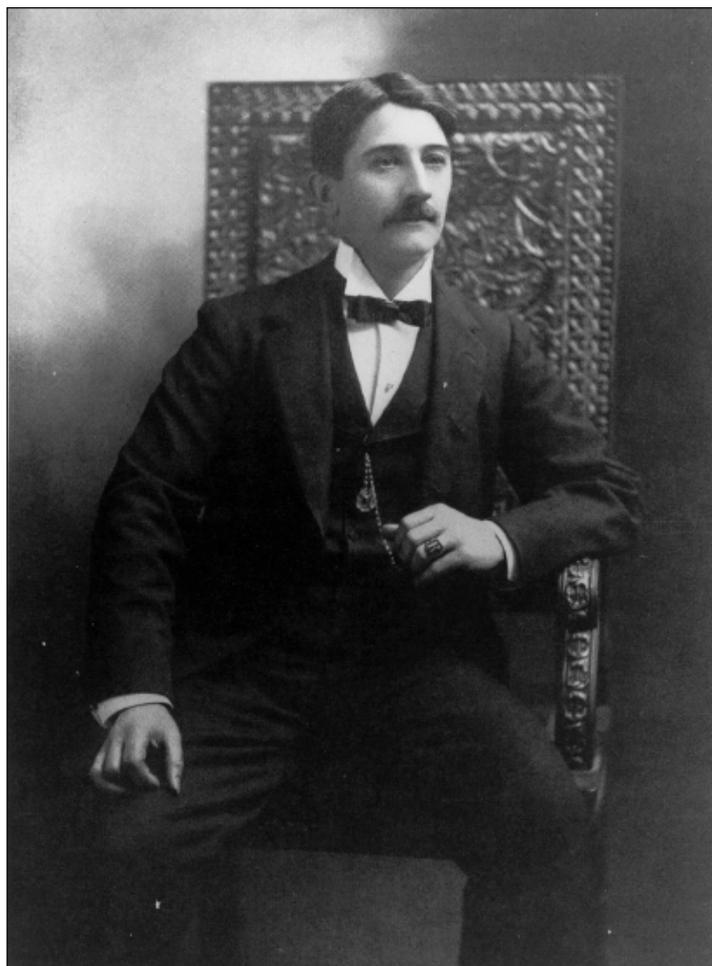


J.H. Kruse, War & the Terrible Threateners

Anti-German Hysteria in World War I Covington

Lisa Gillham
with Bethany Richter Pollitt



Kenton County Public Library

When this picture was taken in 1902, Johann Heinrich Kruse had everything going for him.

At 40 years old he was a handsome, wealthy executive, head of a fine family, possessed of a beautiful home and successful real estate holdings, a pillar of his church and community.

How could he know that in less than 20 years he would be facing prison—in disgrace, his world destroyed? That is what happened to him nonetheless, although he had committed no crime.

Johann Heinrich Kruse

“Mr. Kruse is bound to Covington by the particular tie of birth within her borders, his eyes having first opened to the light of day on June 7, 1862.”¹

Bound to Covington, indeed he was. Accidents of birth would prove to be critical factors in the way his life unfolded. Had he been born somewhere other than Covington? Had his parents’ place of birth been somewhere other than Germany?

“He is only one generation away from Germany, his parents, Johann Gerhard and Elizabeth Meimann Kruse, having both been born in the Kaiser’s empire. Johann Gerhard was born in 1834, and Elizabeth in 1838. They married in 1856 and “soon after they became part of the grand army of emigration to the United States.”²

They located in Covington. Johann Gerhard, then Americanized as John George Kruse, became engaged in the wholesale and retail grocery business, in which he remained for many years. The Civil War broke out not long after, and he was commissioned by the government to furnish supplies to the commissary department of the army.

His military contracts made him prosperous, and his community involvement made him a well respected citizen of Covington. He was an active supporter of St. John’s Orphan Asylum, including a term as president of the Board Of Managers. [This later became the Diocesan Catholic Childrens’ Home]. He served as Kenton County and Covington jailer for three terms, from 1889 to 1896.

John George was described in the 1910 *History of Kentucky and Kentuckians* as follows: “Like his son (J. Henry), he has always been public spirited,

always putting the good of the whole community ahead of individual preferment, is the friend of good schools, and has been ever very active in church work, being a liberal contributor to both of these good causes.”

Henry was the third of ten children. However, by 1910 he was the oldest living sibling, with only two brothers and a sister still surviving at that time.

He received an excellent education, first in German at Covington’s Mutter Gottes (Mother of God) School and then graduated from St. Mary’s College. He also took a commercial course at Martin’s Business College in Covington, all the while helping out with his father’s grocery business.³

In 1880 the *Daily Commonwealth*, referring to Henry as the “popular son of Mr. J.G. Kruse,” reported he had been appointed Deputy County Clerk. He served one year, resigning to accept a managerial position with the L.H. Bracken Cigar Company of Cincinnati.⁴

J.H. had an excellent head for figures, and in 1881 he was hired as bookkeeper by the Bavarian Brewing Company of Covington. In 1883 he came to hold the dual offices of Secretary and Treasurer for the company, and “his loyal endeavors” were “intimately identified with its growth and development.”⁵

In 1884 Henry married Elizabeth Massman, who was one year younger than he. The couple lived in Covington, and enjoyed a very happy union.⁶ In 1892, J.H. had built for her a beautiful Queen Anne shingle-style “cottage” in the pleasant rural area of Milldale, near the Latonia Race Course.



Collection of Lisa Gillham

The Latonia home of J.H. Kruse, built in 1892.
He had this engraving printed on the envelopes of his personal stationery.

Once Kruse had settled into his new home with his wife, he immediately became active in the young community. The Latonia Race Course had opened in 1883, and the track, coupled with the presence of an important railroad yard, began to spur growth in the area. There was a great deal to do for one who was willing to help shape a new community.

The future looked bright, but Elizabeth had been plagued by ill health for some time, and she often complained of headaches. Shortly after the couple’s first Christmas in their new home, she returned home complaining of a terrible pain in her head. By 3 AM she was unconscious, and by 4 AM her entire right side was paralyzed. She regained consciousness occasionally, but only briefly. Henry stayed by her side. He was beside himself with fear.



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The Bavarian Brewing Company, circa 1914.

Originally founded as the Deglow Brewing Company in 1866, it became the Bavarian Brewing Company in 1870. Under the direction of president William Riedlin, it became a major brewery. By 1896, it produced 32,000 barrels of beer annually. Prohibition closed it in 1919, but it re-opened in 1934, and continued in operation into the 1960s.⁷

This photograph does not show the familiar “castle” portion of the brewery. It is behind this section.

The building shown at right housed the executive offices of Bavarian. It is now Glier’s Meat Packing.

Elizabeth died on February, 28, 1893. She was thirty years old. The *Kentucky Post* reported that Mr. Kruse was “fairly crushed with sorrow. His married life had been exceedingly happy.”⁸

Her funeral took place on March 3 at Holy Cross Church—“the largest funeral to date in Milldale.” She was interred in St. John’s Cemetery in Ft. Mitchell, under a tombstone bearing her husband’s name.

Though he was mourning, being a man of fortitude, J. Henry carried on with his work at Bavarian and in his community.

Development of Latonia

Beginning in October, 1893 the major players in Milldale began to consider ways to encourage the growth of their community. Kruse opened his home for some of these meetings.⁹

J.H. Kruse’s participation in these early days demonstrates the level of his involvement in the development of the town that would be Latonia. Kruse was an original member and, for six years, president of the Board of Trustees of the South Covington magisterial district, known as Milldale.

Milldale was finally incorporated under the name Latonia in 1899. Mr. Kruse continued on council, serving as President for ten years, during which time Latonia developed from a sixth class city to fourth class. He was still a member of council in 1909 when Latonia was annexed by Covington.¹⁰

Henry Kruse owned extensive real estate holdings in the Milldale/Latonia area. There was a Kruse Subdivision on the eastern side of Latonia, and he owned property at Latonia Lakes where he had constructed summer resort cottages.¹¹

By this time, there were a number of wealthy and influential men in Latonia who were interested in having a Latonia bank, and plans began for organizing it. With a capitalization of \$25,000, The First National Bank of Latonia was formed on March 25, 1902. J. H. Kruse, president of Latonia City Trustees, was one of the original organizers.¹²

They purchased the lot on the northwest corner of Ritte’s Corner for \$1200. By 1903 the two-story brick and stone building was nearly completed. It was to house the bank, the new post office and a storefront or two on the first floor, and offices on the second. This bank building would figure largely in Henry Kruse’s future.

By the turn of the century, Latonia’s councilmen had begun to improve the city by upgrading streets

and sidewalks and extending water mains. Home building increased, and Latonia was becoming a beautiful suburb.

As real estate developer, activist in defining the town, organizer of a bank, and holder of influential positions on the board of Trustees for Milldale and Latonia, Kruse had a big impact on the early history of the town. Regarding Kruse’s dedication to the betterment of Latonia, it was said of him at the time, “Few have been more active in the upbuilding of that charming suburb.”¹³

Henry even had a street named after him as recognition of his part in community service. The street now known as James Avenue which runs past Meinken Field, was originally named Kruse Avenue.



Kenton County Public Library

The First National Bank of Latonia, circa 1903.

Mr. Kruse also had a strong interest in quality education, and served two terms as Treasurer of the Covington public school district.

His life was not all work and politics though. J.H. shared the German-American appreciation of social activities, and a German-American biography describes him as jovial.¹⁴ His home on Park Avenue had been designed with a main floor that could be opened into adjoining chambers to create space for sumptuous entertaining.

On October 26, 1893, the *Kentucky Post* reported:

Mr. Henry Kruse entertained a large party of his Covington and Milldale friends at his residence. Though their coming was a surprise,

they did not find any lack of good cheer in the Kruse mansion, the hospitable owner seldom being found wanting in any such emergency. An enjoyable time was had by all present.

In 1895, Henry married his second wife, Katherine Rosella Younger of Covington.¹⁵ Together they had four children, Margaret, Helen, Clifford, and Elizabeth. The Kruses were active members of Holy Cross Church.

Katherine Kruse enjoyed her role as the wife of an important executive, landholder and public servant. She was a handsome woman and dressed elegantly. John Kupper, who lived in Latonia to the age of 100, said he remembered her as being “pretty ritzy.” She was involved in a number of social and church-related groups, such as the St. Helen Married Ladies’ Society.¹⁶

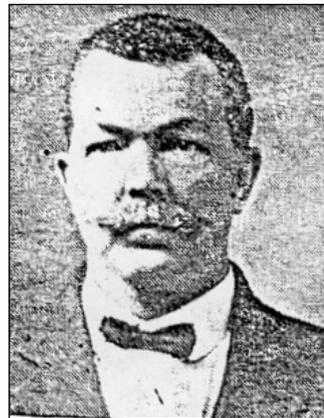
Like most of their neighbors, the couple enjoyed going to the races at the beautiful Latonia Racetrack. It was one of the finest tracks in the country, at least as popular as Churchill Downs.

The top winning jockeys were considered the noble knights of the racetrack, and made very eligible bachelors. Many of the young ladies from fine Latonia families dated well-known jockeys, and J. Henry and Katherine’s middle daughter, Helen, was no different. She was wooed by George (Buddy) Wingfield. Buddy had been a jockey, but became a starter at Latonia. He and his family lived around the corner from the Kruses. Eventually, they married.

Gathering at Ritte’s Corner

J.H. had many friends, many of whom were quite influential. Their families would visit at each other’s homes, and get together for formal occasions. But often the men liked to get together to smoke their pipes and talk over business, politics and the ways of the world. In those days Ritte’s Corner was considered “uptown” by Milldale/Latonia residents, and people congregated there to see their friends and catch up on what was happening.

Uptown there was a cobbler’s shop owned by Charles Bernard Schoborg.¹⁷ It was located in the First National Bank building which still stands on the northwest corner of Ritte’s Corner. Schoborg was a gregarious man, and he and his friends would gather in his shop for a little man talk. Henry made it a habit to stop there most days to chat with his friends.



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Charles Bernard Schoborg



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The Kruse family, left to right J. Henry, Elisabeth, Margaret, Helen, Clifford, and Katherine, circa 1917.



*Ritte's Corner, circa 1915.
First National Bank is on the right.*

Mr. Schoborg, too, was active in local politics. He had been a magistrate for Latonia before its annexation, and had served on the Latonia council in 1907 with Kruse. Earlier, from 1878 to 1880, he'd been on the Covington police force.¹⁸

He and his wife and their son and daughter lived on Winston Avenue near Ritte's Corner.¹⁹

Some other regular attendees at Schoborg's informal gatherings were Matt Felton, Herman Rawe, and Henry Feltman, a local tobacco magnate.

Feltman was an active member of Trinity Methodist Church in Latonia. He was also a very wealthy man.



Henry Feltman, 1912.

In 1913 he bought the old Winston estate at the top of Taylor Mill hill. The estate included 23 acres of beautifully manicured and landscaped lawn, two barns and a stately Federal-style mansion which dated to the 1850s.

Most of these regulars to Schoborg's shop were German, as he was, or of German extraction. That was hardly unusual in Northern Kentucky however, especially in Covington.

Covington was founded in 1815, and the population grew substantially during the 19th century. Much of that growth was due to immigration from Germany, especially in the 1830s and '40s. By the 1850s, German immigrants were transforming Covington into a city with German-style beer gardens, breweries, and German churches and societies.²⁰

In 1885, Kentucky commissioned Heinrich Lemcke to tour the state's German settlements, and write a report to attract more German immigrants to the state. He identified the highest concentrations of Germans to be in Louisville, Newport and Covington.²¹

Covington's German Community

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, community life for German-Americans in Cincinnati and Northern Kentucky was very much like life in the fatherland. Many German families spoke their native tongue. Many churches held their services in that language and published their own books, newspapers and periodicals in German. In Latonia, several churches held sermons in German, as they did in Covington, Newport and Cincinnati. Latonia's St. Mark's Lutheran Church held services in German conducted by their minister, Reverend Eckelmeier, himself a German. Holy Cross Catholic Church held German services conducted by Father Reiter, also German.

There were several widely read German-American newspapers, such as the *Volksblatt*, and the *Freie Presse*.²² For many Germans this was a way to stay connected to their homeland. For immigrants it was a way to adapt to their new country but not be completely overwhelmed by it.

There were also many German societies in Covington. Two of the oldest and most important were the *Deutschen Pioniervereines*, or German Pioneers, and the *Turnverein* or The Covington Turners.²³ It was quite common for leaders of the community to be members, and even presidents, of these organizations.

In 1869, the German Pioneer Society of Cincinnati was formed to preserve German heritage by documenting German-American history for future generations. The German Pioneer Society of Covington was established in 1877 as its Northern Kentucky affiliate. Covington's Germans were becoming interested in their historical identity as German-Americans.

By the early 1900s, there were 27 organizations affiliated with the *Stadtverband*, commonly known as the German-American Alliance of Covington, the umbrella organization for the local German societies. The chain of affiliation continued from the Covington Alliance, through the Kentucky Alliance, to the National German-American Alliance, which was headquartered in Philadelphia.²⁴

The platform of the National Alliance illuminates the values considered important by German-Americans. It states its aim to

promote...a united body for the mutual energetic protection of such legitimate desires and interests not inconsistent with the common good of the country and the rights and duties

of good citizens...the German immigrant has at all times stood by his adopted country in weal or in woe.

...Always true to the adopted country, ever ready to risk all for its welfare, sincere and unselfish in the exercise of the duties of citizenship, respecting the law...²⁵

Rumblings of War

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, it was natural that those who were of Anglo descent favored the Allied forces and those of German and Austrian descent tended to favor the Germans. About one third of America's foreign-born derived from "enemy" territory.²⁶

In September 1915, Covington City Solicitor, Frederick W. Schmitz, spoke at the Turner Hall on Pike Street. The meeting was chaired by William Riedlin, Sr., president of the Bavarian Brewing Company.²⁷

Schmitz told of his coming to this country at sixteen, and how he seized the opportunity to exercise all franchises of an American citizen. He said:

I do not look for war between the United States and Germany, but in such event the position of every German should be with the United States. Regardless of the Fatherland, loyalty would compel an undivided stand with his adopted country...

