

THE HUN IN THE HEARTLAND: THREE MISSOURI GERMAN-AMERICAN
COMMUNITIES DURING THE GREAT WAR

by

Sarah M. Craig

An Abstract

presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department of History and Anthropology
University of Central Missouri

November 20, 2015

Most literature on German-American families and communities focuses on German-Americans in the Midwest and, in particular, Missouri German-Americans. The preponderance of literature on Missouri German-Americans is no doubt due to the high numbers of German immigrants who settled in the state of Missouri. There were numerous push and pull factors that brought German, Austrian, and Swiss immigrants to America and particularly to Missouri over more than sixty years. This thesis will address why there is such a preponderance of German peoples in Missouri while looking at three German-American communities, Concordia, Cole Camp, and Hermann. By using these communities' English language newspapers, which demonstrate partial assimilation to the Anglo-American culture, one can get a sense of these communities' ways of life, world view, and their sense of patriotism prior to, during, and after the First World War.

THE HUN IN THE HEARTLAND: THREE MISSOURI GERMAN-AMERICAN
COMMUNITIES DURING THE GREAT WAR

by

Sarah M. Craig

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department of History and Anthropology
University of Central Missouri

November 20, 2015

© 2015

Sarah M. Craig

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE HUN IN THE HEARTLAND: THREE MISSOURI GERMAN-AMERICAN
COMMUNITIES DURING THE GREAT WAR

by

Sarah M. Craig

November 20, 2015

APPROVED:

Thesis Chair: Dr. Carol Heming

Thesis Committee Member: Dr. Jon Taylor

Thesis Committee Member: Dr. Celia Kingsbury

ACCEPTED:

Chair, Department of History and Anthropology: Dr. Eric Tenbus

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL MISSOURI
WARRENSBURG, MISSOURI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research for this thesis was supported by the Alfred E. Twomey Graduate Scholarship in History. I would like to thank my thesis committee for their time, support, and guidance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
CHAPTER 2: THE COLE CAMP COURIER (1912-1919).....	22
CHAPTER 3: THE HERMANN ADVERTISER-COURIER (1912-1919).....	54
CHAPTER 4: THE CONCORDIAN (1912-1919).....	81
CHAPTER 5: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MICROCOSM.....	93
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	104

INTRODUCTION

Various push and pull factors were critical in bringing German-speaking people to the United States between 1820-1910. The wars for German unification forced many Germans to uproot and resettle, often transplanting themselves, their culture, and their communities in American enclaves. With such a massive influx of Germans, Austro-Hungarians, and others, it is not surprising that nearly forty-three million, roughly 15.2 percent of Americans identify themselves as having German ancestry, making German the number one ancestry group today, according to the US Census Bureau.¹ To many of these immigrants, the Heartland was a very desirable area for relocation. In particular, one man, Gottfried Duden, urged Germans to settle in Missouri.²

Duden's description of Missouri as the Garden of Eden, which was published in Germany upon his return there, is largely credited with the influx of German immigrants in the 1830s to Missouri. Many of the early German settlers were farmers, who hoped for a better life in the new American West. Much of Missouri, particularly along the Missouri River, has land and soil compositions that are similar to those found in the Rhine River valley. This helped to make many German-Americans feel as if they were at home in what they called the Missouri Rhineland. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, another large migration of German-speaking immigrants, many of whom again settled in Missouri and the Midwest, established German-American communities. This

¹ U.S. Census Bureau, *American Fact Finder*, "2011 American Community Survey," accessed 9/18/2013, http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?_afpt=table.

² Gottfried Duden, *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, '25, '26, 1827)*, Trans. James W. Goodrich, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980).

later migration was due largely to political and economic factors in Germany that pushed many to flee during the turmoil for German unification in 1871. Missouri seemed to be a natural place for this second wave of immigrants to settle, as many of their families and acquaintances were already there, making their transition to the new world a little less daunting. During the World War I era, it was these later German settlers who had the greatest trouble separating themselves from their home country and culture and identifying themselves as Americans. After coming to terms with those internal challenges, they were then faced with convincing non-German United States citizens that they were loyal Americans. The recent immigrants, those who immigrated after the American Civil War, predominately or exclusively spoke German, had accents, and were still closely tied to their German homeland.

Early twentieth century German-Americans were not a homogeneous group of people. It was easy to lump all German-speaking peoples together, but they are very likely one of the most diverse ethnic groups imaginable. Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, and Calvinists are all included in the term German-American along with immigrants from Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland. These were all thrown into the category of German and for non-Germans, high and low German were one and the same. Also, the early German immigrants, who are referred to as "old stock," did not identify themselves as Germans, as Germany was not unified until early 1871.³ Up to that point, any Germans who immigrated identified with the individual German states that they immigrated from, such as Prussia, Hannover, Saxony, Bavaria, etc. Therefore,

³ Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

these German-Americans did not always identify with their fellow German-Americans from other German states or different religious groups. As these different groups of Germans immigrated to the United States, they tended to congregate with those who came from the same region and had the same religion and dialect. Therefore, the immigrants somewhat isolated themselves from other German-American groups early on. However, as time passed, and with the unification of Germany, German-Americans could identify with each other more easily, particularly when the old stock Germans married new stock Germans. The sense of camaraderie among these diverse German groups became especially apparent after their unified Fatherland was at war, and it did not matter what region or religion one's family belonged to, they had all suddenly become German, either by their own personal choice or by default of their ancestry.

Prior to World War I, German-Americans were considered one of the hardest working and most well educated ethnic groups among the immigrant community. The high regard felt by many Americans toward the German-American community soon changed with the start of the war. Even before the United States became involved in the war, the German-American community began to experience discrimination, but not enough for them to fully assimilate into American society. To truly understand the changes that the German-American community and family underwent, it is necessary to better understand the community and family structure of German-Americans, what a German-American is, how they defined themselves, and the nature of the attacks by other ethnic groups before and during the United States' involvement in the First World War. There were different types of attacks that the German-Americans experienced, as

groups and as individuals, and the hostility came from different levels of authority. The national government created the Espionage Act, while state and local authorities imposed local ordinances to limit their rights. They experienced mob violence by the regular citizenry, and, in some rare instances, even disapproval from within their own families.

Most literature on German-American families and communities focuses on German-Americans in the Midwest and, in particular, Missouri German-Americans. The preponderance of literature on Missouri German-Americans is no doubt due to the high numbers of German immigrants who settled in the state of Missouri. There were numerous push and pull factors that brought German, Austrian, and Swiss immigrants to America and particularly to Missouri over more than sixty years. This thesis will address why there is such a preponderance of German peoples in Missouri while looking at three German-American communities, Concordia, Cole Camp, and Hermann. By using these communities' English language newspapers, which demonstrate partial assimilation to the Anglo-American culture, one can get a sense of these communities' ways of life, world view, and their sense of patriotism prior to, during, and after the First World War.

CHAPTER 1 LITERATURE REVIEW

According to historian David W. Detjen, by the start of the Great War many Germans had assimilated, or had no intention of returning to Germany as their families had been in the United States for decades.⁴ Even though many Germans had been in the United States for years or were born in America, they still had family and cultural ties with Germany, which led to sympathetic feelings towards the German people. Although the United States was not officially involved in the war until 1917, it was still sending aid to the Allied forces. This was considered a hostile act by many German-Americans, as some of the US aid was in the form of armaments, used to maim and kill their German relatives. The German community did what it could to keep the United States truly neutral and advocated for the halt of armament shipments from America.

In their textbook, William E. Parrish, Charles T. Jones, Jr., and Lawrence O. Christensen discuss aspects of anti-German sentiment in Missouri and some of the legislation that was enacted against individuals of German descent.⁵ This account is helpful in seeing how German-American children were targeted by Uel Lamkin, the state superintendent of Missouri schools, and his attack on the German language within the Missouri school system. The authors did not explain why Lamkin felt compelled to start this assault on the German language. Perhaps he thought that he was proving his

⁴ David W. Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality and Assimilation*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985).

⁵ William E. Parrish, Charles T. Jones, Jr. and Lawrence O. Christensen, "Chapter Fourteen: World War I and the 1920s," *Missouri: The Heart of the Nation, Third Edition*, (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc, 2004).

loyalty by going after the German culture, or maybe he was anti-German for other reasons. Whatever the case for his actions, Lamkin's efforts to ban German in schools hurt the education of students and also stigmatized the German heritage for these young children. For the children of recent immigrants, it would have been extremely difficult to learn when the only language that they or their family members knew was no longer to be used in the schools. This section also mentions some actions that Missouri German-American organizations took to prevent the state from supporting the Allies prior to the United States' involvement in the war. Many German-Americans did all that they could to keep Missouri and the nation neutral before the United States' formal involvement in the war. However, most of the country, particularly the Anglo-Americans and public officials, had allegiance for the Allied forces.

