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Buffalo and the Great War: Cultural Particularities and Collective Identity

While often overlooked for its contributions to World War I, Buffalo's industry was central to the global war effort. The city's increasing industrial significance to allied governments had social and cultural implications for its citizens. "Buffalo and the Great War" examines how Buffalonians culturally engaged with the Great War with a particular emphasis on how Theatre, Music and Industry impacted the city and measures the enduring impacts on modern Western New York culture. This research argues that Buffalonians created a more unified regional identity that outlasted the Great War by engaging with Theatre, Music and Industry.

1. Theatre and Music
2. Industry → Transformation of collective identity

Through Theatre, Music and Industry, Buffalonians engaged with and participated in World War I. Buffalo proudly participated in national fundraising efforts like the Liberty Loan and United War Work campaigns to prove that the city heard "Uncle Samuel calling."[1] Buffalo also followed the national trend of featuring propaganda films like *The Battle Cry for Peace* to elicit visceral patriotic responses to the threats of war in Europe. The silent film, based on the novel *Defenseless America*, stirred audiences by demonstrating that America's pacifism could result in the destruction of its major cities. These examples of local participation in national efforts are undeniably important to understanding how the war impacted Western New York. However, a closer examination of local performative culture, consumption and rapid industrial expansion demonstrates the multifaceted ways in which these categories also served as catalysts to transform the city and its citizens. Theatre and music in Buffalo provided sites for information consumption, observation and participation in the war effort. Even before America's entry into the war and despite Buffalo's early desire to remain neutral, Buffalo theatres featured British war films due to the city's proximity to Canada and Italian war films aimed at the city's large immigrant population. Each was created to

[1] Charles W. Ellis, "Shackles or Bonds–Which?," *The Journal*, Lackawanna, NY, May 31st, 1917.

reinforce empathy from respective ethnic groups and to elicit wider support. The presentation of these films, created and distributed by the Italian and British governments, provides insight into how theatres served as bridges that connected Buffalonians to the war; this resulted in a more unified cultural experience and fostered the creation of a collective identity that connected citizens, even after the armistice.

Buffalo's engagement with the Great War proves unique due to its proximity to Canada and its large immigrant population. While some evidence suggests that like most Americans, Buffalonians desired neutrality, the city was exposed to the realities of the war earlier and more frequently than in other regions. According to Jacek Wysocki, a Buffalo lawyer and author of a three-part series "Buffalo and the Great War," featured in *Western New York Heritage,* before the war, "Cross-border activities flourished. Americans joined their neighbors to celebrate the centennial of the Battle of Lundy's Lane. Others…planned to attend a major suffrage rally to be held at Crystal Beach."[2] Buffalo and Canada shared social, political and economic space that resulted in the formation of close bonds and mutual interests. After the outbreak of the Great War, Buffalonians naturally took interest in how their Canadian neighbors fared. Buffalo historians recounted that "From the beginning of the World War in 1914, Buffalo was interested in the great struggle; not so much of course as than were the people…in Canada-- but certainly more than were the people of the average American city farther from the international boundary."[3] This early interest in the Great War resulted in a unique war experience for the city. Buffalonians rapidly received news from Canadians, which led to the organization of war relief efforts. Public institutions gathered funds for the British Red Cross and mobilized volunteers to assist the allied powers. In 1915, Buffalo civilians convened a Citizens' Committee in Buffalo and organized for 3000 people to view a "preparedness" moving picture at Shea's Hippodrome.[4]

In addition to Buffalo's proximity to Canada, the Great War experience in Buffalo proves unique because of the development of a regional identity that was inclusive to immigrants. Before America entered the war, German, Polish and Italian immigrants expressed support for their countries publicly and privately. After the U.S. declared war, however, anti-German sentiment divided German and non-German communities. This led to conspiracy theories, rumors of sabotage, boycotts on German businesses and violence between immigrants. Allied ethnic enclaves proved their loyalty to their adopted country by working as laborers, by purchasing war stamps (the poor-man's

[2] Jacek Wysocki, "Buffalo and the Great War, Part I: The War Before the War, *Western New York Heritage,* Summer 2015, 9.
[3] Henry Wayland Hill, *Municipality of Buffalo: A History*, 1720-1923, Vol. II, New York: Historical Publishing Co., 1923, 856.
[4] Ibid, 857.

equivalent of the Liberty Loan) and by volunteering to serve in the armed forces. Students also joined the war effort; enough University at Buffalo students enlisted in the army in 1916 to make its own company in the 65th regiment.[5] Ethnic newspapers often urged immigrants to affirm their loyalty to the United States. An Italian newspaper, *La Gazzetta di Syracuse*, implored readers to "Aiutate la Patria nella spese di Guerra" (help the country with war expenses), because "It is our patriotic duty to our government that we give everything that we own."[6] After America entered the war, Louis Fuhrmann, Buffalo's ethnically German mayor, demanded that immigrants forgo their old-world ties and dedicate their lives to the American war effort. By fulfilling their patriotic civic duties, non-German immigrants became integral to the city's patriotic identity.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Buffalo's massive foreign-born population responded in diverse ways to the outbreak of World War I. Germans comprised the majority of immigrants in Buffalo; in 1914, of Buffalo's total population of 423,000, 55,000 residents were foreign-born from Germany or Austria.[7] During this time, Buffalo was home to around 50,000 Polish and 20,000 Italian immigrants. Collectively, immigrants comprised around one-third of the city's population.[8] Buffalo's ethnically German population established more than 150 cultural institutions and organizations that attempted to elicit sympathy for the Germans during the Great War. Musical groups such as the Buffalo Orpheus, the Saengerbund, the Froshsinn Singing Society and the Teutonia Liederkranz often performed for Buffalo audiences, some even after the outbreak of the war. Before America entered the war, German immigrants unabashedly supported their country of origin. Wysocki contends that during the war, "German-Americans were wholeheartedly on the side of Germany. In their view, Germany's actions were defensive against external threats to Germany's well-being. German-language newspapers promoted loyalty to the Fatherland…and appealed for 'fairness' in reporting on developments in the conflict."[9] German organizations in Buffalo demonstrated their dedication to the old country through fundraising efforts. The Deutsch-Ungarische Verein planned a ball in August 1914 to raise money for widows and orphans of German soldiers, while the Buffalo German Club hosted a picnic to raise funds for the German Red Cross.[10] Following a Broadway Auditorium performance in 1915, the president of

[5] Ibid.
[6] "A Thrift Stamp a Day Keeps the Kaiser Away," *La Gazzetta di Syracuse,* June 7th, 1918. Translated by Shanleigh Corrallo.
[7] Laetitia Cullen, "Buffalo Opinion Concerning American Neutrality (1914-1917) as Expressed by the Buffalo Morning Express," PhD Diss, D'Youville College, 1966, 3.
[8] Mark Goldman, *City on the Edge: Buffalo, New York,* Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2007, 43.
[9] Wysocki, Part I, 13.
[10] *The German-Americans in Buffalo: 1914-1920,* Master's Thesis, Canisius College, 1988, 7.