The *Kentucky Post* interviewed people who had traveled to Germany recently or were German immigrants. Mrs. Anna Brunne, who was born in Germany, stated that her former country didn't want war, and that the German people were "against warfare, and are a naturally peaceful people."²⁸



Collection of Lisa Gillham

The Winston/Feltman House

Henry Feltman bought this house and estate in 1913. It had originally been part of the estate of the Winston family, which gave its name to Winston Avenue in Latonia. They bought the 10,000 acres of forest property in 1841.

Henry Feltman's grandson, Luther, who was a multimillionaire, left the property to the Masonic Grand Lodge of Kentucky in the 1960s. In a most "un-Masonic" act, the group demolished the antebellum mansion in 2006, disregarding the terms of Feltman's will.

As a result, Northern Kentucky was robbed of one more irreplaceable asset of both aesthetic and historic value.

Father Henry Tappert, pastor of Mother of God Church in Covington, had just returned from several months in Germany. He told the Post,

The Kaiser is the idol of his people—they adore him...

Anyone having seen the German army...can hardly doubt that they will succeed in this war...Their army is the best equipped of any in the world...

All of the dispatches from London and France, which I have read and have been told about, are untrue. Everyone of these has at the end that this despatch was...rumored to be true...

Germany will win...The entire army is one group of athletes.

From the looks of...Germany and from the determination of the German people, this war will be a long affair...and will prove to be horrible...My hopes are that America will not be drawn into it."

As late as 1915, many Americans felt sympathetic toward Germany, as well as England and France, for the wartime deprivations they faced. Funds were collected to aid those in need. Before anti-German hysteria took hold, nationwide a total of \$426,382.88 was collected for the widows, orphans, and those suffering in Germany and Austro-Hungary.²⁹

Though the threat of war loomed over this country, the German-American Alliance held their tenth annual convention in 1916 in Frankfort, Kentucky. Mayor Rupert welcomed the group to his city:

We should be thankful to the Almighty God that...we live in a land free from strife, and free from the horrors of war. The greatest country the sun shines upon.

...I am sad when I feel that some of my relatives have been slain at the siege of Verdun, yet I am proud that Germany as united by that Iron Chancellor Bismarck, is a nation which cannot be conquered...³⁰

Even in 1916, no less a personage than the mayor of Kentucky's capital expressed these sentiments in a public speech. They were not unusual sentiments. Many German-Americans were passionately dedicated to their adopted country, while still feeling pride in their old homeland. Obviously, the Mayor didn't feel he had anything to hide, or that he was uttering dangerous words. [It was a good thing for him that he didn't make such a speech in Covington a couple of years later.]

At first many Americans felt strongly that the United States should not enter the war. President Woodrow Wilson had appealed to the American people to be "neutral in action as well as in thought." However, he seemed to be drifting toward war. Public opinion in America had swung sharply against Germany in 1915 when a German submarine torpedoed the cruise ship Lusitania. Among the dead were 128 Americans. Still, groups throughout the nation were organizing to try to keep America out of the terrible war that was ravaging Europe.³¹

The war was then in its third year. The United States was officially neutral, but leaning toward the English-French side.

In 1916, a group in Covington, calling itself the Committee of Resolution, met to insist that the United States remain neutral. In Kenton County more than 100 residents signed a petition which said,

We the undersigned citizens and residents of Kenton County, Kentucky, believe it to be against the best and highest interests of the

Antiwar Meeting

At this 1916 meeting in Covington's Carnegie Library auditorium, the Committee of Resolution called for the U.S. to remain neutral and not enter World War I.



Kenton County Public Library

“Our condition will be very unpleasant. We will be watched with suspicious eyes and we will be charged with the most disgraceful plans. This attitude we can only combat with caution, and by avoiding everything, which might give the least offense. Protest and indignation meetings must absolutely cease. All outburst of anger must be avoided. We must follow the motto of the suffering Kaiser, Learn to suffer without complaint.’ Whether we will or no, we must do our duty as American citizens. We owe it to the oath of allegiance which we took to the Union, we owe it to our families”

... Local German newspaper in February 1917 before the U.S. entered the war

American people to let anything but real danger or necessity admit of war with Germany, who has been the friend of the United States since the birth of the nation.

The group held a mass meeting on May 1, 1916 at the Carnegie library auditorium in Covington, “to make our wishes known to our president and representatives at Washington before it is too late.”

Covington Mayor John J. Craig opened the meeting at the library, leading the group in singing the “Star-Spangled Banner.” Covington Attorney William Byrne, group chairman, denied accusations that the group was pro-German or supportive of any other foreign country. One of the main speakers was Covington City Solicitor Frederick Schmitz, who said that “honest people were being confused by politicians and agitators” who were giving a wrong impression of Germany.

Meeting organizers passed a resolution addressed to President Wilson and Kentucky’s senators, urging them “to effect a peaceful adjustment of differences with foreign countries.”

Among those who signed were Mayor Craig; City Solicitor Schmitz, J. T. Earle, former mayor of Latonia, and William Riedlin, Sr., of Bavarian Brewery.

By the time of the 1916 election, tensions were running high in the United States. The German-American press overwhelmingly opposed President Wilson because it was evident that Wilson favored the Allies over Germany.³² By then it was very clear that the war was being portrayed as one of “good versus evil” and Germany was the evil side.

Evidence of anti-German sentiment had already begun to emerge. Rumors circulated that the German-American packing houses in Cincinnati were “mixing ground glass in hamburger and other meat products.”

In Covington, saloons owned by Germans became a prime target for anti-German hostilities. One popular establishment, Joe Jansen’s Germania Hall, still standing at the northeast corner of Pike

and Russell Streets, had been in operation for fifteen years.³³ Jansen’s saloon license was revoked four days before the U.S. entered the war.³⁴ Stephens Blakely, Kenton County Commonwealth Attorney, led the case against him. Eventually Jansen recovered his license but he had lost money, and was painted as pro-German.

America Enters the War

Ironically, Wilson won the Presidential election with the slogan “he kept us out of war.” That would be short lived. In April 1917 the United States declared war on Germany and her allies. The United States would go to war allied with England, France, Russia and Italy to “make the world safe for democracy.”³⁵

After America’s entrance into the war, German-Americans enlisted in numbers far greater than their percentage of the population.³⁶ At the same time a rabid “patriotism,” which had been brewing for sometime, began to spread. Anti-German social and political groups began to form. In Covington, these anti-German organizations would nearly control the city during the war.

The day after the declaration of war the *Kentucky Post* carried a story on page one, quoting U.S. District Attorney Thomas D. Slattery of Covington, urging officials “to use any means to prevent acts of violence which usually accompany a declaration of war.”³⁷

On April 9, Slattery received from the Department of Justice in Washington, this statement for publication:

No German alien enemy in this country who has not hitherto been implicated in plots against the interests of the U.S. need have any fear of actions by the Department of Justice so long as he observes the following warning: “Obey the law; keep your mouth shut.”

On April 12, Wilson issued a proclamation requiring all “alien enemies” residing in the United States to turn over all firearms or face arrest. All wireless stations operated by aliens were to be dismantled.³⁸

Most German-American societies either canceled their meetings for the duration of the war, or complied with police orders that public meetings be held under surveillance and that no German be spoken.³⁹

The German newspapers of Cincinnati were also attacked. Since they were printed in German they were considered un-American. On October 11, 1917, the offices of the *Volksblatt* were raided by local and federal officials for evidence of treason. No evidence was found. However, before the end of the war the *Volksblatt* could not be delivered in Kentucky, except by mail, since an anti-German group hung posters warning people not to purchase it at newsstands.

In June, 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which had been introduced the same day the U.S. declared war. This act was aimed, theoretically, against only those acts which *intended* to harm the armed forces. Yet it was vague and open to interpretation. Many were indicted, but not all convicted.⁴⁰

In May, 1918, amendments to the Espionage Act, commonly known collectively as the Sedition Act, were passed. These aimed to eliminate the element of *intent* which had been needed under the Espionage Act, and to “force loyalty”—an interesting concept.

Their practical effect was to ban dissent of any kind.

Between July, 1917 and July, 1919 nearly 2000 people all across the country were indicted for violations of the Espionage and Sedition Acts, with over 1100 brought to trial, and nearly 900 convicted. The Government admitted later that *no German spies were caught*.

It was during this time in World War I that telephone eavesdropping first became a standard practice for the intelligence community.⁴¹

However, it was not just the federal government that desired to silence dissent. A groundswell had been growing even before the war began, and people began to form private organizations to ferret out disloyalty, dissent and “un-Americanism.”⁴²

Who were these people who attacked German culture? They have been referred to as Nativists, people who opposed “an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign connections.” Cincinnati had a chapter of the American Patriot League, a national organization. The American Patriot League targeted private opinions by carrying out investigative assignments referred by the FBI, and later the War Department Military Intelligence Division. By the

end of the War, the Cincinnati branch of the American Patriot League had over two thousand members.⁴³

Another national group was the American Protective League, which had over 250,000 members and investigated over six million cases. Offshoots of this kind of group formed all over the country, including the “American Defense Society, the National Security League, the Home Defense League, the Liberty League, the Knights of Liberty, the American Rights League, the All-Allied Anti-German League, the Anti-Yellow Dog League, and the American Anti-Anarchy Association. Some had truly evocative names—the Sedition Slammers, the Boy Spies of America, and the Terrible Threateners.⁴⁴

Even Covington, Kentucky had its own band of “terrible threateners,” the Citizens’ Patriotic League, which, at its height, had over 1000 members from both Ohio and Kentucky.

The Citizens’ Patriotic League.

This group achieved national press coverage and became a powerful force. In June 1917, 25 Kenton County residents formed what they called the Citizens’ Patriotic League (CPL). It was formed in reaction to what it called the “appalling German brutality abroad and pro-German treachery at home.”⁴⁵

It was the most visible and most powerful local patriotic organization. The League used emotional rhetoric to galvanize public opinion. The CPL wrote resolutions—manifestos—which were signed by members and mailed to officials and groups. Using publicity and the influence wielded by its high profile members, it pressured public officials to pass laws the group supported.

The first gathering of the CPL was held in October 1917. Influential people, such as the Mayor of Covington and many others attended this meeting, including Kenton County Commonwealth Attorney Stephens Blakely.⁴⁶

Blakely was a major player in the anti-German movement in Covington. In fact, Stephens Laurie Blakely was the driving force in organizing the Citizens’ Patriotic League. He had served as City Solicitor for Covington, and was active in the Northern Kentucky legal community. He also was the leader of a gang who carried out an attack upon an old man, a young farmer, and even a priest.

Stephens Laurie Blakely, born in 1878, was a graduate of LaSalette Academy, Xavier University, and the McDonald Institute, forerunner of Chase Law

School. He had been Covington City Solicitor from 1910 to 1914, when he was replaced by Frederick W. Schmitz.⁴⁷ It was not the last time Blakely and Schmitz would cross paths.

Blakely was a States' Rights Democrat. His father, a Cincinnati newspaper editor, had served in the Army of the Confederacy during the Civil War.⁴⁸

He married his wife, Jane Piatt, in 1907 at St. Mary's Cathedral in Covington, though he belonged to St. Aloysius parish. While courting Jane, Stephens had attended many German functions himself, such as dances and church socials.⁴⁹

The couple, both from prominent families, had three sons and three daughters. They bought a house and property in Ft. Mitchell in 1908. He struggled financially until his early 30s, but by 1910 he was beginning to be, by his own assessment, "very prosperous." That Christmas he bought his wife a Victrola.⁵⁰

In November, 1911 disaster struck the young family when their Ft. Mitchell home burned to the ground. Stephens actually rescued his wife and four children. In doing so he suffered a badly burned foot, but there were no other injuries. A new house on Beechwood Road was completed in August, 1913.

That April, tragedy brushed the man again when his three-year-old son, John, fell thirty feet from a bridge. However, the boy was not gravely injured, and did recover.⁵¹

In 1914 Blakely was running for Commonwealth Attorney. The *Kentucky Post* endorsed him, referring to him as a "Fighter for the People," and enumerating what they considered to be his achievements as Covington City Solicitor. He was, indeed, elected and held that office until 1922.

In January, 1917, his father died. In July his brother-in-law and close friend died. In April of 1918, his seven-year-old son, Courtney, died of pneumonia. Each of these deaths hit him hard, but most of all, that of his son.⁵²

Undaunted, however, Blakely continued with his work in the CPL. In their efforts to ferret out disloyalty, the group was beginning to consider the potential of eavesdropping on suspects through the use of a listening device such as a dictagraph.

By January 14, 1918, the *Kentucky Post* ran the headline on page one: "100% Americanism is School Demand —Supt. H.S. Cox warns the Members of His Staff That No One in the Public School Must Be

Disloyal or un-American." Cox had sent a letter to every teacher in the Covington Public School System. In part it read,

I wish to remind each of you that teaching is not limited to expression through words alone... the influence of the conviction and fundamental desire of the teacher's heart is very real...

Soon after, Cox's action was championed by a *Kentucky Post* editorial.

"Worst Instrument of German Propaganda"

Later that month petitions were circulated against the teaching of German in the schools. The petitions cited the fact that German language textbooks included history and legends, pictures of German cities and "German men and women, buildings and scenes in the land of the terrible Hun..." The *Kentucky Post* reported this story under the headline: "Study of Germany Not a Necessity." The men who were circulating the petitions reported they had received "practically no refusals."⁵³ They were not an easy group to refuse.

This was the most lasting damage to German culture—the attack on the German language.

Until the war, German was taught in almost all schools in Northern Kentucky and Cincinnati, and had been for nearly one hundred years. The classes were popular and enrollment usually quite high. With the advent of the war however, unrelenting pressure to end the use of German in schools occurred in nearly all forty states.

In May 1917, the Cincinnati American Women's Association demanded the removal of German from the school system. On September 19, 1917 the German textbook censoring committee removed all books judged pro-German. It mattered little that bilingual instruction in the Cincinnati school system dated back to 1840. Following this was "pink slip" day where those who taught German or were considered pro-German were fired.⁵⁴

When the school year opened in Northern Kentucky that September, enrollment was way down in German classes. Covington Public School Superintendent H.S. Cox lamented the fact that students were "forsaking the study of German." For the first term, students were still allowed to choose whether or not to study German. However, by the second term in January, 1918, the banning of German in the schools became a major goal of anti-German activists. First the schools of Dayton, Kentucky banned the study of German. Bellevue was second.⁵⁵

The Covington Board of Education, however, voted to continue the classes until the end of the school year—and a heated controversy erupted. On February 1, 1918, a crowd of 500 citizens packed the Board's meeting wielding a petition bearing more than 4000 signatures demanding the *immediate* cessation of German instruction in the schools.⁵⁶

A local attorney, Harvey Myers—a member of the Citizens' Patriotic League—was the first to voice the sentiments of the crowd. He boomed, "You can't tame a rattlesnake by petting it on the head. There are two things I hate worse than a German. One is a poisonous snake, and the other is a "pro-German" in America."⁵⁷ Thus, he set a high tone for the meeting.

Another local attorney, John B. O'Neal, CPL member, and close friend of Blakely, also spoke at that meeting. "We have in our hands today the worst instrument of German propaganda...as an American citizen, I call upon you gentlemen to kill it."

Superintendent Cox tried to reason with them, but to no avail. Mrs. Van Dyke Bell—whose son was at the front—tried to make a case for the study of German. She stressed that it was a legitimate part of a good education, and was not harmful to the war effort. Her position was ignored.⁵⁸

Pressure from the crowd mounted, and one by one the Board caved in. The vote was unanimous in favor of immediate cancellation of the study of German in Covington schools.⁵⁹

A few days later in Newport, the events of the Covington meeting virtually repeated themselves. They went one better, and ordered all books referring to the "Imperial Government of Germany" to be removed from the library.⁶⁰

Ludlow followed suit within days, and the German language had been eliminated from Northern Kentucky schools.⁶¹

About this same time German books were disappearing from public library shelves around the region too.

Beginning February 4, 1918, by Federal decree, all male aliens fourteen and older were to register with the local police. They were fingerprinted, and issued special cards which they were to carry with them at all times. Failure to comply meant prison for the duration. After registering, they were to obtain the consent of either the chief of police or a U.S. Marshal before changing their place of residence. Some of these regulations were extended to female aliens in June of 1918.⁶²

The local debate over German language classes in the schools had been fought with enormous emotion. Anti-German sentiment was very high. The events which occurred during that debate were among the first instances of completely undisguised anti-Germanism. These events, in combination with the implementation of alien registration, mark the beginning of the period in which Nativism was taken to the extreme on many levels with a campaign to exterminate anything German.

