



THE JOURNAL
OF THE GILDED
AGE AND
PROGRESSIVE ERA

THE JOURNAL OF THE GILDED AGE AND PROGRESSIVE ERA

Volume 18 • Number 1 • January 2019

SPECIAL FORUM: REASSESSING THE RED SCARE OF 1919–20 AT ITS CENTENNIAL

SPECIAL FORUM GUEST EDITOR: ADAM J. HODGES

ADAM J. HODGES, INTRODUCTION

ARTICLES

Against Intolerance: The Red Scare Roots of Legal Liberalism

Laura Weinrib

Expelling the Foreign-Born Menace: Immigrant Dissent, the Early Deportation State, and the First American Red Scare

Emily Pope-Obeda

New Women in Red: Revolutionary Russia, Feminism, and the First Red Scare

Julia L. Mickenberg

Understanding a National and Global Red Scare/Red Summer through the Local Invention of Solidarities

Adam J. Hodges

DISPATCH FROM THE ARCHIVE

Uncovering the Contradictions in Samuel Gompers's "More": Reading "What Does Labor Want?"

Richard Schneirov

CLASSIC BOOK REFLECTION

George Chauncey's *Gay New York: A View from 25 Years Later*

Brian Stack and Peter Boag

BOOK REVIEWS

Published by the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era
www.jgape.org

Additional sponsors: George Mason University, York University, and Kent State University

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Editors: Boyd Cothran, York University
C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, George Mason University
Book Review Editor: Elaine Frantz Parsons, Kent State University
Book Review Editor's Assistant: Michele Curran Cornell, Kent State University
Editorial Assistant: Laura Crossley, George Mason University
Online Editor: Christopher McKnight Nichols, Oregon State University
Founding Editor, 2000–2003: Maureen A. Flanagan, Michigan State University
Editor, 2004–2014: Alan Lessoff, Illinois State University
Editors, 2013–2018: Benjamin H. Johnson, Loyola University Chicago
Robert D. Johnston, University of Illinois at Chicago

Editorial Board

Cara Caddoo Indiana University	Doug Kiel Northwestern University
Christopher Cantwell University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	Suzanna Krivulskaya University of Notre Dame
Rosanne Currarino Queen's University	Michael Lansing Augsburg University
Greg Downs University of California–Davis	Beth Lew-Williams Princeton University
Cristina Groeger Lake Forest College	Rebecca Tinio McKenna University of Notre Dame
LaShawn Harris Michigan State University	Kevin Murphy University of Minnesota, Twin Cities
Sonia Hernandez Texas A & M University	K. Stephen Prince University of South Florida
Adam Hodges University of Houston–Clear Lake	Alaina Roberts University of Pittsburgh

Alyssa Neumann, *ex officio*
Cambridge University Press

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *America: History and Life*, *Historical Abstracts*, *Scopus*, and in the Thompson Reuters *Social Sciences Citation Index*, *Arts & Humanities Citation Index*, and *Current Contents: Social and Behavioral Sciences*.

Instructions appear at the end of this issue for accessing the online edition at Cambridge Journals Online, <http://journals.cambridge.org/jga>. All content is available from Volume 1, Number 1 through the present. The journal is also archived in JSTOR, www.jstor.org, with issues older than five years available to subscribers of JSTOR's Arts & Sciences V Collection.

Change of Address: Contact alwood@ilstu.edu or go to <http://journals.cambridge.org/jga>

The *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (1537-7814) is a peer-reviewed journal published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006 / Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, U.K., for the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE). It publishes original scholarly essays covering the period 1865 to 1920 and reviews scholarly books on that time period.

Publishing, Advertising, and Subscription Offices: Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006, U.S.A. (for U.S.A., Canada, and Mexico); or Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, U.K. (for U.K. and elsewhere).

Annual institutional subscription rates for Volume 18, 2019, are \$208.00 in the U.S.A., Mexico, and Canada and £136.00 elsewhere for print and electronic subscriptions; and \$163.00 in the U.S.A., Mexico, and Canada and £102.00 elsewhere for electronic subscriptions only. The rate for regular members of the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE) is £/\$48.00 for print and electronic subscriptions. The rate for sustaining members of the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE) is £/\$48.00 for print and electronic subscriptions. The rate for student members is £/\$19 for print and electronic subscriptions. The rate for lifetime membership in SHGAPE is \$500.00 for print and electronic subscriptions. Single part: \$60.00 in the U.S.A., Mexico, and Canada and £39.00 elsewhere. Prices include postage and insurance. *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* and all other Cambridge journals can be found at <http://journals.cambridge.org/>.