Buffalo's German-American Alliance chapter assured the audience that their contributions to the German Red Cross did not interfere with their loyalty to the United States.[11]

As Germans in Buffalo supported their birth country, Polish and Italian immigrants also offered their unwavering support for their nations of origin. As news of the war reached Buffalo, Polish immigrants planned for a 100,000-man volunteer army to fight in Europe. Because president Wilson believed that the army violated U.S. neutrality, Polish immigrants took advantage of Buffalo's proximity to Canada to train and mobilize these volunteers. At "Camp Kosciuszko," the site of Butler's Barracks at Niagara-on-the-Lake, nearly twenty-two thousand troops were trained and eventually fought with the French in Flanders.[12] While they did not mobilize forces in the region, Italian immigrant organizations offered performances in Italian and even held "Italian Nights" at the Broadway Auditorium.[13] Although Italian immigrants certainly supported Italian war efforts, there was less at stake for their involvement in the war. For example, while Poland was defending itself from direct German threats, Italy only fought in a small portion of the war, mostly on the Fronte Italiano or as Germans called it, Gebirgskrieg. Not until America declared war on Germany did Italians in Buffalo dedicate their efforts to proving their American loyalty. Irish immigrants' perspectives of the war prove even more complicated. Irish immigrants in Buffalo collected contributions for rebel groups and distributed anti-British propaganda during the war; they viewed the British as oppressors and had little sympathy for their war cause. One Irish-Buffalonian lawyer even attempted to collect and supply weapons to support the German effort, though he proved unsuccessful.[14] America's entrance in the war in 1918 provided Polish and Italian immigrants, as well as smaller ethnic groups, the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to America.

Despite German immigrants' efforts to propagate the German war cause, "Western New Yorkers greeted news of the war with an outpouring of patriotic zeal."[15] The large immigrant population of the city was presented with opportunities to unite disparate ethnic groups. An "American Allied Exposition and Bazaar," featured at the Broadway Auditorium, was put on to "unite…the peoples of various nationalities in Buffalo to participate" and to "link…them with other nationalities united in all projects of the war."[16] The event was well-attended; 6,000 Poles and 5,800

[11] *The German-Americans in Buffalo: 1914-1920.*
[12] Jacek Wysocki, "Buffalo and the Great War, Part III: Home First Kept Burning: 1917-1918", *Western New York Heritage,* April 2017, 38.
[13] Theatre program collection, Broadway Auditorium File, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[14] Goldman, 20.
[15] Wysocki, part III, 34.
[16] Daniel J. Sweeney, *History of Buffalo and Erie County, 1914-1919,* Committee of One Hundred, 1920, 169. The following nationalities were represented at the bazaar: American, English, Scotch, Welch, French, Canadian, Armenian, Roumanian (sic), Polish, Syrian, Isle of Man, Slovakian, Belgian, Italian, and Orpheus and Irish.

Italians convened at the Bazaar. Ethnic Newspapers also played a large role in urging immigrants to contribute to the American cause. *La Gazzetta di Syracuse* featured War Stamp advertisements aimed at convincing readers that "A Thrift Stamp a Day Keeps the Kaiser Away."[17] Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives, omnipresent during the war, deemphasized ethnic distinctions and instead "encouraged Americanization" through the purchase of loans and donations.[18] The city's Third Liberty Loan campaign invited Polish and Italian female workers to assist in soliciting investments throughout the city. This national call for collective participation in the war effort, particularly in war donations, served an important unifying function that resulted in a new collective identity that was more inclusive to non-German immigrants. Mayor Fuhrmann, in office from 1910-1917, established a "Committee on Americanization" that worked to absorb ethnic Buffalonians into the larger population by eradicating distinctions in language and culture. The Committee eliminated German and other language classes in public schools so that Buffalo would become a strictly English-speaking city. To encourage civilian unification and Americanization, Fuhrmann warned that "either a Buffalonian is an American and nothing else or he isn't an American at all."[19]

The emergence of a less ethnically-divided and more nationally unified collective identity in Buffalo was directly connected with deep suspicion and professed distrust of German-Americans. Demonstrations of anti-German sentiment were often performed collectively. The public participated in songs like "United America," a Pan-American Hymn that contained lyrics meant to unite those in the Western Hemisphere. The song, created by Arthur McOwen, was "written for Americans of all nationalities, races and creeds" as "an American song (which) should be the antithesis of 'Germany Over All.'"[20] Collective singing of "United America" unified Buffalonians through its condemnation of Germany. While non-German immigrants had the opportunity to take part in Buffalo's emerging patriotism, the city's large German population faced serious backlash; this eventually developed into deep suspicion and fear of sabotage. Out of this fear, The Niagara Frontier Defense League was created in Buffalo—before America entered the war—to "monitor the region's sizable German population" and to gather information about "enemy aliens" in Western New York.[21] Rumors that the Lackawanna Steel plant would be exploded by "German Capitalists" were fueled by Niagara Frontier Defense League reports that claimed to identify 5,000 suspicious Germans and

[17] "A Thrift Stamp a Day Keeps the Kaiser Away," *La Gazzetta di Syracuse,* June 7th, 1918.
[18] *The German-Americans in Buffalo: 1914-1920,* 2.
[19] Goldman, 76.
[20] "United America," written by Arthur McOwen, Buffalo in the World War collection, Rare Book Room, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[21] John Olszowka, "The Niagara Frontier Defense League's patriotic war on labor: the cause of Curtiss Aeroplane, 1917-1918," *Labor History,* Vol. 53, No. 4, November 2012, 451.

Austrians working in Buffalo industry.[22] A special article in the *New York Times* reviewed information that 600 German Spies had been caught attempting to blow up ships around the Great Lakes area; Buffalo was featured within this narrative.[23] While anti-German sentiment unified immigrants and Americans throughout the nation, Buffalo's utilization of theatre and music to facilitate the creation of this emerging collective identity proves central to the city's war experience.

Theatre and Music Culture

Following the U.S. entrance in to the war, theatre became an important space to relay information to the public. Auditoriums and music halls maintained their function as spaces for entertainment, yet they also became areas where the public congregated to intake and exchange information about the Great War. Beginning in 1915 and lasting until 1919, auditoriums and music halls in Buffalo transformed into public spaces where information about World War I was consumed and exchanged; here Buffalonians affirmed and displayed their loyalty to the nation. Even before America's entrance into the War in April 1917, these spaces were used to provide war information, recruit potential soldiers and to warn citizens of the horrors of war. Civilians harmonized patriotic songs such as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "The Star-Spangled Banner" as well as those dedicated to America's allies such as "Rule, Brittania," "Quand Modelon" and "Garibaldi's War Hymn," in order to fulfill their civic duties.[24] On a more conventional level, the Great War transformed theatres into platforms for propaganda, as well as spaces where the war and its impacts on society were interpreted at the local level. This is a strong point to consider, as, despite limited discussions of the impact of World War I on Buffalo and Buffalonians, the war had deep local implications. Indeed, more than 137,663 soldiers from were drafted from the Buffalo area: 17,000 eventually served and 951 were killed in action or from disease.[25] In many ways, the theatre reduced the geographical distance of the war and conveyed its realities to Buffalo.