One of the most visible things that reeked of The Hun were names. Names of streets, names of food—names of families—were changed to sound more "American." Names were troublesome because so many of them sounded so German. Street names were the first to succumb. German Street in Cincinnati became English Street, and Bismarck Street became Montreal Street. In Covington, city commissioners voted unanimously to change Bremen and Short Bremen Streets to Pershing Avenue, after General George (Black Jack) Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe. Other suggested names were Wilson Street and Liberty Avenue.⁶³

Newport City Commissioners changed German Street to Liberty Avenue. One of the street residents had the misfortune to protest the proposed name change by circulating a petition. He was investigated by the United States Justice Department.

Recently, German street names changed in Cincinnati have received historical markers indicating what the original names were, and that they had been changed as a result of the anti-German hysteria during World War I.

Names of businesses also changed. The German National Banks in Cincinnati, Covington and Newport all had name changes. The Cincinnati bank had its name engraved on the facade of the building. It had to be covered with a large sign bearing its new name. The original facade with its original name was uncovered and returned to public view only recently.

In Covington stockholders and bank directors of the German National Bank changed the name of the institution to Liberty National Bank of Covington. The German Bank of Newport became the American National Bank.⁶⁴

Families too often felt obliged to Anglicize their names to avoid the danger of being labelled pro-German.⁶⁵ Numerous Schmidt families became Smith, Eschenbachs became Ashbrooks, Koenigs became Kings.

Throughout Northern Kentucky, sauerkraut consumption declined—largely because of its German name. In an effort to increase use of what was essentially a healthful food, it was referred to as “Liberty Cabbage.” [Not unlike the way French fries were dubbed “Freedom Fries” after France had disagreed with the U.S. over Iraq.]

The media was quite useful in the efforts of anti-German groups. Some newspapers, the *Kentucky Post* for instance, actually seemed supportive of the activities of the Citizens’ Patriotic League which were often featured on the front page. The *Kentucky Post* seemed to like Mr. Blakely quite well too. On February 27 they blazed his name across the front page proclaiming his lobbying efforts for a new depot in downtown Covington.

Rallies and Intimidation

Immediately below that was a smaller headline reading: “Plans are Laid for Patriotic Mass Meeting.” It was planned for March 12 at the Hippodrome Theater at Seventh & Washington Streets in Covington, and sponsored by the Citizens’ Patriotic League. A feature of the meeting was to be a resolution asking Congress for more “drastic laws for punishment of traitors and disloyal persons.” The *Kentucky Post* intimated that either Attorney Harvey Myers or Commonwealth Attorney Stephens Blakely would chair the meeting.

Building on the success of that mass meeting, the group planned an even larger event. Latonia became the regional focus of “patriotism” when the CPL held the “biggest patriotic rally ever planned for Kenton County” at the Latonia Race Track on May 20. Extra streetcars were put on the Latonia line, and motor buses were scheduled from downtown Covington. Twenty thousand people swelled the grandstands. Even the racehorses cooperated—the favorite won the big race of the day.

The rally was chaired by Thomas Slattery, U.S. District Attorney of Covington. To open the celebration there were band concerts and patriotic songs sung by a chorus of 200 voices. There were demonstrations by the Red Cross and the Girl Scouts. Trucks filled with Red Cross nurses circled the track. The Sixth Battalion Cincinnati Home Guards gave an exhibition drill. Moving pictures were taken of all the events.⁶⁶

The free rally featured an American soldier “direct from the battlefield in France,” who shared his experiences of the war. Sergeant Peter Petrush, had this to say,

*You ask if the Boche [Germans] commit the crimes you hear about. Well, I have been reared too well to tell you what they have done. I have been gassed twice and I suffered. The Germans found they couldn’t win the war fairly, so they invented these unfair methods ...The Germans fight well in crowds, but otherwise they throw up their hands and cry for mercy.*⁶⁷

Senator William King of Utah had travelled a long way to speak at the event. He said,

The Germans’...policy is to destroy the doctrines of mercy and Christianity and try to enforce the doctrines of force. We can have no peace when there is a government determined to destroy humanity.”⁶⁸

Stephens Blakely, attorney John B. O’Neal, and Rev. T.J. McCaffrey also addressed the gathering. The crowd at the racetrack was so large, the speakers visited different sections of the grandstands to hold overflow meetings.

That same Sunday there was also a War Fund rally at the Alexandria Fair Grounds in Campbell County. It too featured bands, speakers, and demonstrations by Boy and Girl Scouts, but offered a religious service and lunch as well. There was also a special talk for women on “Women’s Part in Winning the War.”⁶⁹

The *Kentucky Post* exclaimed that Northern Kentucky showed its patriotism at “two monster mass meetings.”

At one such meeting Judge Edward O’Hara said, referring to pro-Germans,

*If we cannot put them in jail we can proceed to put them out of business. If we can’t hang them to the lamp posts we can strike them through their pocketbooks and **peace of mind** until they wish they had not been born. [Author’s emphasis.]*

Speaking at the same meeting, Stephens Blakely warned, “Let’s not be deceived by any pro-German reptile.” John Hickey, a Catholic priest from Cincinnati, urged the “extermination” of any disloyalists found in Covington.⁷⁰

Things were definitely heating up. On May 27, the *Kentucky Post* gave front-page coverage to an incident involving a Falmouth man. He was accused of having boarded a streetcar in Cincinnati and yelling “Hurrah for the Kaiser” and “The Red Cross is a Fake.” Once the streetcar reached Covington, passengers threatened the man and dared him

A children's patriotic march at the corner of Southern Avenue and Church Street in Latonia.

Notice the house in the background—it is the home of Henry Ritte's family. Henry, and then his son Walter, owned the saloon for which Ritte's Corner is named. The house still stands, though altered.



to repeat his comments. He did, and was struck in the face. The man was arrested by Covington police, though he protested that he'd been drunk and hadn't meant what he'd said.⁷¹

Covington Police Judge Lewis L. Manson lectured the man, saying "you might have been killed. This is no time for such talk... Anyone who makes unpatriotic remarks will be severely dealt with." The man was fined \$100 and jailed at hard labor for fifteen days. The man who struck him was not charged.⁷²

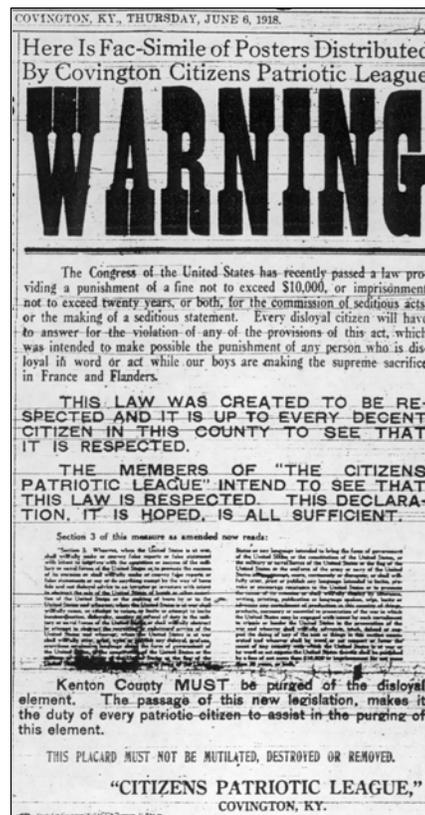
In early June, 1918, the CPL sent out two hundred members to homes and saloons across the city to hang posters warning of punishments to be inflicted upon pro-Germans.⁷³ The *Kentucky Post* obligingly ran a copy of the poster on its frontpage. It reported that W.C. Ryerson, secretary of the CPL, had informed the newspaper that the League had under investigation a number of other cases.

The CPL took it upon themselves to spread "information" about German atrocities to the public, and garner public sentiment against Germans for their alleged war crimes. Led by Stephens Blakely, the group, publicly urged the government to make all German War Crimes public. It wanted the government to photograph victims in France and Belgium and send them to every home in America. CPL meetings included descriptions of German war atrocities. At one meeting Blakely claimed that German soldiers "gas their enemies in the trenches... gouge out their eyes," and "cut off arms and legs."⁷⁴

Eventually the government responded to the League's suggestion that those living in rural parts of the state may not be well informed about what was going on overseas. The Bureau of Public Information

in Washington agreed to send literature to all fourth class postmasters to be placed in every rural mailbox throughout the state.⁷⁵

The men of the Citizens' Patriotic League were ecstatic. It had been a big year so far. They'd won a big victory in banning German from the schools, had several successful, high profile mass meetings, and then another victory in their attempts to "educate" rural Kentucky. It was time for a big, big event that would make their annihilation of Northern Kentucky's German community complete. In the meantime, there were more loose ends to clear up.



Violent acts against German-Americans had increased in frequency throughout the Greater Cincinnati region. Street fights broke out when people persisted in using German on the street. In Cincinnati, there were cases of tar and featherings, and at least two attempted lynchings.⁷⁶

American pastor Reverend Herbert S. Bigelow, had come to be viewed as a pacifist and opponent of conscription, and therefore an enemy of American "patriots." He was taken from Cincinnati to Covington, tied to a tree, stripped and whipped "in the name of the women and children of Belgium." Those attacked were not just from the vulnerable lower classes, but people of status within the community. Dr. Ernst Kunwald, conductor of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, was interned as an enemy alien. Professors from the University of Cincinnati were fired, or held in suspicion throughout the war.⁷⁷

And what of the CPL? Besides passing resolutions, circulating petitions and shouting emotional rhetoric to large crowds, the group also indulged in mob violence. Mobs, usually led by members of the CPL, attacked any whom they believed to be pro-German. Their definition of what that included was quite broad. Stephens Blakely, Harvey Myers and John O'Neal led many of these mobs.

Vigilante-ism Strikes

The following can be found in the official record of the case of Joseph C. Grote vs. Stephens L. Blakely and others, on file in the Kenton Circuit Court in Covington, 1919.

A number of homes and business places in Covington and the vicinity were, on June 5th, 1918, and again on June 24th, 1918, ruthlessly invaded by 200 to 300 men. These men represented the Citizens' Patriotic League of Covington, under the leadership of Stephens Blakely, Kenton County Commonwealth Attorney. The following are excerpts from the bill of evidence in the above case.⁷⁸

[Author's note: Although I, myself, found these excerpts to be disturbing in the extreme, I believe it is of great importance that they be made known. LG]

Paul Flynn, 66, a lifelong resident of Kenton County, had a farm and feed store on Madison Pike. Testimony established that a large number of men came to Mr. Flynn's home on Madison Pike between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Flynn had been up in his pasture salting cattle, and as he came down, he noticed a great number of automobiles on the pike.

I saw they was such a crowd there, [sic] that must be something wrong. I heard the girls

crying and hollering over at the house... [Mr. Flynn had two sisters about his age.]

I got within 200 feet of my house... and two or three of them—Blakely and Mr. Harvey Myers—they was [sic] the first two came up to me. Blakely he says, 'Mr. Flynn, we want you'... He got up closer to me—Blakely grabbed my hands, and Harvey Myers he grabbed me in the back' then they held me there.

Then John O'Neal he went to read off a paper. He says, 'Mr. Flynn, your assessment is \$88,000.' I says 'Mr. O'Neal, you know I ain't worth nothing like that.' He says 'It don't make a damn bit of difference whether you are worth \$8000 or \$88,000, you have got to sign this paper for \$1000. I says, 'I won't do it.' I never had any dealings with O'Neal nor Blakely, why should I sign a paper for \$1000? I didn't know what was on the paper.

Then Harvey Myers—I wouldn't sign it for O'Neal— then Harvey Myers, he comes up, takes hold of the paper. He says 'Mr. Flynn, will you sign this paper?' I says, 'No, I will not.'

He...dragged me; then...there was a bridge to cross. I says, 'Let me walk over there.' Blakely says, 'No, you come and walk through this mud.' They dragged me down through the branch, made me walk through the mud...

Then they dragged me...up where there was trees and woods...I says, 'Boys, I am weak, I am a weak man, you are treating me too rough.' They says: 'We don't give a damn whether you are weak or sick, it is a small loss if such a man is dead.' That's the language they used to me.

Then they forced me on...another one climbed up on a sycamore tree—had one of my calf ropes out of my feed store, he let that drop down, dangled it over my head: 'We're going to hang you.' That's what they kept telling me all the time: 'We will hang you.'

Another one...he had a gun—Bang—bang—two shots...That was to scare my [sisters], I suppose, at the house, and me, too...they asked me again wouldn't I sign this paper. I says: 'No sir, I won't.'

Then they went to work and just tore my clothes down off me, and used whips on me, that they stole off my porch at the feed store...and they horsewhipped me until the blood run down in my boots.

I thought to myself, there is no use getting killed. I agreed to sign the paper. I didn't know what I was signing. I thought I was going to lose

all my money. I never had any dealings with them men at all. Why should I sign that paper?

After I signed it, there was a bummish-looking fellow...I believe I'd know that man's face if I saw him in Hell. He says to me, '...you are the meanest son of a bitch out on this creek.' I says, 'What are you?' With that he smacked me in the side of the head, and knocked me down. I didn't know where I was hardly.

Then Mr. O'Neal he comes in, kind hands lift me up again on my feet. He says, 'Paul, don't you know you oughtn't to talk that way to these boys.' I says, 'He has no right to call me a name like that. I ain't that kind of man.' Then they started away; they left me there half dead, getting my clothes on the best way I could.

When they were starting away, Mr. O'Neal he turns around, he says, 'Now Paul, when these boys comes around to you again, you be liberal with them or damn if these fellows don't come around some night and kill you.' What sort of language do you call that? I never would have believed there was such citizens in the town of Covington.

Flynn testified that the paper was for \$1000 worth of War Savings Stamps, and that about a hundred men congregated in front of his house.

The automobiles, they had the whole pike blocked from Chisel Bridge up to the old tollgate, nearly. I guess there was...75 or 100 machines.

After I got straightened up I heard the girls hollering down to the house, and crying. The men was trying to go through the house then...I saw them around there, like wolves, doing as they pleased.

Flynn testified that he saw men taking horsewhips from his feed store. He stated that four or five men had whipped him.

Q: Tell us whether or not before the lashes were supplied, they lowered your trousers?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Do you remember—did you have on any underclothing?

A: Yes, sir, I had. They tore them off too.

Q: To what extent did you bleed from the whipping?

A: Two cuts along my legs and on my back. I didn't sleep for a week.

Q: How old were you at that time? A: Sixty-six.

Q: Who dictated the paper that was signed by you—who furnished the pen...?

A: I think it was Blakely...

John Schneider, Jr., 24, testified that on the same day, June 24, 1918, that a crowd of about 200 men came about 5:30 in the evening to his parents' farm on Madison Pike. Their farm was just across the pike from Mr. Flynn's. (Bill of Evidence.)

He said he and his parents were standing near the house. Harvey Myers, who was in the lead, approached them and said to his father, "We want you, God damn you. You insulted the Red Cross."

Blakely made a move against young Schneider and they tussled. Schneider hit him in the jaw. Blakely growled, "Oh you Dutch son of a bitch." Someone grabbed Schneider from behind and held him. They struck him repeatedly in the face, then stripped him and beat him with horsewhips. When they let him go, he threatened to remember them. They beat him with the horsewhips a second time. Schneider said he "carried the stripes for over two weeks." The men also stripped and beat the young man's father with horsewhips.

As the men were taken, the mother tried to intervene. O'Neal argued with the mother, and another man threatened her with a gun.

Forty-eight-year-old J. Robert Kelley testified that he was in an automobile party that went out the Lexington Pike [Dixie Highway] on the night of June 5, 1918. Kelley was driving the leading car with Stephens Blakely in the car with him. It was raining quite hard. Kelley said Blakely gave the signal to stop at St. John's Catholic Church on Pike Street. (Bill of Evidence.)

Reverend Anthony Goebel, 51, had been in charge of that parish for twelve years. Goebel was born in Germany, came to the United States in 1890, and was naturalized in 1899. (Bill of Evidence)

On the night of June 5, he was studying in his room, when about 9 o'clock he heard loud knocking at his front door. At first he thought it was his housekeeper, who had gone out. He called out that the door was open, to come in, but the hard knocks continued.

Father Goebel went downstairs and pulled open the door. Two men pushed passed him. He heard "Here comes the God damn son of a bitch." He realized there was a large crowd of men on his porch, and tried to hold onto the door, but they beat on his knuckles until he let go and they shoved him outside.