Judith N. Cates and Marvin B. Sussman discuss American family structure and inheritance systems, in a general sense, in their work.⁶ However, Cates and Sussman do give some focus to the German system of distributing family farms from one generation to another and how the German inheritance system was more egalitarian than the traditional English structure, by providing for younger sons and daughters, even when there was not much land to distribute. The inheritance system of German-Americans is significant, because it demonstrates how strongly these people believed that all members of the family were valuable, had contributed to the family system, and, therefore, deserved a return for their contributions. With this land distribution system it is apparent how so many German farming communities sprouted up,

⁶ Judith N. Cates and Marvin B. Sussman, *Family Systems and Inheritance Patterns*, (New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1982).

particularly in Missouri. When children are all given some land, it is extremely likely that they will live and work on it, while if they are given money or do not inherit, they are more likely to geographically separate from the family and try to make a living on their own, as was often seen with the English inheritance system. Cates and Sussman mention that the German-American land distribution system was not the most efficient because the family's wealth was continuously redistributed and exponentially reduced with each generation. The authors mention that it would have been better for German-American family farmers if they had adopted the Irish system, which favored the oldest child. However, had the German-Americans taken up the Irish inheritance system, it would have been more difficult for the families and communities to survive World War I discrimination, as they would have been spread out. By the mere fact that the German-Americans were able to unify in rural communities, they were able to protect themselves better from anti-German sentiments. These rural communities were also able to maintain their language and cultural practices with less interference from non-German-Americans.

The German inheritance system is also a very likely reason why so many Germans immigrated to the United States and to the Midwest in particular. In the case of inheriting farmland, after several generations, the amount of farmland that one might inherit in Germany was likely insufficient for a family to be able to sustain itself. It is, therefore, very likely that many German younger sons and daughters, particularly married daughters, would have preferred a monetary inheritance for their share of the land, which would enable them to purchase land in the United States, while land was

plentiful and cheap. By migrating to the new world, younger siblings allowed an elder brother to acquire a large enough landholding to provide his family with a living.

This egalitarian distribution of land by the Germans became a critical theme during the war. Since it was clear how much land or money each child would inherit, it made it easy for parents to distribute their sons' and married daughters' inheritance early. This was often done by German families to enable their sons and sons-in-law to qualify as farmers, rather than farm laborers. Farmers were considered critical to the war effort and were exempt from the draft, but farm laborers were regularly called to arms.

Christopher C. Gibbs discusses anti-German sentiment in Missouri during the Great War and how many of the attacks against this ethnic group were started or mandated by the Missouri executive branch and local politicians.⁷ These attacks demonstrate some of the difficulties and threats that German-American families faced while in Missouri. It is interesting to see how the anti-German sentiment was mandated and legislated at the local level in Missouri, essentially making it illegal to be German. The degree to which some communities went to condemn their German-American neighbors was surprisingly extreme and resulted in only isolating these German communities even further, rather than encouraging them to assimilate. Gibbs mentions how in Cass County, Missouri, the leaders made speaking German on the telephone illegal. This regulation, a violation of civil liberties, demonstrates how these laws not only limited the use of the German language in public, but also prevented German at home by the only means that neighbors through shared party lines and operators could

⁷ Christopher C. Gibbs, *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri's Resistance to World War I*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988).

monitor the German language. German-Americans who spoke only German were effectively silenced in these communities, from communicating outside of their home. Americans of German descent were discouraged from identifying themselves as anything other than American. If they had not received their citizenship papers prior to the war, German immigrants were in great danger of being considered spies. It was also next to impossible, once the United States declared war on Germany, for German-Americans to receive citizenship with many having their citizenship process put on hold until after the war. Gibbs discusses the many laws that were imposed on German-Americans, but the penalties that violators received are not always clear. It would have been helpful to see how these laws were enforced and crimes punished, and to see the frequency of the violations.

Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, provide an example of a "loyalty letter" written by C. Kotzenabe, a German-American. Kotzenabe's letter shows the struggle that he was dealing with regarding his identity as a German and an American and, therefore, his loyalty.⁸ In the letter, Kotzenabe sides with America and encourages war against Germany. One wonders if Kotzenabe wrote what he was truly feeling, or if this was his attempt to save his job and property, and to insure the safety of his person and family by showing that he was "100 percent American." As is often the case, the backstories of these loyalty letters are unknown, leading one to wonder what personal events or threats might have been made against these individuals that led them to reject their pre-war identity. The fear that these individuals must have been

⁸ Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, *World War I: A History in Documents*, (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1982).

experiencing had to have been extreme for them to take this action against family and friends. It also would have been extremely helpful if there had been some literature on how these German-Americans who wrote loyalty letters were treated by their fellow German-American community members after they wrote letters denouncing their German heritage and family. This is certainly an area that could have used more development in the literature.

In her master's thesis, Petra DeWitt argues that the anti-German hysteria was not as severe in Missouri as it was throughout the rest of the United States.⁹ DeWitt notes that there were fewer acts of mob violence toward German-Americans during World War I in Missouri than in other parts of the country. Instead, Missourians tended to report incidences of "disloyalty" to authorities and used legislation to limit German-Americans' activities and influence. Perhaps, it was more difficult for Missourians to physically attack a German-American since it was very likely that they lived next door to one or, at the very least, knew a German-American very well. With the heavy population of German-Americans in Missouri, it would have been much harder for Missourians to justify an attack on a group of people whom they knew so well and had worked with, and whom prior to the war, they most likely respected. DeWitt also mentions how many German-Americans in Missouri lost their jobs because of their perceived sympathies with Germany, noting that some even lost their property because Missourians used the legal and political systems to attack German-Americans' rights. The most recent German-American immigrants were at the greatest risk, as many of

⁹ Petra DeWitt, "Fighting the Kaiser at Home: Anti-German Sentiment in Missouri During World War I," Masters Thesis, Truman State University, Kirksville, 1998.

them had not received citizenship, and, therefore, did not have any legal rights or recourse if their jobs or property were taken from them. The fact that Missourians used legislation to limit or eliminate the civil liberties of many German-Americans meant that the new laws damaged German-Americans' ability to pass on their cultural heritage and practices, particularly the German language to future generations. These laws were most commonly seen at the local level.

In DeWitt's book, *Degrees of Alliance*, she states that Missouri did not experience the same level of anti-German sentiment as other Midwestern states. The theory for this is that other states' anti-German stance was based on ethnicity while in Missouri they were based on "personal relationship and . . . local enforcement of national war effort guidelines" resulted in conflicts among citizens, regardless of ethnic origin.¹⁰ With the decentralization of the enforcement of national war programs to local counties, with the County Councils of Defense, infighting and community conflicts became more pronounced. Some of the hostility toward Missouri German-Americans was based in their support of labor unions, which were commonly seen as Socialist and un-American. Additional internal struggles were the result of middle-class German-Americans encouraging assimilation from their working class counterparts. The German-Americans in St. Louis receive the bulk of the book's focus, with less emphasis place on the rural communities in Missouri.

¹⁰ Petra DeWitt, *Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community during World War I*, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012), 2.

David F. Trask addresses the problem of the “hyphen” Americans, particularly German-Americans in his work.¹¹ Trask emphasizes that these individuals who identified with two nationalities or cultures were pressured by natural born Americans to decide where their loyalties actually lay, with Germany or the United States. This article is important in demonstrating the hostility that existed toward German-Americans during World War I, even from individuals of the same lineage. For example, Reinhold Niebuhr, a German-American, wrote a loyalty letter declaring his allegiance to the United States over Germany. This article, however, lacks direct information about family life for the German-American people, but, rather addresses climate issues that German-Americans dealt with. However, despite any direct references to German-American families, in essence, Niebuhr turned his back on his family and any relatives that he had in Germany to protect his family and himself here in the United States.

Frederick C. Luebke addresses the loyalty question that German-Americans faced during the First World War.¹² Basically, German-Americans were pressured to side with either their German heritage or their American heritage. Since they were in America, there was a great deal more pressure and legal action forcing them to give up their German language, culture, and identity and to declare their Americanism. Anglo-American stereotypes of German-Americans and German immigrants are an interesting aspect of Luebke’s book. According to Luebke, German-American women were highly thought of: “Hausfrau was commonly recognized as a model of cleanliness and

¹¹ David F. Trask, *World War I at Home: Readings on American Life, 1914-1920*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970).

