



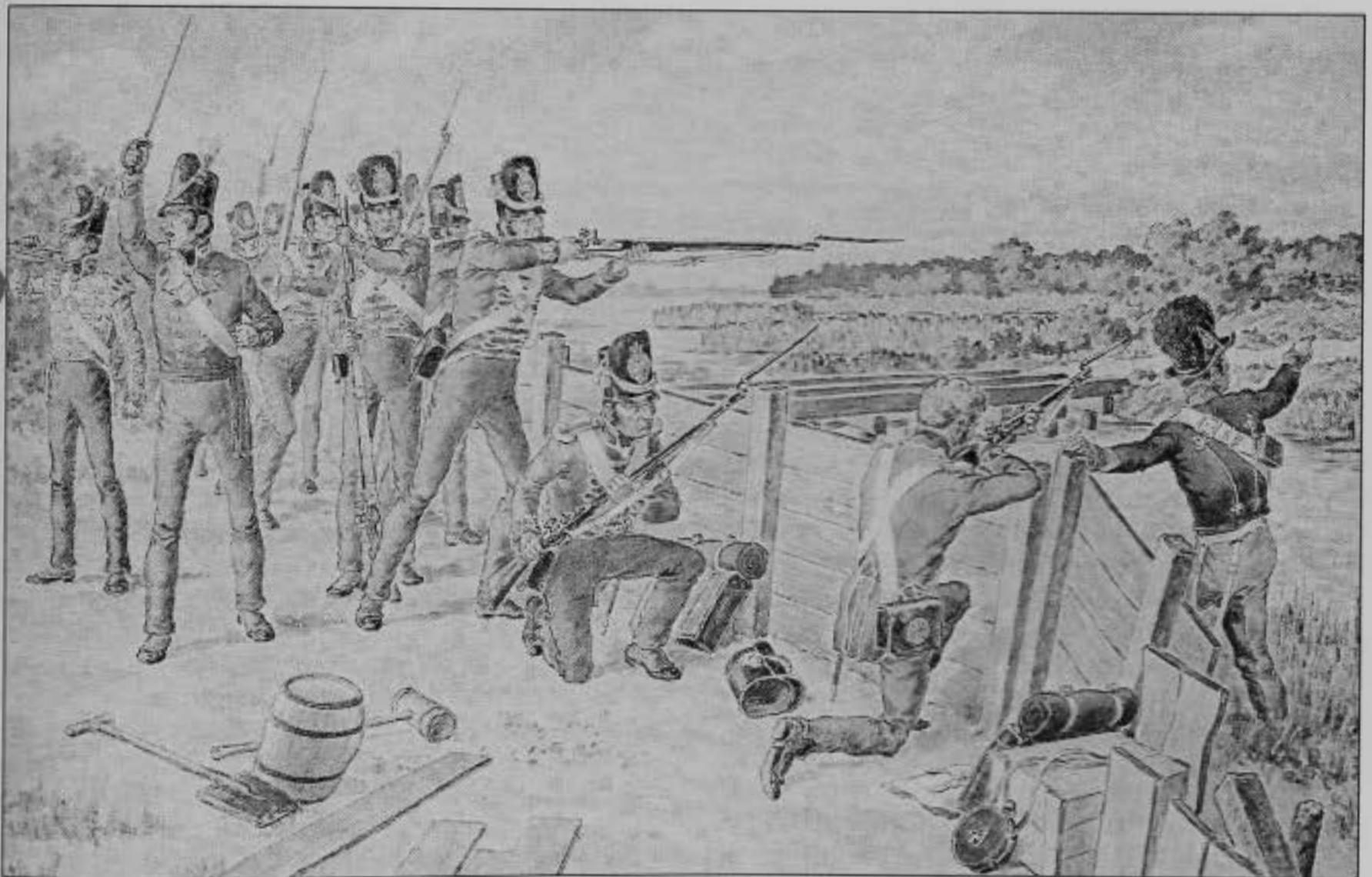
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Granville and the War of 1812



An Ohio community experiences its first war

By **B. KEVIN BENNETT**

This year marks the bicentennial of the War of 1812, a largely forgotten conflict which was the first war in which the Granville community was involved.¹ Obscured by the intervening 200 years, it has long been treated as a footnote in published histories. Careful review, however, reveals that this conflict and its impact were a significant event in the early history of the community.

Granville, as with the rest of the nation, entered the war woefully unprepared to fight. While a local militia company was created in 1806, these men drilled infrequently and their "training" was of dubious military value. Granted, these men were usually familiar with the use of firearms and outdoor skills. This was offset by their lack of combat experience, poor weaponry, equipment and almost total disregard for military discipline. There was also an unrealistic belief that American militia could easily overpower British Canada, particularly Upper Canada (now Ontario) with little effort.



Augustine Munson was the younger brother of Major Jeremiah Munson. He enlisted as a private in CPT Levi Rose's company as a musician. Captured at Detroit, he exchanged some choice words with his captors. Later became a leading citizen of Granville and General in the



Ohio Militia. (Courtesy Granville Historical Society)

ABOVE: Brig. Gen. William Hull is regarded as the hapless commander of the American force in the Detroit Campaign. His surrender to the British included the Granville unit. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

War preparation actually began before President Madison's declaration. In early 1812, efforts were initiated to expand the size of the miniscule regular Army. As part of this, a requisition was made by Madison for 1,200 Ohio militia to be called up for duty. In response Ohio Governor Return Jonathan Meigs dispatched several trusted aides to recruit and mobilize militia units throughout the state. One of these aides was Jeremiah R. Munson, a lawyer and member of one of the leading families of early Granville. A tall, physically impressive man, his soldierly bearing and verbal skills aided greatly in his recruiting mission. Returning to Granville he summoned a community meeting and was able

This issue of the Historical Times offers the rare opportunity of including articles by the incoming and outgoing presidents of the Granville Historical Society. Incoming president Kevin Bennett's research into Granville's wistful participation in the War of 1812 begins this issue and outgoing president Don Schilling's article on the information available in the local press regarding the Holocaust follows. Bennett has written extensively on the involvement of members of the Granville community in the Civil War and is a past president of the Licking County Historical Society.

to enlist a company of 50 local men in little over an hour. Levi Rose, who had prior military experience as a militia officer, was elected as the captain of the new unit. As militia, these men were expected to provide their own weapons and equipment. They had no standard "uniform" save a fringed hunting shirt they were requested to bring.

Although the company contained a few men from the St. Albans area, the roster reads like a "who's who" of early Granville with names such as Rees, Cooley, Spelman, Gavit, Thrall, Avery and Linnel. The roster also included the redoubtable Elias Gilman who enlisted as private.

Familiar to most students of Granville history, Gilman wore many "hats" during Granville's formative years. He was not to see actual combat as he was quickly elevated to the position of regimental quartermaster in recognition of his administrative skills. In addition to the local unit, Munson also raised volunteer companies in neighboring Knox County and Newark. Together, these 152 men marched in early June to join the newly formed Army of the Northwest near Urbana, Ohio.

FRONT-PAGE ART — A depiction of British forces at River Canard Bridge attempting to stop American forces from advancing on Ft. Malden. The Granville unit was engaged in this affair. (Artwork by Peter Rindlisbacher)

Upon arrival, the Army commander Brigadier General William Hull assigned them to the 3rd Regiment of Ohio Volunteers under the command of Colonel Lewis Cass.² By virtue of his recruiting prowess, political standing and military experience (albeit limited), Munson was appointed as a Major within this regiment.

Accompanying the force was a small group of musically inclined citizens from Granville. Originally formed in 1808 for civic entertainment, this small group sought to serve their country by converting into a military band. Included in this group was Augustine Munson, Major Munson's younger brother, and Samuel Bancroft, skilled bassoonist. As there was no provision in Army organization for a band, they were entered into the muster rolls as fifers and drummers.

After some rudimentary military training and organization, the Army began its march North toward Detroit on June 15.

General Hull intended to reinforce the small American garrison at Fort Detroit, then invade British Canada and occupy as much of Upper Canada as possible while allying the various Indian tribes with the American cause or at least keeping them neutral.

Surprisingly, the morale of the Army was not as great as General Hull believed it to be as a minor mutiny broke out before the march even began. A number of Ohio militia volunteers demanded pay, which had not yet reached the Army as it prepared to march. One company refused to march and it was necessary for Hull to order a detachment of U.S. Regulars to change their minds at bayonet point. This unpromising beginning was an ominous predictor of the fiasco that was to follow.

THE ADVANCE TO DETROIT

In 1812 the portion of Ohio that the American force was required to traverse was largely unsettled and encompassed the massive Black Swamp. It was not an easy task. To establish reliable supply and communications lines, the laborious task of clearing a road through this wilderness was undertaken with the Granville men having to take their turn at this endeavor.³ Finally arriving at the Maumee River (near current Toledo) in late June, Gen. Hull made a decision to place the army's heavy equipment, baggage, and papers on the ship *Cuyahoga* for transport to Detroit. Included in the storage were all of the Granville band's instruments save for a few drums which were necessary for



A historical marker located south of Windsor, Ontario, denoting site of River Canard Skirmish that the Granville unit participated in. (Photo by B. Kevin Bennett)

daily military routines and marching formations.

Although Gen. Hull was unaware of the June 18 declaration of war, the British forces learned of it in time to capture the ship as it passed by the British held Ft. Malden on its way up the Detroit River. On a strategic level this proved to be a windfall for the British as the seized papers included detailed information on American plans and forces. On a local level, the capture of the band instruments proved tragic for their Granville owners in that they were sold for prize money by the plucky crew that captured them, as was the custom of the time.

The American army reached Detroit on July 5 without further incident, reinforcing the small garrison that protected the small territorial capital. Hull's strategy called for an amphibious crossing of the broad Detroit River and then driving south on the Canadian side to the British strongpoint at Fort Malden. After a few days of reorganization and rest, the evening of Friday, July 10 was designated for the crossing.

As the troops were being readied to board their boats, an incident involving the Granville men occurred, which resulted in the invasion being delayed, Major Jeremiah Munson being seriously wounded and the entire American camp being thrown into an uproar. According to one account, a number of the militia volunteers were needlessly and recklessly discharging their muskets near the assembly point. As this was not only a safety hazard but threatened the secrecy of the movement, Major Munson and oth-

Map of the Theater of Operations in which the Granville men participated during the War of 1812. The dark area to the west of Lake Erie is the Black Swamp.



other officers barked out orders to desist. Whether by accident or intentional, Private David Messenger fired his musket with Major Munson being hit in the chest. Fortunately, the wound did not prove fatal, but Munson was taken out of action for the remainder of the campaign.⁴

On Sunday, July 12, the Granville men, along with most of the American army rowed across the three-quarter-mile river, landing unopposed near the village of Sandwich (now part of Windsor, Ontario). The invasion of Canada had begun.