They tore my shirt to pieces, they shoved me out to the porch—[it was] jammed with men. Abusive language was used against me. They called me ‘pro-German’, ‘Traitor’ and other vile epithets, curses, ‘God damn’ so and so.

They then said, ‘Where is the Chief?’... I was being held on both wrists—afterwards they turned blue and green. I said not a word...I was fully helpless...I couldn’t get loose...

A man stepped up, he said [he was] O’Neal. [It] was dark, they held a flashlight in my face—big strong flashlight. This man they called chief shook his finger right in my face, and said, “You have been preaching Kaiserism to your people Sunday after Sunday. That has to be stopped.”...I answered, ‘If you can bring proof to that effect, I will give you any amount of money.’... One of the crowd struck me a strong blow in the face...

I repeated the statement, ‘If this can be proved, I am ready to give you any amount of money.’ Then I received a kick...The kick came pretty much from the same direction, because I caught it on my upper leg—right upper leg, between the knee and groin. It took the skin off my leg, about the size of my two hands. Then they pointed out a printed sign they had nailed to my door. I must leave that at least sixty days, ...or...they would knock Hell out of me.

Q: Was there or not anything said about hanging?

A: Oh yes, sure...That was between the first stroke and second stroke—between my two statements...one yelled at least twice, ‘Get a rope—get a rope! We will hang the damn son of a gun.’

Q: Father Goebel...you referred to a placard?

A: That was a placard, a printed sign—signed by the Patriotic League of Kenton County. Afterward, the next day, that disappeared... It was...nailed on my door.

Goebel was unable to identify any of the men because it was dark, and they had blinded him with a flashlight in his eyes.

Reverend Goebel testified that an allegation that he had refused to let the U.S. flag be brought into his church on the occasion of a funeral, was false.

He said that during the war he had a Ladies Red Cross Society of between forty and fifty members, which met in the church at least three times a week. Goebel supplied them with all the furniture they needed, and encouraged the young girls to help the elderly ladies to do sewing for the Red Cross, and make bandages.

He stated that he had preached two sermons on the Red Cross, and that a Red Cross worker, Mr. Hermann, came to him afterwards and thanked him for speaking so strongly in favor of the Red Cross work. Father Goebel had voluntarily bought Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, both for himself and for the church.

He was asked, “Did you ever, after we got into the war against Germany, preach any ‘Kaiserism’ or suggest anything that would favor our enemies?” Goebel answered, “Oh, no, never. Never.”

On June 5th, 1918, Conrad Stelzman, a 64-year-old resident of Covington, was playing a game of pinochle with Louis Braun, 51, and another man at Albers Saloon. Stelzman, a German, had been a naturalized American citizen since 1889. ***Two of his sons served in the American army during the war.***

Suddenly a large number of men crowded into the place, and stood around their table. The crowd made a lot of noise and used vile language toward the seated men. They threatened to get a rope to hang Mr. Stelzman. Stelzman protested his innocence, saying that he was an American citizen, and should be protected.” They grabbed him and threw him out of the saloon. Braun testified, “They were hollering, ‘Let’s lynch him.’”

George Koch, 55, owned a saloon at 12 E. Fifth Street. He was born in Covington, and had two married sons, *one of whom was in the United States Army Cavalry.* (Bill of Evidence.)

On the night of June 5th, a crowd burst into his saloon. Koch recognized Blakely, Harvey Myers, and numerous others. Harvey Myers got up on a table, accused Koch of being pro-German, and having pro-German meetings in his house, and said it must cease. Mr. Koch tried to answer the charges, but was shouted down with “Dutch son of a bitch liar.” The crowd was only in there a few minutes. They tacked up a placard labeling Koch as pro-German, and told him never to tear it down.

Joseph C. Grote, 57, had been a resident of Covington for 39 years. He was born in Germany, and naturalized in 1886, five years after his arrival in the United States. Grote was the father of eleven children. ***He had two sons serving in the American Army, Herman and Joseph, Jr.*** (Bill of Evidence.)

Herman Grote had served in the American Army during the war, and at the time of his testimony, held a commission as a first lieutenant of infantry in the reserve. On June 5th, 1918, he was on duty in France. Joseph C. Grote, Jr. was serving in the medical department of the United States Army in Lexington, Kentucky in June, 1918. He had enlisted in the

medical corps, after having been refused by the Marines for being “short a few teeth.”

James Wheeler, 53, a railroad conductor who had lived in Covington for thirty years, testified that he was in Rowekamp’s Saloon on June 5, engaged in a game of pinochle. A crowd of men came in and one walked around to Mr. Rowekamp and said, “We...[belong] to the Citizens’ Patriotic League. We have come here to place a notice in your place. You have got to live up to it.”

He accused Rowekamp of being pro-German and used vile language to him, which Wheeler was reluctant to repeat in court. Wheeler tried to leave, but was stopped. Judge Manson, who was there, told the man to leave him alone. “I know him, he is all right.” Manson was the only one Wheeler recognized.

Wheeler said someone in the crowd spoke to Mr. Grote,

You old c--- s----- pro-German son of a bitch, you said you would put a bomb under my tail’, and smack—kept smacking him. He was standing between me and Grote. I could tell he was smacking him. He says, ‘Now put a bomb under my tail.’

He says, “That son of yours, Herman, [then serving in France] is nothing but a pro-German son of a bitch.

Just that way, he smacked him several times...the...man backed up against the table and tried to put his foot...on Mr. Grote’s...lap...

After the gentleman got done smacking Grote...he told Mr. Rowekamp to get up on the table. Then, Mr. Grote, they put him on the table ...He said “All you take a look at the pro-German sons of bitches, so you will know them.”

Mr. Grote’s nose was bleeding, I think he had several scratches on his face. I think [there was] a place...on his chin, the skin was knocked up. His nose was bleeding very bad.

On cross examination, Mr. Wheeler was asked about the character of the place, and the nature of the war talk. He answered, “...they talked, I have heard them, just as would be talked on the street or anywhere else, what they thought...I never heard nothing out of the way.”

Frank Terlau, 62, born and raised in Covington, was employed by Mr. Rowekamp as a barkeeper at the time in question. He testified that O’Neal accused Mr. Rowekamp of holding pro-German meetings there, and that they came to warn him to cut it out.”

When Rowekamp denied it, Blakely shot forward and said, “You are a damn liar.” Blakely approached Mr. Grote. Terlau said,

“He says, ‘Here is Mr. Grote, another pro-German son of a bitch.’ Mr. Grote said nothing. Blakely sat down on the table right in front of Mr. Grote, pulling [him] up, and it appeared he put his foot on Mr. Grote...

Then Mr. Blakely says, ‘Mr. Grote, I am Steve Blakely....Grote, you are a pro-German son of a bitch, and your son Herman is another Dutch bastard c--- s----- son of bitch and a traitor.’ [Referring to Grote’s son who was, at that time, fighting in the infantry for the American Army in France.]

Then he said to Mr. Grote, “If you ever look at me on the street, I will punch the ---- out of you.” At the same time while he was talking to Mr. Grote, he was slapping him about the face, right and left, a number of times. Well, Mr. Grote sat there during all this time, and didn’t say a word...A number of voices hollered... ‘Put Mr. Rowekamp on the table. Let’s see Mr. Rowekamp.’

Rowekamp got on the table, and tried to speak,

“Someone hollered, ‘We don’t want to hear any speech!’ And then they began yelling, ‘He looks like the Kaiser!’ and laughed and made fun of him.

Then they began to yell, ‘Put Grote on the table!’ They shoved Grote and put him on the table there.

Mr. Grote didn’t say anything. He just looked at the crowd, and they began to make faces, and make all sorts of remarks...A good deal of laughing and jeering and everything of that sort was going on.”

Mr. Terlau was asked how long he’d known Blakely. He replied, “Oh, I have known Mr. Blakely for a good many years. In fact, I supported Mr. Blakely ...when he ran for office, and I have always thought pretty well of him.”

He was then asked what effect Mr. Blakely’s blows had upon Mr. Grote’s face where he was struck. Terlau answered, “He had blood on his face. He had blood on his shirt and he was wiping it. He says, ‘What do you think of that?’ Blood all over his shirt, over his face, and him wiping it.”

[The results of this trial will be addressed later in this article.]

The momentum behind the juggernaut of the Citizens' Patriotic League seemed unstoppable. They had moved easily from propaganda to intimidation and finally to violence—even though they only staged their raids in large groups, and mostly against older men who were outnumbered to an extreme degree.

They were riding the tidal wave of vigilante success, but not everyone could be dealt with through mere intimidation and street violence. Some targets, perhaps other men of high rank within the community, would require more than thuggery.

Carl Wittke wrote in "The German-Language Press in America", "Loyal Americans of German extraction became the victims of a *furor Americanus* which can only be described as pathological."⁷⁹ Nowhere was that more obvious than in Covington—and especially in Latonia in July of 1918.

A Flag in Every Home on the Fourth of July

Thursday, July 4, 1918 was a holiday. A day to spend with one's family and neighbors, celebrating the many benefits of living in the Land of the Free.

The Citizens' Patriotic League saw this holiday as a great opportunity. They issued a statement, dutifully published by the *Kentucky Post*, calling for prayer and the display of Old Glory from every home. They further urged that new flags replace old, tattered ones, so that the "Kaiser and his army of murderers of women and children" might see them.⁸⁰

Who could argue with the idea of flying the flag on the Fourth in the middle of a terrible war? Undoubtedly most people who were able to, did unfurl their flags. Most people did not know that the CPL's plea for flags unfurled in every home, was actually setting the stage for a greater drama that they had carefully been planning for months. The Fourth of July was the moment they'd been waiting for.

In Latonia, families might have picnics in their yards. Relatives might come in from downtown Covington on the streetcar to visit. Flags would, indeed, fly. It was a day to sit on the porch, drink beer and lemonade, and enjoy each other's company.

Prayers were offered for sons, brothers and friends who would not be on the porches this Fourth of July because they were fighting in Europe. Some, of course, would never come home. Those shivers of fear made one appreciate all the more the family and friends together on a holiday.

For a few families in Latonia, the holiday did not unfold as they had imagined. Not at all.

Late in the afternoon, the Covington police came to the handsome Kruse mansion. To the utter astonishment of everyone in the family, especially J.H. himself, they said he was under arrest, charged with "treason, felony and misdemeanors." He had no idea what they were talking about. This was obviously a horrible mistake. He was being treated in a manner entirely foreign to what he was used to. As the police brusquely escorted him down the front steps of his house, it all seemed unreal. He caught a glimpse of his daughter holding onto the pillar of their front porch, then he was off to court.

A similar scene was unfolding at the Winston Avenue home of Charles Schoborg, and at the mansion on the hill where Henry Feltman lived.

Charles Wagner, age 41, a former grocery manager, Matt Felton, 69, a contractor, J.C. Masten, a farmer, and Herman Rawe, 76, a Civil War veteran, were also arrested and brought into state court.⁸¹

As the men were brought into a specially convened "court of inquiry" for arraignment, they were met by a crowd of 400 cheering spectators. Near the front of the court, all the men recognized Commonwealth Attorney Stephens Blakely and his assistants, Harvey Myers and John B. O'Neal. Certainly none of this seemed normal for any kind of judicial inquiry.⁸²

"Divers and Sundry Treasons"

The seven men were charged with "divers and sundry treasons," as well as having committed "treason, felony and misdemeanors." It began to dawn on them that they were the real stars of the July Fourth Celebration the Citizens' Patriotic League had been planning. The timing of the arrests had been carefully orchestrated for maximum political impact.

The information the prosecution filed with the court had been gathered by the CPL as well as from a dictagraph, an electronic listening device, which that organization had placed in Schoborg's shop.

This revelation stunned the men. Schoborg tried to think back on how this could have happened. Kruse tried to piece together how his visits to his friend's shop could have somehow resulted in this. None of them could believe it was happening.

Before Judge John B. Read, who was presiding over the inquiry, J.B. Moore, a private detective employed by the Jackson Detective Agency, read the alleged statements of the men. The reading of the transcriptions took several hours.⁸³

The purpose of the court of inquiry, the first of its kind ever in Kenton County, was to determine whether or not the allegations justified federal warrants. The court determined that they did, and trial dates were set.

Both state and federal courts must have felt that this was an important case because, even though it was a holiday, the courts had Commonwealth Attorney Blakely prosecuting the case, assisted by Myers, O'Neal, and U.S. District Attorneys Thomas Slattery and Edward M. Gatliff. The fact that Blakely, the prosecuting attorney, was also president of the Citizens' Patriotic League, thus constituting a clear conflict of interest, did not seem to deter the proceedings.⁸⁴

The court bound the men over to the federal government, which then swore out warrants for the men based on the Sedition Act. All seven were released on bonds ranging from zero to \$15,000, pending a preliminary hearing scheduled for July 13, 1918. Given the wages of the period, that was a heavy bond. Most of the men guaranteed bond for each other. Feltman guaranteed the bond for two people, brothers, wives and other defendants served as guarantors for the rest.⁸⁵

The day after the arrests, Blakely records in his diary a rather understated account of the arrests.

*Friday July 5th, 1918
After the big German expose yesterday,
was congratulated on all sides. Took Laurie
[his brother] to train today. He leaves for
Louisville—then to Great Lakes to serve
in the Navy during the war.*

The Schoborg Case

Exactly how the information which formed the basis of the charges had been acquired surfaced slowly over time. Apparently Schoborg's shop had come under suspicion when other "more patriotic" neighbors had been there. They heard his supposedly "pro-German" statements, and treasonous singing of German songs.⁸⁶

Back as early March, 1918, the W.H. Jackson Detective Bureau of Cincinnati had placed a dictagraph machine in the shop, at the request of the Citizens' Patriotic League.

According to one of the detectives, the dictagraph worked by magnifying "scarcely audible words" until they could be "very distinctly heard by the operator at the receiving end." It should be noted, however, that the device amplified, but did not record. It was merely a listening device, not a recording device.

The detectives took notes on any "pro-German" conversation they heard, and at the end of the day transcribed the notes, and made daily reports.

In order to install the dictagraph, employees of the Union Light, Heat and Power Company were hired. They gained access by telling Mr. Schoborg that they had to test the voltage level in his store. The dictagraph was secreted inside a gas meter.

The detectives encountered several problems with the secret installation of the device. They had decided that the only place large enough to conceal the receiver was in the base of a grandfather clock in Schoborg's shop, but the wires protruded as they ran to the basement. They came up with the idea of hiding the wires behind the wallpaper, but that created more problems.⁸⁷

There were obvious difficulties in finding a matching paper with which to make the patch, and getting someone to hang the camouflaging paper. A detective had to search several cities before the matching paper was found, and hiring a paperhanger meant letting other people in on the scheme. Fortunately, one of the men had paperhanging experience sufficient to paste the new paper over the wires.⁸⁸

The dictagraph had to be removed twice, once when Schoborg's shop was being painted, and again for an unspecified reason. Then they found that the ticking of the clock made it difficult to hear. They tried to wind the grandfather clock down so it would stop its distracting ticking and tolling, but someone wound it again, so they had to become accustomed to the sound.⁸⁹

From March to July, the operatives sat in the basement of the First National Bank of Latonia beneath Schoborg's shop, listening to whispery conversations and the ticking clock, and taking notes. They declared that they could hear well enough not only to make out what was said, but to distinguish who said it. The detectives took note only of any disloyal or "pro-German" conversations, but no other talk.

The whole operation cost between \$1000 and \$1500, but the CPL could easily afford it. They were very well funded through donations from supporters. The CPL handled the whole thing, from hiring the private detectives, to planting the bug, and seeing that reports reached the appropriate authorities.⁹⁰

When the defendants heard that they had been systematically listened to since March, they could hardly believe it. They were well respected men. They were amazed to think that day by day as they'd

lived their ordinary lives, their private conversations with each other had been monitored—and were now being used against them.

This had begun just after the CPL had been successful in lobbying for the cessation of the teaching of German in the schools. It was about the same time that they began staging the big rallies. It began the month before Stephens Blakely's seven-year-old son died. All this time the men had sat in the basement. All this time they had reported back to their clients.

The reports were made jointly to the CPL and to the U.S. District Attorney, or the State Attorney.⁹¹ It was not unique during WWI for a "patriotic" group to conduct investigations that would seem to be the job of police or official investigators. It shows, however, how a blurring of public and private war hysteria marked this era.