¹² Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I*, (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974).

efficiency and her daughter was valued as a reliable house servant or maid."¹³

German-American women often worked in the fields with the men, as farming was seen as a family endeavor. However, many Anglo-Americans felt that the German women were treated poorly by German men because the women were working in the fields. Nonetheless, the stereotype of German-Americans, by other Americans, was positive prior to World War I: "On the whole [Anglo-Americans] considered these newcomers desirable additions to the American population."¹⁴ It is interesting, therefore, to see the dramatic shift in natural born Americans' viewpoints toward the German-American people with the onset of the First World War.

Luebke describes one infamous attack on a German-American, Robert Prager, in Collinsville, Illinois, which is near the Missouri border, not far from St. Louis. Prager was attacked by coworkers and fellow townspeople because of his German sympathies. The mayor and police department had attempted to protect Prager but were unable to prevent his lynching on April 5, 1918, at 12:30 A.M. Essentially, everyone in the town was a witness to the assault on and hanging of Prager, but no justice was served, as no one individual could be clearly identified as having been responsible for the hanging. Many German-Americans who experienced hostility from their neighbors fled to other towns or states for their own and their families' safety. Many communities' first attack on German Americans was through the German language. Many towns renamed streets to remove any outward traces of German. Some towns banned the speaking of German in public as well as teaching German in the schools. The climate of fear that

¹³ Ibid., 60.

¹⁴ Ibid.

many experienced resulted in many German-Americans, in an attempt at self-preservation, renouncing their neighbors, and, in some instances, their own family members: "One perverse woman in Saint Louis sued her husband for divorce on the grounds of his allegedly pro-German conversation and conduct."¹⁵ One point was not clear regarding this woman's case, that of whether her husband was a German citizen. If her husband was, then she would have been considered a German citizen as well. If the woman was a natural born American, she would have had to divorce her husband to regain her American citizenship. Most spouses of German-Americans did not sue for divorce; however, this extreme measure shows the degree of hostility and anti-German sentiment that existed in Missouri and the United States during the First World War.

One place that many felt to be a haven from the anti-German attacks was the German churches; however, they too were under assault by the anti-German groups. Many of the German churches voted to change their names, thereby removing the word "German" from their name, or to translate the name of the church into English. Also, many of the churches either reduced the number of German language services or stopped performing services in German altogether. Some churches continued to hold one service a week in German, as they had several members who were older or new immigrants to America who could not speak or understand English. Perhaps, the strangest way that German churches showed their loyalty to America was to collectively, as a congregation, purchase war bonds.¹⁶ It seems very paradoxical for a church to financially support a war, particularly a war that could easily kill one's

¹⁵ Ibid., 16.

¹⁶ Ibid., 18.

relations. Clearly, the German churches and the German-Americans felt that by purchasing war bonds they were protecting themselves. Also, by purchasing the war bond, the church could act as an umbrella, so that all members of the congregation would be protected through this purchase, even if some church members did not, or financially could not, contribute to the war bond purchase.

When the laws banished the German-Americans' outward expressions of their heritage, such as the use of the German language and the celebration of German festivals, they forced the assimilation of the German-American community, particularly in the cities. It was next to impossible for the local, state and national anti-German laws to extend into the German-Americans' homes, so their homes were the only safe locations for German-Americans to practice their heritage and speak German to one another. However, limiting the spoken language in the home and stigmatizing the German language outside the home at this time, were the beginning of the end for the vernacular German language for many families. In many cases, parents stopped teaching their children how to speak German, as they knew that this was now stigmatized and/or illegal, and potentially dangerous, particularly if a small child spoke German to its parents in a public place and at school.

Russell A. Kazal discusses the German-American family structure, with an emphasis on Pennsylvanian German-Americans in his work, but Kazal does make comparisons in the book with Midwestern German-Americans.¹⁷ He also addresses the anti-German sentiment and attacks that the community encountered during World War

¹⁷ Kazal.

I and their response to these attacks. The author explains how many German-Americans made an effort to pass as "old stock" Germans, who had come over in 1848 and had long-standing connections in the United States, to minimize the harassment that they received from their neighbors. This reinforced that long-standing German-Americans had assimilated into American culture or were considered Americanized by natural born Americans. It is interesting that the new immigrants did not attempt to reject their heritage or to truly assimilate to American culture, as the old stock had done.

Clifton J. Child's article addresses the protests organized by German-American individuals and groups to stop the United States from sending weapons to the Allied powers, France, Britain and Russia, which were being used against German and Austro-Hungarian troops.¹⁸ The German-Americans, fortunately, had another immigrant group, the Irish, as an ally in their cause against exportation of armaments. The Irish immigrants were anti-Great Britain and wanted to stop the British from receiving American munitions, which could potentially be used against their Irish kinfolk. Child explains how Dr. Charles John Hexamer, President of the National German-American Alliance, petitioned the Department of State and President Woodrow Wilson to stop American companies, such as Colts Armory Company, from making weapons for the Allied forces in their war effort against the Germans, on the grounds that American companies supplying armaments to one side violated American neutrality in the

¹⁸ Clifton J. Child, "German-American Attempts to Prevent Exportation of Munitions of War, 1914-1915," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12, no. 3 (December 1938):351-368.

conflict.¹⁹ In many cases, through economic necessity, German-Americans were working in these very armament factories that were producing munitions for the Allied forces "which killed their German kinfolk."²⁰ The National German-American Alliance worked to get an embargo passed through Congress to prevent future shipments of munitions. E. Frank Carson was the organization's lawyer, and in a letter to President Wilson, Carson declared:

You cannot imagine, Mr. President, with what chagrin and bitterness it fills the Americans of German descent to see the resources of this great country, which they have helped to build up, and in whose battles they have given their life-blood, placed at the disposal of enemies who, with their overwhelming forces, have proclaimed it their avowed purpose to crush our ancestral home.²¹

This plea from Carson demonstrates how personally the German-Americans were taking the armaments issues, as well as how connected many of them still were to their Fatherland. Child also mentions Richard Bartholdt, a peace activist in the German-American Alliance, who argued for the embargo by citing the number of Americans who descended from Germans and noting how they were being affected by the attack on their family members:

And yet these nations [Germany and Austria] can claim the kinship of 25,000,000 Americans. That is where the trouble is. Do you wonder, then, at the growth of the movement [pro-embargo movement] which aims to put a stop to this business? These 25,000,000 people, representing probably 5,000,000 votes, are convinced that the United States is waging war against the two Germanic nations under the cover of neutrality. . . .²²

By citing the number of American voters of German ancestry in the United States, Bartholdt was attempting to place political pressure on Congress to support the

¹⁹ Ibid., 352.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 355.

²² Ibid., 357.

embargo, and stop exportation of munitions from America to the Allied forces. Many Americans felt that these attempts to force an embargo by the German-American Alliance were unpatriotic, despite the fact that the United States was not yet at war.

A profile of Hermann Hagedorn is included in a work by Phyllis Keller.²³ Hagedorn had a traditional upbringing in a German-American family, but with the coming of the First World War, he rejected his German roots and called on others, including his brother, to reject their upbringing and declare themselves Americans “100 percent.” Hagedorn went on to declare: “There seem to be times when a man must renounce father and mother, brother and sister, in order to be loyal to something higher than blood relatives.”²⁴ This account of Hagedorn, largely reliant on his memoirs and letters, gives a window into German-American families and childhood and helps to explain how some individuals justified attacking their own communities and families. Hagedorn felt that his traditional German background prevented him from assimilating with traditional Anglo-American culture, which to him was a hindrance. Hagedorn was one of the rare German-Americans who turned against his community.

Many German-Americans publicly assimilated, but they still identified with their families and the German-American communities. It had to be extremely difficult for German-Americans to have to take sides in this war, but many felt that they had little choice. Reinhold Niebuhr, for one, does not seem to have had much difficulty, or reluctance in attacking other German-Americans. In an effort for self-preservation, and in many ways to protect the family members that they were in direct connection with,

²³ Phyllis Keller, *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.

many German-Americans felt they had to make public declarations of their loyalty to the United States, despite many of their fellow Americans' rejection of their still-perceived German loyalty. Niebuhr's loyalty letter was surprisingly hostile. He clearly resented having being raised with a German background and felt that this prevented him from being able to truly assimilate into American society. Niebuhr even called out his other family members, including his brother, by name, as not being loyal to America, as he allegedly was. This was a very dangerous thing for Niebuhr to do, as this loyalty letter could have been used against his brother, father and other family members.