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[22] *The Journal,* Lackawanna, January 27th, 1916, "Lackawanna Shows No Excitement Over German Plot," April 19th, 1917, "Not Worrying Over Reports that German Capitalists Bought Plot of Land to Erect Siege Guns to Destroy Steel Plant--Armed Guards on Continuous Duty, However" and Olszowka, 456. These reports were even provided to the Justice Department and Military Intelligence.

[23] "600 SPIES CAUGHT ON GREAT LAKES," *New York Times,* November 11th, 1917.

[24] Community Chorus Pamphlet, N.D. 1917, The Community Chorus collection, 1917-1923, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

[25] Hill, 860 & 882. Of this 137,663, 22,132 were exempt from service due to disability, marital status or other factors. The total amount served includes soldiers from the army, infantry, marines and navy. An additional 1100 Buffalonians served in the Red Cross.

One of the most striking examples of a theatrical space that functioned as an epicenter for the conversion of civilians into citizen-soldiers is the Broadway Auditorium. On February 26th, 1916, Charles Whitman, the Governor of New York, selected this theatre for a public meeting aimed at training and promoting "citizen-soldiers."[26] These citizen-soldiers signed official pledges to the government that they were "ready as a citizen to do [their] duty for the safety and liberty of the flag."[27] At this meeting, civilians were provided with a public space to profess their dedication to the country and thus participate in the war effort. The Broadway Auditorium public gathering is moreover insightful because it identifies the essentiality of theatre and music spaces to Great War efforts in Buffalo. Designed and constructed as an arsenal for the 65th and 74th regiments during the Civil War, used as a National Guard Armory until 1907 and later converted to an auditorium, the building had deep functional roots in both entertainment and the military. Situated on Broadway between Minor and Nash streets, the Broadway Auditorium served multiple purposes that ranged from a boxing arena for heavyweight champions from 1916-1926 to a platform for Buffalo's Community Chorus concerts during the war.[28] The beginning of the Great War in Europe resulted in the dual-utility of theatres and music halls, where these buildings were converted into patriotic spaces.

While citizen-soldiers were certified by oath at the Broadway Auditorium as early as 1916, Buffalo's music halls began to serve as the city's primary war information sites. Elmwood Music Hall, built in 1885 as an armory to house the 74th Infantry, was formerly located at what is currently the intersection of South Elmwood Ave and Virginia Street. Preceding America's entry into the war, Buffalo choruses frequently performed songs in German; sometimes these songs were not translated into English. An Elmwood Music Hall program printed in early 1917 even presented Fritz Kreisler, a German performer from Boston Symphony Hall, as the star attraction for the week.[29] The Music Hall served as the public center where President Wilson's war declaration was announced to the city unofficially on April 5th, and with the nation's blessing on April 6th after the House confirmed the Senate's vote in favor to declare war.[30] Immediately following the declaration of war, the popular German Orpheus Group performed in front of a massive public audience.[31] In addition to featuring the Orpheus Group performance, Elmwood Music Hall featured a variety

[26] Citizen-soldiers in this context refers to citizens who devoted themselves to defending and aiding the country at the domestic level.
[27] Jacek Wysocki, "Buffalo and the Great War, Part II: Keeping Out of War Western New York Heritage, July 2015, Vol. 19, No. 2, 21.
[28] Jeff Z. Klein, "Bring Back the Broadway Auditorium," *The Public,* April 7th, 2015.
[29] "Fritz Kreisler," Elmwood Music Hall program, January 4th, 1917, Theatre programs collection, Elmwood Music Hall Vertical File, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[30] Chuck LaChiusa, "Armory/Convention Hall/The Music Hall/The Elmwood Music Hall—DEMOLISHED," *History of Buffalo, http://buffaloah.com/h/elmmusic/elm.html,* accessed July 24th, 2018 and Hill, 858.
[31] Sweeney, 59.

of musical performances presented by community music groups, choirs and bands. Immediately following Wilson's declaration of war, Elmwood Music Hall quickly began to decrease performances by Buffalo's German cultural groups in favor of patriotic performances that professed national loyalty. In addition to performances, Elmwood Music Hall printed new programs that featured Americana advertisements oversaturated with Liberty Loan hyperboles and uber-nationalistic musical performances. By 1917, Buffalo's Theatres and Music halls became sites for unified expressions of patriotism and collective identity formation.

As multifunctional public spaces, auditoriums, music halls and theatres thrived as arenas for Buffalo citizens to display and validate their American loyalty by participating in patriotic community songs. Communal participations in patriotic singing, headed by local concerts, bands and choirs was popular in America during the Great War. Jennifer Wingate, a scholar of Fine Arts, contends that collective song was central to the domestic Great War experience, as "Seventy percent of all copyrighted songs in 1918 were war songs."[32] Buffalo indubitably took part in this larger trend to combine song and community in an attempt to transform early "war-listlessness" into intense patriotic sentiment.[33] Buffalo's Community Chorus, a group that performed often during the War, highlighted the obligatory aspects of public song:

> Singing of the people seems to have been born to serve our country at this time of great crisis. If we will all share in an occasional hour of song, our work will be better done, our strength will be more enduring, and our courage stimulated in trying times.[34]

Buffalo's local Community Chorus's illustration of music as a civic duty, however, was exalted through a romanticized framework. Community Chorus literature depicted collective patriotic song as an effective method to satisfy Buffalo civilians and to directly aid in the national war effort. One Community Chorus pamphlet urged that "…To win this great victory for the world we must all unite the highest and best spirit within us. Let all the people sing together, for music is a universal language…this united we are given power over our adversaries…we are uniting in song that we may more effectively express our loyalty to our country and to our flag."[35] Public concerts in Elmwood Music Hall, Broadway Auditorium, public parks and Lafayette Square were well-attended events; Buffalonians

[32] Jennifer Wingate, "Over the Top The Doughboy in World War I Memorials and Visual Culture," *American Art,* Vol. 19, No. 2, Summer 2005, 32.
[33] Wysocki, pt. II, 21. Wysocki argued that during World War I "[Buffalonians] were going along our war-listlessness way, concerned deeply with our own affairs."
[34] Community Chorus Pamphlet, N.D. 1917, The Community Chorus collection, 1917-1923, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.
[35] Buffalo in the War collection, Buffalo Community Chorus pamphlet, 1918, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

believed that by uniting in public gatherings of collective songs, they represented American loyalty and strength. Prewar preparedness parades (Buffalo's first was held on June 24th, 1916) demonstrate the extent to which civilians believed that musical expressions of patriotism mattered. The preparedness parade included nearly as many bandsmen as military marchers, and had an estimated 150,000 spectators.[36] Participating in collective song also ideologically connected civilians with soldiers on the front. According to Community Chorus literature:

> Song is the first social and religious order of man. We cannot get away from it, and the more threatening a national danger is, the more the hearts of the people seek a message of courage and faith through singing. These are terrible and wonderful times. We must learn the power of song and spread it everywhere. The singing of our victorious armies came out of the Community Chorus movement…This victory song must now grip the hearts of civilian life. It will help avert social upheavals. It will help harmonize labor and economic readjustments that must come…It will give us that democratizing spirit and vision.[37]