J. Henry Kruse's life started unraveling almost immediately. After the arraignment he went to William Riedlin, owner of Bavarian Brewery, and resigned his executive positions there. Riedlin was a longtime friend—and a German. He was reluctant to lose Kruse as Secretary and Treasurer of the Brewery, positions he'd held for 35 years. Still, times being what they were, he accepted the resignation.

The Covington City Commission wasted no time in passing a resolution to change the name of Mr. Kruse's street. On July 9, they ordered Kruse Avenue in Latonia to be changed to James Avenue, in honor of Senator Ollie James. It was said that Latonia residents had asked for the change. The once good name of Kruse had become objectionable since his arrest for alleged "seditious remarks." The *Kentucky Post* carried the story as a headline on page one.

The Citizens' Patriotic League stayed busy. The July 10 *Kentucky Post* carried a banner headline shouting "No German Papers." A warning placard from the CPL was printed below the headline. The placards were posted throughout Kenton County by the League during the night of July 9. The first was posted at the Covington approach to the Roebling Suspension Bridge, the main artery between Covington and Cincinnati.

Members of the CPL had also called in person at the offices of the *Volksblatt* and the *Freie Presse*, German language papers, to leave their placards. While their appearance there caused "considerable consternation," the card bearer merely said, "Give this to your editor." Obviously enough said, because the Latin phrase at the bottom of the placard, *Verbum Sap*, means "A Word to the Wise is Sufficient."⁹²

Blakely himself was to be in charge of yet another rally at the Latonia Racetrack—this one in celebration of Bastille Day. The rally was intended to demonstrate solidarity with the French and other allies. He explained, without a hint of irony, that "it was in the Bastille that persons who dared raise their voices against tyranny were confined on order of the autocratic king."⁹³

On July 13, the *Kentucky Post* proclaimed, "Support Is Given to League." The efforts of the CPL to "stamp out all traces of pro-Germanism" were vigorously praised at a meeting of the East End Improvement Association. This group had just formed and they commended the CPL especially for "bringing to the bar of justice those who seek to destroy the country..."⁹⁴

That same day the seven defendants in the Schoborg case reappeared in court. Most of the defendants had secured the services of Sherman McPherson, a prominent Cincinnati attorney who took a number of Espionage cases during this period.⁹⁵

By July 25, the CPL had expanded its campaign against German newspapers to Newport. The window of a grocery store owned by Joseph Scholtz, was painted with the words, "This place subscribes to a German newspaper." He'd been visited by a crowd of men who demanded he cancel his subscription to a German paper. When he refused, they painted the sign with the intention of driving away his business.

Scholtz took the situation in hand, and painted under their words, "Also Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps." He held that he was not pro-German, and that he took the German paper because it was easier for him to read than one in English.⁹⁶

The threat made by the Citizens' Patriotic League that German newspapers would be banned by August 1 carried weight. Newspaper carriers in Kenton County voluntarily decided to quit handling German papers, although they were still available through the mail.

August 1 was also the day when Stephens Blakely's wife, Jane, gave birth to a son—who died a few moments later. Personal tragedy again for Blakely.⁹⁷

In the Schoborg Case, the federal grand jury met and charged all seven men. Schoborg was indicted on 32 counts, Feltman on 24, Kruse on 15, and the other four on varying counts.⁹⁸

The indictments alleged, among other things, that the defendants had tried to “favor the cause” of Germany, to oppose the United States, to bring the armed forces of the United States into “contempt, scorn and disrespect,” to cause and incite “insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty” in the armed forces of the United States, and to interfere with the success of the armed forces.⁹⁹

These fellows must have been really accomplished spies to have achieved all that, while smoking their pipes and talking *only to each other* in a small town cobbler’s shop. Especially since the youngest was 56.

The men pled not guilty and their cases were bound over for trial, with Schoborg’s scheduled first. From this point on McPherson was assisted by attorneys Stanley Bowdle, a former U.S. Congressman, and O.M. Rogers.¹⁰⁰

Before trial, McPherson filed a demurrer to the indictment, claiming the amended Espionage Act was unconstitutional, and that it abridged the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech. McPherson and Bowdle argued that “it did not constitute a violation of the law for a man to express an honest opinion in a private place to private people under private circumstances.”¹⁰¹

U.S. District Attorney Thomas Slattery, who prosecuted the case, disagreed saying war time circumstances allowed Congress to pass any legislation to assist in that war. Judge A.M.J. Cochran agreed with the prosecution stating that “freedom of speech does not enter into this case...”¹⁰² And who could argue with that?

Cochran continued that the amendment [the Sedition Act] could not be held unconstitutional in his opinion, as “no one should be permitted to make remarks against their country even in privacy.”¹⁰³

The court proceeded with jury selection. The names of the jury members appeared in the local papers. [Given the climate of intimidation, the fact that the jurors names were printed in the newspaper could have exerted a certain pressure on them. If they failed to deliver a guilty verdict, would they face retaliation themselves?]¹⁰⁴

The trial began on August 21 under a frenzy of media attention. The prosecution team was headed by Slattery, and Assistant District Attorneys H. Clay Kauffman, Edward M. Gatliff, and Charles Fennell. They opened with an argument that Schoborg had intended to aid Germany and oppose the United States, and that he had

criticized Thrift Stamps. The defense team opened by declaring that Schoborg’s talk did not interfere with the operation of the war in any way.¹⁰⁵

The prosecution held that Schoborg had said,

...This is a damn war for money. If it were not for the damn Bonds and Thrift Stamps we would not be in this war. Somebody is getting rich. Not me, that is a cinch... Well, for my part, I will see them in Hell before they get any of my money. They must think that a man is a damn fool. It is give, give and give and what do you get in return? They laugh at you and say, there is another easy Dutchman...¹⁰⁶

The government opened its case by calling the detectives who listened to the dictagraph, as well as the ULH&P employees who installed it, all of whom described the operation of the device and what was heard over it.¹⁰⁷

The detectives listed more of Schoborg’s allegedly pro-German statements:

England don’t give a damn for America, Americans are so pinheaded, they can’t see it.

John B. O’Neal never gave more than \$2 to the Red Cross, although he is a rich man worth \$85,000.

Nobody approves of the raiders and I got an S&W 38-calibre gun all cleaned up for them if they come to my house.¹⁰⁸

In the first and second days of the trial, very little newspaper coverage was given to the defense’s case. They did mention questions asked by the defense, concerning the pretenses under which the dictagraph was installed—supposedly by men from the utility company to test electricity. This demonstrated that deception was used to entrap the men.¹⁰⁹

The prosecution called more witnesses who recalled conversations they’d had with Schoborg. Detective Mitchell Schuman told of how he’d heard Schoborg pull out maps of the routes used by U.S. transports on the way to France, and how he’d discussed them with other defendants.¹¹⁰

Detective Schuman also told how he identified the different voices. He’d elicited help from employees of the First National Bank upstairs. H.B. Beck, a cashier, and Pack Ware, a porter, identified the men to him as each spoke.¹¹¹

The prosecution called other people who had allegedly heard Schoborg make disloyal remarks, including, “the majority of men of prominence in this

country are of German origin..." Three witnesses declared they had overheard the defendant "singing in a language that was not English."¹¹²

After two days, the prosecution had shown that Schoborg had made many supposedly "pro-German" statements, but there was no evidence that his comments had any effect outside his shop.¹¹³

This lack of evidence prompted McPherson to argue that "the statements contained in the indictment were private opinions privately expressed, and as they were not made in the presence of men within the draft age, did not in any way injure the army or navy or interfere in the prosecution of the war against Germany."¹¹⁴

When the defense began its case, it called Schoborg himself to the stand, and his testimony took the whole day. The defendant explained that he had come from Hanover, Germany to America in 1857, and catalogued the numerous civil and elected offices he had held in Covington and Latonia. Schoborg acknowledged that he knew the other defendants, and he stated, "I have been as loyal to the United States as any man can be, at this time and all the time."¹¹⁵

Schoborg described the visits of the men who installed the dictagraph, saying the men told him that it was an electric meter. He said they had returned twice to remove the instrument, claiming on both occasions that the meter had to be serviced, and that the device was reinstalled soon thereafter on both occasions.

Schoborg denied making most of the statements in the indictment. He stated that he had contributed to the war effort, in that he had bought three Liberty Bonds, some Thrift Stamps and had contributed to the Red Cross. He added that he had always stated publicly that "the United States, with its allies would be victorious." He tried to explain away some of the allegations, perhaps a bit thinly, by saying he had never even heard the German songs he was alleged to have sung.¹¹⁶

He exhibited an atlas and explained that he would show people where places were if he was asked, thus explaining his supposed use of maps and discussion of shipping routes.¹¹⁷

The defense resumed, calling Henry Feltman. He denied having heard any of the statements alleged in the indictments. He said that he remembered Schoborg saying, "Germans as a rule are successful in business enterprises. Where would this country be without its German population?"¹¹⁸

Feltman said he had opposed the war at its outset, but that after the United States declared war, he supported it with over \$45,000 in financial contributions. He explained that he had bought \$15,000 worth of Liberty Bonds, "\$30,000 worth of certificates of indebtedness" and \$1000 worth of Saving Stamps. He said that he had contributed \$250 to the Red Cross, that his wife and daughters were active Red Cross workers, and that he approved of their work. He said that he had done nothing to help Germany.¹¹⁹

Under cross examination, he said that his early opposition to the war was because of the bloodshed and his memory of the U.S. Civil War. He testified that he had no sympathy with Germany. Feltman denied having applauded the sinking of the Lusitania, but his denials were qualified and not entirely convincing.¹²⁰

When Feltman was finished, J.H. Kruse was called, but his testimony was brief. He too claimed not to have made or heard any disloyal statements or to have praised Germany. He said that "he never expressed a desire for Germany to win." On cross examination, however, it came out that Kruse had heard commendations of Hindenburg and Ludendorff. He denied that it contradicted his earlier claims, saying that it was not praise to acknowledge that they were good generals.¹²¹

The defense called the other four defendants as well. Various ones among them said that they were in sympathy with the United States, and that they had consulted an atlas to see where the armies in France were. Some said that even though their sympathies had lain with the Central Powers, this was only until the U.S. declared war. One said that he had heard little of the conversations because he was very deaf. The defense closed with a character witness for Schoborg, who stated that the defendant was a "good, square man."¹²²

The defense attorneys argued that the evidence was insufficient, and that the Espionage Act was indefinite and abridged the freedom of speech. Judge Cochran again denied the motion, saying "...The law is directed against manifest disloyalty."¹²³

The results of this case make it interesting to consider exactly what Judge Cochran determined "manifest disloyalty" to be.

The case was then given to the jury. After spending approximately one minute per count, the jury returned a guilty verdict. Schoborg was liable for a maximum sentence of 480 years and a heavy fine.¹²⁴

He was allowed to renew his \$15,000 bond, which had been guaranteed by Henry Feltman. Schoborg was allowed to go while awaiting sentence which was to be pronounced at the end of all the trials.¹²⁵

Henry Feltman's trial began the following Tuesday, September 3. The evidence against Feltman was similar to that against Schoborg, so their trials were expected to be similar.

Feltman was charged with saying, among other things,

Don't you worry, the worst and the very worst that Germany can get out of it is a draw or an even break...

They [the Red Cross] are getting away with more money than it takes to run the German army; one hundred million dollars is an awful lot of money to buy bandages with; they will get none of my money.

The Germans are going through like a streak and things look rosy all around. It is a shame we cannot get the truth by way of England. If you want the truth you must get it from Germany, for you can depend upon Germany telling the truth...when the right thinking people wake up there will be a second revolution in this country, and I would like to see it.

Regarding a Red Cross sign that someone had stuck on his car in a garage, he wanted to know

Who put the damned thing on, for I don't want it on.

The poor people I meet are complaining that ministers in the church are all the time crying about Liberty Bonds, Thrift Stamps, and Red Cross—these people resent this. They are poor people and haven't the money.

The prosecution called the technical "experts" who described the installation and operation of the dictagraph, as they had before. Detectives and business associates recounted Feltman's alleged seditions.

As he did in Schoborg's trial, McPherson moved to have the case dismissed, but once again, Cochran denied the motion.

The defense opened by calling Feltman to the stand. He issued a general denial to the allegations, told of his financial support for the war, and support for Red Cross work. He denied having "any relatives or interests in Germany."

On cross examination, Feltman said that he desired to see Germany's army defeated, the allies in Berlin, and that he did not want to see the British defeated.

Schoborg was called next, for the defense. He said he knew Feltman well and that the defendant never discussed a social revolution, nor had he expressed disgust for the English.¹²⁶

Next, Kruse was called to the stand for Feltman. He said that the defendant never talked about the war, even though "he frequently spoke of Liberty Bonds and Thrift Stamps." Kruse went on to deny that Feltman had made any seditious comments, and said that Schoborg's shoe shop was just a "sort of loafing place."¹²⁷

Finally, three character witnesses, including two doctors, were called and they testified that Henry Feltman was a truthful man. The defense rested.

In closing arguments, Slattery stated that "the shop where these men gathered was a breeding place of sedition, where treason was dealt out like poison."

Judge Cochran instructed the jury in a forty-five minute charge. However, they were able to return their guilty verdict in even less time—25 minutes. Feltman's sentence was delayed, and his bond renewed.¹²⁸

On September 6, 1918, the day after Feltman was convicted, the trial of Henry Kruse began. The prosecution read the indictments, including the accusation that Kruse had said, "Wilson would make good yet if he would call back the Americans, but he is scared."¹²⁹

The prosecution brought in the installers first and then the detectives, as they had in the previous two trials. J.M. Moore of the Jackson Detective Agency testified that Kruse talked about the business of the Bavarian Brewery, thus allowing Moore to learn to identify his voice. This time, however, the detectives went far beyond the statements alleged in the newspaper to have been in the indictment. They added juicier comments like, "The German army works like clockwork. and, "the Red Cross is a plain case of graft;"

When the subject of an explosion in a Pittsburgh munitions plant came up, Kruse is alleged to have said,

...they would lay it on the Dutch anyway ...they might as well have the game as the name ...if they would blow up a few more of them it would kind of show them that America is not the whole cheese.¹³⁰

Also regarding some men in Lima, Ohio who'd been forced to kiss the flag, he is alleged to have said "... tomfoolery... authorities nor anyone would attempt anything like that in Covington—too many Germans, they would be mobbed."¹³¹ If indeed Mr. Kruse did say that, that would be one thing about which he had, very definitely, been wrong.

Doctor L.C. Wadsworth testified that Kruse had said, "Newspaper reports of the war are not correct, they are lies. War will be over in three or four months because the United States soldiers cannot get over there in time to aid the allies." Wadsworth had also been among the men who gathered regularly for talk and camaraderie at Schoborg's shop. After this testimony, the prosecution ended its case.

O.M. Rogers said that statements alleged in the charges against Kruse had been made before the Sedition Act had broadened the scope of the Espionage Act, therefore he was not liable to punishment for them. Rogers also pointed out that Kruse was acquainted with Schoborg socially which was the reason for his visits to the shop.¹³²

The defense opened by calling Mr. Kruse, as they had in Mr. Feltman's case. He described how he had been born and raised in Covington, and his years as an executive at the Bavarian Brewery. He said that his parents had been born in Germany, that they had a grocery in Covington, and described his father's public service.

Kruse stated that he had supported the war effort. He'd served on a committee selling Liberty Bonds and soliciting for the Red Cross. He said he had bought over \$2000 worth of War Savings Stamps and Liberty Bonds. Kruse added that he always attended patriotic meetings.

He testified that he had visited Schoborg's shop almost nightly for ten years. He denied especially focusing on the subject of the war in the shop. He stated that many different subjects were bantered about in casual talk among friends. He said that Dr. Wadsworth and Schoborg often talked about the war in his presence. He went on to say that he had gotten his information about the naval battle from a harness dealer. He finally admitted discussing the explosion in the munitions plant, but denied making the alleged statement.¹³³

Three character witnesses and Charles Schoborg were called, all of whom testified to Kruse's loyalty. Schoborg denied the seditious statements attributed to Kruse. With this, the defense rested.

