexual expression based on

Progressive Era practices of private surveillance.¹²

Oregonians arguably experienced more surveillance than residents of many other states in the nation during these years. Prohibition began in the state in 1914, six years before the national ban on alcohol took effect. District Attorneys had state funds for undercover work in counties to root out alcohol sale and consumption, and enforcers could look beyond noncompliance with prohibition in their investigations. The Multnomah Guard, forerunner of the State Police, came to the Oregon scene earlier than similar groups in other states.¹³ During and after the war, Oregon had a nationally recognized system for detaining women suspected of venereal disease without due process.

Local agencies regularly worked with state and federal agencies, including the Department of Justice, the office of the U.S. Attorney, and the Military Intelligence Branch of the U.S. Army. Labor radicalism and support for the IWW focused local and federal resources on Oregon during the war and in the postwar "Red Scare."¹⁴ Portland's Marie Equi was surveilled intensively through Bureau of Investigation wiretaps and by undercover agents.¹⁵ It was in this context that Oregon women made their claims to wartime and postwar citizenship — some using the new tools of state scrutiny and some resisting those tools and their implications for civil liberties.

DURING THE WORLD WAR, Liberty Loan campaigns, like other homefront registrations and drives, emphasized the obligations and practice of citizenship by making it an intensely public performance and a matter for community scrutiny. Members of President Woodrow Wilson's administration, led by Treasury Secretary William Gibbs McAdoo, needed to finance the nation's participation in the war but were unwilling to disclose its real costs. Administrators chose instead to "mobilize emotions" with a series of four Liberty Loan and one Victory Loan campaigns during and immediately after the war. Residents purchased government bonds with at least a 10 percent down payment, and the federal government pledged to repay the "loan" with below market interest after the war. In McAdoo's words, the Wilson administration "capitalized [monetized] the profound impulse called patriotism."¹⁶ What followed was an increasingly brutal public propaganda campaign to persuade Americans to purchase millions of dollars of bonds again and again with posters, speakers, rallies, public shaming, intimidation, surveillance, and violence. The Liberty Loan campaigns became powerful tools to craft a wartime civic message. Citizenship, now called 100% Americanism, required everyone, immigrant and native-born, wealthy and poor alike, regardless of gender, to demonstrate loyalty by purchasing bonds and by policing everyone else to assure compliance. The federal government reached into homes, rooming houses, and apartments by mobilizing local residents, especially women, as canvassers and agents of these new civic imperatives in the practice of citizenship.

The participation of women in Oregon and the nation was vital to the success of wartime and postwar Liberty Loan drives. The Wilson administration harnessed the power of women and their organizations to assist with loan campaigns by creating the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee (NWLLC) in May 1917, just over a month after the United States entered the conflict. The organization was in force until the final Victory Loan drive ended in spring 1919. Headed by Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, daughter of the president and wife of the secretary of the treasury, the NWLLC was housed in the Treasury Department. National NWLLC leaders connected with established women's organizations in

the states to administer local efforts and worked with male state, county, and city committees already in place.¹⁷ Clubwoman and suffragist Sarah A. Evans chaired all of the Oregon Woman's Liberty Loan drives, with local, city, and county women working under her direction. The Oregon State Federation of Women's Clubs, the umbrella organization of the state's White women's clubs that Evans had chaired from 1905 to 1915, was part of the NWLLC Advisory Board. Evans attended the national NWLLC conference in Chicago in July 1918 to represent the state and report on state activities. Oregon Liberty Loan director Edward Cookingham appointed Evans to the state Liberty Loan executive board and instructed county chairs to include women "wherever they can be used to the best advantage."¹⁸

The Liberty and Victory Loan campaigns, as with so many other aspects of homefront life during the conflict, took place in an increasingly intrusive wartime culture of public display and surveillance that became the new measure of the performance of citizenship. Campaign administrators created special pins, window cards, and placards for those who contributed, and they described people wearing and households displaying them as loyal Americans and those who did not as "slackers" and un-American. By the Third Liberty Loan, local committees used a "pre-campaign household questionnaire" to discover and document very personal information for each individual in their districts, to be sent to a state "ratings committee" to determine how much each person should pay. Officials asked respondents to list their name, address, nationality, and financial information. The city of Medford's committee recruited bank employees to scrutinize financial records; Salem and Grants Pass committees used county property tax records. Klamath County committee members asked the superintendent of the Klamath Indian Reservation to determine amounts that Bureau of Indian Affairs employees and Klamath Indian residents should be asked to pay based on their finances.¹⁹ State officials rated respondents on a color-coded card signifying financial status, with a specific donation amount they were expected to pledge, and distributed the completed cards to district supervisors and to individual canvassers. State Liberty Loan officials also instructed local workers to "solicit *everyone* who receives an income of any kind," even if there was no card on file, and to complete a card "whether they subscribe or not." If residents declined to subscribe, loan representatives were to write down the reasons in detail. The completed forms would "constitute a card index census" of each district "for future use" that was "*just as important as taking orders for bonds.*" Yellow cards for "slackers" would be sent to the U.S. Justice Department for individual investigation. Newspapers reported that the cards would be kept in an official file.²⁰ Editors printed the names of subscribers for each successive loan campaign in local papers with the dollar amounts they pledged.

Some printed the names and sometimes the addresses of the "slackers" for public inspection.²¹

Some loan workers went beyond these levels of surveillance. A month before the Third Liberty Loan in spring 1918, the *Oregon Journal* announced a campaign to encourage every Portlander to join The Vigilantes, led locally by City Auditor George W. Funk and Deputy District Attorney Richard Deich. Vigilantes reported "seditious utterances and acts to a special committee which turns material over to the government to be acted upon."²² When Oregon became the first state to surpass its subscription quota in the Third Loan it garnered national attention and an "honor flag," but this achievement also increased the pressure to attain the same or better results in subsequent drives.²³ By the Fourth Liberty Loan drive in fall 1918, support was lagging; many people had already subscribed during the three previous campaigns. Oregon's pledge quota was almost \$40 million.²⁴ State Liberty Loan officials decided on a pre-campaign drive, pressuring everyone to commit to public pledges before the official start, with "I Am Pledged" ribbons to be worn as rewards for supporters and public scorn for those who had no ribbon. In this context, The Portland Vigilantes committee decided to "hunt down" those who had not subscribed or those whom they believed could afford to take on more bonds to save Oregon's reputation. They mobilized the Multnomah Guard, a paramilitary group, as a force of "special solicitors" to go door-to-door to pressure residents to donate.²⁵

Liberty Loan officials and workers expanded the levels of community surveillance and reinforced the message of public displays of loyalty as a citizen's obligation by using the tools and strategies of mass popular culture and advertising from other modern campaigns, such as the votes for women movement.²⁶ These included powerful visual images in pamphlets, posters, and advertisements as well as the enlistment of community members in parades and pageants. In the central Oregon community of Bend, organizers created an intense Third Liberty Loan campaign with the pre-campaign questionnaires, specialized pamphlets for both city residents and farmers, a "Ring Me Again" Liberty Bell placard for all residential and business doorknobs, and a kickoff rally and parade.²⁷ Eugene workers constructed an imposing dial outside the city train station to measure contributions.²⁸ Zealous Portland boosters constructed a "Liberty Temple" on Southwest Sixth Avenue in the heart of the city as a stage on which to present and perform the city's Third Liberty Loan drive and all subsequent Liberty Loan activities. A banner with running totals for bond purchases topped the Liberty Temple as a constant reminder of the need to participate and of the pressure to meet expectations.²⁹ Tillamook residents dedicated their Liberty Temple in April, and Bend residents in November 1918.³⁰

Many Oregon women embraced the wartime Liberty Loan drives to demonstrate their equal wartime service with men. They laid claim to a more



THIS “RING ME AGAIN” Liberty Bell placard for the Third Liberty Loan in 1918 was part of an extensive effort to promote public displays of loyalty to government wartime policies and the performance of citizenship during the First World War with increased surveillance of individuals and groups.

complete civic identity through the practice of citizenship with loyal and visible 100% Americanism, and through the citizenship of shared experience, rights, and duties as co-laborers with local men on loan drives. Purchasing bonds was a public demonstration of the practice of loyal wartime citizenship. Women subscribed to Liberty Loans as individuals and enhanced the visibility of their organizations by subscribing to a bond as a club or workplace group. Members of the Dallas and St. Helens Woman’s Clubs and the Portland Woman’s Christian Temperance Union purchased \$50 bonds, the smallest amount available. Members of the Portland Woman’s Club and the Portland American Association of University Women each invested \$300 as organizations.³¹ Cleaners and laundry workers at the Multnomah Hotel and loom operators at the Portland Woolen Mills bought bonds on installment. The 600-member Portland Grade Teachers’ Association pledged

\$1,000 of their organization’s budget for bonds, and their individual subscriptions equaled 100 percent of the membership.³² The Portland Derthick Music Club voted to tax each member sixty cents to purchase one club Liberty Bond of \$50.³³ Women also found creative and public ways to gather funds. The Pendleton Women’s Liberty Loan Committee linked bond purchases with community Christmas shopping. Corvallis Woman’s Club members held a series of Liberty Loan Bond dances; the Portland Women’s Research Club held a card party. McMinnville residents could not miss the “Liberty Girls” in uniforms and hats on the city streets.³⁴

In addition to purchasing bonds, some Oregon women organized, administered, and canvassed in the loan drives across the state, work that state director Evans believed increased their claims to a citizenship of shared experience,

rights, and duties with Oregon men. In her final report to the NWLLC, Evans emphasized “what has been growing since the women of Oregon began work of this nature; that is, the respect that the men have come to have for women’s work” and the “feeling [men] have that a movement of this kind is benefitted by the cooperation of the work of men and women.”³⁵ The organization of the national woman’s committee, and state and local affiliates, brought increased credit, but also a more intense spotlight, on women’s loan drive work. Evans called on members of the Oregon Equal Suffrage Alliance, with their statewide reach and support for women’s full citizenship, to manage women’s work in the Second Liberty Loan in fall 1917. Suffrage Alliance members held key administrative roles in all of the subsequent loan campaigns.³⁶ By the time of the Third Liberty Loan in spring 1918, Evans had established committees for work among clubwomen and women of color, religious congregations, women in immigrant communities, wage-earning women, and teachers. Katherine (Mrs. H.M.) Gray headed the committee representing the State Federation of Colored Women for work among Black women, and Irma (Mrs. Charles E.) Sears chaired a committee to canvass “foreign speaking women.”³⁷ Julia (Mrs.