FIRST COMBAT

After the successful crossing, the American forces dithered in the Sandwich area for the next four days accom-

plishing little. Instead of marching south to confront the greatly outnumbered British and Indian forces centered on Ft. Malden, Gen. Hull displayed the indecision that was to doom the campaign. Finally, on July 16, Hull sent Col. Cass and his regiment (including Levi Rose's company) to scout the approaches to Ft. Malden, which lay 15 miles to the south. Pushing forward to the Canard River, they came to a bridge crossing that was defended by a small detachment of British regulars. A sharp firefight ensued for several hours, which ended only with an attack upon the British rear by a party of Americans who had gone upstream, crossed the river in one of the few places where this deep stream could be forded and doubled back.

Faced with an attack upon their rear, the British quickly



Major General Isaac Brock: Commander of the combined British-Indian forces. A superb soldier and leader, his outnumbered forces totally defeated the first American invasion of Canada. (Courtesy of the National Archives of Canada)

of Gen. Hull to act quickly and pursue the initiative. Consistently believing that the British strength and capabilities were greater than they actually were, Hull allowed the important bridge to be abandoned and the Granville men trudged back to the enclave at Sandwich, having accomplished little.⁵

Over the next several weeks the Granville men languished along with their comrades back in Sandwich while the British and Indian forces continued to strengthen with reinforcements. Apart from additional units, the arrival of British General Sir Isaac Brock, a superb combat leader, tilted the balance in the British favor. Along with Tecumseh, the British leadership presented a marked contrast to that offered by the indecisive Hull who was hampered by disloyal and bickering subordinates.

THE SKIRMISH AT TURKEY CREEK BRIDGE

The men from Granville next saw action on July 24 when they were part of an expedition under a Major James Denny to proceed towards the Canard River bridge. Their mission

retreated back to Ft. Malden, leaving the bridge in the possession of the Americans. Although a rather small affair, this was the first combat experience for the Granville men. No casualties were incurred by the Americans. The British suffered one dead and one wounded.

This promising start was negated by the failure

was to intercept and ambush groups of Canadian militia and Indians who were reported to be operating in that area.

Proceeding south in the dark of the early morning hours, they took positions to ambush any enemy party venturing north of the bridge. Around mid-day they marched a short distance back towards their base at Sandwich and captured three Canadian militia posing as local farmers who were spying on their movements. After these prisoners were sent to the rear, the Americans took shelter in an orchard to rest and seek respite from the July heat.

As was often the case with the militia, basic precautions such as sentries were apparently not posted, or fell asleep. A group of Indians were able to saunter virtually undetected to within 15 yards of Levi Rose and his napping men. At this juncture several men became alert to the Indian presence and let loose a ragged volley at them. Groggy from their sleep, the American force quickly panicked and started at first a retreat towards Sandwich. They quickly ran into a nearby force of British troops at which time the retreat turned into a disorderly footrace back to American lines. When their officers threatened to shoot them if they did not fight, one replied, "It's better to be killed by you than those damned Indians." In a letter back home to his wife Polly, Cpt. Rose described the action as a "hard chase" in which the frightened men threw away their "guns, blankets, hats, swords and packs". He went on to write that he had "narrowly escaped with his life" and reported that William Gibbons had been wounded in the leg and Mahlon Brown had been taken prisoner. This skirmish represents the first occasion where citizens of Granville sustained casualties in the service of the nation. It is a sad tradition that continued through the Vietnam conflict.

THE FALL OF DETROIT

Over the next several weeks the situation deteriorated rapidly for the Americans. Beset by internal dissent, difficulties in obtaining supplies, continual harassment by British and Indian raiding parties and lack of a clear strategy, Gen. Hull ordered the retreat of his forces from Canada and back to Detroit. In contrast, The British commander Gen. Brock, having received substantial reinforcements, seized the initiative. By August 16 the moment of crisis was at hand. The British had moved up powerful artillery and commenced a deadly bombardment of Detroit and the small fort that served as American headquarters. Packed with citizens and soldiers alike, the effect was deadly and demoralizing.

Most of the Granville men were south of Detroit with Col. Cass at this time. They were on an expedition to locate and escort a relief column up from Ohio. The Indians under the skillful leadership of Tecumseh had crossed over to Michigan and essentially cut the communications and supply route to Detroit. In a series of sharp skirmishes, the

Indians had inflicted significant losses on the Ohio militia. This was compounded by the psychological terror inflicted by their practice of staking out and scalping those Americans taken prisoner. This played upon the great fear the Ohio militia had of fighting Indians and the treatment that awaited them if captured.

Unable to locate the relief column, Cass and his force returned to a location just several hours march south of Detroit and sat idle in a camp there. For reasons never explained, he failed to send word to Gen. Hull apprising him of his location and status. About the same time, the British and Canadian troops began to cross the river and landing near Detroit without opposition. As the British advanced on him, Hull learned that groups of Indians were entering the town and that some of the militia had deserted their posts.

As these events were unfolding the recuperating Major Jeremiah Munson rallied himself from his sickbed and went in search of his younger brother Augustine. He found him in the large dry moat at the rear of the fort. There he discovered chaos as numerous Ohio militia who had fled from their assigned positions huddled there in relative safety from the bombardment. The younger Munson and several other Granville men left behind by Cass were attempting to care for and obtain safe shelter for the sick and wounded for whom no provision had been made.

Once there was a lull in the bombardment, Major Munson, accompanied by his younger brother, made his way through the confusion to Gen. Hull's headquarters. Finding Hull, he informed him of the disordered state of affairs he had witnessed at the rear of the fort and requested permission to take charge of that situation. Hull quickly acceded to this request. Munson also noted that Hull was very anxious about Cass' force and its whereabouts.

Shortly after Munson departed, the white flag was sent up. Crushed by anxiety for the safety of the many noncombatants⁶, faced by the deadly effectiveness of the bombardment from across the river, not knowing that Cass and his troops were close at hand, Hull believed he had no choice but to surrender in order to avoid a general massacre.

After the terms of surrender were reached, the American troops were quickly formed up to surrender their arms and military equipment, to include the drums of the Granville band. According to several accounts, during the surrender process Augustine Munson was questioned by a senior British officer as to what use was made by the Americans of a large drum. Young Munson supposedly replied with more than a little cheek, "that is a bass drum, you damned old fool!"

Under the terms of the surrender, Col. Cass' force was included in the surrender. When a small British force informed them of this, Cpt. Levi Rose and the Granville

men were unceremoniously stripped of their knapsacks and their weapons. They, along with the men from Detroit were then quickly marched to the river where they were boarded onto a number of British ships and held prisoner. Not having the supplies to feed and care for these men, the British made the decision to parole all of the Ohio militia and to quickly ship them back to Ohio.⁷ This occurred in short order and the boat carrying the Granville men transported them across Lake Erie to a site near present day Cleveland. From there they made their way by foot to Granville. It was not an easy journey as they encountered a storm and rough waters during which Samuel Bancroft was swept overboard but rescued.

Several bitter participants accused the British of intentionally placing them on an unseaworthy vessel in hopes the ship would founder and the prisoners would be consigned to a watery grave. As these were British vessels crewed by British sailors, this accusation appears to be groundless, but not untypical of the animus that exists in time of war.

THE HOME FRONT

As the survivors of the Detroit fiasco made their way home, their return must have been bittersweet. Apart from the joy of having family members return relatively unscathed, the addition of fifty able-bodied men was an economic boon to the community. The absence of so many farmers and tradesmen would have imposed a substantial burden on the families left behind to tend farms or maintain their trade. Fortunately, the shortlived campaign resulted in these Granville men returning home in time to assist in the fall harvest.

Moreover, the community had benefitted economically from the "industry" of supporting the war effort. In addition to foodstuffs and clothing items, local stills produced alcohol, which was sold to Army quartermasters. It can probably be assumed that Elias Gilman, in his capacity as a quartermaster, saw fit to award a good number of local contracts for these items. Equally lucrative were the contracts for the transport of these supplies for the next several years. A thriving local business in selling horses and saddle gear to the Army also took root. This "boom" resulted in the influx of previously scarce cash into the community. The "paroled" men also contributed to the infusion of cash as they continued on the Army payroll while awaiting exchange at home.

Despite the mishaps of the Detroit campaign, the martial ardor of the Granville community remained intact. In May 1813, Grove Case, a prominent local entrepreneur who owned a flour mill and still, obtained a federal commission as a captain and was authorized to recruit a company of local men for service in the 27th U.S. Infantry. Thirty-five Granville area men were quickly mustered in.

Having experienced the many problems inherent with local militia (not the least of which was the frequent refusal of militia to serve outside the nation's borders), the federal government committed to a massive expansion of the Regular Army. These men were usually better trained; more disciplined, had standard weapons and uniforms and could be ordered to serve in Canada — state militia having the constitutional right to refuse service outside of the nation's borders.

Interestingly, there were a number of local men who had served in Cpt. Rose's company who served with Captain Case. Perhaps wanting the chance to get a measure of revenge against "John Bull," they may have also been motivated by a \$124 signing bounty and the promise of 160 acres of government land. Also joining the 27 U.S. Infantry were the now recovered Major Jeremiah Munson and Elias Gilman. Munson became the second in command of the regiment, Gilman was commissioned as a Lieutenant in the Regulars with paymaster and recruiting duties.

SERVING UNDER OLD TIPPECANOE

After brief initial training, Cpt. Case's company was "mounted" with the primary mission of protecting supply convoys in the northwestern part of Ohio. Assigned to a new army being assembled by Major General William H. Harrison (nicknamed "Old Tippecanoe" in recognition for his victory against the Indians at that location in 1811), these men served several months shuttling between various military posts. After the American naval victory in the Battle of Lake Erie, Captain Case's unit accompanied Harrison's army as it advanced to recapture Detroit and invade Canada again. This time the American force under competent leadership moved boldly and quickly brushed aside opposing forces. The outnumbered British evacuated Ft. Malden and with their Indian allies retreated east.

On October 5, 1813 the Americans caught up with the retreating British and Indians and forced them into battle near the present day Moraviantown, Ontario. The engagement, known as the Battle of the Thames, lasted less than an hour and was a decisive American victory. The Indian leader Tecumseh was killed during this action, causing many of the Indians to abandon the British cause and return home.

While the 27th U.S. Infantry saw action, Case and the Granville men did not see combat having been detailed to protect the baggage trains several miles behind.

After this battle, Harrison and the American army returned to the Detroit area. Case and his unit continued their duty of convoying, scouting and garrisoning Ft. Seneca in northwest Ohio until the end of the war in December 1814. As the federal government was desirous of reducing the military and reducing expenses, they were

"With the end of the war the Granville community could rightly feel proud of its contribution. Given the size of the community, an outsized effort in response to its nation's call had been tendered."

mustered out well before the expiration of their five-year term.