Judge Cochran submitted only six of the charges to the jury. Three counts charged the defendant with "by word, supporting the cause of Germany, and the other three charged that he opposed the course of the United States in the war."¹³⁴

Cochran admonished the jury that "by disloyalty we mean a state of mind or heart" and if they believed the defendant's "mind and heart is with the country's enemy, they should find him guilty." However, Cochran added, at McPherson's request, that the jury not let its wish or desire for the United States to win the war interfere with its decision in the case.

All the same, the jury returned just twenty minutes later with a verdict of guilty. The time was 9:36 AM.¹³⁵

The *Kentucky Post* gave a detailed report of the trial the next day. Right next to the column on Kruse's trial was a large photo of a forlorn-looking old woman. The headline was: "Granny Has Eight of Her Boys Over There for Democracy."

Sentencing for Schoborg, Feltman, and Kruse would be pronounced on Friday the 13th of September, 1918.¹³⁶

C.H. Wagner, another of the defendants in the case, was set for trial after Kruse. Cochran issued a continuance while he considered proposals by the defense. Rawe's and Felton's cases were also put on hold. While Schoborg's trial was going on, J.C. Masten entered a guilty plea, which he later withdrew. All were eventually dismissed.¹³⁷

On September 12, Stephens Blakely recorded in his diary "Registered for military service today. Applied for admission to Officers Training school yesterday."

On Friday, September 13th, 1918, Schoborg, Feltman and Kruse all received lengthy prison sentences. Schoborg, aged 66, was given ten years, Feltman, aged 65, was given seven and a \$40,000 fine. Kruse, 56, was sentenced to five years. All terms were to be spent at Moundsville Federal Penitentiary in Moundsville, West Virginia. All, however, were allowed to remain free on \$15,000 bond to permit them to appeal.¹³⁸

These were not the only Espionage Act cases being heard in Northern Kentucky at this time. This same day, six other people in only this one district, were sentenced to jail terms running from six months to two years.

On September 14, 1918, in addition to a large article about the sentencing, the *Times Star* carried a brief article under the headline: “J. Henry Kruse Transferred His Property”. It read: “Property involving a large number of lots in Covington and Latonia ... was transferred Friday (9/13) by Kruse and his wife, to the Covington Savings and Trust Company.” This was followed by a long list which enumerated each piece of property by its lot number and identification.

The Kruses had owned quite a bit of property. In order to preserve their own home and grounds on Park Avenue, J.H. had transferred the deed into the name of his friend and former employer, William Riedlin earlier that year. Riedlin was glad to help. The Kruse family continued to live in their home.¹³⁹

Stephens Blakely records in his diary on September 20th, “Successfully passed examination for admission to artillery Officers School with average of 86%.” No more mention is made of his service, however, and the war ended in less than two months.

World War I ends on November 11, 1918

The *Kentucky Post* wrote:

Oh boy, Covington tore the lid loose Monday at 8 AM, and the noise which began at that time was unceasing throughout the day... The mayor closed shops and offices. The Kenton County Defense Council closed the saloons. Whistles blew. Bells rang. At Ninth and Madison, an effigy of the former Kaiser was burned.

The Citizens’ Patriotic League was still at work, even though the war had ended. In the *Kentucky Post* of November 20, 1918, the banner headline reads: “Patriotic League Starts Drive to Bar Use of Foreign Tongues in United States.” Obviously, the Schoborg trials had given them the confidence that they were functioning on a national scale, and they were ready to move into their postwar role.

They composed a resolution which they sent to Congress (and the *Kentucky Post* published) expressing the belief that immigration to the United States should be curbed by more stringent laws, that the numbers of immigrants should be limited, and special care should be taken with regard to the class of immigrants granted admission to America.¹⁴⁰

Most importantly, they strongly urged Congress to forbid the teaching of *any foreign modern language* in any elementary school...public, private or parochial, anywhere in the United States.

This ban would also extend to the publication or circulation of any newspapers or periodicals printed in any foreign language anywhere in the United States, except as directed by Congress.

And one of Northern Kentucky’s three primary newspapers took this seriously enough to print it on their front page.

Later in 1918, the three defendants had jointly appealed to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. The appellate court affirmed their convictions on March 12, 1920.

The *Kentucky Post* ran a one-inch headline: “Sedition Sentences Are Upheld by High Court.” The article reminded the public that the men were facing long prison terms.

The defendants argued that they had only been discussing things among themselves, and so were not covered by the Espionage and Sedition Acts, but the court found otherwise. “However true this might be of the ordinary, casual conversation,” the court held, “it cannot reach the long-continued maintenance of an intensive school of disloyalty...” *Still the fact remains that no direct result of the defendants’ conversations was ever cited in any of the trials.*¹⁴¹

The decision to allow private conversations to be criminalized may seem unusual to us today. However, privacy was not yet a right enshrined by the Constitution. In fact, it was not generally protected until the 1960s with the Warren Court.¹⁴² The “right to privacy” is certainly a hot issue today, and its legal interpretation is still in flux.

The legality of eavesdropping was not brought up in this appeal; the courts generally allowed such actions. Again, it was not until the 1960s that the courts limited, in any significant way, the use of informants or electronic surveillance.¹⁴³ And again today, this issue is before the public—and still in flux.

In 1968, Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. This generally prohibited the use of evidence gathered by private citizens and placed limits on wiretapping by government officials. The act “authorizes the interception of private wire and oral communications, but only when law enforcement officials are investigating specified serious crimes and receive prior judicial approval, an approval that may not be given except upon compliance with stringent conditions.”

Those conducting the eavesdropping in the Schoborg case would seem to have violated all three of those requirements. However, the boundaries

of these requirements are currently being explored by the Patriot Act and related surveillance measures that have been employed by government during the current administration.

Those of us hearing this story in 2007 would be likely to assume that the dictagraph made a physical recording of speech. As mentioned earlier however, a dictagraph is a listening device not a recording device. Therefore the possibility exists that the alleged conversations could have been fabricated. The court did not consider this.

The primary question still remains whether or not these men presented a “clear and present danger.” It is obvious that they did not. The men spoke only to each other, and generally ceased talking when others entered the shop. None of the men present were of draft age, so there was no way any of them could have been influenced to “dodge” the draft. Finally, the men had all bought sizeable amounts of war bonds and stamps. The Latonia men did not present any danger worthy of arrest and trial—and certainly not worthy of prison terms.¹⁴⁴

In April, the three men appealed their cases to the U.S. Supreme Court, which denied their petitions for a hearing on June 7, 1920.¹⁴⁵

Bettman Disagrees

Between the time of the trials and the Appeals Court decision, these cases had come under review by the Department of Justice. Alfred Bettman, who handled such matters, recommended dismissal of all three cases. Bettman wrote:

I do not believe that the Espionage Act was intended to reach conversations of so private and confidential a nature that it took a detective agency to hear them. However sympathetic with the German cause the defendant[s]...may have been, they must have been remarkably law abiding when nothing could be discovered against them except by means of a dictagraph installed to catch a private conversation held between men of the same point of view and knowing each other to be of the same point of view.

Bettman also viewed the whole process of the cooperation of the Citizens’ Patriotic League and the U.S. attorney in convicting these men as inexcusable and as another reason for dismissal.¹⁴⁶

Finally, Bettman revealingly commented that “for what it may be worth, I desire to add my personal skepticism about the truth of the alleged disclosures of the dictagraph. I know William

H. Jackson, [Jackson Detective Agency] his character and his methods, and would not believe anything which he or his agency would testify to.”¹⁴⁷

Postwar Lawsuits

While the appeals of the three Latonia men dragged on, 1919 was a year for postwar lawsuits launched by some of those who had been unfairly treated during the war.

A \$50,000 lawsuit was filed by prominent Covington attorney, Frederick W. Schmitz against Lewis L. Manson, Covington Police Court judge. The suit alleged that in December, 1918 and January, 1919, the defendant had acted as an “assassin of a man’s name and character.” Lewis J. Manson, a resident of Latonia, was a longtime member of the Citizen’s Patriotic League.¹⁴⁸

Specifically, it asserts that Judge Manson had said Mr. Schmitz was a German spy. He said he had been at a meeting of the Citizens’ Patriotic League and had heard read a list of “German spies.” On that list were several prominent business and professional men of Covington, Newport and Cincinnati, including Schmitz. The suit further claimed Manson had said this list of “German spies, pro-Germans and traitors” would be published in a Cincinnati newspaper.

Schmitz alleged in the case that these accusations were utterly false, and that he never had any interest in any movement to foster the case of Germany or hinder the cause of the United States.

Frederick Schmitz lived at 3804 Glenn Avenue in Latonia, and had his law practice in the Coppin Building in downtown Covington. He had been the attorney for the Board of Education of the City of Latonia, then he had been appointed City Solicitor of the City of Covington. [Replacing Stephens Blakely in that job, incidently.] Schmitz later resigned from the post to resume private practice. When he resigned he urged reform in city government.¹⁴⁹

Schmitz was represented in the case by a familiar cast of characters, attorneys Stanley Bowdle, O.M. Rogers, Martin M. Durrett, Edward Tracy and William J. Duepree. Judge Manson, likewise, was represented by a familiar team—Stephens Blakely, John O’Neal, Harvey Myers, Lewis Brown and L.T. Applegate.

On June 5, 1919, another lawsuit brought a banner headline to the *Kentucky Post*: “CPL Members Sued by Grote.” Joseph C. Grote, Covington insurance agent, filed suit against Stephens Blakely, commonwealth attorney; John B. O’Neal and Harvey

Myers, prominent lawyers; J. Robert Kelley, president of the Kelley-Koett Manufacturing Company; Stanley Ashbrook, and A.S. Hartley, for \$50,000 in damages.¹⁵⁰

Grote's petition alleges that one year earlier on June 5, 1918, the defendants, accompanied by a crowd of other men, entered Frank Rowekamp's tavern at 16th and Greenup Streets. Grote was playing pinochle there with friends.

Grote said that Blakely, "aided and abetted by the codefendants," had attacked the plaintiff "with great force and violence, striking him about the face, head and body" causing him to bleed and suffer painful bruises. Grote charged that the attack was accompanied by violent abuse. He charged that he was forced to mount a table, and "submit to further gross abuse and insults exposed to the crowd in his bruised, battered and frightened condition."¹⁵¹

Grote was 57 years-old at the time of the attack. Blakely was 40, and surrounded by a large crowd of supporters.

The attorneys representing Grote in the case were Frederick W. Schmitz and O.M. Rogers. All defendants were said to be members of the Citizens' Patriotic League. (See pages 15-18 for excerpts from the testimony for this suit.)

On the day when the verdict was due, the courtroom was packed. Judge Harbeson directed the jury that they must find in favor of the plaintiff, because Blakely had admitted striking Grote.¹⁵²

Judge Harbeson had instructed the jury that if they believed Blakely to be guilty of assault, they might consider the provocation of the assault in mitigation of damages. They could award the plaintiff nominal damages of one cent or more as they believed just.

Attorney John Shepard opened for the defendants, spending most of his time on conditions that existed during the war. Frederick Schmitz answered for the plaintiff, comparing the Citizens' Patriotic League to the Night Riders, the Ku Klux Klan, and other vigilante groups.

Maurice Galvin, attorney for the defendants, reiterated to the jury that the judgement could be for one cent only. He said that in spite of the amount of time and testimony involved, it was really a "one cent case."

O.M. Rogers gave the final address to the jury on behalf of the plaintiff. He gave a fiery denunciation of the defendants, and included their attorneys in his

accusations of unfairness. He countered Galvin's minimizing of the case by insisting that this case was one of the most important ever tried in Kentucky.

The jury did indeed find for the plaintiff. Grote had sued for \$50,000 in damages. Though he won the case—he was awarded one cent.¹⁵³

After the verdict, the judge thanked the jury for its services, declaring they had "done a great public good."

Blakely and his friends were jubilant—considering it an unqualified victory. Maurice Galvin smiled happily when the verdict was returned. "It's just as it should be," he said.¹⁵⁴

Things were golden for Blakely. He had received so much praise for his CPL work, law suits were going his way—it was success after success. And then—it was a presentation to royalty.

He writes in his journal:

Wednesday October 22, 1919

This day got the following note from the Belgian Council:

Belgian Consulate

Cincinnati, Ohio Oct. 20, 1919

My dear Mr. Blakely;

I take great pleasure in [giving] you...cards, which will enable you to pass through the guard...to be presented to their Majesties, the King and Queen of Belgium, on Wednesday, at 4 o'clock at Music Hall.

When introducing you and your friends, I want to tell the King what you have done for the cause of Belgium.

*Believe me, Yours very sincerely,
G. A. Aerts*

We fell in at the end of a long line of about a hundred people—when in marched the King. Aerts stopped the line and in a loud voice gave the King my name and said that I was the head of the C. P. L., told him the work that had been done, that while the King was fighting Germans in Europe the League had been fighting there in Covington, that it was the greatest patriotic organization in the country—and he even told the King that we had been sued by the Germans.

The King replied, thanking me and the League, and encouraged us to go on. I then talked with the Queen, shook hands with her as I had with the King, and left forgetting the Crown Prince.

Schoborg, Feltman and Kruse Request Pardon

In July 1920, after their request to bring their cases to the U.S. Supreme Court had been denied, O.M. Rogers, an attorney for the Latonia men, appealed for pardons to Federal Pardon Attorney J.A. Finch. Petitions with hundreds of signatures urging executive clemency went with Rogers to Washington. It was known that President Wilson usually acted on recommendations made by Finch.¹⁵⁵

The proposal for pardon was strenuously opposed by the CPL, represented by Blakely, and the Norman Barnes Post of the American Legion, of which he was a member. While Rogers had been in Washington appealing to Mr. Finch for the pardon, the Legion and the CPL were gathering signatures on petitions protesting any pardons.¹⁵⁶

Before taking action on the pardon, Finch wanted to consult with Judge A.M.J. Cochran, the trial judge, and Thomas Slattery, the U.S. District Attorney of Covington.¹⁵⁷ Both men recommended reduced sentences.

Stephens Blakely and John O'Neal, representing the American Legion, went to Washington to protest the release. They took with them the petitions against pardon which had been circulating bearing thousands of names.¹⁵⁸

On July 27th, the *Kentucky Post* reported that opposing counsels Blakely and Rogers were "...Ready to Go To The Mat..." in "the last fight of the famous Covington dictagraph case."

By mid-September it appeared likely that Wilson would commute the men's sentences. In spite of the strongest efforts by the CPL and American Legion, Finch, the Pardons Attorney, recommended pardon. He sent his recommendation to the Attorney General, with whose approval it would go to Wilson to sign.¹⁵⁹ The men and their supporters were buoyed up with hope for the first time in a long time.

But on November 24th, that hope faded as a Washington despatch said it was unlikely that the cases would be included in Wilson's list of Thanksgiving pardons.¹⁶⁰

Apparently, Pardon Attorney Finch's recommendations had lain on the desk of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for nearly two months. No action had been taken.¹⁶¹

A well-loved political strategy for circumventing what one considers to be undesirable outcomes is to simply do nothing—leave it lying on the desk.

All Hope Lost

All the appeals and fights were over. The *Kentucky Post* of December 6, 1920 shouted the news: "Latonia Men To Go To Moundsville Prison."

The men surrendered to U.S. Court Clerk, John Menzies. After spending four hours in the Covington jail, the men were freed on bond until the following Friday to conclude business affairs. It was Christmas time and the three men were preparing to leave their families.¹⁶²

On December 10th another headline blast from the *Kentucky Post* read, "Last Chapter in Dictagraph Case, Trio On Way To Pen." The three men had presented themselves to the U.S. Marshall, and were put on a train for Moundsville, West Virginia.¹⁶³

It was severely cold in West Virginia that day. Miners were striking for the right to unionize—picketing in the bitter cold.¹⁶⁴

Questions of disloyalty were nearly forgotten by government, now in the throes of Prohibition. Uncle Sam was no longer searching for spies, he was searching for bootleggers.

