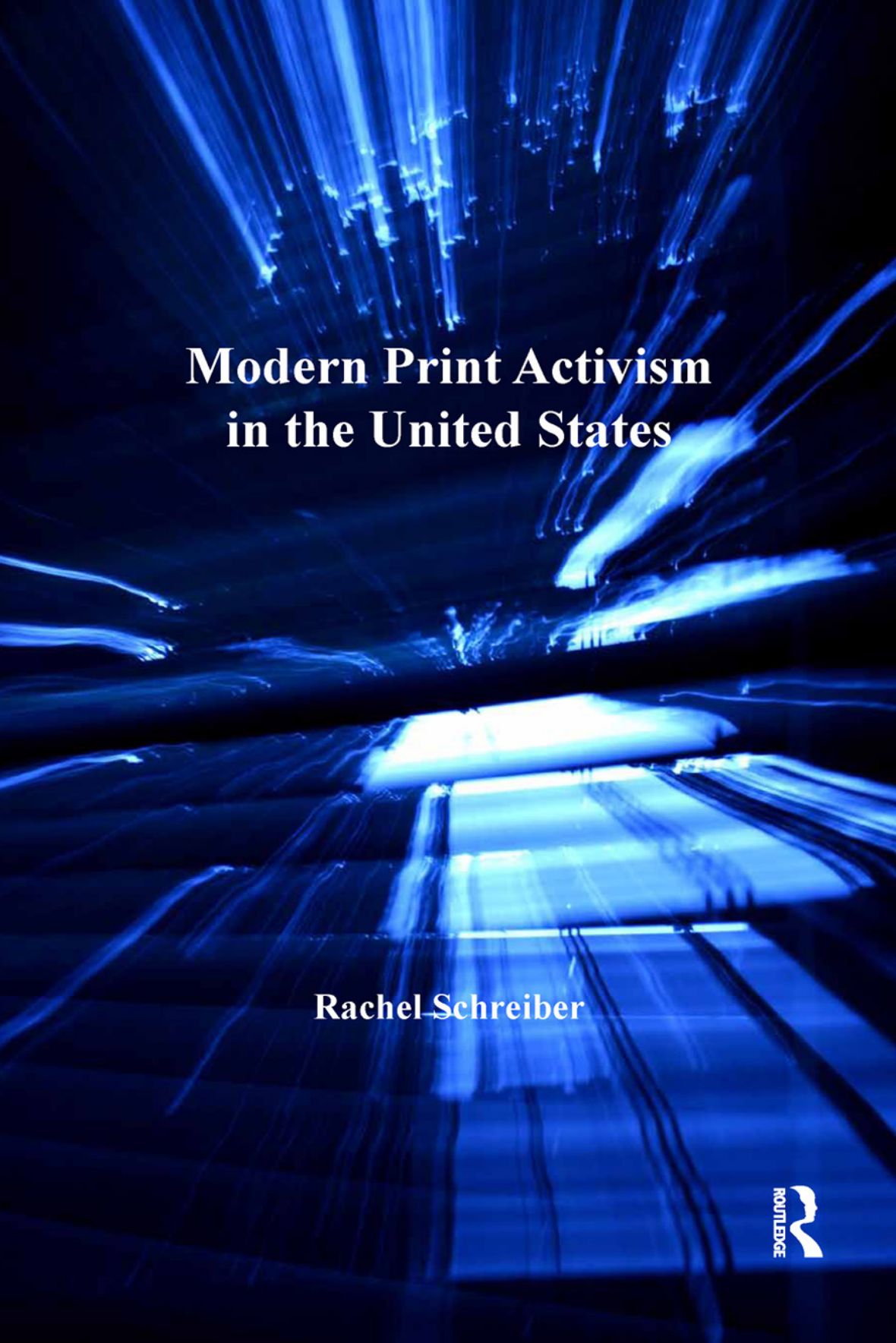
Modern Print Activism
in the United States
Rachel Schreiber
ROUTLEDGE