In his article, Stephen J. Gross discusses how the pressures for German-Americans to assimilate to American society were greater in the urban areas.²⁵ The rural areas, being more isolated and homogeneous were somewhat safer than cities from anti-German sentiments and attacks. Gross discusses how German-American farming families tended to find organizations that protested the war appealing because the war was seen as a threat to their families and their livelihood. Gross also mentions ways in which German-American families attempted to manipulate the conscription system: "The accelerated rate of farm turnover associated with the war—as young men in order to avoid conscription quickly married and as fathers turned farms over to their sons."²⁶ As farm laborers were not exempt from the draft, the transfer of farmland to sons was an effective way to reclassify occupational status from the draftable farm laborer to draft exempt farmer. The fact that German-American families tried to help their sons get deferments, shows that they preferred to stay out of the war and remain neutral, as

²⁵ Stephen J. Gross, "Perils of Prussianism': Main Street German America, Local Autonomy, and the Great War," *Agricultural History* 78, no. 1, (2004): 78-116.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

they would be fighting against their native homeland and families on behalf of their adopted homeland. The practice of more recent German immigrants marrying into established German-American families refers back to Kazal's theme in *Becoming Old Stock* of passing as a long-standing German-American family. When a recent German-American married into an older, established family, he or she became old stock and, in theory, better accepted by non-German-Americans. It was not uncommon for young, newly arrived German immigrant men to seek out the daughters of established German-American businessmen as future wives. Not only did these new immigrants get accepted into the established, old stock, German communities, but they also advanced themselves economically and secured jobs, by essentially marrying into families with established businesses or farms.

Most literature on German-Americans during the World War I era focuses on German-Americans who settled in the heartland, particularly in Missouri. No doubt, this concentration on Missouri Germans is due to the high percentage of German immigrants who settled there. One problem with the works is that few of them discuss the German-American family structure or quote German-Americans. Most of the works rely on secondary or tertiary sources to draw conclusions, and many of these sources do not take a look at the German-American perspective, but, rather look from the viewpoint of Anglo-Americans and the actions that they took against Americans of German descent during the First World War. Also, the vast majority of the resources on German-Americans are in book form, and it is extremely difficult to locate journal articles or primary sources that are relevant to this particular aspect of World War I.

It seems that there may not be very many primary sources on German-American families from this time, because it was not easy or popular to be a member of this ethnic group during the era of the Great War. Of the primary sources that are available, most of them are by German-Americans publicly rejecting their ethnic heritage and encouraging their fellow German-Americans to do the same. The mere fact that these German-Americans were making such public anti-German declarations is a testament to the hostility that they must have been experiencing. Fortunately, newspapers from German-American communities can provide a historical microcosm of what a community was like at a given time. Therefore, by delving into three Missouri German-American communities, Cole Camp, Hermann, and Concordia, through their local weekly English-language newspapers, one can get a sense of these communities' character and determine how the conflict overseas directly affected the day-to-day lives of their citizens.

CHAPTER 2
THE COLE CAMP COURIER (1912-1919)

The area around what is now Cole Camp, Missouri, was first settled in 1829 by a trapper, Ezekiel Williams. Williams had been appointed by William Clark in 1818 to establish a military road between Palmyra, Missouri, and Fort Smith, Arkansas.²⁷ Williams liked this part of the state enough to make it his permanent residence, naming the trading post and post office that he established there after his Cumberland, Kentucky, Township, Cole Camp.²⁸ By 1839 the site for Cole Camp was laid out, and the first residence was built by Dr. Hosea Powers. Powers is credited with establishing the town of Cole Camp, which was built at the intersection of Williams' Military Road, Duroc Road, Jefferson City Road, and Boonville Road.²⁹ In the late 1830s and through the 1840s there was a large influx of German immigrants from Hanover to the area and this group of immigrants and their descendants composed what became the old-stock Germans. Another wave of German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants arrived in the 1890s comprising the new-stock German settlers.

The Cole Camp Courier, which started publishing in 1893, was the weekly town newspaper, and despite coming from a strongly German-based community, was written completely in English. The prominence of the English language in Cole Camp demonstrated the number of old-stock Germans in the community and the level of

²⁷ Kenneth Bird and the Cole Camp Historical Society, *Images of America: The Cole Camp Area*, pg. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 7.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

assimilation that had already happened in the community prior to the start of the First World War. Once war was declared in Europe, the *Courier* was fairly thorough in covering war news from various international sources from both sides of the conflict. One of the earlier, more controversial articles that was published in the *Cole Camp Courier* was the "Protest By 93 Germans":

. . .we hereby protest to the civilized world against the lies and calumnies with which our enemies are endeavoring to stain the honor of Germany in her hard struggle for existence – in a struggle which has been forced upon her. . . . It is not true that Germany is guilty of having caused this war It is not true that we trespassed in neutral Belgium. . . . It is not true that the life and property of a single Belgian citizen was injured by our soldiers without bitterest self-defense having made it necessary. . . .³⁰

This rather vitriolic open letter served as its own form of propaganda against the Allied propaganda machine. The letter deflects all responsibility from Germany, excusing all atrocities and, in some cases, blaming the victims, including during the hostilities in Belgium. This article also indicates a degree of bias on the part of the *Courier*, as it is not news but an opinion piece.

A little more than a month prior to the United States' declaration of war, the *Courier* contained articles and ads that demonstrated the community's desire for America to stay at peace and maintain neutrality in the war. On March 1, 1917, an article reported that an U.S. Army recruiter had been in Cole Camp for "several days this week" trying to enlist recruits, but was unable to enlist any residents. While the country was preparing for the impending war in Europe, Cole Camp residents were not yet ready to take the active patriotic step of enlistment. Three weeks following, the

³⁰ "Protest By 93 Germans," State Historical Society of Missouri, *Cole Camp Courier*, December 31, 1914.

March 22, 1917, edition had a large ad for *The Battle Cry of Peace*, a film being shown in nearby Sedalia, Missouri, which was heavily marketed and promoted in the newspaper. Then, the day before the U.S. declared war on Germany, the *Courier* contained an announcement regarding *The Battle Cry of Peace* Parade, advocating those with vehicles to convene on April 13, 1917.³¹ Needless to say, this planned parade came a bit too late, as the war had already been declared.

After the United States declared war, the newspaper did not make it a headline story, unlike when Kaiser Wilhelm had declared war on France. Rather, the *Courier* was primarily focused on local issues and those stories are what comprised the first several pages. War news that did make the front page for the first year of the war was primarily locally focused, particularly those stories involving the drafting of local men and those who volunteered for service or the initial overreaction and paranoia of area citizens to the news of the war. The vast bulk of the war news, national and international, was buried four or five pages within the paper. In the case of Cole Camp there were two main phases of extreme war fervor; the first immediately following the U.S. declaration of war, was comprised of paranoia and false rumors, while the second came following Governor Frederick Gardner's remarks on Liberty Day, April 11, 1918, and resulted in many in the community being pressured to publicly or, as was more often the case, financially prove their loyalty to the United States.