THE LIBERTY TEMPLE, pictured here in 1918, became a public stage for the city’s campaign to compel residents to support the war effort by purchasing Liberty Bonds. It featured a banner with a running total of the city and state contributions, underscoring the pressure to meet expectations. The Portland Liberty Temple was the site of an “indignation meeting” against Portland librarian M. Louise Hunt.

Isaac) Swett, a prominent member of the Council of Jewish Women, chaired the organization committee, and Ida V. Jontz, director of the Portland Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), had charge of work among members of her organization. The Oregon Woman's Committee had a "woman's desk" at Portland's Liberty Temple under the direction of Gretchen (Mrs. Henry Ladd) Corbett and an office in the Northwestern Bank building.³⁸

For some women who were members of Portland's immigrant communities, the Liberty Loan drives offered particular possibilities to engage in the performance of citizenship and the citizenship of shared experience as part of their broader negotiations of civic and community acceptance. Irma Mentz Sears, a second-generation Austrian American married to a prominent Portland physician, was in charge of the Third Loan work among immigrant women.³⁹ She enlisted first- and second-generation immigrant women and also native-born clubwomen with second-language skills to work with her as translators and mediators. Her corps visited Japanese, Chinese, Spanish-speaking, Italian, Armenian, Syrian, French, and Scandinavian women in door-to-door canvasses of their homes.⁴⁰ Hazel Cartozian, who had come to Portland with her Armenian parents from Turkey, canvassed with notable success among the small but visible community of Armenian Portlanders for the Third Liberty Loan.⁴¹

As public support (and dollars to invest) began to wane with the Fourth Loan in September 1918 and the Victory Loan in May 1919, male administrators gave over more and more of the work to the woman's committee members, particularly in Portland. By the time of the postwar Victory Loan, the Portland Men's Committee had disbanded and did not reorganize to begin planning until ten days before the scheduled start of the campaign. Evans asked all women workers to fill out and return a form with their personal information and a pledge to participate in the upcoming drive and to add "the name of an additional worker, one who has not served before," at the bottom of their card. The Woman's Committee took out advertisements in Portland papers pleading for volunteers and warning "we will fail in our trust if more women willing to act as precinct captains do not volunteer at once." Leaders of the Men's Committee asked the women to "take over the entire management of 260 precincts out of the entire 300 in the city" with a house-to-house canvass. Portland chair Estelle (Mrs. Charles) Curry characterized the campaign as "high pressure" but successful because women worked hard and "rose to the occasion" to prove themselves.⁴² Oregon women claimed direct credit for an increasing percentage of results statewide: 8 percent of the money raised in the Third Loan, 38 percent in the Fourth, and 50 percent (totaling \$14,250,000) for the Fifth Victory Loan in the spring of 1919.⁴³ Many clubwomen no doubt saw these results as evidence of their successful practice of loyal wartime civic roles and their increased presence in Oregon's political and civic life in a shared citizenship with men. Others may also have seen the final loan drives

as an example of men leaving time-consuming, hard work to women at the end of an exhausting succession of campaigns.

Women who helped administer and facilitate the Liberty Loan drives faced a dilemma. To count, to be seen as successful in the practice of wartime citizenship, and to be defined as loyal American citizens, they had to contribute their own labor and money to the campaigns. But they had also to count, survey, and surveil other women in the process. Liberty Loan officials militarized women canvassers as lieutenants and captains to link their work with the war effort and emphasized the civic consequence of purchasing bonds by organizing via voting precincts. But their buttons and badges and the bundles of cards they carried also marked women loan drive workers as agents for state policies that policed other women. For many women organizers, participation became such an important way to engage in the visible practice of female citizenship and to prove Oregon women's 100% Americanism that they did not accord other women residents and citizens the freedom of choice to participate. They curtailed and violated some women's citizenship rights to achieve rights of their own. Detailed canvassing records do not appear to exist, but two case studies enable us to investigate these relationships in more detail. The first is Portland clubwomen's condemnation of city librarian M. Louise Hunt's insistence on her civil right to dissent and refuse to purchase Liberty Bonds in the Third drive in April 1918. The second is Evans's statewide organization of "mother's parades" for the Fourth drive in September 1918.

Members of the Portland Federation of Women's Clubs, a coalition of White women's organizations whose members were at the center of the city's Liberty Loan activities, condemned assistant city librarian Hunt after she refused to purchase a Liberty Bond in the Third Loan drive in April 1918.⁴⁴ Hunt, who had come to Portland to work at the Central Library in 1910, joined the Oregon Social Workers' Association and became active in reform and civic affairs among the city's progressive citizens. As a professional woman interested in city reform and in the library's place as part of that work, she had many things in common with members of the Portland Federation of Women's Clubs.⁴⁵ During the Third Loan drive, investigators discovered that Hunt refused to purchase a bond and sent Hunt's case to U.S. Attorney for Oregon, Bert Haney, and special Bureau of Investigation agent, William Byron. Hunt acknowledged that she would not purchase a bond, concluding in her official statement: "I merely wish to claim the constitutional right privately to hold a minority opinion." Library board members gave way to pressure from a torrent of angry Liberty Loan officials, editors, members of city organizations and clubs, residents writing letters to newspapers, and condemnation from Withycombe and Portland Mayor George Baker; they accepted Hunt's resignation on April 15.⁴⁶

Portland clubwomen joined the "storm of patriotic wrath" and condemned Hunt at the monthly meeting of the Portland Federation of Women's Clubs in

the midst of the controversy. Some 150 delegates representing the 50 member organizations voted unanimously to “protest against any exoneration” for Hunt and “against the retention of any person in the library service who displayed disloyalty to the government” or the nation’s “war policies.”⁴⁷ Some clubwomen were almost certainly among the Liberty Loan workers protesting at Portland’s Liberty Temple “indignation meeting” that culminated in a resolution against Hunt. Fury turned to “great anxiety” when Liberty Loan supporters realized that the Hunt controversy might hurt the Third Loan drive still in process.⁴⁸

As rumors swirled around the halls of the Liberty Temple, in club meetings, and across the pages of newspapers in the city, Hunt came to represent the antithesis of moral and patriotic womanhood that was the foundation of the practice of female wartime citizenship. When newspapers broke the story, editors included details of Hunt’s interrogation by two male Liberty Loan officials. They asked Hunt “if she realized what the Huns were doing and had done in France and Belgium, the cruelties they had practiced and were practicing, and women being ravished,” with *ravish* a euphemism, printable in the newspaper, for the word *rape*. Did Hunt not “think that she should support our boys who were fighting to protect her from the same fate”? According to their statement, Hunt said she was “ready to suffer anything rather than to buy a bond.”⁴⁹ Hunt, however, “denied that she welcomed attack by the Huns rather than invest in a Liberty bond.”⁵⁰ But the interrogators’ story was a better fit for many observers. Hunt, Salem’s *Capital Journal* asserted, would “rather be ravished by a Hun than support the United States in this war.” The editors of the *Eugene Daily Guard* considered Hunt’s claim that she would “sooner be ravished by a Hun than contribute to the support of America” to be “the most amazing incident that has occurred in the state of Oregon since the United States entered the war.”⁵¹

These depictions cast librarian Louise Hunt as a woman who would rather be raped than purchase a bond, or even as a prostitute betraying her country with the enemy. Her ideas and actions threatened the morality, and therefore the civic safety, of the city as well as the tenets of patriotic womanhood and motherhood. One opponent argued that Hunt had to be fired to keep her from “coming in contact with boys and girls” at the public library. Baker declared Hunt’s attitude “an insult to the motherhood of our nation.”⁵² Less than three months later, a grand jury indicted Marie Equi for violating the Sedition Act in a speech at Portland’s IWW Hall. As Michael Helquist and Kathleen Kennedy demonstrate, Equi’s conviction was also a consequence of what we today would call her lesbian identity.⁵³ Civic leaders and followers condemned both Hunt and Equi for violating the practice of proper patriotic motherhood and womanhood required of female citizens, but for different reasons. They presumed Hunt to be heterosexual, but portrayed her as dangerous, immoral, and

out-of-bounds sexually. They also defined Equi’s homosexuality and her radical politics as treacherous behavior, antithetical to patriotic womanhood and, therefore, to the female citizen. Patriotic womanhood and motherhood now stood for expectations of heterosexual “morality” and “purity” for all women in the practice of wartime citizenship. Civic safety required that violators be punished.⁵⁴

Patriotic motherhood and womanhood were also at the forefront of Evans’s signature contribution to the Liberty Loan drives, the “mothers’ parades” held in association with the Fourth Liberty Loan in September 1918. While other cities and states held Liberty Loan parades, those specifically planned as war mothers’ marches, featuring women whose sons were serving in the military and those whose sons had died in service, appear to have happened only in Oregon under Evans’s direction.⁵⁵ The Fourth Liberty Loan, as noted above, took place when most Oregonians were exhausted with drives and registrations and by the toll of the conflict. Parade planning reflected Evans’s desire for detail and organization for maximum success, her long experience with organizing women in her club and suffrage work, and also her desire to feature women’s sacrifices for the nation during the war in a public display of civic loyalty. Evans asked women in every city to sponsor mothers of soldiers in a special march, what she described as “a pageant in which every member has made a sacrifice which dollars cannot match” to persuade Oregonians to make the Liberty Bond pledge yet again.⁵⁶ Most cities added wives and children of soldiers to the parades; smaller communities invited all women residents to march, with soldiers’ mothers leading the way. Other towns provided automobiles for those mothers who might not be able to walk the distance or for wives with children in arms.⁵⁷



LOUISE HUNT, an assistant librarian at the Central Library branch in Portland, Oregon, was condemned by the Portland Federation of Women’s Clubs for refusing to purchase Liberty Bonds in April 1918, citing her civil right to dissent. Hunt is pictured here in a photograph taken for a U.S. Passport application in May 1924.