MODERN PRINT ACTIVISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The explosion of print culture that occurred in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century activated the widespread use of print media to promote social and political activism. Exploring this phenomenon, the essays in *Modern Print Activism in the United States* focus on specific groups, individuals, and causes that relied on print as a vehicle for activism. They also take up the variety of print forms in which calls for activism have appeared, including fiction, editorials, letters to the editor, graphic satire, and non-periodical media such as pamphlets and calendars. As the contributors show, activists have used print media in a range of ways, not only in expected applications such as calls for boycotts and protests, but also for less expected aims such as the creation of networks among readers and to the legitimization of their causes. At a time when the golden age of print appears to be ending, *Modern Print Activism in the United States* argues that print activism should be studied as a specifically modernist phenomenon and poses questions related to the efficacy of print as a vehicle for social and political change.

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Modern Print Activism in the United States

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2013 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Modern print activism in the United States.
1. Periodicals – Publishing – United States – History – 20th century. 2. Periodicals – Publishing – United States – History – 19th century. 3. Publishers and publishing – Social aspects – United States – History. 4. Journalism – Social aspects – United States – History. 5. Social problems – Press coverage – United States. 6. Women – Press coverage – United States. 7. Right and left (Political science) – Press coverage – United States. 8. Social change – United States – History – 20th century.
I. Schreiber, Rachel.
070.5'72–dc23

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Modern print activism in the United States / edited by Rachel Schreiber.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4094-5477-9 (hardcover)

1. Periodicals—Publishing—United States—History—20th century. 2. Periodicals—Publishing—United States—History—19th century. 3. Publishers and publishing—Social aspects—United States—History. 4. Journalism—Social aspects—United States—History. 5. Social problems—Press coverage—United States. 6. Women—Press coverage—United States. 7. Right and left (Political science)—Press coverage—United States. 8. Social change—United States—History—20th century. I. Schreiber, Rachel, editor of compilation.

Z480.P4M63 2013
070.5'72—dc23

2012041825

ISBN 9781409454779 (hbk)

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Feminist Periodicals on the Cusp of the Digital Age, is under contract with Laurier University Press, and her current research focuses upon the relationship between texts and textiles within feminist periodical publications, particularly zines. Her work appears in the *Canadian Review of American Studies*, the *Journal of Gender Studies*, and the edited collection *Not Drowning, But Waving: Women, Feminism, and the Liberal Arts*.

Tirza True Latimer is a licensed contractor and was a founding partner of Seven Sisters Construction, a feminist building collective operating in Berkeley, CA, in the 1970s–1980s. She is now Associate Professor and Chair of the Graduate Program in Visual and Critical Studies at California College of the Arts, San Francisco. She has published work from a lesbian feminist perspective on a range of topics in the fields of visual culture, sexual culture, and criticism. She is coeditor, with Whitney Chadwick, of the anthology *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris between the Wars* (Rutgers University Press, 2003) and the author of *Women Together / Women Apart: Portraits of Lesbian Paris* (Rutgers University Press, 2005). She is co-curator, with the art historian Wanda Corn, of *Seeing Gertrude Stein: Five Stories*, organized by the Contemporary Jewish Museum, San Francisco, and the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC. She is co-author of a companion book bearing the same title (University of California Press, 2011).

Joanne E. Passet is a Professor of History at Indiana University East. As someone who holds a Ph.D. in library and information science from Indiana University and a Ph.D. in US history from the University of Wisconsin, Madison, her research interests have centered on women and print culture history. Her books include *Cultural Crusaders: Women Librarians and the American West*, *Sex Radicals and the Quest for Women's Equality*, and *Sex Variant Woman: The Life of Jeannette Howard Foster*. Her current project is a biography of lesbian feminist editor and publisher Barbara Grier.

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Trevor Joy Sangrey received a Ph.D. from the History of Consciousness Department at the University of California, Santa Cruz. The dissertation "'Put One More "S" in the USA': Communist Party Pamphlet Literature and the Productive Fiction of the Black Nation Thesis" explores how social movements use print culture to effect change with a particular focus on African American radicalism. Trevor's teaching and research engages questions of difference in print ephemera and digital spaces, with a particular focus on race, transgender, and sexuality studies. Trevor currently teaches at Washington University in St. Louis in the Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies program.