A few articles of particular note appeared in the *Courier* immediately following the United States' declaration of war. These showed the editor's strong desire to dispel

³¹ "Battle Cry of Peace Parade," *Cole Camp Courier*, April 5, 1917.

any instances of paranoia towards the German community as it did not take long for suspicion to surround Cole Camp. In war times, rumors spread quickly and could be dangerous if not quickly dispelled. The *Courier* regularly reported on rumors within the Cole Camp community and surrounding areas and attempted to promote calm and common sense. By the April 12, 1917, edition of the paper, there was already an article in the *Courier* addressing false rumors about the community: "One report spread in surrounding towns that there was trouble of a serious character here, termed a riot. . . . Such reports are too ridiculous to receive credence."³² The *Courier* made clear that "many of the people in this community regret that war has been started," but they had accepted the reality of it and "if necessary" they would do their share to defend the United States.³³

Accusations of the American flag in town being replaced with the German flag, and the arrest of an alleged pro-Germany Windsor man were both declared false.³⁴ The above article is not an overwhelming endorsement of the war, but an acceptance of the reality of it. Interestingly, the article states that the Cole Camp community would step up to its patriotic duty "if necessary," implying that if citizens' hands were forced with a draft, they would fulfill their obligation. Although the editor of the *Courier* attempted to calm some community members who questioned the loyalty of the German-Americans in Cole Camp, paranoia continued with an outlandish and amusing report involving an alleged German attack within Missouri, questioningly titled, "Submarine on the Osage?":

³² "Rumors Of Trouble Unfounded." *Cole Camp Courier*, April 12, 1917.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

Wireless from Warsaw via Lincoln: A submarine was seen to emerge from the Osage river and fired a torpedo at the courthouse at Warsaw, but the ever-elert [*sic*] sheriff and his deputies were on guard and returned the fire with their 44s. The U boat immediately submerged and went up the river...they sent a wireless to Osceola and received word at once by wireless that they had not seen any U boat but had seen a streak of white foam going up the river at the rate of about 60 miles a minute and supposed the U boat had gone to Kansas.³⁵

Although it is clear that the *Courier* editor was skeptical of the validity of the above rumor, the paper printed it nevertheless. After further investigation into this alleged German submarine, the *Courier* was able to provide a full explanation to the mystery on the Osage in the following week's article, "The Submarine Mystery Solved":

The submarine story. . .caused considerable comment and many explanations were offered as to just what might have been seen on the Osage river by Warsaw people that they presumed was a U boat.

John T. Ahrens says it was Harry Jakeman's automobile, and the suggestion is strengthened by the speed that Jakeman develops as he travels over the country.³⁶

Some individuals suffered from an overinflated sense of the importance of their community with regard to the war and a complete lack of understanding of military and geography matters. This mindset caused trouble for German-Americans and raised more questions regarding their loyalty within the community.

It did not take long following the declaration of war for violence within the community to strike up. After the newspaper had denounced riots following the declaration of war, a violent altercation resulting from a disagreement over the war occurred in the nearby community of Edmonson, and the *Courier* followed the brutal attack against Lewis Balke and the subsequent arrest of Fate and Everett Dillon. The Dillons attacked Balke over "a disagreement on matters pertaining to the war," but no

³⁵ "Submarine on the Osage?." *Cole Camp Courier*, April 26, 1917.

³⁶ "The Submarine Mystery Solved," *Cole Camp Courier*, May, 3, 1917.

specifics were provided.³⁷ Balke, who was attacked "in his store and yard," was struck in the head with a rock which fractured his skull, causing a concussion.³⁸ Edmonson is located about fifteen miles south of Cole Camp and was reliant on Cole Camp's law enforcement to serve the warrants and arrest the accused. The newspaper did not go into any further details regarding the specifics of the disagreement between the parties; however, continual coverage of the trial was front page news. The grand jury indicted the Dillon gang for attacking Balke.

Given the severity of the charges against the accused, they decided that it would be best to avoid a trial, and the case was settled according to the plea deal with Fate, John and Everett Dillon and Frank Ireland, all pleading guilty to assault with intent to kill. Their sentence of five years in the penitentiary was commuted to parole for five years on condition that they leave the state for the duration of their parole, and each was fined \$300 for Balke's injuries. Grace Dillon received a \$100 fine for her misdemeanor charge, and half of the fine was remitted.³⁹ The Dillons appear to have been given a light sentence in view of the fact that they were able to maintain their freedom, but they had to vacate the state, going to Nebraska. The enforcement of such an exile, however, would have been difficult in 1917.

Many festivities which were scheduled before America's involvement in the war were either dropped or downsized after the United States entered the war. Some of this was due to the fact that it was seen as poor taste to celebrate during a national conflict; however, it also appears that many German-American communities felt

³⁷ "A Disturbance At Edmondson," *Cole Camp Courier*, May 10, 1917.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ "The Dillon Case Settled," *Cole Camp Courier*, September 27, 1917.

pressure to minimize or altogether eliminate them. Discussions of Cole Camp's street fair were heavily influenced by Concordia's decision to cancel its street fair:

On account of the unsettled conditions resulting from the war situation it has been deemed advisable by some that the fair be postponed until next year The officers of the local fair had planned to co-operate with the fair managers at Concordia in some lines, notable in the matter of amusement features and it is reported that the Concordia fair has been dropped for this year.⁴⁰

It is interesting how collaborations with other German communities are clearly demonstrated in the newspaper articles. One can see how Cole Camp seems to have used Concordia as a gauge for how to react with the pressures of war, as was the case with the street fair decision. However, prewar newspaper articles demonstrated that, the *Cole Camp Courier* did not take a hardline for or against the war, but rather reported on the war, allowing both sides to voice their opinions. The *Concordian*, however, demonstrated a definite bias toward Germany, requiring the paper and the community of Concordia at least publicly to appear to backtrack on their stance, hence demonstrating their patriotism by cancelling their fair; this, in turn, due to collaborations with Cole Camp, forced that fair to be cancelled as well, despite Cole Campers not feeling the same pressure to prove their patriotism at this early stage of the war.

The *Courier* covered several local, regional, and national stories regarding anti-German sentiment outside of the immediate community. These included the indictment of a German farmer in Kansas and a bomb threat in a Chicago theatre, allegedly orchestrated by three Germans. This coverage of hostility outside of its community

⁴⁰ "To Discuss Street Fair," *Cole Camp Courier*, May 10, 1917.

should have served as an early warning of the possible dangers that Cole Camp might face.

By October of 1917, more pressure for assimilation and open support of the war effort was placed on Cole Camp. There were large, front page advertisements urging citizens to buy Liberty Bonds. There was even a letter to the editor from a well-respected attorney in the area, W.S. Jackson, who appealed to German-Americans to assimilate:

The people of Germany cannot be indifferent to their [German-Americans'] desires when properly made known. . . .Sympathy for the Father Land is a natural, and in most circumstances, a worthy sentiment, but it will be a gross perversion of that sentiment if it leads one to forsake his sworn allegiance to this country. . . .Americans of German descent have in their power at this moment to render a service of priceless value to all the world and to every descendant to the Father Land wherever he may be.⁴¹

A prominent community member, such as W.S. Jackson, taking a stand regarding how German-Americans should align themselves during the war and implying that they, as an ethnic group, had the ability to pressure Germany to surrender only incited existing assumptions held by some Anglo-Americans in the area, that Americans of German descent were either biased or reluctant to support America's war against Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A well-known and respected member of the community so publicly criticizing his neighbors and an entire ethnic group undoubtedly pressured those neighbors to either comply with Jackson's wishes or to refute his claims. In view of the open hostility toward German-Americans in other communities in Missouri, as

⁴¹ W.S. Jackson, "W.S. Jackson Writes of War," *Cole Camp Courier*, October 25, 1917.

well as those in Kansas and Illinois, it is not surprising that many in Cole Camp felt the need to show their allegiance to the United States in a public way.

Regularly, the *Courier* reported instances of anti-German sentiment throughout Missouri, and the consequences of speaking out in support of Germany. Such stories included one of farm hand Joseph Paden of St. Joseph, who was arrested by federal authorities for writing a letter to another farm hand in Kansas ordering him to leave his job with a farmer who was “an enemy of the Kaiser, under penalty of death.”⁴² George Russell, a rural mail carrier near Benton City was fired after federal authorities alleged “he had made disloyal remarks and had forced his son’s name to be erased from the Hoover conservation pledge.”⁴³ It is not clear if these news snippets were covered in the newspaper merely as newsworthy stories or highlighted to also serve as mild warnings to other German-Americans, informing or reminding them of the consequences of showing any allegiance to Germany. The stories regarding anti-German sentiment and attacks on dissenters around the state were often interspersed with regular local news stories, so no special amount of attention was drawn to these stories.

Unfortunately, it is not always so easy to separate people from their government, particularly at a time of war, when the people become a government’s mechanism to fight the conflict. The so called “vast holdings of German interests in the United States” included farmland of German nationals living in the United States.⁴⁴ When the US government planned to redistribute these lands, it was announced in the *Courier*, as

⁴² “Farm Hand Accused of Treason,” *Cole Camp Courier*, December 13, 1917.

⁴³ “A Rural Carrier Dismissed,” *Cole Camp Courier*, December 13, 1917.

⁴⁴ “To Sell German Property,” *Cole Camp Courier*, March 14, 1918.

these were considered "outposts of German kultur."⁴⁵ After the war it would be determined whether the money from the sale of the property would be returned to the German owners.⁴⁶ The threat of possibly losing everything these German immigrants had earned since coming to America had to concern anyone who was still a German national living in America. This action by Congress could have been one of the reasons why it was common for German-American parents, especially those who were not naturalized, to transfer ownership of large sections of their property over to their children as for immigrants, their American born children would have a right to maintain ownership and they would not have been perceived to be a threat to the United States.