Ancestry.com, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, Roll #2527, certificate no. 421332

Many of the women who participated in the war mothers' parades may certainly have found strong meaning in the marches and in the support of the crowds of people on the sidelines. Yet the insistence on the part of Evans and other organizers that the mothers in the marches represented the ideal female citizen challenged the citizenship of other women who felt and believed differently. Preparation for and production of the parades also enhanced the coercive nature of the marches and the reach of the surveillance state, challenging the right to dissent and the civil liberties of those who saw other paths for female citizenship or those who simply wanted personal privacy. The *Oregon Journal* noted that "the woman who does not march will be the exception" and printed a statement purporting to be from a woman inquiring about the parade. "We out here feel that if marching in the parade will in any way promote the sale of bonds any woman who declines to do so would almost be entitled to the name of 'slacker.'"⁵⁸ Withycombe made a formal endorsement of the project, insisting on mothers' civic obligation to participate. "I believe it to be the positive patriotic duty as well as the sacred privilege of the honored women of Oregon to participate in the mothers' parade and I earnestly appeal to them to respond whole-heartedly."⁵⁹ True to the Liberty Loan tradition of publicity, Evans and local women in charge asked mothers to register with local committees before the parades. Newspapers then began to list the names of the women who were participating and called on others to register. The Klamath Falls *Evening Herald* went beyond this and printed the names of all women on record as having sons in the armed forces rather than just those who registered for the march.⁶⁰

As with clubwomen's response to Hunt's refusal to purchase a Liberty Bond, the practice of female citizenship as patriotic motherhood in the Oregon war mothers' parades empowered some women to police the civic lives of others. And as Erika Kuhlman has shown in the case of war widows, the politicization of women's lives as mothers and widows of soldiers cast women's citizenship as deriving from their relationship to men, rather than as a status they possessed as individual members of the state.⁶¹

THE LIBERTY LOAN DRIVES drew on a tradition of patriotic parades and pageants in Oregon and the nation, such as celebrations of the Fourth of July and other symbolic gatherings, including votes-for-women parades and community celebrations. Portland's annual Rose Festival parade, first held in 1907, created additional public traditions and spaces for a wide variety of residents to claim civic inclusion by marching with colorful floats adorned with memorable symbols of their community's contributions to Portland and Oregon life; immigrant communities, clubs, and organizations were among those taking advantage of this opportunity. And in the 1918 Portland Labor Day parade, women telephone and telegraph operators, garment and laundry workers,

and waitresses linked their claims for workplace justice with support for the war effort.⁶² The Liberty Loan drives were also part of a heightened politicization of fundraising and philanthropy as part of the practice of citizenship that extended beyond the campaigns for Liberty Bond purchases. This included work for the Red Cross, sponsorship of French and Belgian orphans, and contributions to groups such as the American Fund for the French Wounded. As the war years sharpened the call for a public demonstration of loyalty and 100% Americanism, some women used the heightened connections linking public space, pageantry, and politicized philanthropy to enhance their practice of citizenship. Those whose families came from nations among the Allied cause or national groups persecuted by nations at war with the United States could build on the citizenship of shared experience in their claims for more complete civic recognition.

Hazel Cartozian, who successfully canvassed her Armenian American community in Portland for the Third Liberty Loan in spring 1918, participated in a variety of civic projects beyond the loan drives. After attending classes in the commerce department at Portland's Franklin High School, she worked as a bookkeeper at the family's Cartozian Brothers Oriental Rug company in the city.⁶³ Cartozian represented Armenia in Portland's 1918 Fourth of July pageant. Organized as a "Panorama of Nations" with some ten thousand participants, the pageant featured sections composed of marchers who were immigrants from Allied and neutral countries. She was one of the seventeen women representing their heritage nations on a large float, standing in a circle around an "immense globe attached to which were shields representing the foreign countries" topped by the seated figure of the Goddess of Liberty with an "honor guard of soldiers, also of foreign birth."⁶⁴ Cartozian also represented Armenia for "All Nations Day" at the Oregon State Fair in Salem in September 1918 and in a "Pageant of Nations" at Portland's Star Theater during "Victory Week" immediately after the Armistice.⁶⁵

Cartozian also took a visible role in Armenian refugee and relief efforts in Portland during and after the conflict. Armenia, Syria, and other regions of the now disintegrating Ottoman Empire (allied with Germany in the Central Powers during the war) had been engulfed in conflict for centuries, and during and after the war years, Armenians, Syrians, and others, most of them Christian, fled genocide. Allied and Christian sympathies fostered large-scale humanitarian work for "Starving Armenians," including fundraising for orphans and refugees by groups such as the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, renamed Near East Relief after the war.⁶⁶ Portlanders organized various fundraising drives for Near East Relief on the model of Liberty Loans with local captains canvassing neighborhoods. Prominent men's organizations, civic clubs, and a women's division staffed with leading clubwomen joined Armenian and Syrian Portlanders in campaigns.⁶⁷ Cartozian made numerous



HAZEL CARTOZIAN made claims for a more complete female citizenship by participating in Near East Relief fundraising activities in Portland dressed in clothing from her native Armenia. Personalizing the suffering of the Armenian genocide, she promoted the citizenship of shared experience and alliance. This image appeared in the *Oregonian* on March 6, 1919.

honorary consul for China in the Pacific Northwest, Moy graduated from Lincoln High School in 1920 and thereafter worked as a stenographer in the family's Eastern Trading Company.⁷² Moy participated in Portland's canvassing for a nationwide campaign of famine relief for Northern China in 1921, modeled after community mobilization strategies of the Liberty Loan and Near East Relief drives, and took part in benefit concerts for the cause.⁷³ At a time when immigration exclusion was U.S. policy toward China, Moy and her friends helped establish a Chinese Student Association within Portland's YWCA, part of the "Girl Reserves" movement, and joined other young women in the city in various programs during and after the

presentations in traditional clothing to recount her experiences with the genocide as a child and the experiences of her extended family, personalizing the suffering as she connected with audiences.⁶⁸

Cartozian's work for Near East Relief took place when Armenian Americans were "on the boundary of White" in American society, during a period of what Michel Trouillot has identified as shifting "ideologies of ethnicity."⁶⁹ The 1909 *Halladjian* decision in Massachusetts had determined that Armenians were ethnically White and could become naturalized citizens, but policymakers challenged that right through denial of first naturalization papers to Armenian applicants. The Oregon District U.S. Court challenged Hazel's father T.O. Cartozian's eligibility for naturalization and Whiteness in 1924. Hazel was one of the defense witnesses called to establish that Armenian Americans "are generally considered white and mingle on terms of social equality with Americans" and to emphasize Armenian women's progressivism. The court granted Cartozian's right to naturalized citizenship.⁷⁰

Pearl Moy, who shared the stage with Hazel Cartozian at the Oregon State Fair's "All Nation's Day" and the "Pageant of Nations" at the Star Theater in 1918, worked to build an image of patriotic Chinese American womanhood and emphasized the citizenship of shared experience in support of the recognition of Chinese Americans.⁷¹ The daughter of Moy Back Hin, who was a successful Portland business owner and

conflict.⁷⁴ Advocates within this Chinese student group and the Chinese American community of Portland worked in fall 1919 to change the policy of the Portland YWCA to give the women "the same privileges of the [swimming] pool as other members have" as one small measure of integration into the dominant White community.⁷⁵

In April 1922, the *Oregonian* ran a full-page article on the front page of the women's section of the Sunday edition with photographs of Moy and four other Chinese American women of Portland under the title "Chinese Student Life is Found Full of Interest and Delight." Moy and her friends were "some of the finest types of citizens." Native-born, educated, elite modern women, they were taking their place "in the western [as] well as the eastern world."⁷⁶ Moy was taking additional business classes at Commerce High School to become a business woman, "capable of taking charge of [her] own affairs" and "capable of managing the business interests or of assisting [her] father." Moy was "versed in the affairs of the day" and could "converse entertainingly," something that "many an Anglo-Saxon girl would envy." All of the women were "up-to-date American Chinese business or college girl[s]" who kept the "charm and modesty" of Chinese women and were "capable of great influence for good."⁷⁷

Pearl Moy and Hazel Cartozian's negotiations of both the practice of citizenship and the citizenship of shared experience did not have a direct line to full civic recognition and acceptance by the dominant White community. They were constrained by the rules linking women's civic roles with Whiteness and Protestant Christianity, in addition to respectability, loyalty, and patriotic pageantry. Nevertheless, their stories suggest important small victories, from the U.S. District Courthouse for Cartozian to the pages of the *Oregonian* and the YWCA swimming pool for Moy.