Rachel Schreiber is Associate Professor and Director of Humanities & Sciences at the California College of the Arts in Oakland and San Francisco, California. Schreiber is an artist and cultural historian whose work focused on gender and labor rights, and histories of activism. Her first book, *Gender, Activism, and a Little Magazine: the Modern Figures of the* Masses was published by Ashgate in 2011. She has published articles in journals including *Feminist Studies* and the *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, and exhibited her visual work internationally.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

In November 2010 at the Modernist Studies Association (MSA) conference in Montréal, I had the pleasure of being part of a panel led by Chris Reed on the topic of sexuality and modernist magazines. The discussion following the presentations generated a question in my mind, which was how effective has print culture been in contributing to on-the-ground social and political activism? To explore this question, I convened a panel at the MSA conference the following year in Victoria, British Columbia titled "The Efficacy of Activism in Modernist Magazines." The panel generated an engaging discussion and it was immediately clear to me that a book-length project was in order.

During the time between then and now as these contributors and I have prepared this volume, questions about the intersections of activism and mass media have become increasingly salient. Activism has been very prevalent in global news of the last few years. As an activist and a historian of activism, it has been gratifying to see, once again, news on front pages of people around the world working to address economic, political, and social inequities. As an educator, it has been extremely satisfying to teach and write during a time when my students have participated in activism and interrogate the injustices they see around them. The media that has spread news of these engagements has equally been a topic of discussion, in popular and academic circles. Activists in the United States, Egypt, Libya, and elsewhere eagerly exploited the most readily available and least expensive methods of mass communication to communicate with their constituencies and to create visibility for their causes. In so doing, they generated vibrant cultures of activism that have been rich topics for scholarly exploration. For these activists, and for my students, the media of choice are the web, texting, Twitter, and Facebook. For the activist moderns in this book, print was the privileged form of communication.

Various scholars among the Modernist Studies Association, the *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, and the Modernist Journals Project (among other groups) have devoted themselves to understanding the role of magazines and print culture in the formation of modernisms. I begin by acknowledging this engaging and productive milieu, which has contributed greatly to the ideas presented in this volume. The presentations given by the participants of the panel in Victoria were instrumental to the formation of this project: Phyllis Alsdurf, Julian Hanna, María Carla Sánchez, and Margo Thompson. Tirza True Latimer and Nikolaus Wasmoen were also involved in the project at this early date.

My Ashgate editor Ann Donahue has been a great aid in seeing this project through. I also thank Eric Olson, copy editor extraordinaire, and Ashgate editor Kathy Bond Borie. I am deeply appreciative of the women of my writers' group, from whom I have learned so much and whose critical capacities have shaped

this work: Kim Anno, Paula Birnbaum, Alla Efimova, Martha Klironomos, Tirza True Latimer, Jordana Moore Saggese, and Jennifer Shaw. I also wish to acknowledge the California College of the Arts for generous funding. Finally, thanks to all my friends and family whose support feeds my work in myriad ways. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to my partner in life and love, David Gissen, for all the ways that sharing our lives makes projects such as these possible.

Introduction

Since the earliest days of their widespread distribution, periodicals and other serial print forms have been sites where editors and authors expressed impassioned viewpoints intended to move readers to action. In the United States print technologies and the means for distribution expanded exponentially beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth. Concurrently, a large influx of immigrants joined the ranks of industrial labor and, together with their native-born coworkers, activated one of the most (if not *the* most) radical periods in American history as they addressed increasing economic inequity and unjust labor practices. Meanwhile, middle-class Progressives worked to improve society according to their own ideals. As the nation headed towards intervention in the Great War, heated debates arose about what the role of the US should be in policing the globe. Within this climate, activism took many forms, from wave upon wave of labor strikes, to Progressives' pleas for legislators to protect women and children, to anarchist violence in opposition to capitalism. One of those forms was print activism.

"Print activism" is a term I use here to refer to print media's role in social and political activism throughout the long twentieth century. Beginning in the late 1800s with the industrialization of print technologies and the prolific expansion of networks for distribution of printed materials to readers, activists relied on newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, calendars, and other print forms to amplify their voices. Print activism continued throughout the century as the central vehicle by which activists on all points of the political spectrum—left, right, and center—spread their opinions, elicited support, created networks among like-minded individuals, and attempted to establish cohesive group identities for the larger world.