Governor Gardner took a hard and verbal stance on German-Americans in Missouri. He expected absolute and open support of America's involvement in the war. Gardner's speeches during the war were often inflammatory and strongly opposed to German-Americans in the state. His Liberty Day address in 1918 served as a turning point for many German-American communities and how they demonstrated their patriotism. The *Cole Camp Courier* was the only paper of the three that covered this speech and, as a result, may have contributed to some of the hostility in their own community. Gardner said:

A pro-German is a German spy. They are in the same class and should receive the same treatment at our hands. If at any time I am convinced that there is in any community in the state an organized movement of these traitorous wretches having for its object the embarrassment of the government in the prosecution of the war I shall without delay declare martial law in such community, suspend the right of habeas corpus and order all spies, pro-Germans and other enemies of the republic tried by court martial. If they be found guilty it would mean that they face a firing squad. He who does not know what German kultur means is

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

either a fool or a knave, or both, and he who has enjoyed the privileges of our government and has the slightest pro-Germanic feeling should be stood up by a stone wall and shot at sunrise.⁴⁷

Gardner's threats, or fear-mongering, were included in the first article published on the front page of the April 11, 1918 paper. In view of the threats made to German communities by the governor, one citizen's actions could lead to the whole community being seen as disloyal. This type of threat could easily have turned neighbor against neighbor and encouraged vigilantism.

The paper seemed to have an indirect response to Gardner's speech within the same issue of the paper. There was a push for the purchase of Liberty Bonds and efforts to counter supposed German propagandists within the United States. To address these false rumors, the *Courier* wrote: "The circulation of these stories is often due to the folly of a citizen who wishes to appear to have 'inside information' and who either innocently or intentionally starts a lie that rapidly grows worse as it spreads."⁴⁸ The implication was that only American government sources could be trusted, and if anyone said otherwise then it was a German lie, therefore placing the US government's war efforts above reproach. This article was published before the Sedition Act, which was an amendment of section 3 of the Espionage Act, approved on May 16, 1918. The Sedition Act made it criminal to make derogatory statements about the government or the war effort. However, taking this stand could also have prevented the reporting or even the investigation of actual fraud, for fear of backlash against a whistleblower. In the rest of the April 11, 1918, issue of the *Cole Camp Courier*, the tone changed with

⁴⁷ "Governor Gardner Issues Proclamation," *Cole Camp Courier*, April 11, 1918.

⁴⁸ "Many False War Stories," *Cole Camp Courier*, April 11, 1918.

stronger support for the war effort and encouraged readers to purchase Liberty Loan bonds. This changed tone in the paper and its stance regarding the war effort, which had previously been passive, carried through to the end of the war, demonstrating the impact of Governor Gardner's speech.

The *Courier* covered a story from Missouri State University, what is now known as the University of Missouri-Columbia, about a faculty member who was investigated for disloyalty by the Department of Justice: "G.E.M. Jauncey, instructor in the physics department in the Missouri State University, has tendered his resignation. His action followed a report sent to the University by the Department of Justice that he was disloyal."⁴⁹ In view of the scandal that the University would have had to endure if Jauncey had stayed on, it was much easier for him to resign his position, rather than force the University to terminate his position. Similar accusations from other parts of the state were also covered in the paper, including Emmet Oburn's failure to stand for the national anthem while he was serving as a delegate for the Carpenters' Union at the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union meeting.⁵⁰ Oburn was "severely beaten and suspended from the union" by those present.⁵¹ These two stories served as a warning that if one's disloyalty were not being monitored by the government, then neighbors and coworkers were certainly more than ready to utilize vigilantism.

While there were stories around the state about disloyal individuals, there were also instances closer to Cole Camp that showed the threat was within citizens' own backyards. One early instance in Sedalia served as a warning to German-Americans in

⁴⁹ "Accused M.U. Teacher Quits," *Cole Camp Courier*, December 20, 1917.

⁵⁰ "Failed to Stand for Anthem," *Cole Camp Courier*, December 20, 1917.

⁵¹ Ibid.

the area: "Fred Esser of Sedalia was sentenced to 6 months in jail late last week for disloyalty. He said: 'To hell with Uncle Sam; he never did anything for me and anyhow I'm for the Kaiser.' Within a few minutes he was arrested, tried and in jail."⁵² Given the close proximity of Sedalia to Cole Camp, this news served as a stern warning to *Cole Camp Courier* subscribers to be mindful of what they said in public, particularly while visiting Sedalia. Many of these early attacks on German-Americans and the culture were from outside communities and served as a warning to Cole Campers to be mindful when traveling, that while seemingly safe at home, that was not necessarily the case outside of their community.

The second wave of patriotism, and the more fervent of the two phases, was following Governor Gardner's proclamation, printed in the *Courier* on April 11, 1918 and referenced earlier. Following Gardner's proclamation, there was a rapid increase in patriotic rhetoric and a crackdown on anyone demonstrating anything remotely unpatriotic. The number of charges of disloyalty increased dramatically in the area as did the calls to denounce anything German. The accusations of disloyalty came much closer to home when a local man, Henry C. Eickhoff, from a prominent family, was taken into custody by a United States Secret Service agent assigned to the area, after Eickhoff made disloyal remarks: "Eickhoff...said that he wished President Wilson would be killed, that he hoped all the soldiers sent to Europe would be sunk in the ocean and that he didn't think the Government Bonds are good."⁵³ Since Eickhoff's statements included threatening the President, the Secret Service was required to investigate. The

⁵² "Jailed For Disloyalty," *Cole Camp Courier*, April 18, 1918.

⁵³ "Put in Jail for Disloyal Talk," *Cole Camp Courier*, May 6, 1918.

article also mentioned a warning regarding the Secret Service, stating, "The officer is assigned to this district and will likely be here again if there are further complaints." The federal presence in the area was a concern for many German-Americans, particularly with the arrest and questioning of several other German community members in the area, and the *Courier* attempted to dispel this perceived bias against German-Americans in the area by saying, "Some people appear to take the view that the action is only against persons of German descent but such is not the case. . .and all classes of people will receive the same treatment."⁵⁴ While this would seem to curb the concerns of some in the community, the statement was followed with the announcement from the US Attorney General's office: "Every citizen of the country is authorized to gather evidence of disloyalty and. . .failure to make report of any disloyal statements or actions would be itself an act of disloyalty."⁵⁵

The government had taken note of the German-American community in Cole Camp and surrounding areas enough so that it felt it required assigning an officer to the area to deal with any perceived threats. The last section of the article had state and federal officials essentially mandating a witch hunt amongst people's own neighbors; one can see how anyone ethnically German could or might become paranoid in a public setting for fear of anything he or she said or did being misconstrued. Eickhoff was turned over to the Federal District Court and was scheduled to be tried in Jefferson City towards the end of October 1918.⁵⁶ The Eickhoff case was heavily covered by the *Courier*, which regularly reported any updates: "A deputy US marshal was here during

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ "Eickhoff to be Tried in October," *Cole Camp Courier*, June 6, 1918.

the past week serving subpoenas in the case of the Government against Henry C. Eickhoff, who is charged with making disloyal statements in connection with the war."⁵⁷ Bond for Eickhoff was set at \$5,000.⁵⁸ This is equivalent to \$78,912.58 by 2015 standards, a substantial amount of money for a farmer to pay.⁵⁹ Ultimately, once Eickhoff's case went to court, the judge dismissed it "on account of the offenses being committed before the passage of the present espionage law, and the case not being serious enough to be taken up under former laws."⁶⁰ Fortunately for Eickhoff, the judge viewed this by the standards of the law and used common sense in his ruling rather than appealing to any perceived public pressure.

Another man from Benton County was also arrested and tried, but was not as fortunate as Eickhoff. Being an American citizen at this time, even one of German descent, allowed for the protections of the law. Julius C. Polster, unlike Eickhoff, was not an American citizen: ". . . Polster, who was arrested here some time ago for seditious [*sic*] remarks about the United States. . . was taken to a government prison in Georgia from Kansas City during the past week. . . and will be interned until the end of the war and then returned to Germany."⁶¹ The Eickhoff and Polster cases demonstrated how closely the anti-German mentality came to Cole Camp and the seriousness of the situation, since Eickhoff's case rapidly escalated from local

⁵⁷ "Henry Eickhoff Case Oct. 21," *Cole Camp Courier*, October 3, 1918.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject, CPI Inflation Calculator, www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm, accessed 9/22/2015.