Organized and individual Black women in Oregon during and after the World War



PEARL MOY (CENTER) worked to build community recognition of patriotic Chinese American womanhood through public pageantry affirming the ties of Allied nations and fundraising for famine relief in Northern China after the war. This image appeared in the *Oregonian* on March 13, 1921.

took steps to address the ambiguous place accorded them by dominant White policymakers and facilitators of wartime and postwar programs. Most were native-born citizens, but the promise of civic recognition for those who performed loyal 100% Americanism and the citizenship of shared experience failed to hold. As a result, Black women worked within the public space of civic responsibility and obligation, but also pursued their own agendas, fighting discrimination on the homefront and abroad at the same time as they organized to build their claims for citizenship and inclusion as women in Oregon and the nation.⁷⁸

Under Katherine Gray's direction, members of the Oregon Federation of Colored Women's Clubs canvassed in the Liberty Loan drives that did so much to measure public performances of citizenship during the war. And in April 1918, Gray organized and chaired the Colored Women's Patriotic Drive Association to gather and support Black community participation and staffing for the city's dozens of wartime projects.⁷⁹ Seven Black women marched in Evans's war mothers' parade in Portland in September 1918. The editors of the *Oregon Journal* noted the crowd's ovation for them as they passed through the line of march with their service flags, "one carrying a flag with two stars" representing two sons in military service.⁸⁰ A month before the mothers' parade, scores of women marchers had represented the Black community in a parade and public reception at Portland's Municipal Auditorium to send off fifty Black men from Portland and eight from around Oregon to army service at Camp Lewis, emphasizing the homefront and warfront support and service of Oregon's Black residents. For the occasion, representatives of the Rosebud Study Group marched in the form and pageantry that defined loyal citizens on the homefront, dressed in Red Cross uniforms reminiscent of local and national woman suffrage parades.⁸¹ But a week after the event, White clubwoman Clara (Mrs. Robert) Inman contracted with the Council to "cook, serve, and wash dishes for future patriotic entertainments." The *Oregonian* reported: "Mrs. Inman says that in her opinion colored cooks are the best, and beginning with last Friday's affair at The Auditorium she gave the colored women a chance to prove themselves along this line."⁸² If the positive practice of citizenship meant loyalty and patriotic service, the Woman's Council and Federation had proved themselves; but White racism continued to deny fully realized citizenship for Black women.

Black clubwomen in Oregon challenged this racist recasting of loyal Americanism with continued patriotic activities but also with purposeful parallel work for their empowerment as women citizens and as members of Portland and Oregon's Black community. The Colored Women's Republican Club, led by Lizzie Weeks, organized voter registration drives and candidate talks to inform Black voters about vital political issues.⁸³ The Portland Colored Women's Council published a four-page weekly newspaper, the *People's*

Bulletin, with information on community, church, and club events. The *Bulletin* became the paper of record for the Colored Women's Republican Club and the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.⁸⁴ Federation members pledged to work for "social work, charity and uplift" and to fight "the four great evils: Segregation, disfranchisement, Jim Crow Car [segregation in transportation], and lynching and mob violence."⁸⁵

During the World War, community women began to explore the process for the creation of a "colored branch" of the Portland YWCA. Like other Black clubwomen, Portlanders opposed the segregation on which the branch idea rested while recognizing its potential for leadership and community betterment. Mabel Byrd, a graduate of Portland's Washington High School and the University of Washington, returned to Portland in the spring of 1921 to serve as the first secretary of the Black YW branch. The branch opened in a temporary building at Williams Avenue and Tillamook Street in Northeast Portland in October 1921. A permanent structure on the same site came in June 1926.⁸⁶

Byrd's two years' leadership at the Williams Avenue YW continued the work of the practice of citizenship, the citizenship of shared experience, and community uplift activities in the face of continuing racism, what Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham has called the "politics of respectability."⁸⁷ At the core of Byrd's work was the development of the Crystal Corps Girls Reserve section for young women.⁸⁸ She also helped make the Williams Avenue YW a center for all Black residents of Portland. Just months after the opening, seven community women's clubs were holding regular meetings at this center, and regular YW activities served 2,500.⁸⁹ With the sponsorship of the Social Workers' Association and the Williams Avenue YW, Byrd facilitated Oregon speaking engagements for scholar and civil rights leader Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on his West Coast tour in March 1923 at Portland's Lincoln High School, Temple Beth Israel, First Congregational Church, and Reed College, and in Eugene at the University of Oregon.⁹⁰ Portland City Commissioners refused to support a plan to employ Byrd as a special social service caseworker among Black women in the city, a proposal backed by the Women's Protective Division of the police and the Public Welfare Bureau in addition to the YWCA.⁹¹ And even though the Portland YW board had voted to accept members of the Chinese American student group on equal terms in the building's swimming pool, Byrd's work to achieve the same status for Black members was not successful. Black women could use the facility only under segregated conditions.⁹² In the summer of 1923, Byrd decided to leave Portland for New York for additional training at the YWCA in Harlem and embarked on an academic and activist career thereafter.⁹³ At her departure, Black women in Portland could count many civic achievements as well as continuing challenges.



MABEL BYRD returned to Portland after her 1921 graduation from the University of Washington to lead the work of the Williams Avenue YWCA. Byrd helped to enrich Portland's Black communities and to build women's activism in the city. She is pictured here in the 1921 *Tyee* yearbook of the University of Washington.

IN JANUARY 1923, four years after the final Victory Liberty Loan campaign, members of the newly established Portland Americanization Council sponsored another city-wide house-to-house canvass of residents. This time, their goal was to create a "Survey of the Foreign-Born" of the city. Organizers hoped to draw on the practices of citizenship that had motivated Oregonians, particularly women, to tireless efforts in wartime Liberty Loan campaigns. An analysis of this Survey of the Foreign-Born suggests that the wartime patterns of participation and policing of others still held in some measure by the time of this 1923 survey, but also that women demonstrated significant resistance to the canvass on both sides of the door.

The Survey of the Foreign-Born of 1923 took place in the midst of a strong push for Americanization as the practice of 100 percent loyalty in the years immediately after the World War. Responding to fears of labor and political radicalism and disloyalty and to nativist worries about the assimilation of immigrants, a host of policymakers and community leaders in Oregon and the nation initiated

and expanded various Americanization projects, including restrictive immigration measures, citizen-only land ownership, and Ku Klux Klan-supported anti-Catholic restrictions on private schools. Oregon women responded to and shaped Americanization projects in a variety of ways that spanned the activist and political spectrum. Women from immigrant communities and communities of color — such as Hazel Cartozian and Pearl Moy — shaped their calls for civic inclusion in this context. Radical women and women active in labor struggles challenged the restrictive provisions of 100% Americanism and the repression of the IWW in 1919. Teachers, former teachers, and women who worked with Parent Teacher Associations focused on the importance of facility with English as a second language as a way to empower mothers of school-age children and supported Americanization classes for this purpose.⁹⁴ Social workers at the Council of Jewish Women's Neighborhood House offered English and civics classes.⁹⁵ Conservative clubwoman Helen Ayer (Mrs. Lee) Davenport

advocated immigration restriction because she believed the "foreign-born" were the cause of anarchism and labor unrest, and she linked Americanization with Eugenics by advocating "admitting only those who physically, mentally, and morally are fitted to be good citizens."⁹⁶ Members of the Ladies of the Invisible Empire associated with the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon used the language of the Americanization movement in outlining the objectives of the group, including "teach[ing] unqualified allegiance to the American government, its constitution" and "advocat[ing] such stringent immigration laws as will prevent the landing upon our shores of all undesirable aliens."⁹⁷

Many Oregon women supported Americanization programs to assist immigrant women's transition to voting as U.S. citizens.⁹⁸ The links between Americanization and voting took on an increased urgency when the Cable Act was passed in the fall of 1922, ending the requirement in place since 1907



THE PEOPLE'S BULLETIN, the paper of record for the Oregon State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and the Colored Women's Republican Club, was published by Black clubwomen in Oregon during the First World War to build community, demonstrate claims of citizenship, and document wartime activism. A front page detail of the June 7, 1919, issue is pictured here.

that U.S.-born women take on the citizenship of their non-citizen husbands (the requirement still applied to women married to Asian men still ineligible for citizenship).⁹⁹ As club leader Vella Winner put it, the Cable Act brought opportunity but more work. “While the American born woman does not lose her citizenship through marriage to a man of foreign birth, the foreign born woman no longer becomes a citizen through the naturalization of her husband.” Now, Winner noted, “she must learn the language and something of the fundamental principles of our government and the responsibilities of citizenship, before she can become a naturalized citizen.”¹⁰⁰ The Cable Act also reinforced the need for all women to be educated to fulfill their obligations of citizenship and civic life, including voting.

By 1922, Portland Americanization efforts had spurred the formal creation of a citywide, male-dominated Americanization Council. That fall, after the passage of the Cable Act, the council determined to conduct a house-to-house survey of the city’s foreign-born residents with a focus on those who spoke no English, some six thousand people according to the council’s estimates. Plans for the survey had been in the works for a year or more, but it is likely that the Cable Act engendered a renewed focus on reaching immigrant women with the survey. The mostly male members of the council took on the visible administrative work but asked clubwomen to volunteer to take on all of the canvassing tasks of the survey, which to many women may have felt like a repeat of the 1919 Victory Loan drive.¹⁰¹ In January 1923, a thousand women signed up to survey the city. Cathrine Bradshaw, field secretary of the council, used the same precinct plan on which wartime Liberty Loan drives had been organized and invited the presidents and Americanization officers of every women’s organization in the city to plan for the survey. Sylvia Thompson, former state representative and president of the Portland Federation of Women’s Clubs, worked with Bradshaw and volunteers from women’s organizations to staff the council office for the survey and to help process results.¹⁰²

At first glance, the Portland Survey of the Foreign-Born resembled a restaging of the Liberty and Victory Loans and other wartime canvassing. But as the survey work unfolded, important differences emerged. No women of color or their organizations were listed among participants, and no organizations representing national heritage communities (other than the Italian Baptist Mission) appear to have participated. After the build-up in the press and among women’s clubs, there was a lack of coverage or discussion about the results of the survey that bordered on silence, a powerful departure from the wartime patterns of copious press coverage during and after such events.¹⁰³ Two weeks into the effort, the hundreds of canvassers had turned in about 1,200 cards in various stages of completion. This 20 percent return rate demonstrated some success, but it was small in comparison to wartime drives such as the Liberty Loans. The lack of public fanfare suggests disappointing results for organizers.

WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING PRECINCT CAPTAINS AND CANVASSERS FOR THE SURVEY OF THE FOREIGN-BORN, JANUARY TO FEBRUARY 1923	
American Association of University Women	Portland Progressive Women’s League
American Legion	Portland Psychology Club
Catholic Women’s League	Portland Woman’s Club
Council of Jewish Women, Portland Section	Portland Women’s Research Club
Daughters of the American Revolution, Oregon	United Spanish War Veterans, Scout Young Auxiliary
Daughters of the American Revolution, Willamette Chapter	Travelers’ Protection Association, Women’s Auxiliary
Hotel Greeters of America, Ladies’ Auxiliary	Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)
Housewives’ Council	Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, Gresham Branch
League of Women Voters, Oregon Branch	Woman’s Relief Corps, George Wright Chapter
National Postal Transport Association, Women’s Auxiliary, Portland Branch	Woman’s Relief Corps, Oregon State
Oregon State Graduate Nurses Association	Woman’s Relief Corps, William McKinley Chapter
Overlook Woman’s Improvement Club	Women’s Overseas Service League, Portland Branch
Portland Grade Teachers’ Association	

THE ABOVE LIST OF WOMEN’S organizations that assisted in the 1923 Portland, Oregon, Survey of the Foreign-Born was compiled by the author from the following sources: “Foreign Born Survey to be Begun Monday,” *Oregon Journal*, January 21, 1923; “City Wide Survey Aids Foreign Born,” *Oregonian*, February 4, 1923; and Club Records from the collections of the Oregon Historical Society Research Library.

By June, Oregon Federation of Women’s Clubs citizenship chair Vella Winner reported with uncharacteristic vagueness: “Cards bearing useful information concerning the thousands of foreign born people living in Portland are now on file in the office of the Americanization Council.”¹⁰⁴ White clubwomen did

not appear to exhibit the sustained support of the work and community surveillance required for the Survey of the Foreign-Born to match the wartime Liberty Bond drives. Very few women from immigrant or ethnic communities seem to have canvassed, and members of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs did not take part.

The silences and vagueness around the results of the survey also suggest that the "foreign-born" Portlanders targeted by the council did not wish to participate, found the survey process frustrating or insulting, or were suspicious about the motives of the organizers. Field secretary Bradshaw reported, "we found women who had lived in Portland many years without being called upon by American women very skeptical as to the purpose of our calling at so late a date."¹⁰⁵ In one of the few direct reports from a woman worker, Woodlawn precinct captain Ina Coleman noted that many respondents "slammed the door" and said "I wish the agents would let me alone."¹⁰⁶ Only three completed cards from the Portland Americanization survey appear to have survived. One is from a Swedish couple and another is from an Italian couple, both among Portland's working class residents. Canvassers were asking for a great deal of personal information that residents, especially non-citizen residents, might find intrusive and dangerous to answer. Survey cards asked for name, address, sex, nationality, length of residence in the United States and in Oregon, citizenship status (including whether a resident had filed "first papers" for naturalization), number of children, and whether the resident could speak, read, and write English. The final card reads simply, "Not in" and has a street address. It represents, perhaps, residents who did not wish to answer the door or to be at home during the publicized canvassing for the Americanization Council for any number of reasons having to do with personal privacy and security in the face of such public surveillance.¹⁰⁷ The Portland Americanization Council did not conduct another survey.¹⁰⁸

WHEN WITHYCOMBE PROCLAIMED it was Oregon war mothers' "positive patriotic duty" to march for Liberty Bonds, he joined officials and policymakers across the nation who called on women to enact a new, intensive practice of 100% Americanism and patriotic motherhood and womanhood with absolute loyalty to government war aims as the expression of female citizenship. But Withycombe and other officials were not the only ones who supported this expression of civic identity. Some Oregon women engaged in this practice of female citizenship for their own reasons. They included Sarah Evans and the White clubwomen who organized and canvassed in Liberty Bond drives, Black clubwomen who, with Katherine Gray, supported bond work as a way to claim a more complete female and Black citizenship, and Pearl Moy and

RECORD FOR SOLICITOR
(Solicitor: Tear this off and return it to Committee Chairman)

I want to come to a night class in American language or American history conducted by the public schools at

.....School.....3 nights a week

Name..... Street
..... Nationality.....

Address

I want to come to a class in American Language or Civics but cannot come to a class at the public school on the night specified. Therefore I want to enter a volunteer group class meeting twice a week.

Name *Mrs. E. T. Abramson* Nationality *Swedish*

Address *544 - E Kelly*

Name *E. T. Abramson* Nationality *Swedish*

Address *544 E Kelly*

(Male) (Female) American Citizen (Yes) (No) First Papers (Yes) (No)

Speaks English..... (Fluently) (Somewhat) (Very little)

Reads English *No* Writes English *No*

How long in America?..... How long in Oregon?.....

How many children living? *5 or 6*

Do they speak English? *Yes*

Are they citizens? *Yes*

Do not attempt to obtain information unless the person interviewed seems willing to answer. Approach him in the friendliest spirit.

E.T. ABRAMSON'S AND MRS. ABRAMSON'S SURVEY CARD from the Portland Americanization Council's 1923 Survey of the Foreign-born is pictured above. In the growing surveillance state, many residents may have felt uncomfortable providing detailed answers about their status requested by the council on the cards.

Hazel Cartozian, whose participation in the pageants of Allied nations and national philanthropy linked their own citizenship with the shared experience of others in Oregon. It is important to remember that their actions also took place in the context of repressive laws limiting and penalizing dissent in the growing surveillance state. Their actions were not simply “choices” free of consequences. As the cases of librarian M. Louise Hunt and Sarah Evans’s war mothers’ parades demonstrate, some women practiced a kind of female citizenship by policing the civic roles of other women. Many saw in these new wartime imperatives an opportunity to claim a more complete female civic status through participation in wartime programs. Yet female citizenship based solely on patriotic motherhood made all women’s civic roles dependent on their relationship to men or on behavior in compliance with such a vision of womanhood. The growing surveillance state linked with these programs also challenged women’s civil liberties.

This study suggests the importance of considering the ideas and events of the First World War homefront as a set of cultural processes that drew on the years that preceded the war and had a powerful impact on the years that followed. Oregon clubwomen who had campaigned for female suffrage as a key element of the *status* of full female citizenship, and who achieved that standing in 1912, had to contend with new wartime rules that privileged the *practice* of citizenship through loyal participation in Liberty Bond drives, parades, and public events as proof of 100% Americanism. Parades, pageants, and community philanthropy persisted as tools for demonstrating the sanctioned practice of female citizenship in the postwar years. During the war, many clubwomen appeared willing to volunteer and staff the grueling work of campaigns such as the Liberty Loan drives; by the time of the Portland Survey of the Foreign-Born in 1923, they were not as willing to persist in the work — and women from ethnic communities and communities of color did not participate in any large numbers. Women on both sides of the door-to-door canvassing appear to have challenged, to some degree, the wartime methods of surveillance and the notions of the practice of citizenship in the postwar years.

Women in some immigrant communities found ways to make claims for a more pluralistic civic status through the very public work of wartime loyalty programs and pageantry. Moy and Cartozian worked to establish a citizenship of shared experience with dominant White women in Portland through their wartime and postwar work. But there was a status and economic divide between these two women who worked in successful family businesses and the first-generation immigrant wage-earning women who were the objects of surveying and reporting. This was also true of the translators who assisted Irma Sears with Liberty Loan drives and the “foreign speaking women” they canvassed. Many Black women simultaneously participated in community

projects and philanthropy to claim their civic status as women and at the same time challenged racism and empowered the Black community. With Cartozian and Moy, they all brought a Protestant Christian identity to their practices of citizenship and citizenship of shared experience, at least in organizational terms. This suggests the additional challenges and barriers for ethnic women and women of color who were not Protestants as well as the religious and class dimensions that complicated race and ethnicity and the practice of female citizenship in this period.

Oregon women did not succeed in stemming the tide of restrictive legislation and continuing racism in the state and nation during the First World War and its aftermath. They did not achieve equal civic status with men in this period. But various women, with their particular claims to the practice of citizenship and the citizenship of shared experience, acted to address and expand women’s civic roles and equality. And in so doing, these diverse Oregon women helped to connect women’s equality and citizenship to the growing movement for civil rights and civil liberties in America and beyond. The history of Oregon women and the status and practice of citizenship during this period also provides a cautionary tale. Some women’s practice of citizenship denied full citizenship to other women. Unless civic practices and civil liberties protections reach across and include all individuals and groups, full citizenship for some at the expense of full citizenship for others only divides and diminishes the promise of the citizenship of shared experience and mutual rights and duties for all.

NOTES

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1. Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford, 2008), 83–116.

2. Lynn Dumenil, *The Second Line of Defense: American Women and World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); and Dumenil, “Women’s Reform Organizations and Wartime Mobilization in World War I-Era Los Angeles,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 10:2 (2011): 213–45.

3. This article is an outgrowth of my own studies of women who sought military and wartime service to achieve a more complete female citizenship and a way to use that citizenship to reform their society. See Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); and *Oregon’s Doctor to the World: Esther Pohl Lovejoy and a Life in Activism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012). It is also part of a new project analyzing women, civil liberties, and citizenship in Oregon from after the achievement of the vote for women in 1912 to the mid 1920s.

4. Linda Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); and Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*.

5. Martha Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship, 1870–1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 50–86.