The Granville community also had one other short-lived military contribution in this war. In the spring of 1813 the American strongpoint at Ft. Meigs (near Toledo) was threatened by an invading British army. Volunteers were summoned and requested to assemble in Mansfield. A number of Granville men responded to the call. Most of these volunteers lacked equipment or serviceable weapons and the state and federal governments lacked the immediate resources to feed and equip them. They were thanked for their patriotism and promptly sent home.

POSTSCRIPT

With the end of the war the Granville community could rightly feel proud of its contribution. Given the size of the community, an outsized effort in response to its nation's call had been tendered. While there was a definite economic benefit to the area, wars exact a price in human terms, and the War of 1812 was no different.

Private Grove Messenger was captured and died in a POW camp near Montreal in January 1814. Private John Sinnett of Cpt. Case's unit died in the summer of 1813, apparently of an illness contracted while campaigning. Private Elijah Rathbone suffered a wound during the Detroit campaign. He died of its effects shortly after returning home. Among those wounded was William Gibbons who was shot in the leg at the Turkey Creek skirmish and of course, the unfortunate wounding of Major Jeremiah Munson.

Fortunately, most of these veterans returned home and reintegrated themselves into the community and in building a life for themselves. Many became community leaders. Major Jeremiah Munson met a tragic end in 1822. Serving for a period as the Adjutant General of Ohio, he later founded the Granville Furnace and Forge along with his brother Augustine. It did not prove financially successful in the long term. Burdened by debts, he took his own life by drowning. The last surviving War of 1812 veteran from Granville was David Messenger, the man responsible for the wounding of Major Munson. He eventually moved to Utica where he passed away in 1881, closing the book on this tumultuous chapter of Granville history.

SOURCES

Study of the War of 1812 and Granville's participation is rendered difficult by the perfunctory treatment afforded by past community histories. Henry Bushnell's *The History of Granville Licking County, Ohio* (1889) offers the most expansive treatment, but much of the information offered is incomplete or factually erroneous. Subsequent histories have essentially reiterated Bushnell's account, albeit in greatly condensed versions. *The History of Licking County, Ohio, Its Past and Present* (1881) by H.N. Hill is a much better source of information not only of Granville, but of the Licking County area during the conflict.

There are numerous books dealing with the Detroit campaign of 1812 in which Granville units played such a prominent part. The author recommends *War Drums along the River* (1991) by Michael G. White and *Wampum Denied* (2007) by Sandy Antal. Although both of these works are from Canadian authors, they offer an excellent account of the campaign to include descriptions of the small actions in Canada that the Granville men participated in. Also of value is *The Robert Lucas Journal* (1813). The author, Captain Robert Lucas, commanded a company of Ohio militia during the Detroit campaign and provides interesting soldier-level perspectives. Also worthwhile is the *Report of the Trial of Brigadier General Hull* (1814) which along with *Lucas Journal*, can be accessed on the internet. *The U.S. Army in the War of 1812* (1997) by Robert S. Quimby is helpful understanding the role of the U.S. Regulars during the war and documenting the military contributions of the 27th U.S. Infantry in which many Granville men served.

While not a commercial endorsement, utilization of Ancestry.com was invaluable in discovering the military service and death records of numerous individuals from the community. The Archives at the Granville Historical Society also contain a number of documents that are well worth reviewing for those with an interest in this period. For those with an interest in visiting the actual sites, a visit to the Detroit Historical Society & Museum, is well worth the trip. In Canada, the Windsor Community Museum followed by a short jaunt to Old Sandwich are worthwhile as several historical landmarks of the campaign are located there. The restored British Fort Malden in the village of Amherstburg is a "must see" along with the adjacent King's Navy Yard. This charming village offers a great mix of historical and culinary delights, especially the superb Italian cuisine of Riccardo's, adjacent to the fort.

Finally, the author wishes to extend his thanks to Colonel (Ret.) John Montgomery for sharing his vast knowledge of Ohio military history and to Granville's foremost historian, Dr. Clarke Wilhelm, for his valuable insights and suggestions.

FOOTNOTES

¹A number of Granville's citizens were veterans of the Revolutionary War but they had fought for their respective colonies and Continental Congress. The War of 1812 was the first declared war not only for Granville, but for the new United States as well.

²Lewis Cass (1782-1866) was a lawyer from Zanesville, which in 1812 was the state capital. Politically ambitious, he later became the Governor of the Michigan Territory, U.S. Senator, Secretary of War, Secretary of State and Minister to France and was the Democratic nominee for President in 1848, losing to Zachary Taylor. His role while commanding the regiment to which the Granville men belonged



Tecumseh: Leader of the Indian forces allied with the British. The Granville men were sharply rebuffed by Tecumseh's men at a skirmish at Turkey Creek Bridge, Ontario. Tecumseh was later killed at the Battle of the Thames. (Courtesy of the National Archives of Canada)

left much to be desired. While personally brave, he was vainglorious, openly insubordinate to the American commander (General Hull) and actively worked to undermine Hull's authority. According to a contemporary local history, there was considerable "ill feeling" against Cass within the officers of the 3rd Regiment including Major Jeremiah Munson.

³This road, known as "Hull's Trace," still exists in several locations and is denoted by a series of Ohio Historical markers.

⁴David Messenger was a member of Cpt. John Spencer's company raised in Newark. He had two brothers, Grove and Campbell, who enlisted in Cpt. Rose's unit. Local histories portray the incident as an "accidental discharge"; however the Messengers apparently had a local reputation as "ne'er do wells" so the question remains an open one. Munson carried the musket ball in his chest the rest of his life.

⁵British forces at this time consisted of 150 regular soldiers, 300 Canadian militia and about 500 Indians under the great leader Tecumseh. In contrast, the American forces in Canada numbered around 2,000.

⁶The noncombatants at Detroit included Hull's daughter and grandchildren. The concern of their treatment at the hands of the Indians undoubtedly played a major factor in his decision to surrender.

⁷"Parole" was the action of releasing a captured soldier on the express condition they would not return to fight against the British until they were properly "exchanged" for a captured British soldier. Violation of this could result in the summary execution of the offender if subsequently recaptured. The British did not parole the small contingent of U.S. Regulars, instead shipping them off to POW camps.

What did we know?

And when?

Knowledge of the Holocaust in Central Ohio, 1939-1945

By DONALD SCHILLING

Visitors to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's permanent collection are transported by steel elevator to the fourth floor where upon exiting they immediately encounter a huge photo of American soldiers at the Ohrdruf labor camp viewing a pyre of burned bodies on twisted steel frames (the roast). This shocking encounter transports visitors from the inspiring monuments of the Washington Mall and thrusts them into the horrific world of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. Wrenching though this entry into the permanent exhibit is, it pales in comparison to what American and other Allied soldiers experienced as they came across the concentration, labor, and death camps in their advance into the ever-shrinking German heartland in 1944-1945. Horror, shock, revulsion, incomprehension, anger, and profound sadness characterized their responses. Clearly they were not prepared for what they found and they struggled to make sense of it.¹

Like the American soldiers, American civilians struggled to make sense of the shocking reports coming out of Europe in the last phase of the war as the camps were liberated. This was true in the first instance of the press itself, which acknowledged the unimaginable. The com-



No second chance...no other choice

FOR THOSE who fall and freeze on the lime-covered floors of the cattle cars that carry them to German labor camps—there is no other choice.

For the little children of Tepelini and Salonika and Athens who wait with swollen stomachs for the food ship that never arrives, there is nothing else to do—but wait.

For the Russian peasant with no choice but to burn his home before the Nazis reached it; for the Chinese of Nanking who suffered the terrorism of the Jap; for all of those in nameless graves and numberless cells—for all of them—there was no second chance, no other choice.

But for you—a choice still remains. For you—among all the peoples of the world, the road to freedom is still clear.

Never before have we been able to measure the price of freedom for ourselves and our children in such tangible terms. Will you help to keep the road to freedom open? Will you invest—all you can—in War Bonds?

It's not so much to ask. Many of us are making more money than we have for years. The things we'd like to buy with that money are scarce—or unavailable. So, we're asked to loan money at good interest—\$4 for every \$3 when the Bonds mature. Money to help pay for the war—keep prices down—provide peacetime jobs and peacetime goods and a generally decent world for all of us when the war is won.

Chances are you're already in the Payroll Savings Plan—buying War Bonds—doing your bit. But don't stop there. Raise your sights. Do your best!

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PERSONAL DIRECTION: S. GREGORY TAYLOR

This iconic image of victims being loaded into a cattle car appeared in the *Advocate* on June 17, 1943 and again on July 19, 1943.

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ment in the May 7th issue of *Life* magazine was typical, "Last week, Americans could no longer doubt stories of Nazi cruelty. For the first time there was irrefutable evidence as the advancing Allied armies captured camps filled with political prisoners and slave laborers, living and dead."² Similarly, most American civilians claimed that they only began to grasp the enormity of what the European Jews and other victim groups experienced when graphic eye-witness reports, photos, and films reached them through the mainstream media in the spring and summer of 1945. As the devastating consequences of the Nazi racial project became known, accusatory questions were not only directed at the Germans, but if less pointedly, also at the Americans. "Why was nothing done to halt or at least mitigate this madness?" The response, "We did not know," proved a useful initial defense for both publics.³

Since the early 1980s scholars have rigorously challenged the validity of this defense. A series of studies have concluded that not only did the Allied governments have significant information about the events we now identify as the Holocaust but also that major American newspapers ran more stories on these issues than most contemporary Americans acknowledged. For example, in her 1986 book, *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1945*, Deborah E. Lipstadt concluded, "There was practically no aspect of the Nazi horrors which was not publicly known in some detail long before the camps were opened in 1945."⁴ Despite the valuable work of Lipstadt and others, questions remain. Did significant numbers of Americans who largely depended on their local community papers for news and did not have regular access to the major American dailies such as the *New York Times* encounter a similar level of information about the Holocaust in their local papers?⁵ More specifically, from the perspective of my project, "What could Granville, Ohio readers learn about the unfolding Holocaust from reading their local paper, the *Newark Advocate*, or that of the nearest larger metropolitan daily, the *Columbus Dispatch*? Would their coverage be at all comparable to that found in those more prominent dailies?⁶ Was the information in these papers presented in a manner to promote understanding of the full scope of the Holocaust?" Since so much of the published work has failed to examine the local press in smaller communities, my study represents an effort to fill that lacuna.⁷

During the period under examination Newark was a community of approximately 32,000 with a strong manufacturing base and sizeable local business and professional sectors. It had a small Jewish community that supported the Ohev Israel Temple. The *Advocate*, published six days a week (Monday to Saturday), included national and international news stories — generally taken from the AP or UP



An editorial cartoon by Herb Block published in the *Newark Advocate* on Nov. 17, 1938.

wire services — as well as local political, economic, society, and sports news, an editorial page which frequently included cartoons drawn by nationally prominent cartoonists such as Herb Block, contributions by syndicated columnists, a page of comics, and substantial local advertising. Ten times the size of Newark, Columbus had a significant Jewish population of almost 10,000 in the early 1940s which supported five synagogues.⁸ Columbus enjoyed "a diversified economy...more or less equally balanced among government, commercial, industrial, and service employment..."⁹ The *Dispatch* had been founded in 1871 as a paper independent of party and committed to "fearless independence and dedicated service to all the people."¹⁰ In the era of President Franklin Roosevelt, however, its editorial policy was fiercely opposed to the New Deal and to any foreign entanglements that threatened to embroil the United States in war. Published seven days a week with a substantial Sunday edition, the *Dispatch* provided topical coverage similar to that of the *Advocate* but, given its larger size and circulation, featured greater range and depth in its stories—generally drawn from the AP and International News Service (INS) — in addition to having its own cartoonists David Evans and Larry Keys, and local columnists like Johnny Jones.¹¹ While the *Dispatch* had a regular letters to

the editor section, "The Dispatch Mailbag," the printing of letters from readers was an infrequent occurrence in the *Advocate*.