⁶⁰ "Henry C. Eickhoff Dismissed," *Cole Camp Courier*, October 24, 1918.

⁶¹ "Polster Goes to Prison," *Cole Camp Courier*, June 20, 1918.

accusations to the federal level, and Polster, as a non-citizen, lost everything he had worked for while in America because of his seditious comments.

Even during news days when the *Cole Camp Courier* did not have local scandals involving citizens in town or nearby communities suffering from harassment or accusations of being unpatriotic, it covered national stories that addressed issues faced by hyphenates throughout America. Some of these so-called stories bordered more on propaganda and lacked any newsworthiness. Whether these stories were true or not, the message was clear to hyphenates: prove loyalty by disowning any heritage that is not American.

By the summer of 1918, there was more consistent coverage of the number of young men who enlisted or were drafted for service. One certain way to expel any suspicion of lingering loyalty to Germany or the Austro-Hungarian Empire was to have a service flag hanging in the window. Men in the service, by association, cleared their family from accusations of disloyalty. Anyone who reported for the draft was listed in the paper, and those who failed to were publicly called out: "Two of the boys on the list that left this county Monday did not report, Clarence Schouten and Chas. A. Garrison. No reason was given and the cases will be looked into."⁶² The enlistment stories can be seen as not only locally newsworthy, but also as a means of pressuring other men in the area to enlist, since enlisting was a demonstration of patriotism, while being drafted was not. The paper also reprinted many war letters in part or, in many cases, what appears to be in their entirety, from local soldiers stationed in France. This was

⁶² "Soldier Boys Went Monday," *Cole Camp Courier*, June 27, 1918.

commonly done in small town newspapers. These war letters became frequent additions to the newspaper by the fall of 1918 and were often front page news.

Articles in the *Cole Camp Courier* at the beginning of 1918 included pushing for citizens to purchase Liberty Bonds and Stamps, more local involvement in the Red Cross, and regular updates of local men who enlisted in the military, as well as enlistment news from around the state:

If there is any man, woman or child in your county who objects to the purchase of Thrift Stamps or War Savings Certificates, ask them to read the newspaper articles dealing with the gassing of American soldiers by the Germans, which is the commencement of the slaughter of our American boys.⁶³

The above propaganda piece was sent in to the *Courier* to be reprinted. It was a letter from Festus J. Wade, the Director for Missouri's War Savings Committee. He was attempting to place pressure on the *Courier's* subscribers to do their part and financially support the war effort. These instances of hostility toward Germans are more prevalent in Cole Camp's later war coverage than in the other two newspapers studied, Hermann's *Advertiser-Courier* and the *Concordian*.

To counter some of the hostility toward Germany and German people, there are articles that appeal for US patriotism. It seemed that the *Courier* had difficulty bridging the gap between anti-German coverage and pro-American news and propaganda. The tone of the paper varied from article to article and issue to issue with stories indicting the German people and anyone who sympathized with them to those proclaiming that the German community was loyal and patriotic. In some cases it seemed that any news that was negative and hostile toward German-Americans was disputed by community

⁶³ Festus J. Wade, "German Warfare Murder," *Cole Camp Courier*, March 7, 1918.

members, causing the *Courier* to swing in the other direction in the following issue. The cover page of the February *Courier* highlighted the importance of immigrants and their descendants to America, but emphasized that support from the home front as the “great army of taxpayers” was critical to the “industrial army” and the men at the front.⁶⁴ The story appealed to individuals’ patriotism, while it also reminded those who were descended from immigrants that their allegiance was now with the United States, and without their financial backing, America could not win the war. It is also interesting to note that the civilian population is referred to as an “army,” one that is also drafted into service for the war effort. This emphasized the significance of the unified home front in support of the other work efforts overseas and at home.

Not surprisingly, after Governor Gardner’s proclamation and with the additional push for Liberty Bonds, the sale of said bonds increased, as reported in the paper, which said, “There is much more general interest in this campaign than during the first and second drives and many who were not at all interested then are active buyers and boosters now.”⁶⁵ The purchase of Liberty Bonds was another means of publicly demonstrating patriotism and Missourians, particularly immigrants and first generation Americans, felt a compulsion to prove their loyalty, particularly following Governor Gardner’s threats. The article also stated that the names of those buying would likely be published in the paper, which served as a warning to those who had not yet purchased a bond to do so and soon or risk public shunning and suspicion. Liberty

⁶⁴ W.S. Davis, “Why We Should Buy Liberty Bonds, War Certificates and Thrift Stamps,” *Cole Camp Courier*, February 7, 1918.

⁶⁵ “Bonds are Selling Well,” *Cole Camp Courier*, April 18, 1918.

Bonds became the means by which citizens of Cole Camp could prove their loyalty to their neighbors.

Liberty Bond sales and drives became the top stories in the *Courier*. The bonds also became a point of suspicion in the community, with some believing that banks and rural mail carriers were receiving commissions for the sale of the Liberty Bonds. These suspicions were quickly silenced by the paper which said that the fact that some believed this “not only shows how ignorant they are but they are spreading German propaganda and should be dealt with as a traitor.”⁶⁶ The idea that anyone would question the integrity of those who were selling bonds and other items that aided in funding the war effort was immediately turned back on the accuser who was labeled a German sympathizer. Effectively, this mentality of blind patriotism was a means of silencing people who disagreed with those in the power positions. To question the system or methods of the war machine was considered anti-American.

With the start of the 4th Liberty Loan campaign there is more focus on who were demonstrating their support. A propaganda insert was even included in the first issue of the *Courier* following the start of the fourth campaign. Volunteers’ names were printed in the paper, and the pressure to purchase bonds increased greatly. Townships, such as Williams Township, failed to meet their bond quota by \$30,000 and were shamed on the front page of the *Courier* for their “disappointing” performance and told that “more vigorous measures” would be taken to help them meet their quota.⁶⁷ It was not stated what those measures would be. The article announcing the

⁶⁶ “Such Talk is Traitorous,” *Cole Camp Courier*, May 16, 1918.

⁶⁷ “Williams Township Lacks \$30,000 of its Quota,” *Cole Camp Courier*, October 17, 1918.

Williams Township's failure was published directly under a half-page banner cover announcement threatening to publish the names of "slackers" who failed to purchase their quota of bonds for the 4th Liberty Loan drive.

The "slacker" rhetoric increased substantially with the last two issues of the paper in October 1918. Pressure was mounting for everyone to meet quotas for the purchasing of bonds, and those who failed to do their part were in danger of public humiliation. One particular slacker article, which read more as a rant, ran over the full length of a newspaper column and was extremely harsh and was clearly pointed towards at least one individual who had not purchased a sufficient number of bonds by the *Courier's* standards:

. . .you who have a good farm or a good business and happen to be in debt a little, is absolutely no excuse for you not doing your part. . .but you, you contemptible leech on society, you grouch and common enemy of mankind, you stand back and refuse to do your part. . .You do not deserve to have one single blessing that comes to you from their [soldiers'] sacrifices but you should be scorned as a person would a venomous snake. . .Some people had the gall to do some tall talking last week about the advertisement in The Courier asking, "Shall the Names Be Published." You never heard any loyal person, any one who is and has been doing his part kick, not on your life, but it was the slackers, the fellows that have been refusing to do their part, who did the kicking. . . .⁶⁸

It seems that many of those who were accused of being slackers were area business owners. The lengthy article even spelled out the amount that it would have cost some to purchase the bonds on loans from area banks. It seems that no one took into account that, as this was the 4th Liberty Loan drive, many of these so called "slackers" could, in fact, more than have met their quotas in the previous three loan drives and were truly over their limit of being able to purchase anymore bonds. Each Liberty Loan

⁶⁸ "Yes, There Were Some 'Slackers,'" *Cole Camp Courier*, October 24, 1918.

drive was considered separate from the previous ones, and individuals were expected to meet their quotas, no matter the hardships they were facing. During the 4th Liberty Loan drive, Benton County did meet its quota and then some, despite the apparent slackers, but that clearly did not lessen the sentiments of those who felt that there were others who could have done more to aid in purchase of liberty loans.