6. T.H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964); Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th Century America* (New York: Oxford, 2001); Alan Dawley, *Chang-*

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7. Edward George Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism* (New York: Atheneum, 1971); Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004); Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890–1930* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002); Natalia Molina, “‘In a Race All Their Own’”: The Quest to Make Mexicans Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship,” *Pacific Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 2010): 167–201; Gayle Gullett, “Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915–1920,” *Pacific Historical Review* 64:1 (February 1995): 71–94; John F. McClymer, “Gender and the ‘American Way of Life’”: Women in the Americanization Movement,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10:3 (Spring 1991): 3–20; George J. Sanchez, “‘Go After the Women’: Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915–1929,” in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women’s History*, eds. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990): 250–63; Jeffrey A. Johnson, “*They Are All Red Out Here*”: *Socialist Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1895–1925* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008); Paula Abrams, *Cross Purposes: Pierce v. Society of Sisters and the Struggle Over Compulsory Public Education* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009).

8. Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 15.

9. Jensen, “Revolutions in the Machinery.” The Cable Act of 1922 still barred women who

married men who were ineligible for citizenship, such as first-generation Japanese and Chinese men, from U.S. citizenship. Indian women who were not married to White men could not hold U.S. citizenship and voting rights until the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. See Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

10. Kathleen Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

11. Ernest Geller, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 7. Anne Ruggles Gere emphasizes women’s “experiences and perceptions” of citizenship in this category. Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women’s Clubs, 1880–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 82. Marshall, in *Citizenship and Social Class*, and Lister, in *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, also address elements of social citizenship.

12. “Secret Service with Central Head Plan for Anti-Spy Fight,” *Oregon Journal*, November 10, 1917, 2; Joan M. Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968); Jennifer Fronc, *New York Undercover: Private Surveillance in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*.

13. See, for example, correspondence relating to prohibition enforcement agents in Folders 29 and 30 for January 1916, Box 17, Attorney General Correspondence, Accession 89A-001, Department of Justice Files, Oregon State Archives, Salem, Oregon [hereafter OSA]; J. F. Santee, “The Oregon Military Police of World War I,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 45:2 (June 1944): 124–32.

14. Kimberly Jensen, “Waging War Against the ‘Venereal Girls’: Women’s Health, Citizenship, and Civil Liberties in the First World War and its Aftermath in Oregon,” Paper Presented at the Pacific Northwest History Conference, Vancouver, Washington, April 2014; Adam J. Hodges, *World War I and Urban Order: The Local Class Politics of National Mobilization*

(New York: Palgrave, 2016): 115–25; Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering During the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Johnson, “*They Are All Red Out Here*.”

15. Michael Helquist, *Marie Equi: Radical Politics and Outlaw Passions* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015). For specific wiretapping examples see Report of Informant #53, Portland, Oregon, September 25, 1918, Box 1, Folder 4 Department of Justice Files, Surveillance [copies of United States v Equi, National Archives and Records Administration, Case #JR8099, 2/35/2 Box 247a], Mss 2988-13 Marie Equi Collection 1918–1983, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, Oregon, [hereafter OHS Research Library].

16. David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 93–106, quotes 106, 105.

17. Americans paid in some \$21.5 billion dollars across the five campaigns. The First Liberty Loan was by Federal Reserve district. Specific state figures for the other four are available. Oregon’s totals were: Second Liberty Loan, October 1917, \$25 million; Third, April 1918, \$28.3 million; Fourth, September – October 1918, \$38.3 million; the Fifth “Victory” loan drive, April 1919, \$28.4 million. Labert St. Clair, *The Story of the Liberty Loans* (Washington, D.C.: James William Bryan Press, 1919). Oregon figures are pp. 52, 62, 79, 94. See pp. 103–104 for the Woman’s Committee.

18. Report of State Chairman [Sarah A. Evans], “Oregon,” in United States Department of the Treasury, *Report of National Woman’s Liberty Loan Committee for the Victory Loan Campaign* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 70–71; United States Department of the Treasury, *Report of National Woman’s Liberty Loan Committee for the Third Liberty Loan Campaign April 6 to May 4 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 3, 9; “Women’s Patriotic Service: Portland Will Be Represented,” *Oregonian*, July 14, 1918, Sec 3:12; James K. Lynch to Edward Cookingham, March 15, 1918, Scrapbook 1, p. 6, Mss 2658, Edward Cookingham Papers, 1900–1948, OHS Research Library; Kimberly Jensen,

"Sarah Ann Shannon Evans, (1854–1940)," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/evans_sarah_ann_shannon_1854_1940_/#.WJ88vRBYQ7A (accessed March 8, 2017). For more on the origins of and women's activism in the club movement see Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980); and Sandra Haarsager, *Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

19. "Reproduction of Third Liberty Loan Questionnaire," *Oregonian*, March 8, 1918, 6; "Women Volunteers Wanted to Work on Questionnaires [sic] *Oregon Statesman* (Salem), March 26, 1918, 6; "Liberty Loan Organization is Complete," *Grants Pass Daily Courier*, March 31, 1918, 1, 5. See the correspondence in Folder 1, "Liberty Bonds and Loans, and War Matters, 1918," File 10, Box 4, Series KL 009: Numerical Correspondence, Records of the Klamath Indian Agency, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives at Seattle, Seattle, Washington.

20. R.E. Lee Steiner, "United States Third Liberty Loan Campaign, Instructions for Workers," Folder 1, Box 9, World War I Publications and Ephemera, Oregon State Defense Council Records 87A-42 2/20/27, OSA. Emphasis in original. For examples of newspaper coverage see "Ready to Open Loan Campaign," *Bend Bulletin Weekly*, April 4, 1918, 1; "How Returns are Noted," *Bend Bulletin*, April 6, 1918, 3.

21. See, for example, "Partial List of Liberty Bond Subscribers," *Hood River Glacier*, April 25, 1918, 8; "Liberty Bond Subscriptions," *Seaside Signal*, October 18, 1917, 6; "Banks Asked to Send Mail Tribune Lists of Patriots," *Medford Mail Tribune*, October 27, 1917, 1; "Portland Lagging in Liberty's Task," *Oregonian*, September 24, 1918, 1, 8.

22. "Citizens Invited to Join Vigilantes," *Oregon Journal*, March 3, 1918, 12. The group was formerly the Anti-Sedition League.

23. Telegram from William Gibbs McDoo to Edward Cookingham, April 13, 1918, Cookingham Papers, OHS Research Library; "Oregon is First to Boost Loan Over," *Oregonian*, April 13, 1918, 14.

24. "Bond for Every 3D Person, Plan," *Oregon Journal*, August 28, 1918, 1.

25. "Big Parade to End in Rally at Local Park," *Oregon Statesman* (Salem), September 15, 1918, 1, 2; "Slackers and Shirkers of the Fourth Loan to be Hunted Down in the City Campaign," *Oregon Journal*, September 22, 1918, 2; "Multnomah Guard Companies Called for Special Liberty Loan Service," *Oregonian*, September 23, 1918, 1.

26. See Kimberly Jensen, "'Neither Head nor Tail to the Campaign': Esther Pohl Lovejoy and the Oregon Woman Suffrage Victory of 1912," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 108:3 (Fall 2007): 350–83; and John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Pivotal Decades: The United States, 1900–1920* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 293–94.

27. "Third Liberty Loan Planned," *Bend Bulletin*, March 23, 1918, 1, 2; "To Open Drive with Meeting," *Bend Bulletin*, March 26, 1918, 1, 4; "Crowd Attends Liberty Rally," *Bend Bulletin*, April 8, 1918, 1, 2.

28. "Eugene Patriots Wax Enthusiastic," *Oregonian*, April 21, 1918, Sec 3:10.

29. "Liberty Temple Built in One Day," *Oregonian*, March 11, 1918, 1; "Women's Patriotic Service: This Will be the Week," *Oregonian*, April 7, 1918, Sec 3:12.

30. "Tillamook Celebrates With Parade," *Oregon Journal*, April 21, 1918, 12; and "Liberty Temple Finished," *Bend Bulletin*, November 1, 1918, 1.

31. "Dallas Women Buy Liberty Bond," *Oregonian*, June 10, 1917, Sec 1:8; "Women Sell \$12,650 Liberty Loan Bonds," *St. Helens Mist*, April 12, 1918, 1; Minutes of the Oregon Central WCTU, April 10 1918, p. 47 and September 25 1918, p. 75, Folder 1 Central Union Minute Book 1917–1922, Box 7, Mss 2535, Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Oregon Records, 1881–1990, OHS Research Library; Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Portland Woman's Club September 27, 1918, p. 78 and April 25, 1919, p. 113, Bound Volume "Club, 1917–1923," Folder 10, Box 1, Mss 1084, Portland Woman's Club (Or.) Records, 1895–1995, OHS Research Library; Minutes of the Portland AAUW Board, March 2, 1918 [volume not paginated] Folder 6, AAUW Portland Board Minutes 1915–1923, Box 1, Mss 2964 American Association of University

Women Portland Branch Records, 1881–1992, OHS Research Library.

32. "Employes [sic] of the Multnomah Hotel," *Oregonian*, October 28, 1917, Sec 2:7; "Woolen Mills Employes [sic] Buy Bonds," *Oregonian*, September 18, 1918, 4; "Grade Teachers' Association Shows Steady Growth," *Oregonian*, December 30, 1917, Sec 3:8. Some teachers purchased two bonds so that the group could claim 100 percent subscription rates equal to their numbers.

33. Minutes of Derthick Club, April 5, 1918, p. 70, Book 2, October 1912–November 1915, Acc 28505, Derthick Club Records, OHS Research Library. My sincere thanks to Geoff Wexler for bringing this rich collection to my attention.

34. Regular Meeting of the Corvallis Woman's Club August 27, 1917, p. 267, Bound Volume, Minutes 1906–1918, Box 2, Accession 1984-106, Corvallis Woman's Club Collection, Benton County Historical Society, Philomath, Oregon; "'Shop Early and Buy Liberty Bond' Slogan of Women," *Pendleton East Oregonian*, October 12, 1917, 1; Meeting of the Portland Women's Research Club, December 30, 1918, p. 60, Book 1, Minutes 1916–1921, Box 1, Mss 1642, Portland Women's Research Club Records, OHS Research Library; "Liberty Girls of McMinnville Who Assisted in Liberty Loan," *Oregonian*, April 28 1918, Sec 3:10.