This deconstruction of the significance of collective song exposes the extent to which citizen-soldiers believed that patriotic music contributed to the war effort. The Chorus's first statement identifies musical ubiquity; this is supported by Jennifer Wingate's statistic that more than 70% of copyrighted songs in 1918 discussed the war. The second important element that the Community Chorus identifies is that communal singing had a comforting function because it asserted patriotism and loyalty and thereby grappled with "national danger" through messages of "courage and faith." The statement moreover reveals that Buffalonians believed themselves to be at the center of an important and rapid trend to learn and spread "the power of song…everywhere." While abundant, harnessing and disseminating the potentials of collective song was something that the Community Chorus believed was an important local initiative; Buffalonians claimed ownership of this movement, which they labeled "the Community Chorus movement." The final piece of evidence that this quote offers presupposed the function that collective song would have on rebuilding postwar civilian life. While certainly a bold prediction, the Community Chorus argued that patriotic songs would "grip the hearts of civilian life…help avert social upheavals…help harmonize labor and economic readjustments that must come…[and] give us that democratizing spirit and vision."[38] The chorus

[36] Wysocki, part II, 22. Wysocki notes that during this preparedness parade, there were 55,483 marchers, 2,300 military members and 2000 bandsmen, with spectators estimated at 150,000.
[37] *The Community Chorus,* Vol. 1, No. 1, Buffalo, NY 1918.
[38] *The Community Chorus.*

envisioned that community song that was functional, effective and obligatory, and provided healing to Buffalo's civilians and soldiers after the war concluded.

Through public participation in collective song and by attending local theatrical performances, Buffalo civilians exhibited their loyalty to the nation, fulfilled their perceived civic duty and interpreted the domestic and social impacts of the Great War. Buffalo's drama league expressed that "In times of war it (the theatre) stands to serve the country in every way it can, but is best adapted to serve through the theater..."[39] Before Wilson's declaration of war on Germany, theatres in Buffalo began to feature plays, performances and films that explored the war in Europe and interpreted the social impact of the war at home. The city's multitude of theatres, including the Star, Teck, Shea's and Majestic theatres, as well as Shea's Hippodrome (Film Theatre), were wildly popular and stood at the center of social entertainment. These theatres held performances such as "A Kiss for Cinderella" and "The Better Ole" amongst others that connected Buffalo audiences to European war experiences. Shea's Hippodrome featured war films starring Charlie Chaplin that tantalized audiences with decidedly patriotic descriptions: "in his greatest triumph 'Shoulder Arms' Watch him (Chaplin) get the Kaiser."[40] The ad depicted a photograph of Chaplin costumed in military garb with a weapon in tow. Film screenings in particular provided spaces for public consumption of graphic battle footage and silent films of starving Belgian children, both enveloped by propagandic undertones urging Americans to consider entering the war.

Shortly after America's entrance into the war, both the content and structure of theatre experiences transformed. Advertisements in theatre programs mirrored those in newspapers, and exploited civilians' guilt by employing pathos in strategically designed advertisements. One Liberty Loan advertisement in a Shea's Hippodrome program insisted to readers that the "Khaki-Clad American soldier[s]" were "depending on you for food and clothing, for the shells, rifles and machine guns that can take him over the top to VICTORY." The ad concluded with the order that "You will not fail him now" and a proposition that "The Third Liberty Loan…is vital to his VICTORY."[41] Liberty Loan advertisements were particularly aggressive and pervasive in theatre programs during the war. There were Four Liberty Loan drives that sold loans to civilians and soldiers (the fifth followed the war); nearly two-thirds of America's

[39] Liberty Loan Scrapbook Vol. 1, Buffalo collection oversize, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[40] *Buffalo Express,* November 14th, 1918.
[41] Shea's Hippodrome program, March 17th, 1919, Shea's Vaudeville collection, *May 13th, 1917-July 14th, 1918.*

involvement in World War I was funded by Liberty Bonds.[42] Buffalonians demonstrated their dedication to the nation by superseding their $194 million contributory goal by $32 million from 1917-1919.[43] The Liberty Loan campaigns had a direct impact on the *structure* of theatre performances as well as the content. Liberty Loan concerts were performed at Elmwood Music Hall and Broadway Auditorium that featured songs such as "The Red, White and Blue," "Annie Laurie," and a multitude of "songs from the trenches."[44] Often, to generate investment in Liberty Loans from audience members, theatres would bookend traditional performances with participatory patriotic songs. In conjunction with a Liberty Loan drive, a theatre performance from April, 1918 commenced with the "America First Song," a nationalistic call to arms in which participants proclaimed that "We stand to fight if to fight means right."[45] Afterward, audience members enjoyed the "Triumphal March," "Land of Hope and Glory" and concluding performances of "The Star-Spangled Banner."[46] Liberty Loan drives were so influential to theatre experiences that there were Liberty Loan propaganda movies created to encourage investment. One such motion picture, "Swat the Hun," was so popular that a soldier from Buffalo stationed in France wrote to his fiancée with excitement about the possibility to view the film.[47]

Modifications to the Buffalo theatre experience were also visible in additions of pre-performance anthems and overtures, as well as in the types of performances featured. A Spring 1917 performance at Shea's Vaudeville inserted an overture of Old Glory to kick-off popular evening and weekend performances. The program explained that, "For the first half of the week, we have arranged a Flag Novelty, the first of its kind ever shown in any theatre in this country. To give it the proper atmosphere our Musical Director has arranged the score, the theme of which breathes patriotism in every note, and played with a dash and spirit."[48] Engaging in collective song in theatres, especially when connected to loan investments or donations proved "wildly" successful in converting nationalistic fervor into financial gains for the nation's military. A review of a Liberty Bond drive held at Shea's that collected $237,000 in one

[42] Richard Sutch, "Paying For World War I: The Creation of the Liberty Bond," *Economic History,* First Quarter, 2016, 28. The fifth liberty loan drive was a "Victory Loan" drive.
[43] Wysocki, part III, 44.
[44] "Liberty Loan Concert," Program for Elmwood Music Hall, April 28th, 1918, Theatre program collection, Elmwood Music Hall file, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[45] "America first song," *Library of Congress,* accessible at: https://www.loc.gov/resource/ihas.200206156.0?st=gallery. Accessed on July 26th, 2018.
[46] Program for Elmwood Music Hall, 1917-1936, April 21st, 1918, Theatre program collection, Elmwood Music Hall file, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[47] Thurstone, Kenneth B., and Toniann Scime, *Dearest girl of mine: letters home from Kenneth Boulton Thurstone, World War I soldier*, 2010, 68. Letter to Harriett, September 7th, 1918.
[48] *Shea's Hippodrome Buffalo* Program, May 13th, 1917, Theatre program collection, Shea's Vaudeville file, *May 13th, 1917-July 14th, 1918*, 5.

night professed that "Patriotism simply ran wild at Shea's theater last night but it was the sort of good substantial wildness that manifest itself in terms of dollars and cents for Uncle Sam. It was an assertive patriotism such as will be the big factor that will put the boys in khaki 'over the top' across No Man's Land and finally into the streets of Berlin…"[49] Women contributed directly to the patriotic theatre experience as well by performing and organizing Liberty Loan and United War Work drives. The National League of Women's Service was featured at the Majestic Theatre during the war. Performances by Buffalo's men and women were careful to distinguish wholesome American "wildness" from the brute madness of the "Hun" that was depicted in Liberty Loan films.