Individual subscriptions include a membership in SHGAPE, which in addition to publishing this journal offers book and article prizes, sponsors sessions at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and Organization of American Historians, and edits H-SHGAPE, an H-Net discussion list.

For back issues, please contact Periodicals Service Company, 11 Main Street, Germantown, NY 12526; email: psc@periodicals.com

Manuscripts should be submitted electronically in MS Word format to co-editors, Boyd Cothran and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, at jgape@yorku.ca. Before submitting any manuscript, please consult <http://journals.cambridge.org/jga> for details on correct format and citation style. Information may also be obtained at <https://www.shgape.org/journal/> or via email at jgape@yorku.ca.

© Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE) 2018. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means, photocopying, electronic, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Policies, request forms, and contacts are available at: <http://www.cambridge.org/rights/permissions/permission.htm>.

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC), www.copyright.com, email: info@copyright.com.

Forwarding and return postage guaranteed, address correction requested.

CONTENTS

CONTRIBUTORS	v
EDITORS' NOTE	1
SPECIAL FORUM	
ADAM J. HODGES Introduction: Reassessing the Red Scare of 1919–20 at Its Centennial	3
LAURA WEINRIB Against Intolerance: the Red Scare Roots of Legal Liberalism	7
EMILY POPE-OBEDA Expelling the Foreign-Born Menace: Immigrant Dissent, the Early Deportation State, and the First American Red Scare	32
JULIA L. MICKENBERG New Women in Red: Revolutionary Russia, Feminism, and the First Red Scare	56
ADAM J. HODGES Understanding a National and Global Red Scare/Red Summer Through the Local Invention of Solidarities	81
DISPATCH FROM THE ARCHIVE	
RICHARD SCHNEIROV Uncovering the Contradictions in Samuel Gompers's "more": Reading "What Does Labor Want?"	99
CLASSIC BOOK REFLECTION	
BRIAN STACK AND PETER BOAG George Chauncey's <i>Gay New York: a View from 25 Years Later</i>	120
BOOK REVIEWS	
JAMES L. HUSTON <i>The American and British Debate Over Equality, 1776–1920</i> (J. M. Opal)	133
BETH LEW-WILLIAMS <i>The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America</i> (John S. W. Park)	135

On the cover: *Bolshevism on Trial*, released in April 1919 as the Red Scare escalated, was one of the first and more prominent of a number of anti-communist films released during the era. It had been adapted from a 1909 anti-socialist novel by Thomas Dixon, who had also written *The Clansman*, which influenced the D. W. Griffith film *Birth of a Nation*. Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, soon to become an anti-communist hero, wrote to the New England distribution manager: "I think the idea of the film, *Bolshevism on Trial*, is very timely. We surely need to educate our people along the lines your picture depicts. I hope it will be very successful."

See Anthony Slide, *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 2004), chap. 8. Coolidge quote on p. 140.

PETER KNIGHT	<i>Reading the Market: Genres of Financial Capitalism in Gilded Age America</i>	
GEORGE ROBB	<i>Ladies of the Ticker: Women and Wall Street from the Gilded Age to the Great Depression</i> (Daniel Platt)	137
JOSHUA T. SALZMANN	<i>Liquid Capital: Making the Chicago Waterfront</i> (Alan Lessoff)	140
JULIA GUARNERI	<i>Newsprint Metropolis: City Papers and the Making of Modern Americans</i> (James J. Connolly)	142
JESSICA ZIPARO	<i>This Grand Experiment: When Women Entered the Federal Workforce in Civil War-Era Washington, D.C.</i> (Eric S. Yellin)	144
CHARLES W. CALHOUN	<i>The Presidency of Ulysses S. Grant</i> (Edward Frantz)	145
JOHN HAYES	<i>Hard, Hard Religion: Interracial Faith in the Poor South</i>	
LINCOLN A. MULLEN	<i>The Chance of Salvation: A History of Conversion in America</i> (Andrew S. Hudson)	147
W. J. RORABAUGH	<i>Prohibition: A Concise History</i> (Jonathan S. Jones)	150