35. [Evans], "Oregon," *National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee for the Victory Loan*, 70.

36. "Response of Loyal Women Entitles State to Tribute," *Oregonian*, December 30, 1917, Sec 3:8; "Woman Suffragists Have Good Loan Record," *Oregonian*, October 27, 1918, Sec 3:7.

37. "Women to Do Part," *Oregonian*, April 3, 1918, 13; "Women's Patriotic Service: To Be Ready to Work for the Fourth Liberty Loan," *Oregonian*, April 28, 1918, Sec 3:10; "Women's Patriotic Service: In Anticipation of the Day," *Oregonian*, September 29, 1918 Sec 3:11; [Evans], "Oregon," in *Report of National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee for the Victory Loan*, 70–71.

38. "Women's Patriotic Service: This Will be the Week."

39. Irma Jeannette Mentz in the Cook County, Illinois, Marriages Index, 1030403; 1930 United States Federal Census for Irma M Sears Oregon Multnomah Portland (Districts 1-219) District 21, Ancestry.com; "Women's Patriotic Service: To Be Ready to Work for the Fourth Liberty Loan," *Oregonian*, April 28, 1918, Sec 3:10; "Women to Do Part."

40. "Women to Do Part." Estelle Curry directed the foreign language canvass during the Fourth Liberty Loan drive. See "Foreigners Help Out in Big Loan Drive," *Oregonian*, September 29, 1918 Sec 3:11; "Society: Woman's Committee for Work Among Foreign Speaking People," *Oregonian*, September 21, 1918, 10.

41. "Women's Patriotic Service: To Be Ready to Work."

42. Sarah A. Evans to Co-Workers in Past Liberty Loan Campaigns," Folder 1, Box 6, Mss 1514, Military Collection, OHS Research Library; "Victory Liberty Loan," *Oregon Journal*, April 23, 1919, 11; "Victory Liberty Loan Women of Portland," *Oregonian*, April 23 1919, 11; "Women Issue Loan Appeal," *Oregonian*, May 2, 1919, 14; [Evans], "Oregon," *National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee for the Victory Loan*, 71; "Women's Activities: Mrs. Charles E. Curry," *Oregonian*, May 7, 1919, 12.

43. [Evans], "Oregon," *National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee for the Victory Loan*, 71; "Women to Do Part."

44. Annette Martha Bartholomae was the first to study the case of M. Louise Hunt in detail. See Bartholomae, "The Library Board and the Conscientious Objector: A Study in War Hysteria" (Master's Thesis, Portland State University, 1968); Bartholomae, "A Conscientious Objector: Oregon, 1918," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (September 1970): 213–245. Wayne A. Wiegand, "Oregon's Public Libraries During the First World War," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 90:1 (Spring 1989): 39–63 draws on Bartholomae for his section on the Hunt case as did E. Kimbark MacColl in *The Growth of a City: Power and Politics in Portland, Oregon 1915–1950* (Portland, Ore.: The Georgian Press, 1979), 149–54. Adam Hodges summarizes MacColl with his discussion of the Hunt case in *World War I and Urban Order*, 52–53. Additional newspaper sources, many

available more readily in digital format, and new questions about Louise Hunt's case with ideas of women's citizenship in mind, enable new analysis here.

45. See "Gov. West to Make Opening Address at College Conference," *Oregon Journal* April 19, 1914, Sec 2:8.

46. "Librarian with Big Pay Will Not Purchase Bonds," *Portland Evening Telegram*, April 12, 1918, 1, 2; "Citizens Rise in Protest on Board's Action," *Portland Evening Telegram*, April 13, 1918, 1, 2; "Regarding Miss Hunt," *Portland News*, April 13, 1918, 1; "Library Board Allows Pacifist to Resign Post," *Portland Evening Telegram*, April 15, 1918, 1, 2.

47. "Library Board Will Take Up Hunt Case Again," *Oregon Journal*, April 14, 1918, 4; "Women's Federation Meeting is the Most Important Yet Held," *Oregon Journal*, April 14, 1918, 22; "Discharge of Miss Hunt is Demanded," *Oregonian*, April 14, 1918, 1, 12; "Citizens Rise in Protest," 2; "Miss Mary Isom Also Charged with Disloyalty," *Portland Evening Telegram*, April 15, 1918, 1. Bartholomae quotes from "Library Board Will Take Up Hunt Case Again," and Wiegand quotes from Bartholomae on the women's club vote. Bartholomae, "A Conscientious Objector," 232; and Wiegand, "Oregon's Public Libraries during the First World War," 54.

48. "Citizens Rise in Protest," 2; "Discharge of Miss Hunt is Demanded," 1, 12.

49. "Librarian with Big Pay," 2; "Miss Louise Hunt is Cleared by Board," *Oregonian*, April 13, 1918, 8.

50. "Librarian with Big Pay," 2. Bartholomae ("A Conscientious Objector," 224, n21) quotes this but attributes the source to the *Oregonian* rather than to the *Portland Telegram*.

51. "Portland Librarian Radical in Declaring Loyalty to Kaiser," *Daily Capital Journal* (Salem), April 12, 1918, 8; "The Portland Incident," *Eugene Daily Guard*, April 17, 1918, 4.

52. "Citizens Rise in Protest," 2; "Discharge of Miss Hunt Demanded," 1. Hunt became the respected chief librarian of the Racine, Wisconsin Public Library and died in Portland, Maine in 1960. See "Business Women Tell Advantages of Their Various Positions," *Decatur [Illinois] Herald*, July 12, 1933, 10; and Bartholomae, "A Conscientious Objector," 245.

53. Helquist, *Marie Equi*, 162–63 and *passim*; Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers*, 90–110.

54. I made a similar point in my analysis of popular representations of female soldiers as either "mannish" lesbians or prostitutes. See Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva*, 70 and *passim*.

55. Evans made her report about the mothers' parades in Report of State Chairman [Sarah A. Evans], "Oregon," United States Department of the Treasury, *Report of National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee for the Fourth Liberty Loan* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 21. This report and the *Report of National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee for the Victory Loan* mention only Evans's mothers' parades, and no other digitized newspapers outside of Oregon include accounts.

56. "Entire Liberty Loan First Day," *Oregon Journal*, September 8, 1918, 1, 2.

57. "Women Taking Active Part in Loan Campaign," *Oregon Journal*, September 15, 1918, 4; "Parade of Mothers of Sons at Front is Most Impressive Seen Here," *Oregon Journal*, September 22, 1918, 1. For examples of cities see "War Mothers Parade Tonight for Liberty Bonds," *Medford Mail Tribune*, September 21, 1918, 6; "City Has Fourth of Its Quota for Loan," *Oregon Journal*, September 21, 1918, 1, 2; "Liberty Loan Drive Opened at Dallas by Parade of Mothers," *Oregon Journal*, September 21, 1918, 5; "Many Proud Mothers in Liberty Loan Parade," *Eugene Morning Register*, September 22, 1918, 8; "Mothers' Day Parade a Big Success," *Grants Pass Daily Courier*, September 23, 1918, 1; "Four Hundred Patriotic Women March in Parade," *Oregon Statesman* (Salem), September 22, 1918, 1.

58. "Mothers' Parade to be Big Feature of Next Loan Campaign," *Oregon Journal* September 12, 1918, 18.

59. "Governor Urges Mothers' Parade," *Oregon Journal*, September 14, 1918, 7. His endorsement appeared in newspapers across the state. See, for example, "Mother Parade Has Approval of Withycombe," *Oregon Statesman* (Salem), September 14, 1918, 3.

60. See, for example, "Three Mothers Bearing 5 Star Flags to March," *Oregon Journal*, September 19, 1918, 2; "Mothers Day [sic] Parade Here Saturday Eve," Klamath Falls

Evening Herald, September 20, 1918, 4.

61. Erika Kuhlman, *Of Little Comfort: War Widows, Fallen Soldiers, and the Remaking of the Nation after the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

62. Erika Weisensee, "Portland Rose Festival," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/portland_rose_festival/#.WApbgdzisfp (accessed March 9, 2017); "Local Labor Hosts March in Pageant," *Oregonian*, September 3, 1918, 1, 6.

63. "Goggles, Girl Debaters New Factor at Franklin," *Oregonian*, April 23, 1916, Sec 5:10; Portland City Directory [hereafter PCD] 1920, 294.

64. "Panorama of Nations is Cheered by Crowds," *Oregon Journal*, July 4, 1918, 11; "All Nations March in Vast Portland Pageant," *Oregon Journal*, July 4, 1918, 1; "Pageant Most Distinctive in City's History," *Portland Telegram*, July 4, 1918, 1, 10. The 1920 census counted 53 Armenians in Oregon and 235 in Washington State. Earlene Craver, "On the Boundary of White: The *Cartozian* Naturalization Case and the Armenians, 1923–1925," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28:2 (Winter 2009): 47.

65. "Allied Women to Parade State Fair," *Oregonian*, September 23, 1918, 8; "Women Assist in Presenting Picture Play," *Oregon Journal*, November 17, 1918, Sec 2:8; "Women's Patriotic Service: 'Crashing Through to Berlin,'" *Oregonian*, October 13, 1918, 8.

66. Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).

67. "Luncheon to Open Big Relief Drive," *Oregonian*, February 3, 1918, 18.

68. "Portland Residents Recall Turk Crimes," *Oregonian*, March 6, 1919, 12.

69. Michel Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 121.

70. "Armenian Fight Begun in Court," *Oregonian*, May 9, 1924, 1, 2, quote 2; and Craver, "On the Boundary of White," 46. *U.S. v. Tatos Osgihan Cartozian*, U.S. District Court, District of Oregon, Portland, May 8–9, 1924.