In the early twenty-first century, the "Arab spring," notable for its use of social media, and a national Occupy movement, which similarly depended upon networked media to communicate central information, have made it clear that print is no longer the central medium for eliciting, enjoining, and imploring engagement with various activist causes. For these reasons, print activism can now be periodized as a twentieth-century phenomenon, one that is inherently modern not only in its contributions to modern culture but also for the ways that it enabled American moderns to connect with one another.

Each of the essays in this book investigates this phenomenon; together they explicate the varied ways that those working for social and political causes participated in the spread of information that a rapidly expanding and increasingly ubiquitous serial and ephemeral print culture enabled.

Gutenberg printed the first Bible using movable type in 1455, and from that moment on print and literacy became the most significant vehicles for the spread

of information. "For the past five hundred years, most of humankind has been informed by print," writes print culture historian Wayne Wiegand.[1] Until the nineteenth century, books—mostly read by elites—were the central format for the distribution of this knowledge in the West. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the rise of the newspaper, the periodical, published pamphlets, and other ephemeral non-codex forms. However, the function of the newspaper shifted dramatically in the 1830s; where previously newspapers had simply listed commercial news, they now began to operate as vehicles for editors' opinions. The new form primarily responsible for this shift was the penny press, which differed from previous subscription-based newspapers in a number of ways. The penny press was cheap, hawked on street corners for a penny in single issues, in contrast to the six-penny subscription services mailed solely to people's homes. And unlike earlier publications that were tied to specific parties, the penny press was politically independent.

Technical developments in printing and distribution also aided in the expansion of journalism and the penny press. In printing, the invention of the steam-powered press greatly increased the speed of the printing process. Where a printer circa 1600 using a hand-operated Gutenberg press could produce a maximum of 240 pages in one hour, by the early 1800s a steam-powered press could turn out 2,400 in that same hour.[2] In 1847 an American inventor named Richard March Hoe patented the rotary, or web press, which fed a continuous sheet of paper around a cylinder, far more efficient than its more time-consuming predecessors that took paper one sheet at a time. This method of printing, still in use today, increased the number of pages printed to as many as 1,000,000 per day.[3] In the United States, the mass industrialization of printing coincided with the dramatic expansion of the railroads, both their saturation into spaces that had already experienced European contact as well as their transcontinental reach. The expansion of the railroads enabled broader distribution of consumer goods, including not only newspapers but also the goods advertised in them.

These technical developments of production and distribution do not, however, themselves explain the ways in which the content of the press evolved. Rather, they were preconditions that enabled burgeoning industrial production to identify and attain new markets. Specifically, it was in this period of print media that the sponsorship of advertisers began to not only address individuals' wants and needs but to actually construct those desires. As Michael Schudson writes,

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1 W.A. Wiegand, "Introduction: Theoretical Foundations for Analyzing Print Culture as Agency and Practice in a Diverse Modern America," in *Print Culture in a Diverse America*, ed. J.P. Danky and W.A. Wiegand (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 1.

2 Philip B. Meggs, *A History of Graphic Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Press, 1983), 163.

3 Ibid., 183.

> Until the 1830s, a newspaper provided a service to political parties and men of commerce; with the penny press a newspaper sold a product to a general readership and sold the readership to advertisers. The product sold to readers was "news …"[4]

This change altered forever the relationship between publishers of magazines and newspapers and their readers, in that publishers were now delivering an audience to advertisers. As a result, these media became expressions of capitalist culture via the creation of consumers. By the turn of the twentieth century print culture had become a mass culture, in consonance with the consumer revolution that expanded its markets, the technical developments that enabled its production, and the increased ease of transportation via rail that allowed for its mass distribution.