Buffalo theatres also served as sites for propaganda consumption from the American, Italian, British and French governments. Before the war, the Teck Theatre featured the motion film "The Italian Battlefront," which was created and disseminated by the Italian government. The film was an attempt to elicit sympathy from Italian immigrants in Buffalo as well as from non-immigrant populations by depicting Italy as a fragile newborn nation that was tricked into initially joining the Central Powers. To prove that the nation had been cleansed of its wrongdoing, an ad for the film proclaimed that "She (Italy) pledged herself to the Entente Powers that she would entertain no separate peace. She declared war on Germany…She has sent troops to Greece and has maintained the political and territorial entirety of Albania."[50] Following the presentation of graphic battle scenes in the Alps was a probe for the U.S. to enter the war: "Italy [is] cheering the entry of the United States into the war in behalf of Democracy."[51] Additional films at the Teck in 1916 showed the horrors of war from British and Canadian perspectives; proceeds often went directly to the British Red Cross.[52] Following America's entrance into the war, Shea's Hippodrome featured the official British war film "The Tanks at the Battle of the Ancre."[53] These propaganda films became increasingly graphic and omnipotent. Theatres like the Teck featured Photo-Dramas such as "The Kaiser: The Beast of Berlin" which warned audience members to "Follow the marauders in their wild drive on defenceless women… Into the hearts of men and women will come the great desire…to stop forever this oppressor of men--this robber of mother's sons of all nations. See

[49] "Shea's Audience in Record Bond Sales," *Enquirer,* April 19th, 1917, Liberty Loan Scrapbook, Vol. 1, Buffalo collection oversize, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

[50] First Buffalo Exhibition of "The Italian Battlefront" Official War Pictures of the Italian Government, Direction of Sam S. & Lee Shubert American Tour under direction of William Moore Patch, for "If I were King," Teck Theatre program, August 6th, 1917. Theatre program collection, Teck Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

[51] First Buffalo Exhibition of "The Italian Battlefront" Official War Pictures of the Italian Government.

[52] "If I were King," Teck theatre program, November 20th, 1916. Theatre program collection, Teck Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

[53] "Amusements: Shea's Hippodrome," *The Journal,* Lackawanna, Jan 27th, 1916.

these shocking scenes--they will awaken you."[54] A vitagraph photoplay presented at the Teck described that the audience would "See the dash, the drive and the battles" during a trench warfare reenactment that promised to be "a greater picture than Birth of a Nation."[55] These films served both the traditional purpose of propaganda, and through their presentation in public theatres, analyzed and interpreted how the war impacted Buffalo.

During the postwar period in Buffalo, theatres served two major functions. The first is that while propaganda and war films and plays were featured less after the war, those that were cultivated specific memories of the war as a heroic, American-led effort. While Buffalonians initially expressed anger at Wilson's decision to enter into the war, following the allied victory, theatre, film and song were used to interpret the local impact of the war and to generate historical memories. At the local level, Buffalo's collective identity became more inclusive, and Buffalo's industry made the city central to the international war effort. The second follows that the postwar theatre was viewed as "curative" to both civilians and to returning soldiers in Buffalo. For veterans, theatre and film provided spaces for reflection and distance from the cruelties of war; for civilians, theatre and film offered some of the only visual connections to these realities. By establishing a nationalistic and heroic narrative that romanticized America's entry into the war, civilians became convinced that their patriotic contributions were unique to the region and central to the overall war effort.

Following World War I, theatres in Buffalo transformed from sites of consumption to sites of production. The Armistice agreement of 1919 signaled to the population that affirmations of patriotism and loyalty were no longer obligatory, but necessary to memory creation; theatres thus changed from social spaces where the immediate impact of the war was interpreted to spaces where memories of the war were created. The Star Theatre held a "Song and Light City Ceremonial" as a tribute to men and women from Buffalo who dedicated (or lost) their lives to the war and thus brought "honor to their city." At the tribute, the Buffalo Community Chorus, Buffalo Park Band and Children's Chorus performed "New hymns of the people," "March! March!", "Our America", "These Things Shall Be" and "New Hymn to Free Russia."[56] The Song and Light City Ceremonial demonstrates the city's pride in their military contributions to the war; collective song connected this local effort to the nation. In addition to Ceremonials, War

[54] "The Kaiser: The Beast of Berlin," Teck Theatre program, April 1st, 1918, Theatre program collection, Teck Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[55] "Over the Top," Teck Theatre program, May 6th, 1918, Theatre program collection, Teck Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[56] "Joan, the Woman," Star Theatre program, May 16th, 1917. Theatre program collection, Star Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

Expositions were organized by theatres throughout the Buffalo area. These Expositions featured motion pictures of the Great War followed immediately by "Liberated nations" violin solo and Czech national dances and songs.[57] The Broadway Auditorium exposition provided an even more tangible war memorial experience, which included an "allied nations booth" and a variety of band concerts that drew in large crowds from a variety of ethnic backgrounds.[58] War expositions worked to produce new memories of the war, particularly of Buffalo's role in the national effort.

Postwar expositions and patriotic concerts in Buffalo provided civilians with a sense of fulfillment that they had participated in America's exceptional heroism and bravery during the Great War. "Seven Days Leave," performed at the Teck theatre during the war, provided the opportunity for Buffalonians to construct war memories from a distance with "a message of cheer and hope…that will enthuse and delight all whose heart reaches out 'over there'" whilst promising "'punch' and thrills as an hour in 'No Man's Land.'"[59] Performed in New York, Washington and Chicago, "Seven Days Leave" offered Buffalonians an opportunity to create a victorious memory of the war that minimized its violent realities and highlighted a particular American heroism and bravery that was selfless, civilized and victorious. A *New York Times* review gushed that in "Seven Days Leave," "The American element has been hypodermically injected."[60] Soldiers' perspectives that "The Americans are by far the most wonderful fighters in Europe" and that their "'get there or die' spirit" was exceptional and essential to the war effort was confirmed through theatre performances. [61] Civilian and veteran theatregoers were able to visualize the impact of their Liberty Loan investments, patriotic singing and theatre participation through such performances.

Buffalo suburbanites also participated in concocting regional postwar historical narratives. To honor Lackawanna's role in the Great War, the Lackawanna Golden Jubilee Committee presented a "Steel-A-Rama," a "mammoth historical spectacle" that detailed major events in the city's history. Episode XII of the Steel-A-Rama was completely dedicated to "World War I;" it narrated that "Peace and prosperity reigns in the city…then the great war clouds sweep over Europe; bursts into raging conflict, engulfing the world. Hands across the sea pleads (sic) for help.