**A TEST CASE:
KRISTALLNACHT**

To provide a benchmark for judging these papers' reporting of Nazi anti-Jewish actions during the war, I looked first at their coverage of the most notorious of the pre-war assaults on the German Jewish community, the events of *Kristallnacht* (The Night of Broken Glass), November 9-10, 1938. They unfolded when the Nazi government unleashed the storm troopers to burn synagogues, smash the windows and loot the contents of Jewish stores, physically assault Jews (c. 90 Jews died the night of Nov. 9-10), and incarcerate up to 30,000 Jewish men in concentration camps marking the first time Jews as Jews were so confined. This pogrom is generally perceived as the culmination of German anti-Jewish measures and actions prior to the outbreak of WW II. How did the *Advocate* and *Dispatch* report these shocking developments?

The story was featured prominently in both papers with numerous editions using lead, front page headlines to highlight the unfolding pieces about the event itself and its immediate impact on German Jews. Throughout the rest of November and into December the papers documented the continuing pressure on the Jewish community, the diplomatic fallout of these events as ambassadors were called home, and the discussion about what might be done to assist the Jews of Germany. In addition each paper included a cartoon response to these developments and commented on them in two editorials. The *Advocate*, for example, advanced the following judgment on November 19th:

There is a great deal that is appalling and also logical



It all began with a lie!

... the lie that there was a new "master race" ... and that it would be foolish to resist them.
 ... the lie that democracies were "disorderly" ... and that they could
 ... the lie that any democracy could be broken up from the inside by operating on all
 ... phony, religious, and racial ... that you can divide and conquer America.
 Don't scoff at the power of that lie. It's a part of Hitler's military strategy. Don't think the
 ... to have been tried over here. The F.R.I. proved that. And your newspaper makes a remark
 ... devoted to give Christmas against Jew, Protestant against Catholic, group against group ...
 ... say "That's old stuff, his name is Hitler skip it - that's Hitler's line, not mine"

PLEDGE FOR GOOD AMERICANS

Adopted at the National Conference on Democracy, New York, N.Y., December 17, 1943.

The best of America is the best of the world.
 The best of the world is the best of America.
 We stand for freedom, justice, and peace for all.
 We stand for the rights of every man, woman, and child.
 We stand for the rights of every race, religion, and creed.
 We stand for the rights of every nation.
 We stand for the rights of every individual.
 We stand for the rights of every citizen.
 We stand for the rights of every American.
 We stand for the rights of every American citizen.

*One Nation Indivisible,
with Liberty and Justice for All!*

John J. Carroll

"It all began with a lie!" appeared in the *Advocate* on 11/23/1943, and was sponsored by the John J. Carroll department store of Newark. The image at the top reveals a ghetto scene with men piling skeletal bodies into a handcart, but there is no reference to the image in the text which emphasizes the need for Americans to overcome religious and racial prejudice and unite to achieve the victory over Hitler and his theory of a "master race."

in the orgies of anti-Semitism staged in Germany since the fatal shooting of a German embassy secretary in Paris by a 17-year-old Jew. Under the aegis of Hitler, the German people have gone far in their reversion to barbarism during the last few years. ... The reign of terror throughout Germany at present is the logical fruitage of this ignorance....¹²

Three days later the Newark paper observed that "no human tragedy has been more harrowing than the one now experienced by the Jewish people in Germany. The entire

civilized world is shocked and amazed that such things could occur in what has been regarded as a high state of civilization.”¹³

In sum, the coverage given to *Kristallnacht* and its aftermath is noteworthy for its prominence, scope, and depth. Readers of either of these papers in 1938 would be very aware of the nature of German anti-Jewish actions, would understand that they were part of a systematic policy implemented by the Nazi government, and would know that such actions violated the fundamental values of the civilized world. Would even more severe actions against the Jews of Germany and Europe during the war receive a similar level of attention? The short answer to this question is “No”. But neither this writer nor you readers will be satisfied with letting the matter rest here, so let me provide support for that conclusion by looking at both quantitative and qualitative evidence in the next sections of this paper. For analytical and organizational purposes I have broken down the reporting on the Holocaust into four phases: I-September 1939 to December 1941, II-1942, III-January 1943 to May 1944, and IV-June 1944 to July 1945.

REPORTING THE HOLOCAUST:

PHASE I - SEPTEMBER 1939 to DECEMBER 1941

From the outbreak of the war in Europe on 1 September 1939 through the United States' entry into the war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the deepening crisis faced by Jews in German-controlled Europe went virtually unmentioned in the pages of the *Advocate*. The Sept. 21, 1939 edition did feature a front page piece by United Press correspondent Ferdinand C.M. Jahn about a Rumanian government “order that ‘all undesirable aliens’ must leave the country within 15 days.” Jahn noted that “[t]he Rumanian order did not specify Jews, ... but there was no doubt that Jews would be most affected. ... Many of them had been on the move since Germany began expanding eastward and southward ... and had been permitted to cross freely into Rumania the past few days.... Now they were to be shunted off again and few had the means to proceed to a friendly country.” This piece was the exception. The ghettoization of Polish Jews with the shocking conditions they experienced and the mass shootings of Jews by the SS *Einsatzgruppen*, mobile killing units, which followed up the German army in its massive assault on the Soviet Union beginning on June 21, 1941, went unreported.

The *Dispatch* did only a little better in this period. A piece in early January 1940 documented the growing Nazi pressure on German Jews represented by restricted food and clothing rations, forced manual labor, an 8:00 p.m. curfew each night, and reduced housing. Jews were not being forced into “virtual ghettos ... because the principal effort is in the direction of ridding Germany altogether of Jews.”



An editorial cartoon published during the latter stages of the war.

The article concluded on a somewhat positive note, “Apparently early morning raids upon the Jews and their imprisonment in concentration camps no longer occur wholesale.”¹⁴ Eight months later the attention of a *Dispatch* reader might have been drawn to the lower right-hand corner of the front page by the headline “‘Europe Without Jews’ Held Prerequisite for Nazi Peace.” The AP wire service article quoted from *Das Schwarze Korps*, the organ of the SS, to the effect that Jews had attempted “to convert all Europe into a chaotic, blood-soaked battlefield” and would now have to pay the price, “Germany’s and Italy’s victory will secure space far away from European labor and culture where the scum of humanity may try to lead a life of its own toil or die a death it earned.”¹⁵ This brutal language failed to provoke an editorial response or letters from readers. The only editorial dealing with Nazi anti-Jewish measures in this period appeared at the end of November 1940 in response to the formation of the Warsaw Ghetto. Decrying “the segregation of Warsaw’s 500,000 Jews behind an eight-foot concrete wall,” the editorial rejected the German claim that the move was a “health measure to protect the Jewish and Gentile population alike from war-time pestilence” and affirmed, “The real motive, of course, in the light of Nazi doctrine and methods elsewhere is to enforce a still greater degree of regulation and discrimination upon the helpless racial group which is the chief scapegoat of Nazi wrath.”¹⁶ This isolated editorial is

clearly informative, but could not compensate for the limited coverage during this period.

During this first phase both papers devoted the great bulk of their international coverage to the military dimensions of war, especially in Europe, but readers could also learn that Nazi rule meant harsh conditions for occupied peoples often punctuated by atrocities against civilians and vicious reprisals for acts of resistance. More specifically regarding the plight of the Jews an assiduous reader of the *Advocate* and more so of the *Dispatch* might discern that Nazi Germany, assisted by collaborating states, was placing ever more onerous restrictions on Jews and had long term plans to rid Europe of Jews by moving them to some unnamed location. The reader would have to integrate these widely scattered pieces, for the papers themselves provided no sustained reporting on these developments or analytical or synthetic articles which would help the reader develop a coherent picture.

REPORTING THE HOLOCAUST: PHASE II - 1942

Recognizing that the construction of Nazi Germany's "New Order" in Europe featured brutal repression of all opposition and the cruel victimization of groups that would have no place in this Nazi dystopia, various governments and governmental leaders called Nazi Germany to account. Their basic message: "Its crimes were unconscionable and the Nazi state and its leaders would be held accountable." Among the first to speak out in January 1942 were the governments-in-exile whose leaders "bitterly assailed Germans and Italians for mass executions, mass expulsions, execution of hostages, and massacres in their respective countries" and pledged "to try responsible persons and their accomplices."¹⁷ Eight months later President Roosevelt, prompted by a personal communication from several of those governments-in-exile confirming continuing executions, "warned enemy nations in a formal statement of 'fearful retribution' to come for what he called their 'barbaric crimes' against civilians in Axis controlled countries."¹⁸ Roosevelt went on to emphasize that retribution would have to take the form of trials in courts of law. In October 1942, he reinforced this point, "I now declare it to be the intention of this government that the successful close of the war shall include provision for the surrender to the United Nations of war criminals." Roosevelt stressed that the U.S. government was "constantly receiving information concerning 'barbaric crimes' being committed by the enemy against civilian populations in occupied countries," but none of these responses to Nazi barbarity and their presentation in the local press mentioned the special plight of Jews.¹⁹

If the discourse on Nazi atrocities, as highlighted above, excluded specific references to Jewish victimization, readers of the *Dispatch* would have an unusual opportunity in

Hitler Unmasked

Nazi Plan to Exterminate Jews Brought Terror, Death

Editor's Note: The incredible brutality whereby Nazi Germany is attempting to "cleanse" itself of Jews and make the Catholic Church a helpless tool of its own machinations is revealed in all its stark horror today by Pierre J. Huss, for eight years chief Berlin correspondent of International News Service.

By Pierre J. Huss

NEW YORK, JAN. 27.—(INS).—Bormann was busy again with the full support of Himmler and the whole-hearted sanction of all mad Nazis.