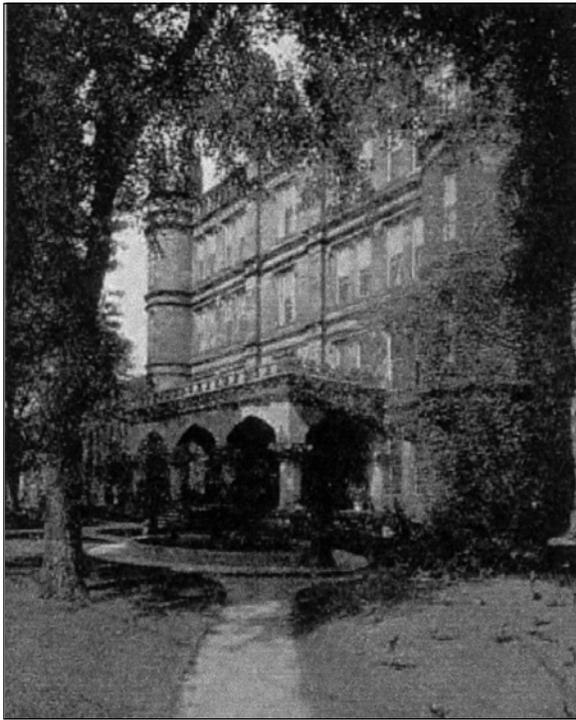
The *Kentucky Post* carried a small piece advising folks to put a lighted candle in their window on Christmas Eve if they wanted Christmas carols sung before their homes. They were told that Mr. and Mrs. Santa Claus and their fairies would go from house to house that night singing.

There was a minstrel show at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Newport that night, and they were expecting a big turnout.¹⁶⁵

Ten days from Christmas, word reached the *Kentucky Post* that the Latonia men had been assigned jobs at Moundsville Prison. Henry Feltman, now 67, was in fragile health after two years of extreme stress. He was given light work. Charles Schoborg, not surprisingly, had been assigned to the prison shoe shop. Henry Kruse was employed in the prison tailor shop.¹⁶⁶

Fortunately, the men did not remain imprisoned long. The day after they were taken to prison, a number of unnamed friends started a petition drive to get the men released.¹⁶⁷

In January, 1921, Pardon Attorney Finch, District Attorney Slattery, Judge Cochran and Attorney General Palmer all recommended clemency for the men. It was stonewalled by President Wilson though, who denied the request.



Moundsville Prison Entrance, Moundsville, West Virginia, 1914.
The forbidding gothic beauty was built in 1876, and closed in 1986. It was an exceedingly bleak place with 5' x 7' cells. Into the early 1900s, prisoners survived on a main diet of dry undercooked beans, potatoes and water. It is unknown whether or not this was still the case in 1920. Tours and ghost hunts are now conducted in the imposing building.



In April a renewed effort was made to free Feltman, whose health was flagging. His \$40,000 fine was postponed.¹⁶⁸

It was a new Spring, and there was a new president in the White House—Warren G. Harding. In late June, after the men had spent about six months in prison, Harding commuted all three sentences, and Feltman's fine was cut from \$40,000 to \$10,000.

Doggedly, the American Legion protested the pardons. They passed resolutions condemning them and published them in the *American Legion Weekly*. The official position of the CPL is unknown because, interestingly, all of their records apparently were destroyed by the group in late 1918. One can assume that they also opposed release.¹⁶⁹

But the attentions of the people of Northern Kentucky had shifted, thus ending one of the more bizarre and dark periods in its history—and that of the nation.

Aftermath

Henry Feltman recovered at home and before long was back to his work in real estate. His wife was active in social circles. She chaired the Kentucky Mother and Child Campaign to help mothers at childbirth, she was vice-president of the Covington Women's Club, and also attended the Rotary Convention. She and Henry entertained from their beautiful home. Feltman was still active in real estate when he died on September 21, 1937, after a short illness. He was quite wealthy when he died, leaving an estate of almost \$2 million.¹⁷⁰

Charles Schoborg returned to his shoe business in Latonia, and was apparently accepted back into society, for his wife was also featured on the society pages. His son, Charles E. Schoborg, and his daughter, Mrs. Emma Gormley, ran the shoe shop on Winston Avenue. Mrs. Schoborg worked there too, after Mr. Schoborg's death.¹⁷¹ Emma Schoborg Gormley and her husband had two sons, Paul and Tom, who ran a ten cent store in Ft. Mitchell in the 1960s. Neither had children.

J. Henry Kruse returned home for a while. But he was a changed man. He had lived for his family, his place in the community, and his work. The Bavarian Brewery had closed in the face of Prohibition, and his friend of so many years, William Riedlin had died in 1920. Kruse was a sensitive man, and being so publicly convicted of crimes of which he was not guilty wounded him deeply. His world of upper middle class stability, respect, and expectation of a continued bright future had all been shattered. His hair was a bit shaggy. His tie was crooked. He shook a little.



**J.H. Kruse—
After**

His family had changed too. His wife Katherine looked grand, as she always had, but her face was a bit drawn, her eyes ever so slightly narrowed with suspicion.

But there were good changes too. His son, Clifford, had married Elsie Marie Jaeger during the war, and they lived in Covington. They had their first child, Albert, in 1918. He was the first grandchild, so Katherine and Henry got to enjoy his toddler years.¹⁷²

The Kruses' oldest daughter, Margaret, had married Bill Stratman, during the war when he was serving in the army, and stationed at Ft. Thomas. Not long after Henry came home, she gave birth to his second grandson, Jack, at the Park Avenue home. That put new joy back into Kruse's heart, and the boy and his grandfather became—and remained—close. As an old man himself, Jack Stratman was still filled with love and admiration for his grandfather, J.H.¹⁷

Helen and Elizabeth were still at home, and family life remained as a comfort and support.¹⁷⁴

He still had friends. J.H. was a kind man, and still enjoyed spending time with his friends, and they with him. Even the warden at Moundsville Prison had felt such a bond with him that he came from West Virginia to visit him at the Park Avenue house.¹⁷⁵

But Latonia was no place for Henry and Katherine any more. It was just too painful. Henry considered arrangements with a young dentist named Lucas J. Lee who was interested in buying the house. He had his dental office in the First National Bank, and he and his new wife, Hazel, were living in a small apartment there. Helen Kruse had long been friends with Hazel, who had grown up around the corner on 36th Street.¹⁷⁶

It seemed unreal to leave the house and estate he had built—where he'd intended to spend the rest of his life. But everything seemed a little unreal then. The house seemed a bit darker, more cavernous. Sometimes in the afternoons he'd just sit and listen to the silence in the house. A ponderous silence.

He made the deal with Lee, and sold off some of the grounds as building lots. They decided to move to Florida—there was a lot going on there then. It was boom time. And it was warm.

The family moved to Lake Worth, Florida just south of Palm Beach, late in 1921. Mr. Kruse never worked again, and they were supported by their children. Occasionally they would come back to Covington to visit family and friends.¹⁷⁷

Margaret and Bill stayed in Latonia, and raised Jack and a second son, James. They lived only a few blocks from where Margaret had grown up.

Clifford and Elsie had another child, Elizabeth, in Covington in 1922. They moved to Florida in 1923, and had two more daughters there, Doris in 1923 and Helen in 1928. Cliff opened a jelly and condiments business there.¹⁷⁸

Helen married George "Buddy" Wingfield and they had one son, Thomas, in Covington in 1924. They travelled to various thoroughbred race tracks where he was working as a starter, but eventually made Miami their official home. Buddy was quite successful, and they were in a good position to help Helen's parents.

The youngest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Elijah Robert Regan early in 1922 at Holy Cross Church in Latonia. They had a son, Robert, in Covington in 1924, and a second boy in 1926 in West Palm Beach, Florida. Sadly, the younger boy, Eugene Richard, only lived to be three years old, which hit the family hard.

Elizabeth and Robert Regan divorced, and in the 1930s Elizabeth and her son Robert moved to Florida to live with J.H. and Katherine. In 1938, they moved to Miami, and in 1940 Elizabeth married Howard Adrian who was from Latonia. He was a Kenton County deputy sheriff, and worked in a Cincinnati defense plant during WWII. The couple had a long distance relationship with Elizabeth remaining in Florida until Robert graduated from high school. Then the two came to Kentucky to join Howard. They lived in Latonia and Fort Mitchell, before finally settling in Miami.

In the early 1950s, when her parents were too old and fragile to take care of themselves, Elizabeth and Howard took them to live with them in Miami. Henry Kruse died there in 1953 at the age of 88. His wife, Katherine, followed him in 1956 at 82.¹⁷⁹

The Citizens' Patriotic League lingered into the 1920s, but eventually faded away.

"Open Reply to...President Blakely Club"

Not all scars were healed in Covington either. In July, 1921, John Richmond, president of the "Blakely Club" sent a circular to Frederick W. Schmitz. The circular itself was an appeal to voters of Kenton County to renominate Stephens Blakely for another term as Commonwealth Attorney at the Democratic Primary in August. It was tauntingly addressed to Capt. Fred'k Von O'Schmitz.¹⁸⁰

In response to this circular Schmitz, an eloquent man, composed “An Open Reply to John Richmond, President Blakely Club...concerning Patriotic Activities.” This is a most searing account of the horror of anti-German vigilante-ism in public record, coupled with a deft, but not entirely unkind, dismissal of the intended insult and insulters.

In the opening of his letter, referring to the addition of “Von” to his surname in the address, he said,

...you have unwittingly complimented me by emphasizing the Teutonic character of my name. I have no apologies to make for God's dispositions, and my father's name is good enough for me. Besides, you will find this very name upon the Honor Roll on the Memorial Tablet in our Court House, and you will find it repeated in the American casualty lists published in the newspapers during the war. You will search in vain for a “Richmond” or a “Blakely.”

I am not in politics except to the extent every good citizen should be. I became one of the community before you were born, and I am firmly convinced that the inherent fairness and good sense of our people will always result in proper decisions at the polls, provided, they have all the facts. I do not believe that you, and those associated with you, will any longer succeed in palming off as patriotic activities what in truth was nothing more than lawlessness.

Schmitz includes detailed excerpts from the record of the Kenton Circuit Court in the case of Grote vs. Blakely, and quotes Woodrow Wilson's Mob Law Proclamation of July, 25th, 1918, in which the president says,

I say that every American who takes part in the action of a mob...is not a true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and of right...

Schmitz continues,

In conclusion let me say, that having had occasional opportunities to get glimpses of your better self, I firmly believe that after you have perused this record of but a portion of the outrages committed against our people in the name of patriotism, you will yourself cast your vote for Mr. Blakely's opponent, who I am sure will never construe his duty of prosecuting public offenses as authorizing him to break the law himself.

When Mr. Blakely shall have been retired to private life, I trust that you and those

associated with you, will not withdraw from him their friendship or good will as he endeavors to find future contentment in private practice.

*Yours very truly,
Frederick W. Schmitz
Covington, Ky., July 14th, 1921¹⁸¹*

Stephens Blakely was not re-elected.

Legacy

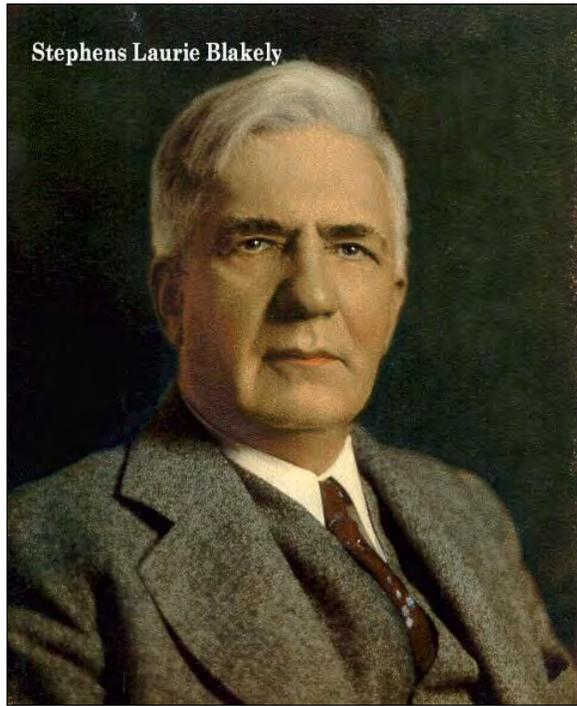
From all of the activity that took place here, Covington gained a certain amount of nationwide notoriety. The Citizens' Patriotic League was held up either as a model to be followed, or a horror to be avoided forever after.

The Schoborg Case attracted national attention. Three Northern Kentucky men wound up in prison for their comments—to each other—which were wholly private. No actions were taken, or even plans made, to interfere with the war. These men posed no danger whatsoever to the war effort or to the public.

The prosecutor relentlessly pursued the case, attempting to drag into the trial any evidence of “un-Americanism,” regardless of its relevance to the trial. The judge's emotional response essentially criminalized unacceptable thoughts. Finally, the Appeals Court upheld the convictions despite the abusive nature of the dragnet which snared the defendants.¹⁶⁴ And the bulldog grip of the CPL and the American Legion refused to let go of the case, even when higher authorities recommended it—two years after the war was over.

Nor did the dark effects of this pathological anti-Germanism disappear with the end of the war. Those accused of being pro-German were still held in suspicion. Communities that had, only shortly before, been proud of their German heritage became convinced that everything German must be purged from their way of life for fear of appearing to be disloyal.¹⁸²

German street names were gone, as were many German family names. Libraries had been emptied of German publications, and schools no longer offered German language classes.¹⁸³ And after a little more time passed they were not even missed. Children no longer learned German at home, and after a couple of generations German ancestry was often forgotten. It was only decades later that interest in Northern Kentucky's German heritage began to revive.



Stephens Laurie Blakely

Courtesy of Margot Woodrough

Stephens Laurie Blakely in later years

Worst of all though is the cloud of toxic fallout that was left over Northern Kentucky, which has been very slow to disperse. The horrible events that happened here during World War I left a scar, but the residue of fear and suspicion that was left behind was harder to detect, and harder to heal. It left a pervasive sense of mistrust that lay below the surface—a vague defensiveness, a slight distrust of strangers, a quickness to leap to opposing camps.

One of the psychological implications of the war was the strengthening of in-group feelings and of hostility toward out-groups. It left a spirit of intolerance.¹⁸⁴ These things were slow to pass.

The things that happened during the anti-German hysteria of World War I, and the ideas and beliefs that caused them, seem horrifying from a modern perspective. Yet, how easy it is, even today, to slide toward those same ideas at times of extreme stress, fear or war.

As Slade Carr, a Holmes High School teacher, who remembered World War I Covington, told his students in the 1930s, “You have *no idea* how war causes people to lose their minds.”¹⁸⁵

In 1923, the Espionage and Sedition Acts were repealed, deemed by Congress to be unconstitutional.

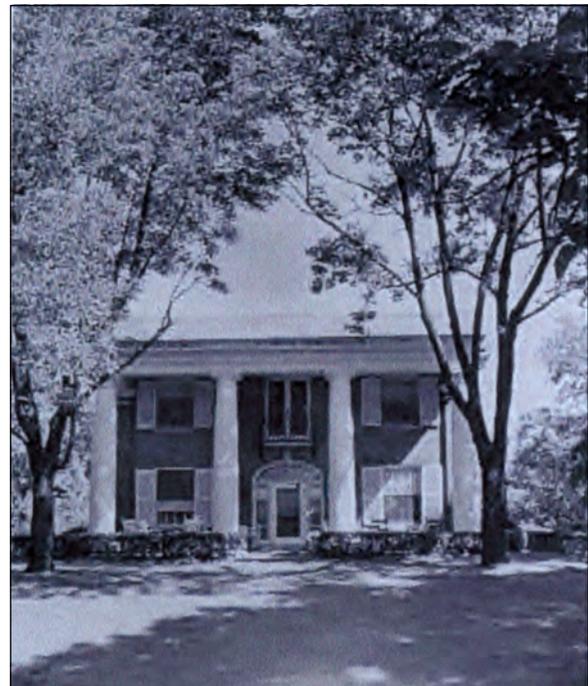
After the war, Stephens Blakely worked at a private law practice. Professionally and socially, he remained astonishingly unscathed by what he’d done during the war.

His wife Jane died in 1928 after a short illness. In 1929, he married Margaret Piatt. Margaret had been married to Jane’s brother, Jacob. He and Stephens had been close friends, but he too had died, leaving Margaret a widow.¹⁸⁶

In 1934 Blakely was again appointed solicitor for the City of Covington. He served in that capacity until 1937, when he retired to accept the position of legal counsel for the Cincinnati, Newport and Covington Transportation Company. He became director and secretary of the organization, serving as such until his death.

However, in 1938, a crippling blow struck Blakely when his oldest son, Steve, aged 31, was killed in an industrial accident. It was just days before he was to be admitted to the Kentucky Bar. He had been married less than a month before. His death left a gigantic hole in the family, particularly for his father and the high hopes he’d carried for his namesake. Steve was the third child Blakely had lost.