Alongside this growing mass print media and its uses to promote and spread capitalist culture, a tangent print culture emerged as well. As the costs associated with publication declined, print became a viable form of communication for a broad range of groups, and the radical press expanded as well. Motivated less by profit and more by the desire to spread a message, the radical press took advantage of the emerging possibilities for print and flourished in varied types of publications. Throughout the nineteenth century pamphlets had been used, often by religious groups, to distribute sermons and other ideological professions, but their print runs were small and their distribution limited. With the availability of industrialized printing methods, newspapers, magazines, broadsides, and other forms appeared, using text and image to give voice to a wide range of people and, equally important, connecting readers to these authors and to each other. Geographic diversity was no longer a limitation, and diverse ideological positions gained voice. As laborite culture and activity increased alongside industrial production, union publications—both official organs as well as others more generally aimed at socialist, communist, and other labor-related groups—served to increase membership and raise awareness among non-members. The large influx of immigrant populations created markets for both newspapers and literature, often in the native languages of these new Americans.[5] Literary culture itself was no longer limited to official culture; the so-called "little magazines" spread avant-garde literary culture far beyond what would have been possible through book publication alone, engendering its own cultural milieu.

In connecting these audiences, such publications contributed to the formation of alternate and counter public spheres whose members imagined themselves as part of larger collectives. Jürgen Habermas famously defined the public sphere as "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed."[6] Although such opinions form any time private individuals assemble

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[4] M. Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 25.

[5] Susan L. Mizruchi, *The Rise of Multicultural America: Economy and Print Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 3.

[6] Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article," *New German Critique*, no. 3 (Autumn 1974): 49.

and converse, for Habermas the rise of the public sphere as the site and bearer of public opinion is only possible through the medium of print. Habermas specifically identifies the shift in newspaper usage outlined above as a critical element in the rise of the public sphere.[7] Similarly, Benedict Anderson identifies the central role of print in assembling groups of discreet individuals into what he terms "imagined communities," or groups of people who believe that they share common ideas. For Anderson, the move to mass print enabled the spread of these ideas; where "manuscript knowledge was scarce and arcane lore, print knowledge lived by reproducibility and dissemination."[8]

The coming together of capitalism and print led to a massive increase of public participation in the formation of public opinion and the identifications of individuals as members of collectivities, but in the long run the potent combination also turned into a limitation to a truly democratic milieu. Habermas writes idealistically of the bourgeois public sphere as a moment during which public opinion was cohesive and true freedom of expression was evident, but the commodification of news media ultimately led journalism to "abandon its polemical position and take advantage of the earning possibilities of a commercial undertaking."[9] Ultimately, the public sphere experienced a structural transformation, and, within late capitalism, we can no longer speak of a truly democratic public sphere. Whereas for Habermas the corporatization of the media has led to the inability of mass media to truly communicate public opinion, for Anderson the rise of print contributed to the death of linguistic diversity, and this fatality, alongside the interactions between print and capitalism, led to the rise of nationalisms. Both of these theoretical frameworks provide a temporal structure in which print activism can be clearly codified: it prospered within the proliferation of mass media and subsequently declined as mass media became, in the latter portion of the twentieth century, increasingly univocal due to the monopolization of public media by a limited number of multinational corporations. Once this shift had occurred, the Internet and other forms of social media overtook print as the most efficient and democratically promising form of communication for countercultural and antiestablishment individuals and collectives.

Habermas's theorization of the public sphere has been roundly criticized for its idealization of an arena dominated by the bourgeoisie—that is white, wealthy men—and its lack of attention to public expressions of other groups. It is perhaps heretical then, to invoke his ideas in relation to the efforts of activists who most often operated from the social margins in their efforts to communicate their ideas. While acknowledging this contradiction, the emphasis here and the important point to be drawn from both Habermas and Anderson is the centrality of *print* to their arguments. Moreover, it is Habermas's identification of print as a form of *activity* that has obvious

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[7] Ibid., 53.

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 37.

[9] Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article," 53.

cogence for defining print activism. Habermas relies on American pragmatists including Charles Sanders Peirce and John Dewey, identifying in pragmatism the potential within liberal democracy for emancipation through communicative action.[10] Pragmatism is a branch of philosophy that asserts a tight link between theory and practice. Within pragmatism, "practice" can be thought of as "action," and an "activist" may be described as someone who favors action over theory.