We know that the plight of the Jews in Poland was terrible beyond description, a living hell ruled by corrupt and grafting S. S. overseers and dealers in death, who sold the Jew his lease on existence and life day by day for money and valuables he could offer. But once penniless, they'd drop him like a hot brick and soon he was just another of the condemned.

The mortality rate in the ghettos of Poland stands high and is climbing steadily. For men like Bormann it cannot climb fast enough.

Men of his ilk foisted on the German army the supposition that every Communist is a Jew and every Jew a Communist, consequently the backbone of Stalin's war-machine.

Every inch of the scorched red earth in Russia was played up in the eyes of German soldiers by

tireless propaganda as resting on the shoulders of Jews alone, inspired by Jews around Stalin and transformed into a policy by the "half-caste Jew" Stalin.

Therefore, it was possible last fall to read on front pages of German newspapers indicative revela-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8, COL. ONE

This headline and story ran in the *Columbus Dispatch* in 1942, written by Pierre J. Huss, speaking out against German atrocities.

early 1942 to acquire a more comprehensive picture of the Nazi "New Order" and its implications for European Jews and non-Jews alike through a series, "Hitler Unmasked," by Pierre J. Huss, the chief correspondent of the INS in Berlin for eight years, who had just returned to the United States.²⁰ His twelve articles, all receiving front-page treatment, drew on the author's intimate knowledge of Nazi Germany including personal contacts with many of the Nazi elite and interviews with Hitler and Goering. A significant element of the series was Huss's examination of Nazi persecution of the Catholic church and the Jews which he largely attributed to the machinations of Nazi radicals like Martin Bormann and Alfred Rosenberg assisted by Heinrich Himmler and the SS.²¹ While "Hitler had to order suspension of Bormann's campaign against the Catholics" to insure unity in the war against Russia, "the war on the Jews could not be stopped and raged with unbroken cruelty clear through to the end of 1941. The Nazis were boasting and bragging that no Jew would be left inside Germany before very long."²² Introduced by the headline, "Nazi Plan to Exterminate Jews Brought Terror, Death," one of the last selections in his series focused exclusively on Nazi anti-Jewish policy.²³ In it readers learned that:

• “Bormann was busy again with the full support of Himmler...;”

• “the plight of the Jews in Poland was terrible beyond description, a living hell ruled by corrupt and grafting S.S. overseers and dealers in death...;”

• “[t]he mortality rate in the ghettos of Poland stands high and is climbing steadily...;”

• “[a]s in all occupied lands after conquest, the Jew was the chief target and victim ... by the end of October 58,000 Jews had been slaughtered in the Riga area alone...;”

• in Berlin with little warning the S.S. rounded up Jews “loaded them again on trucks and off they went on the long ride to Poland [to be] dumped into miserable little villages located on the barren stretches of Galicia earmarked by the Nazis as Ghattoland.”

While Huss did not claim that the German government had embarked on a systematic program to murder all the Jews of Europe, he provided substantial evidence that, fueled by the ideological fanaticism of Bormann, Himmler and the SS, it was implementing increasingly harsh policies to remove Jews from Germany and the Europe of the “New Order” and in the process eliminating many of them either through calculated killing actions or the cruel conditions of transport and ghetto life. He employed the term “extermination” to characterize these actions, also quoting Nazis who used such language.

How might readers understand this term in the context of Nazi ideology, policies, and actions in early 1942? While the meaning of “exterminate” seems straight-forward, “to get rid (as by killing),” in fact, it can also mean “to drive out or away (as from boundaries of a country).”²⁴ In the context just identified it was not as clear as it appears in hindsight. Nazi anti-Jewish statements and actions, as well as the term itself, were marked by certain ambiguities. First, most scholars agree that until the early 1940s the Nazi regime had not clarified the nature of its “final solution to the Jewish question” and statements by Nazi leaders and regime policies were open to varied interpretations. Second, even after the decision for mass murder, the regime employed euphemistic language designed to mislead victims and bystanders alike about their actual intentions. Third, although the language of “extermination” and “annihilation” was employed as early as 1933, persons did not imagine mass murder but rather the destruction of the Jewish community and its key institutions in Germany. In the early years of the war, commentators using this language increasingly recognized that it signaled the end of Jewish communities in Nazi controlled Europe often involving significant loss of life, but they did not yet use it to signify systematic, mass murder.²⁵ Fourth, these stories failed to elicit any editorial comment or letters to the editor which might have encouraged deeper reflection on the

implications of these revelations and the meanings of the language employed.

After the Huss series, the plight of the Jews did not totally disappear from the pages of the *Dispatch* over the next ten months in 1942, but it came close, while coverage in the *Advocate*, which never referenced the Huss series, was virtually nonexistent. Not until late November 1942

would *Advocate* readers encounter two brief but startling selections explicitly mentioning the mass murder of Jews in Poland and the Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe. The first, an AP wire

service piece out of London on Nov. 24th, was based on reports received by the Polish government-in-exile and asserted that only 40,000 skilled Jewish workers would remain in the Warsaw Ghetto. The remaining ghetto inhabitants were being disposed of in three ways: 1) the old and crippled segregated and shot in a cemetery; 2) the remainder packed into freight cars with many dying before arriving at their destination; and 3) the survivors “sent to special camps of Treblinka, Belzec, and Sobibor” where “they are mass murdered.” The *Dispatch* carried the identical wire service story with the headline across the page, “Himmler Reportedly Orders Half of Polish Jews Murdered.”²⁶ The second story, a day later and also supplied by the AP, carried a Washington dateline. It resulted from a news conference called by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the World Jewish Congress and president of the American Jewish Congress. According to this story:

...Wise ... said he carried official documentary proof that “Hitler has ordered the extermination of all Jews in Nazi ruled Europe in 1942.” After a consultation with state department officials he announced they had termed authentic certain sources which revealed that

Exiled Leaders Say 250,000 Slain During September

Only 40,000 Expected To
Be Spared in Warsaw.

LONDON, NOV. 24.—(AP).—The Polish government-in-exile asserted today that Heinrich Himmler, Nazi Gestapo chief, had ordered the extermination of one-half of the Jewish population of Poland by the end of this year and that 250,000 had been killed through September under that program.

“According to information leaking from the German labor office (Arbeitsamt), only 40,000 Jews are to remain in the Warsaw ghetto—only thoroughly skilled workers to be employed in the German war industry,” a government statement said.

“The most convincing proof of the dwindling numbers in the ghetto lies in the fact that for September, 1942, 130,000 ration cards were printed; for October, the number issued was only 40,000.”

Shof in Cemetery
The statement said that those
marked for extermination at any

A headline and story from the *Dispatch* of Nov. 25, 1942, which appeared on page 15. It also appeared in the *Advocate*.

approximately half of the 4,000,000 Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe already had been killed and that Hitler was wrathful at "failure to complete the extermination immediately." To speed the slaughter of the other half during the remaining month before the edict's deadline, Dr. Wise said the Nazis were moving some four-fifths of the Jews in Hitler-ruled European countries to Poland. There, he said, Nazi doctors were killing them at the rate of "more than 100 men an hour, per doctor" by injecting air bubbles into their veins—"the simplest and cheapest method" they could find.²⁷

As opposed to the November 24th report, buried on page 15, this story graced the front-page. By headline size and location, however, it ranked fourth in importance behind the lead headline "Reds Annihilate 100,000 Nazis," a second article on the battle of Stalingrad, and a piece on Governor Harold Stassen's Minnesota program to recognize the outstanding contributions of farmers to the war effort. The *Dispatch* failed to carry this story on Nov. 25th, but a week later it featured a piece by Inez Robb of the *INS* headlined, "Jewish Dead Total 1,500,000"²⁸ Drawing on the Wise news conference, Robb described Wise as clutching "in his hands state department documents confirming his sensational revelations," Robb included a summary of the State Department's findings regarding the fate of Jews in 14 European countries in addition to stressing Wise's claim "that Hitler has ordered the extermination of all Jews under German domination." While these Holocaust stories contained some inaccuracies—massive killing by injection of air bubbles, for example—they provided the readers of these papers with several essential parameters of the Holocaust. Yet, they failed to generate any further attention to this issue in either paper—no follow-up stories, editorials, or cartoons. At year's end these papers typically carried an AP piece on the top stories from the past year. In 1938, the treatment of the Jews in Germany ranked second; in the 1942 list of twelve there was nothing regarding the plight of the Jews.²⁹

REPORTING THE HOLOCAUST: PHASE III - JANUARY 1943-MAY 1944

In 1943, a year that saw the murderous policies of the Final Solution reach their culmination for most European Jews under German control, the pages of the *Newark Advocate* featured only five explicit references to their catastrophic situation. Three of those references did virtually nothing to clarify their circumstances and represented isolated data points devoid of necessary contextual information.³⁰ The *Dispatch* had a number of additional references that only indirectly emphasized the precarious situation of European Jews. Several of those were inspired by actions of the Columbus Jewish community including its hosting of

the 46th annual meeting of the Zionist Organization of America which emphasized the dire need to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine as a haven for beleaguered European Jews.³¹ The *Dispatch* recognized the significance of the conference in an editorial that began, "No people of modern times has carried a heavier load of suffering than present day Jews. There is no need to enlarge upon the persecutions directed at them in Europe, for the story has been told many times and is fully known the world around."³² In retrospect this comment begs the question, "What was 'the story told many times' and 'known the world around'?" It also appears tragically short-sighted.

Of the two more significant references in the *Advocate*, the first occurred in a May 1943 editorial entitled, "For The Record." It began, "Nazi brutality has long since become so vile that human beings have tended to build up a sympathetic immunity to new atrocity stories. ... Therefore it seems fitting now and again to renew the record, so that the people we are fighting may be seen in true perspective—so that we may realize that the German people, are not merely a few brass hats, are below the level of animals."³³ The editorial then cited six examples of German brutality; two of the more intriguing follow:

Out of the 85,840 prisoners who have passed through the notorious Oswiecim concentration camp — 8,620 of them women—more than 57,000 have died.

By order of Himmler, the Warsaw ghetto is being "liquidated." This is done by packing selected occupants into railway cars—as many as 120 to 130 in a car—sealing it hermetically, moving it onto a siding, and leaving it there a few days before any survivors are started eastward.

How would an *Advocate* reader interpret these references? The editorial writer seems to assume a more detailed contextual knowledge, yet the paper had run no stories about Oswiecim — we know the camp better by its Auschwitz-Birkenau designation — while the Warsaw Ghetto had only been mentioned briefly in the November 24, 1942 article noted above. In addition, the first example did not explicitly mention Jews and substantially understated the number of prisoners who would have "passed through" Auschwitz by the spring of 1943.³⁴ The second example provided no clarity regarding the ultimate fate of the Jews being removed from the Warsaw Ghetto, only the vague "started eastward." A *Dispatch* reader could have been in a somewhat better position to interpret this reference to the Warsaw Ghetto. In February 1943 the paper published an article on Warsaw, "Nazi Enslavement of Warsaw Bared; Poles Still Resisting," based on a pamphlet recently issued by the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI).³⁵ This twenty-four page piece argued "that the Germans have made Warsaw the testing ground for a pattern

of slavery, starvation and wholesale elimination of population which will befall every village, city and nation that falls to the Nazis." While emphasizing the brutalization of all Poles, the article referenced the formation of the ghetto and "that German authorities are now effectuating Hitler's proclaimed intention 'to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe.'"