[57] "Today's Programmes at the War Exposition," *Buffalo Courier*, January 8th, 1919, Elmwood Music Hall Vertical File.
[58] "Today's Programmes at the War Exposition."
[59] "Seven Days Leave," Teck Theatre program, February 3rd, 1919, Theatre program collection, Teck Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[60] Rhoda-Gale Pollack, "Seven Days Leave–A Huge Success!," *World War One: Plays, Playwrights & Productions,* February 26th, 2016.
[61] Sweeney, 209. Letter from Don Martin, soldier from Buffalo to daughter Dorothy Martin, August, 1918.

Lackawanna takes up the torch for Democracy…enters the 'War to end all wars.'"[62] After viewing the Steel-A-Rama, audience members continued to a "League of Nations Pageant" that encouraged diversity and served as "A melting pot where all nations meet as friends" with the US at the helm.[63] Lackawanna's "Steel-A-Rama" prioritized the local interpretation of the impacts of the war, particularly Lackawanna's significance to the war effort because of the production of war goods at Lackawanna Steel. Buffalo industry was central to European and American militaries during the war; smaller cities like Lackawanna were met with huge demands for labor which resulted in social, cultural and economic transformations.

In addition to creating memories of civilian participation in the war, theatre performances and films served curative functions for returning soldiers and civilians. "Going Up," performed at the Majestic Theatre, was received by veteran and civilian audiences as an opportunity to heal from the war. Program advertisements dubbed it "One of the brightest features of after-the-war days" because of "the mental tonic that the stage offers to men and women gradually recovering their equilibrium after harrowing experiences 'over there'."[64] According to critics, the play was exemplary at demonstrating "the important part the theatre is playing in setting shell-shocked doughboys on their feet again; and the remarkable story has to do with 'Going Up,' the popular Cohan and Harris musical show."[65] "Going Up" was particularly impactful for veterans diagnosed with "shell shock" because the performance revisited their traumatic experiences within the secure space of the theatre. The belief that veterans' mental and emotional trauma, known today as PTSD, was the result of "imbalances in equilibrium," created perceptions that the theatre could be curative. According to critics, it was successful. One civilian observer reported that during a performance of "Going Up" at the Majestic Theatre:

> …a soldier (was) sitting a few rows ahead of me…he was thin and gray of face, and he laughed constrainedly as if he had almost forgotten how to do it. When the curtain fell on the act…I learned why. The men who had been standing behind me…shielding him from curious eyes, helped him to his crutches out to the smoking room. Later, I heard the story of how the man in khaki had lost a leg and came back to an American hospital suffering from shell

[62] *Lackawanna Golden Jubilee Commemorating Fifty Years of Progress*, Lackawanna Golden Jubilee Society Inc., Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[63] *Lackawanna Golden Jubilee Commemorating Fifty Years of Progress*.
[64] "Going Up," Majestic Theatre program, December 22nd, 1919, Theatre program collection, Majestic Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[65] "Going Up."

shock in the form of melancholia. Nothing could rouse him from the terrible depression except the theatre, and he had not been seen to laugh since his return…[66]

The civilian contended that "Going Up" provided this veteran the opportunity to use humor to reinterpret the traumas that he experienced during the war. In addition to healing through observation, veterans also used theatres as healing spaces by working as playwrights following the war. "Johnny, get your gun," advertised in Star Theatre programs in Fall 1918, was written by a former British army soldier.[67] The play was written with a focus on everyday life rather than on the graphic experiences of war; this demonstrates the veteran playwright's desire to reimagine the experience of war from different perspectives. As audience members, participants and playwrights, World War I veterans used the theatre as a curative space that allowed room for reflections on the war, as well as spaces for veterans to reintegrate into society.

Comedic theatre performances also provided spaces for *civilians* to heal from the war; this curative process closely followed civilians' memory creation. American entertainers who toured Europe during the war returned to the States to perform for audiences eager to enjoy the same entertainment as the soldiers. Performers such as comedian Elsie Janis "and her gang" performed at the Majestic Theatre after touring Europe to entertain American soldiers during the war. Buffalonians raved about the show, enticed by the fact that they were able to witness Elsie, who "Stood by the American doughboys during the heated session in Europe."[68] By consuming theatrical performances like Elsie's, civilians felt that they had a shared experience with soldiers. Other postwar performances attempted to make light of the concentrated and total destruction of cities during the war. The locations of one performance's scenes, for instance, were entitled "Anywhere in Paris, before November, 1918," Any street in Paris–same epoch" and "A Cheap restaurant in Paris (We never found one)," followed by Act II scenes "Cheer Up, the worst is yet to come" and "Anywhere in Coblenz, Germany."[69] Performances about the war in local theatres demonstrate that civilian audiences were able to simultaneously engage with and remove themselves from the horrors of war. Buffalo audiences were moreover able to create more positive memories of the war through comedic performances. While

[66] Ibid.
[67] Program for "Johnny, get your gun," Star Theatre program, September 30th, 1918, Theatre program collection, Star Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[68] "Elsie Janis and her gang," Majestic Theatre program, November 10th, 1919, Theatre program collection, Majestic Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[69] Majestic theatre program for November 17th, 1919, Theatre program collection, Majestic Theatre Files, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

theatres provided spaces for Buffalonians to unwind from and reflect on the war, Buffalo's expanded industry permanently connected locals with it.

Industrial and Labor Culture

While Buffalo civilians served their country through participating in collective song and engaging with theatrical performances, Buffalo's industry was experiencing rapid transformation and growth that impacted the city's development for the next century. As the tenth largest port city and the largest grain port in the world at the time, Buffalo was well-poised to aid in the war effort.[70] A series of contracts between local manufacturers Curtiss and Pierce-Arrow with the French and British governments –before the U.S. entered the war– had an enduring impact on the local economy. Buffalo's grain trade slowed down due to the dangers of transporting product on ships overseas, while manufacturing and industry rapidly expanded and thus demanded labor; from 1914-1921, Buffalo's industrial base doubled from 50,000 to 112,000.[71] Curtiss became the largest airplane producer in the world during this time and Pierce-Arrow shipped more than 14,000 trucks to Europe by the end of the war. [72] Buffalo manufacturers also produced biochemical weapons. The region's National Aniline and Dye Co. produced mustard gas at an exceptional rate of 50 tons of per day; nearly ten times as much as any German plant during the war.[73] Buffalo industries were identified by Woodrow Wilson as major components of the American war effort. During an address to the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in Buffalo in late 1917, Wilson proposed an "appeal…to American labor for full cooperation for winning the war."[74] This new and expanded industrial culture and demand for labor provided opportunities for ethnic immigrants and women to participate in what was unequivocally a white-male dominated economy. This labor participation allowed immigrants from Buffalo to prove their "Americanness" and for women to serve their country through labor on a massive scale. Overall, this transformation of industrial culture was a crucial component to Buffalo's engagement with World War I and serves as another example of how Buffalo civilians served their country and constructed a more inclusive collective identity.

[70] Goldman, 38.
[71] Ibid, 83.
[72] Wysocki, Part I, 12.
[73] Wysocki, Part III,, 44.
[74] "The President to Workers Must Sink All Differences and Give full Aid, He Says at Buffalo. Contempt for Pacifists Asserts Germany Started War and Aims to Control Industry of World by Force…" *The New York Times,* November 13th, 1917.