In addition to the American pragmatists, the contemporaneous German philosopher Rudolf Eucken developed a theory of "activism"—in fact, the *Oxford English Dictionary* cites Eucken as the first person to coin the term, defining his philosophy as "the theory or belief that truth is arrived at through action or active striving after the spiritual life."[11] If there is a similarity between Eucken's use of the term and the definition within pragmatism, it is that both use the word "activity" to designate the need to apply ideas to the practical, social problems faced in real life. Both of these philosophical strains began to use the word "activism" in the first decades of the twentieth century, and this may be the basis of the word's introduction into popular usage as well.

The word "activist" first appears in American print in The *New York Times* in 1915.[12] Writing of pro-war agitators in Sweden who were attempting to push that nation to enter war on the side of Germany, the *Times* describes activists as those who spread propaganda in their efforts to agitate for war. Several articles appear in American papers in the next few years associating these Swedish activists with pro-German propagandizing, counterposing activists to a range of groups from the "indifferent masses" to conservatives.[13] Throughout World War I, the term increased in usage, most often describing individuals accused of subversive support of Germany and anti-American activities. A book review published in 1922 on Eucken's work, in fact, identifies his ideas of activism as "merely a cloak for the spirit of aggression and pushfulness which prevailed in Germany before the war."[14] The review's author identifies in Eucken's philosophy of activism roots of what turned out to be the philosopher's pro-German militancy during the war.

The first major Red Scare swept the United States in the years 1919–1920, spreading paranoia about anyone critical of US policies. The seeds were sown by the American government's anti-German publicity during the war, and following it, explains historian Todd Pfannestiel, many Americans mistakenly believed that Germans controlled the Russian revolution. Therefore, they "had little difficulty in transforming their government-inspired hatred of Huns into hatred

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[10] See M. Aboulafia, M. Bookman, and C. Kemp, *Habermas and Pragmatism* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[11] *The Oxford English Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 130.

[12] "Sweden's Leaders Fight War Agitation," *New York Times* (9 October 1915), 3.

[13] "German Peace Propaganda is on in Sweden," *San Francisco Chronicle* (21 April 1917), 1; "Oppose Socialist Aim," *The Washington Post* (5 March 1918), 4; "Huns False to Peace," *The Washington Post* (27 April 1919), 2; "Sweden's Leaders Fight War Agitation," 3.

[14] Austin Hay, "Idealist of Imperial Germany," *New York Times* (30 July 1922).

of Bolsheviks."[15] Further, this same thinking led many to look at the labor union activism that had surrounded them since the turn of the century and connect it to Bolshevism. Ironically, American Socialists vehemently opposed US intervention in World War I, but the term "activist" initially implied someone agitating *for* war. The link owes to the mistaken assumption that Socialist opposition to war was grounded in the desire to aid a German victory.

By the 1920s the term "activism" had come into regular usage in the press, and was most often associated with far left groups including socialists, communists, and anarchists. This association was also possible because these groups had often debated the appropriate form of "activity" to attain their ends. Such debates often centered on the idea of "direct action." While it is unclear when the term "direct action" first came into usage, one of the earliest appearances of the phrase in print is in American anarchist Voltairine de Cleyre's paper on the topic. De Cleyre cites the popular understanding of the term as designating "forcible attacks on life and property" fueled by the media in its reporting on anarchists. In distinction from this use, de Cleyre defines direct action as instances where any individual "who ever thought he had a right to assert, … went boldly and asserted it, himself or jointly with others that shared his convictions."[16] De Cleyre includes strikes and boycotts, and further identifies examples from American history, including the actions of John Brown, the secessionists, Quakers, and others. Direct action is typically counterposed to political action, whereby electoral means achieve representation that will lead to desired results. By contrast, direct action is based in people's agency to act on their own behalf. Definitions that emanate from the Left do not limit direct action to radical activity but rather identify direct action as any instance where people act directly towards a stated goal. "It is merely another name," wrote William Mellor in 1920, "when employed by the workers, for the strike; when used by the employers, for the lockout."[17]

In American print, the term "activism" has thus been used consistently to designate the actions of radicals, subversives, and other fringe groups. Its usage in the *New York Times*, for example, begins as we have seen in 1915 but peaks in the 1960s in reporting on the civil rights, anti-war, and other countercultural movements of that era.[18]

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[15] T.J. Pfannestiel, *Rethinking the Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York's crusade against Radicalism, 1919–1923* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 7.