Four months later additional information became available through an AP wire service story out of Stockholm based on a secret Polish radio station broadcast.³⁶ The story announced the end of the Warsaw Ghetto after a valiant resistance struggle which had begun on April 12, when German elite troops first marched in to begin the final liquidation of the ghetto, and noted, "The Germans [had] virtually wiped out the Warsaw Ghetto by deporting 14,000 Jews to the east after three weeks of desperate street fighting."³⁷ Apart from the inaccuracy in the number of surviving Jews deported "to the east," this article provided clear evidence that Germans were liquidating major ghettos and thus apparently moving into another phase in pursuing their solution to the Jewish question.

The second significant piece in the *Advocate* in this period appeared on November 17th in the form of a short, front-page story under the lead, "Eyewitness Tells of Massacres." It offered readers a glimpse into another dimension of the Holocaust by presenting a straight-forward account by Dmitrii Grlov, a resident of Kiev, of the Germans' killing of the Kiev Jews at Babi Yar in late September 1941.³⁸ Grlov stated,

The Germans were driving the Jews to Babyi Yar gulley beyond the city. I also stealthily made my way to that place. I was able to stand the sight of what I saw there only for 10 minutes and after that everything went black.

The Germans forced people to undress...dragged them up shivering from cold or mortal terror at the edge of the gulley and shot them. ... This thing lasted three days."

The complete description of this two-year-old mass shooting was graphic and powerful, yet, as in past cases, the article placed the incident in no broader context nor was there any follow up in subsequent editions of the paper. The same can be said of a *Dispatch* article on the same massacre appearing later in November.³⁹ In fact, almost five months would pass before a substantive article on the killing of Jews again appeared.⁴⁰ While I cannot rule out the possibility that readers of the *Newark Advocate* had other sources of information regarding the Nazi assault on the Jews, affording them greater insight into its implications, I would argue that well into 1944 their knowledge of the Holocaust, if they had attended to these pieces, would have been limited and highly fragmented. The *Dispatch* provided its readers with more information about the unfolding tragedy of

European Jewry, but they too would have to be most discerning to recognize that Nazi Germany was systematically carrying out the mass murder of that population.

REPORTING THE HOLOCAUST: PHASE IV - JUNE 1944 - JULY 1945

This situation would gradually alter in the final year of the war in Europe due both to increased reporting of cases of the Nazis' murder and brutalization of Jews and very halting efforts to create that broader narrative, previously lacking, and yet so necessary for understanding. From June 1944 through July 1945 the *Advocate* published fifteen stories that helped contribute to a fuller understanding of what the Nazis had done to Jews and other victims. Five editorials, thirteen photos and a political cartoon reinforced the news stories. The comparable figures for the *Dispatch* were twenty-one stories, three editorials, three photos and a political cartoon. The Allied liberation of death, concentration, and labor camps generated most of this content.

Consequently, readers of these papers would be well aware that conditions in the major camps within Germany liberated by the Americans and British — Bergen-Belsen (most often referenced as Belsen), Buchenwald, Nordhausen, and Dachau — were horrific.⁴¹ For example, William Frye's account of Belsen contained the following:

The camp...contained typhus, typhoid, tuberculosis, nakedness, starvation, unburied corpses in vast heaps, mounds covering great burial heaps, one cavernous pit half-filled with blackened bodies.

Most of the dead were victims not of disease, but of starvation. They would lie on the filthy floors of the huts until the last trace of life had disappeared and no one noticed.⁴²

In accounts like this, however graphic, victims remained an undifferentiated, spectral mass and there was no emphasis on understanding the special situation of Jewish inmates. In fact, in almost half of the stories Jews were not even mentioned.⁴³

Further, *Advocate* readers would glean virtually no knowledge of the camps in Poland and their unique role. Majdanek, the subject of a detailed, special AP wire service report by Daniel De Luce in late August 1944, was an exception. De Luce concluded:

[According to a Russian-Polish commission] Majdanek housed from 30,000 to 40,000 prisoners but the turnover in three years probably exceeded 600,000. The gas chambers were sufficient to kill 2,000 in less than seven minutes. The crematory ovens handled 1,900 corpses in a 24 hour period.

The majority of the dead were Soviet war prisoners, Poles, and Jews, but every country in Europe was represented, also China.⁴⁴

The Auschwitz complex, freed by the Soviets in late January 1945, was never the object of a story in the *Advocate*, while the Operation Reinhardt death camps of Sobibor, Treblinka, and Belzec as well as Chelmno remained even more obscure and unmentioned in the paper thanks in large part to German efforts to dismantle them and disguise their use prior to the arrival of Soviet troops.⁴⁵

Dispatch readers would not have been quite so disadvantaged, as this paper ran several valuable stories that never made the *Advocate*. They began with reporter Eddy Gilmore in the late fall of 1944 highlighting Nazi killings in Estonia and in the Lwow region of Poland.⁴⁶ More importantly, the April 12, 1945 article by Thorburn Wiant described the mass murder of Jews at Auschwitz, "a town in southwestern Poland already known as the site of perhaps the Nazis' largest plant for the killing of great numbers of persons, chiefly Jews."⁴⁷ Through this article, readers in central Ohio gained the unusual opportunity to learn about a killing site that subsequently became the chilling, short-hand reference for the larger Holocaust.

Almost a month after the war in Europe had ended, Romney Wheeler in the *Dispatch* attempted to convey the magnitude of "Germany's incredible program of mass extermination and organized torture."⁴⁸ Quantifying the number of deaths in the camps and ghettos was difficult, "for the Nazis went to extraordinary pains to destroy records and evidence;" but western allied authorities and Soviet-sponsored state investigating commissions estimated no fewer than 8,660,160 persons had died or been killed and some responsible sources believed the number would exceed 10,000,000. Wheeler provided rough figures for the following killing sites or areas: Oswiecim, Majdanek, Lwow, Minsk, Warsaw, Chelmno, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Buchenwald, Nordhausen, Dachau, and acknowledged there were no figures for Oranienburg, Sachsenhausen, Belsen, Neuheim, and lesser camps as well as many other occupied areas of Europe. Wheeler never identified victim groups and Jews were not mentioned as a special target of a Nazi racial project. The article placed the blame for these deaths squarely on SS Leader Heinrich Himmler, chief of Germany's deadly Gestapo, who never killed a single person or swung a lash yet "coolly made homicide an industry...." Moving beyond accounts of individual camps and their dead, dying, sick, and starving inmates, Wheeler's story marked a bold and exceptional attempt to comprehend the totality of the Nazi genocide.

In sum, the reports on the liberated camps, while certainly providing essential information, were limited in several respects. First, most accounts described camps liberated in Western not Eastern Europe. Second, virtually none appeared on the front page of the paper, let alone meriting the lead headline. Third, the discrete pieces of information

gleaned from the individual stories did not get placed into a larger, explanatory narrative with the exception a few pieces written after the war was over in Europe. Fourth, Jews, if they were mentioned at all were treated as one of a number of victim groups.

If a hypothetical reader of the *Advocate* or the *Dispatch* were somehow able to piece together a narrative most consistent with the material available. I suggest it would be the following: *The enemies of the United States — Germany, Japan, Italy — have rejected the standards of civilized society and employed the most brutal of methods to realize their diabolical ideologies and desire for global dominance. They have committed unimaginable atrocities against innocent civilians and ignore the rules of war in dealing with enemy soldiers. Numerous groups and peoples have been victimized by these barbarians including Poles, Russians, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Norwegians, Jews, Chinese, and Filipinos. That Germany provided a welcoming home for antisemitic ideas made Jews an appealing target for the Nazis, but their story is just one in this larger pattern.* This narrative points to two important lessons: first, anyone could be victimized by these barbarians; and, second, the perpetrators of atrocities and those who supported them must be held to account.⁴⁹

These lessons were especially emphasized in several *Advocate* editorials. For example, in response to the devastating story on Majdanek, the *Advocate's* editorial, "The Story of Maidanek," concluded, "John Doe knew he could do nothing for Maidanek's sufferers. But he could vow not to raise his voice for a soft peace, or against a just vengeance for the millions in Europe who have felt the full force of Nazi cruelty."⁵⁰ Similarly, reacting to the German massacre of American troops at Malmedy, the paper editorialized,

There is every reason for the assumption that this was not an isolated act of brutal individuals..., [but] an example of a considered policy of exterminating prisoners inconvenient to guard and care for. The wholesale execution of civilians in Poland and elsewhere is in itself sufficient justification for the belief the Nazi concept of the acceptable practices of war include murder.

For such a nation, devoid of all honor and morality, there can be no thought of an "easy" peace. ... [T]here is no alternative to the treatment of Germany as a nation of criminals.⁵¹

CONCLUDING ANALYSIS

I have attempted to demonstrate that the coverage of the Holocaust in the *Newark Advocate* and *Columbus Dispatch* was at times non-existent, at others very spotty, and only in the last phase of the war and its immediate aftermath more visible. The *New York Times* generally provided much

more substantial, if flawed, coverage. In addition given the placement of stories in the paper and the absence of attention-grabbing, front page headlines, it would have taken an extremely diligent and perceptive reader to have put together a reasonable, if partial, understanding of the Holocaust on the basis of these sources. But beyond the story presented in the papers, there were limitations to understanding this complex and unprecedented event. Many have been noted by other scholars. Let me briefly indicate the most relevant to my research:

- the war was the compelling story that tended to push other news aside, especially after the United States entered; in light of this reality most editors regarded the Jewish story as secondary and of marginal interest especially given levels of antisemitism in the US;⁵²

- given their experience with anti-German atrocity propaganda in WW I, many Americans were highly suspicious of atrocity stories;⁵³

- this reality caused government leaders and especially the Office of War Information under Elmer Davis to be extremely cautious of publicizing occurrences that could be dismissed as "atrocity propaganda," including the emerging Holocaust story;⁵⁴

- it was basic policy of the Roosevelt administration to define the war as a defense of vital American interests and values and resist any indication that it was a war to save Jews; hence the emphasis on universalizing the victims;⁵⁵

- while reporting on German anti-Jewish actions, such as *Kristallnacht*, was done by American (and other non-German reporters) based in Germany, almost all of the information on the unfolding Holocaust after the war

engulfed Europe came from underground sources which were not judged as necessarily credible; Jewish reports were often dismissed as prone to special pleading and exaggeration;⁵⁶