Buffalo's labor and industry was wildly important to the Great War effort, particularly before the United States entered the war. Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Company and Pierce-Arrow Manufacturing signed multimillion-dollar contracts with the British and French governments for thousands of airplanes, trucks and other war vehicles. Curtiss and Wright, which eventually became Curtiss Wright Corporation in 1929 after a merger, was at one time the largest plane manufacturing company in the world.[75] In 1915, Curtiss caught the attention of Winston Churchill, then the First Lord of the Admiralty. Churchill offered a $15,000,000 procurement contract to Curtiss to receive planes for patrol and anti-submarine activities. When Curtiss did not have the labor capacity to fulfill this contract, Great Britain sent money to increase factory capacity; this led to the creation of a new plant on Niagara St. and an increase in labor opportunities.[76] Buffalo industry was so crucial to British war production that the British government invested directly in expanding the Curtiss plant. Wysocki argues that this British-funded opening of the Niagara Street plant "...provided access to needed skilled manpower and proximity to most of Curtiss' suppliers, which were mostly Buffalo companies, as well as the opportunity to use Lake Erie...for future test flights."[77] Curtiss' war contracts increased economic opportunities for Buffalonians and put the city on the map as a major global supplier for war vehicles. Curtiss even created a special "JN" model, a combination of their "J" and "N" models, for use as a training vehicle for the Royal Army. By the end of the war, more than 10,000 or 100 "JN" Models per week were produced.[78]

War production at Curtiss Aeroplane occurred simultaneously with production at Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Company. Pierce-Arrow, an automobile manufacturer in Buffalo, produced war trucks for the French and English governments during World War I. The factory was located at what was once a part of the Pan-American exposition in 1901, now in the Delaware Park area. Pierce-Arrow produced entire vehicles as well as major parts that could be used for war vehicles abroad. England's Wolseley Motors purchased 5-ton chassis from the manufacturer to use for Royal Marine Artillery armored vehicles.[79] As early as 1914, the French government placed orders for more than 600 trucks; by the end of the war, more than 14,000 trucks from Pierce-Arrow were manufactured and shipped from Buffalo to France, England, Russia and Belgium.[80] Like Curtiss Aeroplane, the rapid expansion of production dramatically increased labor demands and solicited international interest in the city. The French government

[75] Goldman, 84.
[76] Wysocki, Pt. I, 12.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

commissioned an aviator to film an aerial view motion picture of Pierce-Arrow to capture its scale. The company newsletter, *The Arrow,* proudly announced the aviator's visit and boasted that the 10,000-man factory was the greatest user of aluminum in the world and that it consumed 75,000 gallons of gasoline and 25,000 tons of coal annually.[81]

A closer inspection of Pierce-Arrow reveals that the company connected Buffalonians to the war on more than a production level; by laboring at industrial factories like Pierce-Arrow, Buffalonians from a variety of backgrounds were able to serve their nation through their labor. Curtiss employees' contributions to the war were so highly recognized that there was a petition to permit them draft stays in order to maintain factory production levels. Their skilled labor was essential to the production of quality aircraft for allied armies such as the "JN."[82] Curtiss proved so critical to the war effort that speculation swirled that the Buffalo City Council officials "voted to appeal directly to New York Governor Charles Whitman for assistance, asking that the state militia be immediately dispatched to protect Buffalo's manufacturing and municipal facilities."[83] To demonstrate their total dedication to America's effort in the war, Pierce-Arrow even organized a band to "serve patriotically at the Liberty Loan rallies in Pierce-Arrow shops."[84] The harder that employees labored, the more American they were perceived. The war permeated every aspect of manufacturing; Pierce-Arrow even brought in a wounded British Veteran, Lt. S.J. Ainsworth, to rile patriotic sentiments in employees so that they would be more motivated to increase their production.[85] Similar to public demonstrations of patriotism through song, individual employees of Buffalo manufacturers validated their patriotism by increasing their production in public spaces. As in theatre and music halls, employees of the company were pressured to display their patriotism by contributing to Liberty Loan campaigns. The company newsletter, *The Arrow,* boasted that "The Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Company's Americanism tested 100 per cent in the Third Liberty Loan Campaign…The magnificent response was particularly gratifying. It proclaimed to the business and industrial world that they stood ready to support their country in fullest measure...It demonstrated that the Pierce-Arrow spirit is thoroughly American"[86]

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[81] "Noted French Aviator Photographs the Pierce-Arrow Factory from 'Plane,'" *The Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 4, June 15th, 1918, 8.
[82] "Draft Stays Requested for Curtiss Men," *Buffalo Evening News*, October 23rd, 1917.
[83] Olszowka, 451.
[84] "Band Proves Sensation: New Pierce-Arrow Organization Surprises Crowds at Shop Meeting," *The Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1st, 1918, 11.
[85] *The Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 11, October 1st, 1918.
[86] "Wanted, Women," *The Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1st, 1918, 1.

This service-through-labor mentality was not strictly limited to white men; women and immigrants were provided opportunities to participate in Buffalo's labor contributions. At Pierce-Arrow, 1400 male workers were drafted and deployed for war, which created a huge demand for laborers that was quickly offered to women.[87] Women worked alongside immigrant and American men in Curtiss and Pierce-Arrow throughout the war, allowing them to earn wages and to become a part of the city's emerging collective identity. Buffalo's 33% immigrant population utilized their positions as industrial laborers as part of Fuhrmann's "Americanization" process. Immigrants were concerned that "…war news from their homelands might set neighbor against neighbor," and thus, made concerted efforts to demonstrate their patriotism.[88] Women and immigrants were able to prove just how American they were through their labor and investment in Liberty Loans or War Stamps that were available through Pierce-Arrow. Angelo J. Radice, an immigrant employee of Pierce-Arrow, distanced himself from his immigrant roots by dedicating his entire $20 per week salary to purchase Liberty Loans. *The Arrow* praised his selfless fiscal sacrifice: "It is not possible for all of us to approach this record…Yet this deed stands as a sterling example for those who fondly believe they are 100 per cent Americans."[89] Purchasing Liberty Loans for Radice offered an opportunity to prove his "Americanness" and loyalty to his new country. This effort was not limited to Pierce-Arrow. Italian and Polish magazines printed in their native languages urged immigrants to give whatever they had to purchase War Stamps. By purchasing these stamps and especially by working for a manufacturer like Pierce-Arrow or Curtiss, immigrants began to be accepted by the larger Buffalo community.