The later years of Blakely’s life were devoted almost exclusively to the service of corporate clients. In 1948 he founded the law firm of Blakely, Moore and Blakely, with which he was associated for the remainder of his life. He belonged to the American and Kentucky Bar Associations and was a former



Courtesy of Margot Woodrough

“Beechwood,” Blakely’s fine home on Beechwood Road in Ft. Mitchell is a familiar landmark.

The Citizens’ Patriotic League awarded him a flag pole with a bronze inscription plaque in thanks for his activities. Eventually the flag pole fell, and the plaque was stored in the attic. After his son John’s death, the house was cleaned out. His grandson’s wife was given the brass plaque.

She was so appalled by what it stood for, that she threw it away.¹⁸⁷

president of the Kenton County Bar Association. He was an active member of Blessed Sacrament Parish in Fort Mitchell.¹⁸⁸

In 1949, Blakely helped found the Christopher Gist Historical Society of Covington, and was its first president. He was an active member of the Literary Club of Cincinnati. He wrote and published numerous articles.

He was one of the founders of the Fort Mitchell Country Club in 1904, and enjoyed his membership there for many years. He was a charter member and past commander of the Norman-Barnes Post of the American Legion in Covington.¹⁸⁹

He died in 1958 in Ft. Mitchell, at the age of 80. His obituary points out his special interest in constitutional law. A scholarship was established in his honor at Xavier University on Christmas of 1958.

Stephens Blakely was never held accountable in any way for his actions during World War I.

.

And what of one of those dangerous, subversive characters from Schoborg's "breeding place of sedition—where treason was dealt out like poison?"

A family picture from 1930s Florida may say it best. It shows Henry Kruse wearing an old-fashioned bathing suit, skinny as a rail, solemnly feeding his ducklings.

About the Authors

Lisa Gillham is a writer, artist and historian, specializing in the history and folklore of Latonia, Kentucky. She has written for regional and national publications, and is under contract for an "Images of America" book on Latonia due for release in summer of 2008. She is on the executive board of the Latonia Business Association, and is a co-founder of the Ritte's East Neighborhood Group. She also serves on the board of the Greater Cincinnati Railway Museum.

She lives in J. Henry Kruse's home in Latonia.

Bethany Richter Pollitt is a 2005 graduate of Northern Kentucky University. She is pursuing her Masters Degree at Wright State University and hopes to graduate within the next year.

Endnotes

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2. *Ibid.*
3. *Cincinnati In Wort Und Bild, (In Words and Pictures)* p. 543., Kenton County Public Library; and E. Polk Johnson, *History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*: pp. 1081-1082.
4. *Daily Commonwealth*, August 5, 1880.
5. E. Polk Johnson, *History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*: pp. 1081-1082.
6. *Kentucky Post*, February 28, 1893, p.1; and *Kentucky Post*, March 1, 1893, p.1.
7. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Covington's German Heritage*; Heritage Books, Inc., Bowie, Maryland, 1998; p.91
8. *Kentucky Post*, March 1, 1893, p.1;
9. *Kentucky Post*, October 18, 1893.
10. E. Polk Johnson, *History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*: pp. 1081-1082.
11. Conversation with Judy Mark, Henry Kruse's great granddaughter. Her father was Jack Stratman, son of Margaret Kruse Stratman., 2007. Mr. Stratman lived his whole life in Latonia.
12. Karl Lietzenmayer, "James T. Earle, The Last Mayor of Latonia, Kentucky", *Northern Kentucky Heritage Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 45.
13. E. Polk Johnson, *History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*: pp. 1081-1082.
14. *Cincinnati In Wort Und Bild*, p. 543.
15. Author's correspondence with Bob Regan, J.H. Kruse's grandson, son of Elizabeth Kruse Regan Adrian, 2007.
16. Telephone conversation with John Kupper, 1990s; and Rev. J.B. Reiter, *Brief Historical Sketch of Holy Cross Parish*, Silver Jubilee booklet, 1916.
17. There are various spellings of Schoborg's name in the material of record, including Schoberg, Shoborg, and Shuberg. Not yet having found evidence of the way he, himself, spelled it, I have chosen to use the version from Deutsche Schuetzen Gassellschaft. It seems to be a reasonably credible source.
18. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug was in the Clock: The C.B. Schoberg [sic] Case under the Espionage and Sedition Acts in Kentucky", draft version of article published in *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*.
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20. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Covington's German Heritage*, p.37.
21. *Ibid.*, p.74.
22. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati's German Heritage*, p.3.
23. Copy of original pamphlet of the *Deutschen Pionierverienes, Kenton County Public Library*; and Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Covington's German Heritage*, p.40.
24. The Covington Alliance had its headquarters in the office of Wolff Printing Company, 404 Scott Street, as its owner, Alban Wolff, served as its

- secretary. This is the location of the former “Jack Quinn’s Irish Pub”, now “Molly Malone’s.” Wolff printed an extensive amount of material in German and English for German-American societies and churches in the Greater Cincinnati area. He played a prominent role in German-American affairs in the region. In fact his company continued German-English printing into the 1980s; and Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Covington’s German Heritage*, p. 60.
25. *Ibid.*
 26. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s Germans After the Great War*, p.14; and John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925*, Atheneum Books, New York, 1965, p. 213.
 27. *Kentucky Post*, September 13, 1915, p.1.
 28. Lisa A. Stamm, “The German-American Population of Northern Kentucky During World War I: The Victimization of an Ethnic Group and Its Culture”, *Perspectives in History* 4, No. 2, 1989, p. 5.
 29. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s Germans After the Great War*, p. 14.
 30. Minutes of the Tenth Annual Convention of the German-American State Alliance of Kentucky, September 4-5, 1916. Recorded by Alliance Secretary, Alban Wolff of Covington.
 31. Scott A. Merriman, “An Intensive School of Disloyalty: The C.B. Schoborg Case under the Espionage and Seditious Acts in Kentucky during World War I,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 98, No. 2, Spring 2000, p. 180.; and Jim Reis, *Kentucky Post*, February 14, 1983.
 32. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s German Heritage*, p. 119.
 33. *City Directory 1914*. The building also housed bowling alleys as well as the Germania Building Association organized in 1882. Joe Jansen resided at 636 Bakewell Street in Covington.
 34. Stamm, “The German-American Population...”, pages 7; 42.
 35. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s Germans After the Great War*, p. 15.
 36. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Covington’s German Heritage*.
 37. *Kentucky Post-Times Star*, August 21, 1965, p. 28K, “War Starts—But News Quiet.”
 38. Stamm, “The German-American Population”, p. 6.
 39. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s German Heritage*, p. 132.
 40. Scott A. Merriman, “The Bug was in the Clock...” draft version of article, p.1.
 41. Roy Talbert, *Negative Intelligence: The Army and the American Left, 1917-1941*, University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi, 1991, p. 56.
 42. Scott A. Merriman, “The Bug was in the Clock...”, p.1.
 43. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s German Heritage*, p. 126; and John Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 211; and Scott A. Merriman, “Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: Defendants, Attorneys, and the Federal Government’s Policy Under the Espionage Acts During World War I in the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals District,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2003, p. 114.
 44. *Ibid.*
 45. Stamm, “German-American Population”, p. 10-11.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 47. Scott A. Merriman, “The Bug was in the Clock...” draft version of article, p.1; and *Kentucky Post*, October 18, 1917.
 48. Scott A. Merriman, “The Bug was in the Clock...”; and Stephens Blakely’s Diary, 1909-1922, made available by Margot Woodrough, wife of Blakely’s grandson.
 49. Genealogical Website of Margot Woodrough, including information on Stephens Blakely and family.
 50. *Ibid.*; and Stephens Blakely’s Diary, 1909-1922.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. *Ibid.*
 53. *Kentucky Post*, January 29, 1918; and *Kentucky Post*, January 30, 1918.
 54. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati Germans After the Great War*, p. 15.
 55. Stamm, “The German-American Population”, p. 12.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. *Kentucky Post*, February 2, 1918.
 58. Stamm, “The German-American Population”, p. 12.
 59. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 60. *Ibid.*
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. Stamm, “The German-American Population”, p. 8.
 63. Scott A. Merriman, “An Intensive School of Disloyalty...”, p. 184; and Stamm, “The German-American Population...”, page 8.
 64. William Riedlin was a director of this bank in 1897. James Ernst was president; and Stamm, “The German-American Population”, p. 17.
 65. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
 66. *Kentucky Post*, May 20, 1918.
 67. *Ibid.*
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. *Ibid.*
 71. *Kentucky Post*, May 27, 1918.
 72. *Ibid.*
 73. Stamm, “The German-American Population...”, p. 21.
 74. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 75. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
 76. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 77. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati’s German Heritage*; p. 131.
 78. Frederick W. Schmitz, “An Open Reply to John Richmond, President Blakely Club Concerning Patriotic Activities,” July, 1921, World War I file at Kenton County Public Library, pages 5, 9 and 14.
 79. Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, 1957, p. 267.
 80. *Kentucky Post*, “Fly Flag in Every Home on Fourth is League’s Plea,” July 3, 1918.
 81. Jim Reis, *Kentucky Post*, March 31, 1997.
 82. Scott A. Merriman, “Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times...” p. 308.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
84. *Ibid.*; and Thomas Slattery was born in Mason County, Kentucky, in 1876. He left school at age 14 to become a Deputy County Clerk in Mason County. Later he attended Centre College and began practicing law in Mason County in 1898. He was appointed U.S. District Attorney in 1914. He married Mary Ratterman in 1916, and the couple lived in Cincinnati. He served three terms as Mason County attorney before serving eight years as a U.S. District Attorney. In 1918 he was praised by the Department of Justice for his convictions of men charged with mail fraud.
- However, in 1921, the Harding Administration asked him to resign. He was dismissed six months before the end of his term, in favor of a Republican appointee. Slattery died in 1937 at age 61. (Jim Reis, *Kentucky Post*, March 31, 1997). For his wartime activities before the Schoborg Case, see pages 9 and 13.
85. Passed in May, 1918, the Sedition Act aimed to eliminate the legal necessity of intent which was required under the Espionage Act. Together they were very effective for quashing dissent. They were repealed in 1923 by a Congress that had awakened to the fact that they were unconstitutional.
- Scott A. Merriman, "Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times..." p. 309; and Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug Was in the Clock..." p. 5.
- In 1918, the average annual wage was \$1418 for railroad employees, and \$565 for farm labor. In 1919 it was still only \$1157 for manufacturing work. (Statistical Abstract of U.S., 1918, Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug Was in the Clock..." p.25.)
86. This case is commonly known as the Schoborg Case because Schoborg was listed first in the legal case.
87. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 5.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
91. Accounts vary as to whom the reports were sent.
92. *Kentucky Post*, July 10, 1918.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Kentucky Post*, July 13, 1918.
95. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 6. McPherson and Rogers seem to have been representing at least five of the defendants. Wagner was represented by Bowdle, and Masten did not have an attorney. Bowdle, though representing Wagner, did participate in some of the arguments in the first three trials.
96. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Covington's German Heritage*.
97. Stephens Blakely's diary, 1909-1922.
98. Scott A. Merriman, "Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times..." p. 310.
99. *Ibid.*
100. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 6.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
102. U.S. District Attorney Thomas Slattery had chaired the big May 20th Patriotic Rally at the Latonia Racetrack, which was organized by the Citizen's Patriotic League.
- Judge Andrew McConnell January Cochran was born February 4, 1854, in Maysville, Kentucky. His father, Robert Cochran, was a former state legislator and Maysville City Council president. His great-grandfather was Andrew McConnell, a Kentucky pioneer killed at the battle of Blue Licks.
- Judge Cochran attended school in Maysville, and received college degrees from Centre College and Harvard. He began practicing law in 1877, and became a federal court judge in 1901. He was also vice president of the Bank of Maysville, a director for the Maysville Water Company, the January and Wood Company, and the Securities Bank and Trust Company. He died in 1934 at the age of 80. (Jim Reis, *Kentucky Post*, March 31, 1997.)
103. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 7.
104. Scott A. Merriman, "Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times..." p. 312.
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*
109. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 8.
110. *Ibid.*
111. Scott A. Merriman, "Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times..." p. 314.
112. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 11.
113. Scott A. Merriman, "Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times..." p. 314.
114. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 9.
115. *Ibid.*
116. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
117. *Ibid.*
118. Stamm, "The German-American Population..." p. 28.
119. Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug...in the Clock..." p. 11.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Kentucky Post*, September 7, 1918; and Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty..." p. 195.
125. *Ibid.*
126. *Kentucky Post*, September 7, 1918; and Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty..." p. 196.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Kentucky Post*, September 7, 1918.
129. Stamm, "The German-American Population..." p. 28.
130. Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty..." p. 195.
131. *Kentucky Post*, September 7, 1918.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Ibid.*
136. July 4 and Friday the 13th—these trials missed no opportunity for good theatre.
137. *Kentucky Post*, September 7, 1918.

138. Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty...", page 196.
139. Deed to 3625 Park Avenue property.
140. *Kentucky Post*, November 20, 1918, p.1.
141. Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty...", page 198.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
145. *Kentucky Post*, April 6, 1920; and Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty", p. 200.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 201; Bettman Papers, Container 47, Folio 21, March 15, 1919, UC Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
148. *Kentucky Post*, January 18, 1919.
149. *City Directory 1919*; and *Kentucky Post*, January 20, 1919.
150. *Kentucky Post*, June 5, 1919.
151. *Ibid.*
152. A "directed verdict."
153. *Kentucky Post*, December 28, 1920.
154. *Ibid.*
155. *Kentucky Post*, June 29, 1920; and *Kentucky Post*, July 21, 1920.
156. Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty...", p. 202; and *Kentucky Post*, June 29, 1920; and Stephens Blakely, obituary, 1958, Genealogical Website of Margot Woodrough.
157. *Kentucky Post*, June 29, 1920.
158. *Kentucky Post*, July 21, 1920.
159. *Kentucky Post*, September 13, 1920.
160. *Kentucky Post*, November 24, 1920.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Kentucky Post*, December 6, 1920.
163. *Kentucky Post*, December 10, 1920.
164. *Ibid.*
165. *Ibid.*
166. *Kentucky Post*, December 15, 1920.
167. Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty...", page 202.
168. *Ibid.*
169. *Ibid.* p.203; and Scott A. Merriman, "The Bug Was in the Clock...", p. 30.
170. Scott A. Merriman, "An Intensive School of Disloyalty...", page 203.
171. Stories from author's family tell of old Mrs. Schoborg waiting on customers in the shoe store, wearing a long black apron with a shoe horn hanging on a string from her belt—and bedroom slippers.
172. Author's correspondence with Bob Regan, J.H. Kruse's grandson, 2007.
173. Conversation with Judy Mark, Kruse's great granddaughter, October, 2007.
174. Author's correspondence with Bob Regan, 2007.
175. Conversation with Judy and her husband, Carl Mark, 2007.
176. Author's family.
177. Author's correspondence with Bob Regan, 2007.
178. *Ibid.*
179. *Ibid.*
180. Frederick W. Schmitz, "An Open Reply to John Richmond, President Blakely Club...concerning Patriotic Activities," 1921. Reference copy available in WWI file, Kenton County Public Library.
181. *Ibid.*
182. Stamm, "The German-American Population...", p. 30.
183. *Ibid.*
184. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Cincinnati's Germans After the Great War*.
185. Charles Gillham, memory from Holmes High School, 1930s, 2007.
186. Genealogical Website of Margot Woodrough.
187. Correspondence between Karl Lietzenmayer and Margot Woodrough, 2007.
188. Genealogical Website of Margot Woodrough.
189. *Ibid.*

Photos of Old Latonia Needed

Lisa Gillham is writing a book on Latonia for the Arcadia "Images of America" series, a national series featuring collections of old photographs. As readers of history, you are probably familiar with these handsome books.

Lisa is looking for any kind of photo of Latonia from its earliest days through the 1950s. These can include photos of people, families, homes, businesses, churches, schools, Latonia Racetrack, the L&N Railroad, restaurants, taverns, movie houses, anything related to World War I —or anything else you've got.

Lisa promises to treat your pictures with the utmost care.

Your originals will be returned to you, and your name will appear as a credit on the photo.

She needs these photos as soon as possible. Mid-January, 2008 is final deadline, but would prefer them sooner.

If you have any such photographs, please contact Lisa at 859-581-8612, or by e-mail at themerrybag@aol.com.