- when reports of situations in which Jews died in large numbers did appear, reporters were unlikely to see and present them as part of a systematic German plan to exterminate the Jewish people, and even when the language of extermination was employed its meanings were ambiguous;⁵⁷

- when credible evidence of mass murder was presented, persons had difficulty truly accepting the horrific reality; as Primo Levi observed, "The first news about the Nazi annihilation camps began to spread in the crucial year of 1942. They were vague pieces of information, yet in agreement with each other: they delineated a massacre of such vast proportions, of such extreme cruelty and such intricate motivation that the public was inclined to reject them because of their very enormity."⁵⁸

The editors of the *Advocate* were puzzled by the lack of response and outrage on the part of the public in the Newark area and, just as Levi did, sought to explain it. They spoke to the issue in two editorials. In "The Story of Maidanek" the editorial writer reflected that it "seemed odd ... that we did not hear much discussion of the frightful stories about the German concentration camp at Maidanek, Poland. Here were first hand reports by veteran and reputable American correspondents who had seen and photographed this ghastly charnel house." But on reflection the writer concluded that John Doe found this horror "was nothing to shout and parade about. No. this was something to be whispered. As a human being he felt ashamed for Maidanek is a reflection

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upon the race of men. As a human being he felt frightened too." How could a "nation once called cultured murder a million and a half people in one camp, piling modern science upon ancient practice to achieve an unparalleled versatility of heartless brutality?"⁵⁹ In a second editorial seven months later, the writer revisited the charge that Americans have acted "coldly and indifferently to the stories of atrocities...." He concluded that in the face of story after story of "death by slow starvation and unspeakable torture ... our indignation becomes impotent and intellectual.... We are reluctant to credit such deeds to members of the human race. And confronted with unassailable proof, we remained stunned and a little incredulous."⁶⁰ Levi and the editorial writer both speak to the profound difficulty of accepting and comprehending the unimaginable and unspeakable.⁶¹ No editorial in the *Dispatch* probed these difficult issues.

This analysis leads to the following conclusions. First, that for most of the war the papers failed both to present sufficient evidence about the Holocaust or to provide an explanatory narrative to help readers apprehend the Holocaust. Second, even when evidence became more credible and abundant in the last phase of the war, there were still important gaps and the explanatory narrative was largely lacking. Third, it likely that the factors just listed provided additional obstacles to acceptance and understanding even when the evidence was presented. If I make the assumption that the *Advocate* and *Dispatch* were similar in their coverage to that of many small to medium sized city papers, I think it reasonable to conclude that residents of Granville as well as those of most small and medium-sized cities in the United States could have unearthed many parts of the story of the Holocaust in their local papers; however, it is equally the case that it would have taken an extremely attentive and insightful reader to have put together a reasonable understanding of the Holocaust on the basis of these sources.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Robert H. Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), powerfully documents the American encounter with the camps.

² May 7, 1945, p. 33.

³ I am not intending to equate the level of responsibility in these two cases; there are obviously vast differences, yet the question can be asked of each. In response to German civilian's claims of ignorance American commanders often ordered German civilians to view the camps and to assist in the cleanup. See, Abzug, pp. 34-37, 68, 70-71, 76-78, 82, 128-29.

⁴ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, p. 2.

⁵ In 1940 fourteen US cities had a population of 500,000 or more. 17% of the US population lived in those cities. An additional 78 cities topped the 100,000 figure and comprised another

12% of the total population. In other words substantial numbers of Americans lived in small to middle-sized communities or rural areas. Taken from the *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: First Series Number of Inhabitants, United States Summary* (Washington: United States Government Printing office, 1941), Table 9, p. 17.

⁶ While it is beyond the scope of this study to provide a systematic comparison between the coverage in these two papers and the major dailies, I will on occasion make comparisons to that of the *New York Times*.

⁷ Lipstadt's *Beyond Belief* remains the most comprehensive study as measured by the number of newspapers referenced including some from communities of fewer than 100,000 in population such as Springfield, OH (70,662) and Charleston, SC (71,275); however, over 90% of her newspaper citations for the years of the war (1939-1945) are to papers in communities of over 500,000. [Note: This figure includes 53 references to the *Christian Science Monitor* which was among a select group of nationally read newspapers.] Hence, it is clear that her sample is heavily skewed toward the major metropolitan dailies.

⁸ Marc Lee Raphael, *Jews and Judaism in a Midwestern Community: Columbus, Ohio, 1940-1975* (Columbus, OH: Ohio Historical Society, 1979). 138. This number included several hundred refugees from Germany who had arrived primarily in 1938-39.

⁹ Ed Lentz, *Columbus: The Story of a City* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), p. 116.

¹⁰ *The Columbus Dispatch: One Hundred Years of Service* (1871-1971), p. 1.

¹¹ The INS had been established by William Randolph Hearst in 1909 as a competitor to AP which had its roots in the mid-19th century as well as to United Press International (UPI) created by Edward Scripps in 1908. In 1958 INS was purchased by United Press ending its independent existence.

¹² NA, 11/19/1938, all editorials appeared on page 4 of the *Advocate* during these years.

¹³ The second *Dispatch* editorial commented on Roosevelt's strong condemnation of Nazi Germany for its brutal treatment of German Jews. While recognizing the validity and humanity of his response, the editorial questioned "its wisdom as to its final effect on the persecuted minority peoples, on German-American relations or on the ultimate world situation." (11/17/1938, p. 2-B.)

¹⁴ CD, 01/14/1940, p. A-9.

¹⁵ CD, 08/07/1940, p. 1.

¹⁶ CD, 11/28/1940, p. A-4.

¹⁷ NA, 1/13/1942, p. 2, where it was not the featured article. The *Dispatch* presented similar coverage, 1/13/1942, p. 4-A. The governments involved were Belgium, Poland, the Netherlands, Free France, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway, Yugoslavia, and Luxembourg. The *Dispatch*, unlike the *Advocate*, editorialized on this action stating that while "it is easy to understand" this action, it "seems a little premature" and "distracts attention from the fact that the war is not yet won and that the main job in hand is to win it in decisive, unmistakable fashion." CD, 1/19/1942, B-2.

¹⁸ CD, 8/21/1942, p. A-11.

¹⁹ NA, 10/07/1942, p. 1, this piece commanded the lead head-

line, "FDR BACKS POST-WAR TRIBUNAL." In his comments FDR also referred back to a similar statement he made on Aug. 21, 1942.

²⁰ Huss (1903-1966), was most known for his work as a journalist, especially during WW II. He published *The Foe We Face* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran & co., inc., 1942) drawing on his experiences in Germany.

²¹ Bormann built his career as a party official and right-hand man to Rudolf Hess, deputy leader of the Nazi party. He gained substantial influence after Hess carried out his bizarre flight to Britain in May 1941, and he became head of the party chancellery and Hitler's private secretary. Alfred Rosenberg, a Baltic German, was the self-proclaimed philosopher of National Socialism. Author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, he envisioned and worked for the racial restructuring of Europe.

²² CD, 1/09/1942, p. 3.

²³ CD, 1/27/1942, p. 1, 9. On page 9 the leader spread across the top of the page reads, "Plan to Exterminate Jews Brought Reign of Terror."

²⁴ Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, Mass: G. & C. Merriam Comp., 1971).

²⁵ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, pp. 145-148, has an excellent discussion of these points.

²⁶ NA, 11/24/42, p. 15. These references to Treblinka, Belzec, and Sobibor would be the only ones I could find in the paper through July 1945. CD, 11/24/1942, p. A-13.

²⁷ NA, 11/25/42, p. 1. It is perhaps suggestive that only about six reporters attended this press conference; no reporter from the *New York Times* attended.

²⁸ CD, 12/02/1942. p. B-1.

²⁹ NA, 12/26/1938, p. 2. The top story was on the Munich Agreement saving peace in Europe. NA, 1/01/1942, p. 11. The AP editors admitted that there was really only one story in 1942 — the war; in fact, all but two of the top twelve stories were war-related. The two were: #5) the strengthening of two party government in the US; and #12) the Boston fire tragedy. The *Dispatch* also carried these stories, see CD, 12/27/1942, B-11.

³⁰ In the first, a very short front-page story, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox emphasized that the Allies would hold Axis leaders accountable for their crimes explicitly noting, "We shall not forget the rape of Nanking. We shall not forget the massacre of the Jews" (NA, 5/18/1943, p. 1). Knox delivered this warning in a speech to the Massachusetts committee of the Conference of Christians and Jews. The same story appeared in the *Dispatch*, 5/18/1943, p. A-3. The second, a report on growing anti-German unrest in Denmark, concluded, "One unconfirmed rumor reported a roundup of Danish Jews in which 50 were arrested including C.E. Henriques, leader of the Jewish colony in Copenhagen" (NA, 8/31/1943, pp. 1 & 11). This reference was found on page 11. The very same passage was also quoted in the *Dispatch*, 8/31/1943, p. 8-A. However, John M. Colburn, AP reporter operating out of Stockholm and drawing on German and Swedish sources, produced a more substantive account of the Nazi effort to round up the Jews of Denmark and the Swedes' desire to give them sanctuary. He concluded, "The German announcement

failed to make clear whether the Jews were being interned in Denmark, Germany or Poland, or whether they were being deported to eastern Europe to work on German fortifications and roads—the possibilities regarded here as most likely" (CD, 10/03/1943, p. 2-A). The third *Advocate* reference was a brief notice in June that the French Vichy government had revoked the citizenship of approximately 100,000 Jews "which was expected to result in a mass exodus of Jews from France" (NA, 6/25/1943, p.2). This was not reported in the *Dispatch*.

³¹ See coverage 9/11 to 14/1943, pp. 2, 2-B, 11-A, and 3-B respectively. In addition the *Dispatch* referenced memorial services "for the victims of Nazi tyranny ... conforming to a resolution of the Columbus Jewish Community council to set aside this weekend for special services and prayer" (1/27/1943, p. 10-A and 1/28/1943, p. 3-B).

³² 9/11/1943, p. 4.

³³ NA, 5/03/1943, p. 4. The editorial identified the source of these examples as reports smuggled out of Poland by "Poland Fights, organ of the Polish Labor group."

³⁴ According to the Holocaust Encyclopedia available on the USHMM website by March 1943 approximately 280,000 Jews had been deported to Auschwitz. In addition there were substantial numbers of non-Jewish Poles and Soviet prisoners of war who "passed through" the camp. See: <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10007259>

³⁵ 1/14/1943, p. 3-A.

³⁶ 6/04/1943, p. 7-B, headlined, "5000 Die in New Nazi Warsaw Ghetto Pogrom."

³⁷ Approximately 42,000 Warsaw Ghetto residents captured during the uprising were sent to various labor and concentration camps. About 7,000 were sent to Treblinka for immediate killing. See the Holocaust Encyclopedia selection on "Warsaw" at <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005069>.