[16] <http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bright/cleyre/direct.html> (accessed 28 December 2011).

[17] William Mellor, *Direct Action* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1920), 5.

[18] The word "activism" appeared in *The New York Times* 37 times between 1915 and 1960. Between 1961 and 1969 this number rose to 260, and in the following decade went to 1,050. It is important to note, however, that around this time the phrase "judicial activism" comes into regular usage as well. "Judicial activism" refers to a judge's reliance not on the law, but on personal or political conviction.

"Activism" was thus a term that originated, and appeared most frequently in print, to designate radical, anti-establishment actions. In popular usage, however, the term has come to designate a far broader field of activity. Within this volume print activism is not limited to left wing causes, though clearly they predominate. Essays by Joanne Passet and Trevor Joy Sangrey demonstrate the ways that print culture announced and distributed political positions from individuals and groups considered radical in their time. These authors explore the exponents of free love and Communist responses to the Scottsboro trials—positions that would not have been represented in the mainstream press. Similarly, Craig Fox examines a cause that was outside the confines of mass culture and certainly clandestine, but Fox's essay, on the print culture of the Ku Klux Klan, steers us to a topic that was marginal because of its illegal status. In between, several authors, including Katharine Antolini and Diana Cucuz, advance the idea that magazines in the very center of the mainstream consumer society—*Good Housekeeping* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*—could advance a particular cause within the space of their pages. Print activism is found, it seems, on all points along the political spectrum.

In defining "print activism" this broadly, we might then ask, what counts as activism? Activism typically describes activities such as marching, demonstrating, protesting, and other events that involve a physical, bodily activity. Can "printing" or "publishing" truly be added to this list of activist practices? Returning to Habermas, indeed print played a determining role in the public sphere—its formation couldn't have happened without the dissemination of ideas that print enabled. The term "print culture" illuminates print as an arena of culture that might be understood in the sense of the medium found in a Petri dish: an environment in which something can grow and spread. When culture is understood as productive, rather than merely representational, it then becomes quite possible to think of print culture not merely as a site of record for movements that propose social or political change, but as a means that historical agents use, as they might other means, to bring about such change.

Print activism therefore indeed must be understood as one among other strategies employed by modern social and political movements as they strived to achieve their goals. The propagation of mass print as a feature of American society occurred concurrently with the proliferation of activism of all kinds. The above historicization of both of these features of American society squarely frames print activism as a Modernist phenomenon, a frame that also coalesces various aspects of modernity. Activism of all kinds appeared largely in response to features of modern life. Mass industrialization, accompanied by the tremendous growth of American cities, created working conditions that were met by mass movements of protest and organization. The growth of these cities owed in part to shifts from agrarian population centers to urbanities, but also to an influx of immigrants who brought with them radical modern ideas from Europe. Print culture was the central technology by which these ideas and movements spread among metropolitan populations, and from urban centers to the rest of the country. As such, print

culture in particular became a means by which Americans understood themselves as moderns, via their connections to others within the larger modern society.[19]

The reach of print culture, which as we have seen relied on modern technological preconditions, set the stage for print activism. As we have also seen, as the production of goods increased, producers sought new markets that were created largely through the advertisements that print brought directly into consumers' homes. Print culture is itself a commodity, one that is imbricated in the increasing commodification of life and culture at the turn of the twentieth century. Print activists therefore always negotiated their communicative strategies within this commodified medium. As the essays in this volume demonstrate, this happened in a variety of ways. In one case, a mainstream ladies' magazine, perhaps the quintessential site for commodification through print, was the site for an activist campaign. Other print activists discussed in this volume claimed a space distinctly outside of commodity culture. In the later part of the century, for example, several magazines performed feminist critiques of the intensive marketing aimed at women by creating alternate spaces within their serials.