Buffalo's industrial contributions to the war directly impacted how Buffalo civilians viewed their international role. A publication in *The Arrow* demonstrates that laborers actually believed their work to be *as* important to the war effort as military service. The newsletter read that "Our boys…in France… are the vanguard, the skirmish line! The main army is here…and you men of the machine-building industry, you soldiers of the shops are…one of the most important…Never before has the safety of democracy…been dependent on you. Without your loyalty and skill and industry, the boys in France will make their sacrifice in vain…"[90] World War I veterans sometimes agreed with this sentiment. Testimony from "Snuffy Smith," an acclaimed World War I pilot from Central New York exclaimed that "…it's as simple as duck soup. This war's got to be won first by the workers back home. All we can do is hold on till

[87] "Wanted, Women."
[88] Wysocki, Part I, 12.
[89] "He Is An American," *The Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1st, 1918, 4.
[90] "Soldiers of the Shop," *The Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 1, April 15th, 1918, 1.

they give us the stuff…every war industry in the country (must)...go on a 24-hour a day, seven-day week schedule, not next year sometime, but *now."*[91] Like soldiers, industrial laborers' calls to service demanded complete dedication to the national cause. Buffalonians' experiences were unique in this aspect because of the scale of the city's industry. As laborers became more publicly connected to the war effort, variations of what made a good laborer arose. Simply to be a laborer did not demonstrate loyalty to the nation; if a laborer did not work unstintingly, (s)he might be mistaken as an enemy sympathizer. An essay on the Buffalo community's reflections of the war, for example, expressed that "The workingman (sic) who halts in his daily task, who wantonly slackens...who encourages his neighbor to loaf...is a German wearing the stolen clothes of an American workingman (sic)"[92] Buffalo's laborers, diverse in gender and ethnicity, created a collective identity that unified workers by promulgating a larger purpose for the city's industrial contributions.

Conclusion: Memories of the War

The significance of Buffalo's music and industry during the war was on vivid display during the city's Armistice Parade. *The Arrow* rejoiced the role of the Pierce-Arrow company band at the forefront of the city's celebration and boasted that "Pierce Arrow woke the town up on Peace Day."[93] Buffalo's theatre and labor culture during World War I resulted in the creation of a more inclusive collective identity that endures today. Although the war and its social impacts are often overlooked, immediately following the war, Buffalonians proclaimed that "there appears to be no assurance that we will ever return to the mode of life we lived, or the conditions which existed prior to the war…"[94] The city's immigrant population demonstrated their commitment to America by contributing to Liberty Loans, United War Work campaigns and through their industrial labor. Many of these immigrants followed Mayor Fuhrmann's command to forgo their ethnic identities and to forge American identities. Women in Buffalo were targeted to fill industrial laborer roles, to spearhead Liberty Loan and United War Work campaigns and to organize and volunteer for the Red Cross. These women utilized their public roles as foils to discuss women's rights

[91] *Syracuse Herald-Journal,* March 13th, 1942,
[92] *Reflections on the Great War,* University at Buffalo College of Arts and Sciences, Vol. VI, No. 4, August 1918, 11.
[93] "Pierce-Arrow Parade Opens Buffalo's Peace Celebration Amid Cheers of Throngs," *The Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 14, November 15th, 1918, 1.
[94] Sweeney, 493.

and to garner support for the passage of the equal rights amendment.[95] At Lafayette Square in 1918, Buffalo's Suffragist Party held a patriotic rally and simultaneously marketed Liberty Loans; Buffalo's women were held in such high esteem that one scholar argued that they were the first "to respond to the call of service."[96] Music, Theatre and industry facilitated the development of Buffalo's postwar collective identity by providing opportunities for integration and for Buffalonians to public display their patriotism. While other American citizens professed a similar patriotism, Buffalo proves unique because of the city's large immigrant population, massive industrial presence and proximity to Canada. The scale of these factors resulted in more opportunities for social change. In the case of Buffalo, women and immigrants became major parts of the city's collective identity.

The allied victory of World War I was followed up with public projects in Buffalo to preserve the city's memory of the war and its impact. The Buffalo Public Library was designated by New York State to collect all printed material in regards to war activities: "pamphlets, clippings, posters, handbills, placards, pictures…programs, music (and) broadsides" were gathered in order to "fulfill…its duty…in assembling…important evidences of the part played by each locality of the state in the great war.[97] While Buffalo humbly regarded itself as "just a cog in the Great Wheel that Crushed the Hun," the city recognized that its local efforts were distinguishable from those of the nation.[98] A decade after the war, luncheons were organized by local political clubs and veterans' associations to commemorate the ten-year anniversary of the Armistice. These social events were dedicated to living veterans and to honor the dead "whose deeds of valor in the military service of our country, have been recognized by the ward of The Congressional Medal of Honor, The Distinguished Service Cross, The Distinguished Service Medal or by official citation."[99] In Buffalo's suburbs, returning servicemen assembled to establish Post 622 American Legion. Following the war, Buffalonians commemorated the war by hosting public celebrations. Historian Joseph Grande of the Buffalo Niagara Heritage Village affirms that "In the two decades after the end of World War I, Amherst veterans and their fellow

[95] "The World Safe for Democracy," Women's patriotic rally program; Sunday October 21st, 1918.
[96] "Suffragists Will Aid (sic) W.S.S. Drive," *Buffalo News,* May 28th, 1918, 163, Liberty Loan Scrapbook Vol. 2, Buffalo collection oversize, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[97] Letter from SUNY Albany and NYS Library Director to Buffalo Public Library, June 26th, 1917, Buffalo and the War collection, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[98] *The War Book of the One Hundred and Sixth Regiment Field Artillery, 1917-1919,* 30, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.
[99] *Tribute Luncheon to the Men of Valor of Buffalo and Erie County,* Martha Washington Republican Woman's Club and Stand-By Association for World War Veterans, February 22nd, 1929, Buffalo and the War collection, Grosvenor Room special collections, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

citizens resumed normal peacetime pursuits though life would never be quite the same. Memorial day became a major holiday with parades and ceremonies decorating veteran's (sic) graves."[100]

Buffalo's soldiers also initiated projects to transcribe their military experiences into public memory. A *War Book* of the 106th Field Artillery collected historical records of war experiences from each battery. Battery B reflected on the experience of war by stating "Who would have believed that less than two years after we entered the service at Buffalo we would be through with our job and ready to be mustered out...our time in the army, though short in comparison...has nevertheless been as varied as anybody could possibly wish for."[101] Soldiers faced challenges processing the brutality of the war, particularly upon return to the city. While Battery B's statement illustrates a restrained response to the challenges of processing the war's brutality, Battery C of the 106th boldly contended that, "This little skeleton history...is the only part anyone wants to remember; the rest was a nightmare at the worst and monotonous waiting at the best..."[102] According to returning soldiers, while theatres and music halls proved useful to heal from the war, civilians could never create public memories that captured the violence of the Great War. Letters and diaries from local soldiers confirm this belief and illustrate how local perspectives influenced their experiences abroad. The collective identity that emerged during the war became more inclusive to women and immigrants; this has been recorded as part of this public memory. Only four years following the war, a local historian declared that, "Altogether, Buffalo's World War record is a distinguished one. Almost two hundred of her physicians were commissioned in the army or navy; there was a Volunteer Medical Service Corps of Buffalo women."[103] The Great War provided opportunities for Buffalo's industrial significance to unify women and immigrants with white male Americans, which resulted in a more unified collective identity that was solidified through public affirmations of patriotism in music halls and theatres.

[100] Joseph A. Grande, *Glancing Back: A Pictoral History of Amherst, New York,* Walsworth Publication Co., 2000, 177-178.
[101] *The War Book of the One Hundred and Sixth Regiment Field Artillery, 1917-1919*.
[102] Ibid, 69.
[103] Hill, 882.