³⁸ NA, 11/17/1943. Grlov's report had appeared in the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*. The article indicated this event occurred early in the German occupation. Einsatzgruppe C, one of four such mobile killing units of the SS, carried out the initial mass shooting Sept. 29-30, 1941, and reported killing 33, 771 Jews in that action. See the Holocaust Encyclopedia selection on "Kiev and Babi Yar" at <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10005421>

³⁹ In the *Dispatch* Natalia Rene, an INS reporter, relayed the "horrible detailed story of how the Nazi occupiers slaughter 80,000 citizens of Kiev — principally Jews — without regard to age or sex..." She was one of a number of correspondents brought by the Soviets to "the ravine where the mass butchery occurred." Her story was not based on the testimony of Grlov, but she interviewed three Russian soldiers, who as German prisoners, had been required to exhume and burn the bodies of the victims (11/29/1943, p. 6-A).

⁴⁰ CD, 4/27/1944, p. 1-B. This was an AP story by Donald Kovacic primarily about the August 1943 liquidation of the Bialystok Ghetto and heroic efforts of resisters who "fought with frantic determination." Kovacic based his account on a report made public by John W. Pehle, the executive director of the newly created War Refugee Board. Pehle's information came from the

Third in Society's Pocket History series is published

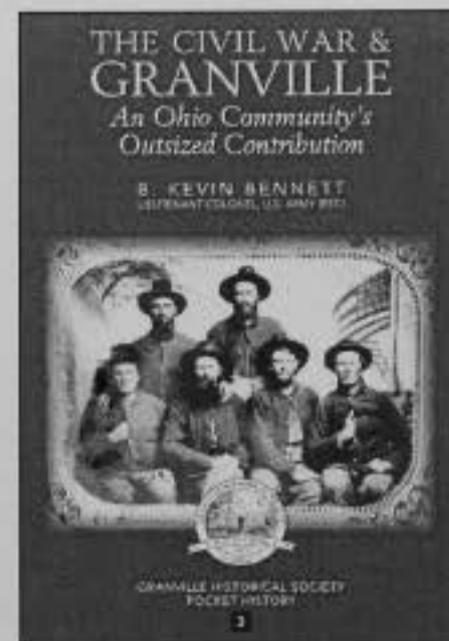
The third edition in the series of Pocket Histories published by the Granville Historical Society, *The Civil War and Granville: An Ohio Community's Outsized Contribution*, is now available.

Written by incoming Society President B. Kevin Bennett, the illustrated 51-page book details Granville's involvement as we observe the sesquicentennial of the Civil War.

The back cover reads, "By the autumn of 1860 the United States was on the verge of civil war. A small Ohio community best known as a center of education and culture, Granville responded to the conflict from

the day Sumter was fired on until the last troops returned home, both on the battlefield and on the home front. An incredible number of individuals from the Granville area rose to become senior military leaders, and one would be hard pressed to find any other similarly sized community in the nation that matched, let alone exceeded, its importance. This is the extraordinary story of one village's outsized role during the greatest crisis in U.S. history."

The book is available from www.granvillehistory.org, the Granville Historical Society museum store, or Granville and Denison bookstores.



Polish underground, which in October 1943 had estimated that there were only 250,000 to 300,000, Jews left in Poland of over three million before the war. The underground feared that number would be reduced to 50,000 in only a few weeks.

⁴¹ Note, that there were no reports of Ohrdruf, Flossenburg, Mauthausen, Neuengamme, or the Soviet liberated camps of Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, and Ravensbrück.

⁴² NA, 4/19/1945, p. 2.

⁴³ For the failure to mention Jews, see the stories appearing in NA on 4/19/1945, p.2; 4/25/1945, p. 2; 4/26/1945, p.12; 5/15/1945, p. 2; 5/31/1945, p. 22; 6/19/1945, p. 9; 7/26/1945, p. 10; and in the CD on 4/19/1945, p. 8-A; 4/22/1945, p. 7-A; 4/23/1945, p. 1; 4/28/1945, p. 1; 4/29/1945, p.2; 4/30/1945, p.1-B.; 5/09/1945, p. 10-A; 5/21/1945, 1-B; 5/01/1945, p. 1-B.

⁴⁴ NA, 8/30/1944, p. 7.

⁴⁵ These factors did not prevent articles from appearing in the *New York Times*, a search on the ProQuest Historical Newspapers The *New York Times* (1851 - 2006) archive, under Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Oswiecim reveals a number of major articles while one using Treblinka also yields several pieces.

⁴⁶ 10/05/1944, p. 1; 12/24/1944, p. 5-A. Lwow was also spelled Lvovo and Lvivi and was called Lemberg by the Germans.

⁴⁷ 4/12/1945, p. 18-A.

⁴⁸ Get citation

⁴⁹ As noted above this second point was stressed by leaders of governments-in-exile and Allied leaders beginning in early 1942 and was consistently reiterated throughout the war. In the last year of the war as atrocities stories became even more frequent and credible, the call for stern, implacable justice for enemy leaders and ordinary perpetrators alike was reflected in editorial content and letters to the editor.

⁵⁰ NA, 9/12/1944, p. 4. The *Dispatch* also featured editorials discussing German barbarism such as "They Haven't Learned: 1918 Barbarities Are Repeated" (11/15/1943, p. 2-B), but none of them were in direct response to news stories documenting the killing of

Jews. However, a German bombing raid on London in January 1943 that killed "100 defenseless civilians including some 60 school children" was vigorously condemned. (1/22/1945, p. 2-B)

⁵¹ NA, 1/02/1945, p. 4

⁵² Leff, *Buried by The Times*, p. 1-2, 342-46.

⁵³ Such suspicions were evident in several *Advocate* and *Dispatch* stories and editorials: "Censor Didn't Believe Stories of Nazi Brutality.-He Does Now!" (NA, 4/26/1945, p. 12); "Nazi Atrocity Stories Not Propaganda, McGregor Says" (NA, 7/26/1945, p. 10); "In Cold Type: Official Nazi Confession" (CD 7/24/1942, p. 2-B; "25 Years Late: Atrocity Stories Come True" (CD, 10/16/1943, p. 4); "Atrocities Provable In This War Provide Contrast With 1914" (CD, 4/27/1945, p. 5-A)

⁵⁴ See, for example, Clayton D. Laurie, *The Propaganda Warriors: America's Crusade Against Nazi Germany* (Lawrence, KA: U Press of Kansas, 1996), pp. 180-81; Steven Casey, *Cautious Crusade: Franklin D. Roosevelt, American Public Opinion, and the War Against Nazi Germany* (Oxford & NY: Oxford U Press, 2001), pp. 63-66.

⁵⁵ Leff, *Buried by The Times*, pp. 151-53, 185-86, 188-91, 237, 246, 307-08, 312-13. This was also a position endorsed by the *New York Times* publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, and the editorial staff. See also, Max Frankel, "Turning Away from the Holocaust," *New York Times*, 11/14/2001.

⁵⁶ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, pp. 163-170, 240-48, 246-52. The German government was also a source of some information.

⁵⁷ Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief*, p. 179; Leff, *Buried by the Times*, 309-10.

⁵⁸ *The Drowned and the Saved* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 11.

⁵⁹ NA, 9/12/1944, p. 4.

⁶⁰ NA, 4/14/1945, "The Visit To Buchenwald," p. 4.

⁶¹ Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart*, also discusses how the American liberators of the camps could not accept the full reality of what they witnesses and had to develop various coping mechanism to get through their encounter. See, for example, pp. 40-45, 56-58, 86, 92, 127.

Historian honor presented to Bennett

At the annual meeting of the Granville Historical Society on April 25, Kevin Bennett was named the 2012 recipient of Howard Howe Family Historian of the Year award by President Donald G Schilling.

Schilling noted that “the recipient is a living embodiment of history in Granville. Not only does his family have deep roots in Granville and personal history intertwine with the more recent history of our fair village, but he has also contributed in substantial ways to making the history of this community accessible to Granvillians.

“While not trained as a professional historian, he brings a passion for history, a tenacity in uncovering the stories of our past, and the ability whether in writing or orally to convey those stories with clarity and verve.

“Noted for his expertise on Granville in the Civil War, he has written two chapters on this era in *Granville Ohio: A Study in Continuity and Change*, Vol. 1, *A Purpose, A Plan, A Place*, published for the 2005 bicentennial of the Village.

He has also contributed to the Society’s new series of Pocket Histories, with *Granville in the Civil War* now available, as mentioned on page 21.

He has contributed numerous articles to the *Historical Times*, recently on North Mountain, a Civil War battle involving Granville soldiers, and in this issue.

An effective lecturer, he most recently entertained a large crowd in the Bryn Du Mansion with an illustrated presentation of Granville in the Civil War as part of the Society’s series recognizing the 150th anniversary of the war. On June 23 he is scheduled to speak about the War of 1812 when he delivers a public lecture in honor of that conflict’s 200th anniversary, beginning at noon at the Robbins Hunter Museum.

In 1970 Elizabeth Howe, of Hollywood, Calif., established a memorial to her family, that of Howard Howe,



Keven Bennett, left, is presented the Howard Howe Family Historian of the Year award by then-Board of Managers president Don Schilling. (Photo by Bill Holloway)

“prominent among us as educators and farmers since pioneer days in Granville.” That memorial is the Howe Family Historian of the Year award that recognizes the person in the community who has made the greatest contribution towards preserving the history of the area.

Bennett takes over as Society board president

Kevin Bennett has succeeded Don Schilling as president of the Granville Historical Society’s Board of Managers.

At the April 28 annual meeting of the Society a unanimous vote effected the succession.

In addition, Cynthia Cort was returned as vice president, as were Charles A. Peterson as secretary and Alex Galbraith as treasurer. Stewart Dyke and Jennie Kinsley were reelected to three-year terms as members at large of the Board of

Managers and Janet Procida was elected to the board to replace Bill Kirkpatrick, who will remain on the Publications Committee.

Bennett is serving as president for the second time and was the 2012 winner of the Howard Howe Family Historian of the Year Award (see story, this page).

The Board of Managers meets on the second Thursday of the month at 7 p.m. in the main room of the Robins Research Center.



“Small children surge through the streets to and from school like flocks of noisy birds; teenagers gather in knots outside the drugstore.” USIA author Howard Cincotta described the after-school scene in 1975 when children on foot dominated the village rather than school buses. (Photographs by Anestis Diakopoulous in 1975 for the USIA publication *Amerika Illustrated* for distribution in the Soviet Union)

More images of ‘A Small Town in Amerika,’ 1975

The last issue of *The Historical Times* told the story of Granville’s role as the subject of Cold War propaganda, when two gentlemen from the United States Information Agency spent a few days in 1975 observing, interviewing and photographing the town for an upbeat portrayal of American life aimed at a Soviet audience. There were too many good photos to fit one publication, so we’ll be sharing more of them in future issues. Readers who recognize townspeople in these pictures are encouraged to contact us at office@granvillehistory.org.



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