Earlier in the century, literary figures wrote for the "little magazines," which manifestly claimed the journals to be distinct from commodity culture. But as literary theorist Lawrence Rainey and others have shown regarding these claims made by the little magazines, the Modernist mythologies posed by these writers that set literary culture apart from consumer culture must be questioned because the Modernist work of art, by its very claims of autonomy, "invite[d] and solicite[d] its commodification [whereby it was] integrated into a different economic circuit of patronage, collecting, speculation, and investment."[20] The commodification of culture was inescapable; regardless of one's positioning vis-à-vis such culture, one was still engaging with it and therefore connected with the production of modernity. Mark Morrisson, too, in his analysis of little magazines argues that "Modernists' engagements with the commercial mass market were rich and diverse."[21] Influenced by the suffragists, socialists, anarchists, and others who adapted themselves to the demands of the mainstream press, Modernist authors also responded to the commercial milieu, thereby "complicating the polarization of modernism and mass culture."[22]

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[19] See, for example, Christine Stansell's book *American Moderns*. Stansell paints a picture of New York City in the early part of the century as a place where bohemian artists and writers were infatuated with immigrant political culture. Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000).

[20] Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (1998), quoted in Peter D. McDonald, "Modernist Publishing," in *A Concise Companion to Modernism*, edited by D. Bradshaw (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, n.d.), 224.

[21] Mark S. Morrisson, "Pluralism and Counterpublic Spheres: Race, Radicalism, and the *Masses*," in *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 5.

[22] Ibid., 6.

For all of these reasons, *Modern Print Activism in the United States* adds to a growing body of scholarship that re-examines previously held ideas about Modernism, particularly the fallacious distinctions between high and low culture, intellectuals and masses, and culture and politics. This last binary in particular merits special attention here, for the essays in this volume demonstrate the ways in which print culture was a vital political force. Not only did print culture document the struggles of modern life, but through it a wide range of individuals activated each other within contested domains. Far from being tangential to on-the-ground activism, or merely providing documentation of "real world" events, print culture was integral to activist efforts of all kinds.

The 12 essays in this book illuminate the range of these efforts. The authors examine the writing, visual culture, and particular forms of print used in print activism. Organized chronologically, the essays begin at the turn of the twentieth century by examining two very different women's movements that arose concurrently with the rise of mass print culture. In "Print Culture and the Construction of Radical Identity: Juliet H. Severance and the Reform Press in Late Nineteenth-Century America" Joanne E. Passet examines the print-based trajectory of radical reformer and free love advocate Juliet H. Severance and her campaign to promote women's mental independence, sexual health, and the abolition of marriage. Passet demonstrates not only the ways that Severance made use of the burgeoning alternate press to disseminate her ideas, but the ways that print culture helped Severance shape her ideas about reform and women's social roles. María Carla Sánchez, in "Changing Feelings: Fallen Women, Sentimentality, and the Activist Press" addresses how social reform media regularly employed sentimental narrative strategies at the turn of the century as a means to recast the place of the "fallen woman" within larger bodies politic.

Nikolaus Wasmoen's essay and my own entry bring us into the era of World War I. In "'She Will Spike War's Gun': The Anti-War Graphic Satire of the American Suffrage Press" I study the visual culture of the suffragist press to uncover the ways that suffragists fought against US intervention in World War I. Wasmoen, in "Publishing a 'Fighting Spirit': Marianne Moore in the Little Magazines During WWI," investigates Marianne Moore's early publications during the war as examples of a politically engaged Modernist art whose full political dimensions are disclosed only in light of the networks of artists, writers, editors, and readers constellated by little magazines in America and Britain.

Following World War I, the Depression and ensuing fears of Communism elicit activism from mainstream to right wing and anti-Communist causes. In "Holiday Activism: *Good Housekeeping* and the Meaning of Mother's Day," Katharine Antolini tracks the Maternity Center Association's efforts, through *Good Housekeeping*, to recast the meaning of Mother's Day to promote the health of pregnant women and infants. Craig Fox's essay "'Give this copy of the *Kourier* magazine to your friend. You will help him. You will also help society': 1920s KKK Print, Propaganda and Publicity" addresses the mainstream success enjoyed by the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, tracing the abundant print culture that promoted