71. "Allied Women to Parade State Fair"; "Women Assist in Presenting Picture Play"; "Women's Patriotic Service: 'Crashing Through to Berlin.'"

72. Marie Rose Wong, *Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland, Oregon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 175–81; PCD 1923, 1151; "Minister Pleads for Toil," *Oregonian*, June 12, 1920, 10.

73. "Chinese Entertainment is Excellent and Profitable," *Oregonian*, March 19, 1921, 7; "Chinese Tots Who Are Selling Life Saving Stamps for Relief Fund," *Oregonian*, March 13, 1921, Sec 4:6.

74. YWCA Board Meeting Minutes October 24, 1919, p. 62, Box 9A, Bound Volume Board Minutes October 22, 1918–January 22, 1924, and Pearl Moy Membership Record, p. 66, Box 4, Folder 5 Bound Volume, Memberships 1920–1921, Portland YWCA Records, Aubrey R. Watzek Library Special Collections & Archives, Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon [hereafter Watzek Library]; "Women's Activities: Y.W.C.A. Will Hold Special Americanization Services," *Oregonian*, February 17, 1922, 12; "Girl Life in China," *Oregonian*, November 18, 1921, 12. Judy Yung notes similar work among Chinese American women in San Francisco. See Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 96.

75. YWCA Board Meeting Minutes October 24, 1919, p. 62; October 27, 1919, p. 68; November 12, 1919, p. 72, Box 9A, Bound Volume Board Minutes Oct 22 1918–Jan 22 1924, Portland YWCA Records, Watzek Library. The minutes do not discuss whether staff honored this policy change in practice, but no more discussion appears.

76. "Chinese Student Life is Found Full of Interest and Delight," *Oregonian*, April 23, 1922, Sec 5:1.

77. *Ibid.*

78. For the national view, see Adriane Danette Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009); Nikki Brown, *Private Politics and Public Voices: Black Women's Activism from World War I to the New Deal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

79. "Colored Women's Patriotic Drive Association," *Oregonian*, April 7, 1918, Sec 3:12.

80. "Parade of Mothers of Sons at Front," 1. 81. "Loyal Thousands Aid Red Cross,"

Oregonian, August 4, 1918, 12; "Colored Boys are Cheered by Throng," *Oregonian*, August 3, 1918, 18; Vella Winner, "Colored Women Served Own Draftees," *Oregon Journal*, August 3, 1918, 3.

82. "Social Side: Mrs. Robert D. Inman," *Oregon Journal*, August 19, 1918, 3; PCD 1918, 637.

83. Kimberly Jensen, "Lizzie Weeks, 1879–1976," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/weeks_lizzie/#.V9CODLVTafo (accessed March 9, 2017).

84. *People's Bulletin*, Volume 1 no. 34, Thursday, June 7, 1917 [4 pages], Folder 5 "Clippings" Box 1, Portland [Oregon] African American Collection, Wyles Mss 179, Special Collections, Davidson Library, University of California Santa Barbara. This appears to be the only copy of the *Bulletin* available at present. For the Federation, see "Colored Women of State Unite," *Springfield News*, January 22, 1917, 1.

85. "Negro Women's Club Holds Annual Meeting," *Oregonian*, June 29, 1919, Sec 4:8.

86. "Information from Mrs. C. A. Jenkins on the Beginning of Negro Work in Portland," Box 1, Folder 1 "Historical Background, 1918–1926," Mss 2384, Young Women's Christian Association, Williams Avenue Center records, OHS Research Library; Portland Y.W.C.A. Board Meeting, February 27, 1920, 90, Box 9A, Bound Volume, Board Minutes October 22, 1918 – January 22, 1924, Portland YWCA Records, Watzek Library; "Women's Activities: With the Arrival in the City of Miss Mabel Byrd," *Oregonian*, April 3, 1921, Sec 3:10. For a study of the later years of the Williams Avenue Branch, see Rose M. Murdock, "The Persistence of Black Women at the Williams Avenue YWCA," *Journal of Women's History* 15:3 (Autumn 2003): 190–96. For additional background on Byrd see Herman L. Brame, "A Forgotten Woman of Oregon: Mabel Byrd's Life of Struggle," (2014), copy at OHS Research Library; and Lauren Kientz Anderson, "A Nauseating Sentiment, a Magical Device, or a Real Insight? Interracialism at Fisk University in 1930," in *Higher Education for African Americans Before the Civil Rights*

Era, 1900–1964 eds. Marybeth Gasman and Roger L. Geiger (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2012): 75–111.

87. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). See also Nancy Marie Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906–46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

88. "Women's Clubs: Leadership Class," *Oregon Journal*, July 14, 1921, 12; "Girl Reserves Crystal Corps," *Oregon Journal*, November 5, 1922, Sec 4:12; "Twilight Christmas Eve Musicale," *Oregon Journal*, December 22, 1922, 12; and "Women's Activities: Rock Creek Camp," *Oregonian*, July 30, 1922, Sec 3:11.

89. "Negro Y.W.C.A. Draws Many," *Oregonian*, January 6, 1922, 13.

90. "Africa Held Cause of World Conflict," *Oregonian*, March 18, 1923, Sec 1:14; "Races Economic Things," *Oregonian*, March 20, 1923, 1; letter from W.E.B. Du Bois to Mabel Byrd, February 27, 1923, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b020-i461> (accessed March 9, 2017); letter from Mabel J. Byrd to W.E.B. Du Bois, March 5, 1923, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b020-i333> (accessed March 9, 2017); letter from Mabel J. Byrd to W.E.B. Du Bois, ca. March 23, 1923. <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b020-i334> (accessed March 9, 2017); W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. Byrd and DuBois corresponded for the rest of their lives and developed a collegial friendship.

91. "County Board Fails to Eject Gephart," *Oregonian*, April 29, 1923, 26; "Council Debate Warm: Salary for Social Workers is Opposed," *Oregonian*, April 26, 1923, 7.

92. Portland YW Board Minutes May 10, 1921, pp. 171–72; September 13, 1921, Box 9A, Bound Volume Board Minutes Oct 22 1918–Jan 22 1924, Portland YW Board Minutes, December 12, 1922, p. 266; November 12 1923 p. 19; and March 10, 1925, p. 4, Box 9A, Bound Volume Board Minutes January 13, 1924–December 11, 1928, Portland YWCA

Records, Watzek Library. For more on the national segregation and desegregation of swimming pools see Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

93. Letter from Mabel J. Byrd to W.E.B. Du Bois, ca. May 4, 1923, W.E.B. Du Bois Papers, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b020-i335> (accessed March 9, 2017).

94. Lenore Mooney, "Our Foreign-Born Sisters," in Belle B. Coleman, "Teacher Said: 'Sign Here,'" *Oregon Teachers Monthly* 29:7 (March 1923): 16.

95. Ellen Eisenberg, *Embracing a Western Identity: Jewish Oregonians, 1849–1950* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015), 91–115.

96. "Status of Workers Asked for Wives," *Oregonian*, June 2, 1921, 7.

97. R.H. Sawyer, *Red Book for the Instruction of the Ladies of the Invisible Empire* (Portland, Ore.: R.H. Sawyer, 1922), 4, Reuben H. Sawyer Papers Coll 488, OHS Research Library. My reading of Sawyer and the LOTIE is that Sawyer hoped to garner national attention by creating a second, competing women's Klan in Oregon. Most of his correspondence, advertising, and editorializing focused on getting Klansmen to enroll their wives, so we have little evidence of how women participated and to what extent.

98. Gayle Gullett found this to be true for California women. See "Women Progressives," 73.

99. The Expatriation Act of 1907 decreed that women with U.S. citizenship forfeit that citizenship if they married a non-citizen man, and required them to take on his citizenship. The Cable Act of 1922 began to address this "derivative" citizenship. See Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*.

100. Vella Winner, "Report of American Citizenship Department," *Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs Year Book 1923–1924*, 28, Box 6, Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs Records, Box 174, Special Collections, Knight Library, University of Oregon.

101. Winner, "Report of American Citizenship Department," 25, 27

102. "Outline Plans for Drive for Americanization," *Oregon Journal*, January 5, 1923, 12; "Society News: The President of Every Women's Organization," *Oregonian*, January 4, 1923, 12; "Survey to be Discussed," *Oregonian*, January 4, 1923, 6; "Aliens to be Surveyed," *Oregonian*, January 5, 1923, 12; "Foreign Survey to be Begun," *Oregon Journal*, January 21, 1923, Sec 1:6.

103. "City Wide Survey Aids Foreign Born," *Oregonian*, February 4, 1923, Sec 1:12; "Enumeration of Foreign Born is Nearing End," *Oregon Journal*, February 4, 1923, 4; "City's Foreign Born Survey is Success," *Portland Telegram*, January 25, 1923, 2.

104. Winner, "Report of American Citizenship Department," 27. This same report may be found as "Annual Report American Citizenship," *Oregon Clubwoman* 5:8 (June 1923): 6–8.

105. Cathrine Bradshaw, "Division of Americanization and Citizenship Training," Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs, *Year Book, 1924–1925* (Portland: Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs, 1924), 96–101, quote p. 98, held at the University of Oregon Special Collections.

106. "City Wide Survey Aids Foreign Born", and "Enumeration of Foreign Born is Nearing End."

107. The cards are in Folder "State Department of Americanization," Box 45, Oregon State Americanization Department Records 1926–1935, Department of Education, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 04/08/06/05, OSA.

108. After the survey, clubwomen in Oregon continued to volunteer to teach night classes for immigrant women and men, while pushing for state funding for educational programs. The Portland school board funded one night school beginning in 1923, and by 1924, Americanization work came under the state board of Education. Cathrine Bradshaw, "Report of Americanization Division," Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs, *Year Book, 1924–1925*, 33–37, 96–101; Department of Education, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oregon State Americanization Department Records 1926–1935, OSA.