The diatribe on slackers had clearly been a welcome read for many of the *Courier's* subscribers, as the first article in the subsequent issue in October 1918, rehashed the "slacker" issue with the opening line: "Dyed deep in the sin of their disloyalty as yellow as the yellowist cur and as mean as the meanest brute that ever lived off the honest rights of American citizens, the SLACKERS are howling some, but who cares?"⁶⁹ However, it becomes clear when one reads the follow-up slacker article that many German-American citizens in Cole Camp had felt that they were being accused of being slackers merely because of their German descent. The *Courier* made an effort to clear up that situation with its German-American subscribers by stating:

Some protestation has been made that this publicity of the slacker is aimed at the German because this happens to be a community largely of people of German descent. Why bless your soul, don't you know that S-L-A-C-K-E-R does not spell GERMAN, neither does G-E-R-M-A-N spell D-I-S-L-O-Y-A-L-T-Y. Every fair minded man knows that there is only honor and respect for the person of German descent who does his duty to his country. . . .⁷⁰

The popularity of the slacker articles among subscribers was reinforced by the *Courier* reprinting several letters to the editor applauding the newspaper for using such strong language against those who either could not or would not purchase Liberty Loans during the 4th campaign. While the *Courier* had planned to publish the names of those

⁶⁹ "Do the Slackers Howl? A Few, but Who Cares.," *Cole Camp Courier*, October 31, 1918.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

who had purchased the Liberty Loans, the absence from the county of W.S. Jackson, chairman of Benton County's 4th Liberty Loan drive, prevented them from publishing the names before peace was declared.⁷¹

At the early stage of the United States' involvement in the war, it is clear that the German community in Cole Camp was not yet feeling the pressure to linguistically assimilate. Those pressures came in full force towards the end of the war and manifested themselves in pressures on the use of German in church services and the teaching of the language in schools. Despite these mounting pressures, Cole Camp quietly resisted.

Cole Camp's German community was predominately Lutheran with a smaller group of Methodists and Catholics. By 1900, Cole Camp had an Evangelical, sixteen Lutheran, two Catholic, and five Methodist churches within ten miles of the town.⁷² Lutheran churches held services in German, and many of the Lutheran churches also had schools where German was taught. This pairing of German worship with German schooling caused many of these churches to be suspected of being unpatriotic, and Lutheran Synods in Missouri as well as those in Iowa and Nebraska were pressuring churches to drop the use of German during religious services and to stop the teaching of German in the Lutheran schools. Although these pressures were placed on the Cole Camp Lutheran churches, they continued to have their services in German and did not conform, as other churches in the area had.

⁷¹ "Can't Get the Names of Bond Buyers Now," *Cole Camp Courier*, November 7, 1918.

⁷² Bird, 83.

Cole Camp and Concordia were linked through their religious communities, specifically with the Lutheran churches. Visiting ministers from other communities were not uncommon, as demonstrated by the *Courier's* coverage of local services at Lutheran churches.⁷³ It seems that some of the only times the Lutheran churches in Cole Camp held English services were when there was a community-wide celebration or if they hosted a guest speaker, which was open to English speakers. In these instances the use of English was more out of consideration to their guests than a means of demonstrating their patriotism.

The front cover of the April 18, 1918, issue of the *Courier* announced that the St. Paul Lutheran School and Church in Sedalia would demonstrate its patriotism by "discontinuing the use of the German language." The following edition of the *Courier* had a lengthy article on the dedication of the new St. Paul Lutheran church in Cole Camp. The issue of patriotism was strongly themed throughout the celebration and was the cover story for the newspaper. The Rev. Mueller stated that Lutheran churches needed to demonstrate their loyalty to the United States and should stop German language services and schools.⁷⁴ Mueller's speech was condensed and reprinted in the *Courier* in conjunction with the article about his visit to the area. The separation of church and state was completely disregarded in his patriotic fervor; rather, Mueller ironically attempted to use the Lutheran religion, and Martin Luther himself, as a justification for encouraging war with Germany. Mueller encouraged German-American churches to display American flags, discontinue the use of the German language in

⁷³ "Joint Reformation Festival," *Cole Camp Courier*, September 27, 1917.

⁷⁴ "Strong Plea for Patriotism," *Cole Camp Courier*, April 25, 1918.

religious services and church schools, and to purchase Liberty Loans. The Lutheran churches in Benton County took up Mueller's patriotic advice to some extent by financially demonstrating their loyalty, and, in Cole Camp alone, they purchased \$10,050 worth of Liberty Bonds,⁷⁵ an amount that would be equivalent to \$158,614.29 today.⁷⁶

Some German churches felt the need to publically proclaim their patriotism as a means to avoid suspicion. For example, the Brauersville German Lutheran Church proclaimed its loyalty to the United States government, stating, "We stand ready to defend the flag against all foreign and domestic enemies."⁷⁷ The St. Paul and Trinity Lutheran schools and churches, even while receiving pressure from Governor Gardner, the State Council of Defense, and the Rev. Mueller and despite the decisions of the Iowa and Nebraska Synods, maintained the use of German in church services and continued to teach it in the schools.⁷⁸ There was local resistance to a ban of the German language, and the *Courier* continued to cover stories of nearby communities and those around the country banning the German language. Within the same issue of the *Courier* where the St. Paul and Trinity Lutheran churches and schools stated that they would continue to use German, it was reported that the Missouri Lutheran Church's schoolhouse in Lincoln, Missouri, had fallen victim to arson. It was alleged that the school had been threatened for teaching German.⁷⁹ The arsonist was not

⁷⁵ "Lutherans of Benton County and 3rd Liberty Loan," *Cole Camp Courier*, May 23, 1918.

⁷⁶ United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistic, Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject, CPI Inflation Calculator, www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm, accessed 9/22/2015.

⁷⁷ "Adopt a Patriotic Resolution," *Cole Camp Courier*, June 6, 1918.

⁷⁸ "To Continue Use of German to Some Extent," *Cole Camp Courier*, October 10, 1918.

⁷⁹ "German School Burned," *Cole Camp Courier*, October 10, 1918.

caught. Lincoln is located only ten miles southwest of Cole Camp, and this was the second German school in Lincoln to have been burned within the year. Despite the short distance between the two communities, the St. Paul and Trinity Lutheran churches and schools announced in the same edition of the newspaper which reported the Lincoln school arson, that they would continue to hold services and teach German. One can assume that many in those two congregations had to have been concerned that some form of retribution would be doled out to them as well.

The Lutheran churches in Cole Camp were more vocal in public statements regarding the war, while the Catholic Church was able to avoid many of the pressures the Lutherans were under. Even though both the Lutheran and Catholic congregations were composed largely of German-Americans, the Lutherans had to contend with the issue of use of the German language in church while the Catholics' use of Latin in all masses, no matter the nationality of the congregants, spared them censure.⁸⁰ It is important to note that the Catholic German-Americans in the Cole Camp area did not appear to have felt the pressure in their churches on the use of a foreign language during religious services that their Lutheran counterpart encountered. The issue was clearly the use of the German language.

On at least two occasions, the Benton County Council of Defense deferred enforcing any legislation to prohibit the use of German in the county, despite the increased and repeated pressure to legislate the issue. The State Council of Defense sent the following resolution to the Benton County Council of Defense stating, "The

⁸⁰ Father Prendergast, "Sts. Peter's and Paul's Church," *Cole Camp Courier*, August 9, 1917.

Missouri Council of Defense is opposed to the use of the German language in the schools, churches, lodges and in public meetings of every character."⁸¹ The State's Council of Defense further said that the "use of English at all such gatherings is essential to the development of true, patriotic sentiment."⁸²

Despite this declaration by the State Council of Defense, the Benton County Council of Defense did not act upon it, but stated: "It should be left to the individual churches and schools to evidence their patriotism by complying with the request of the State Council of Defense and the wishes of Governor Gardner."⁸³ It is significant that the Benton County Council of Defense's announcement largely quoted the Missouri Council of Defense's stance, rather than saying it was in agreement with it. Additionally, the Benton County Council took the position of peace among the citizens and stated that true patriots would not unjustly attack others, or, as was clearly implied, German Americans. The Benton County Council of Defense's passive stance on the use of the German language promoted self-regulation, and adherence by German-American organizations to the State Council's recommendation resulted in a further appeal and more forceful pressure from the State Council of Defense. The Benton County Council of Defense, in response to the additional pressure from the State Council of Defense, issued a statement to all townships in the county to discontinue the use of German "in this county in public, in the schools and in churches and over the telephone."⁸⁴ The article made clear that this was a request, not a law, but it implied that once the

⁸¹ "Ask Discontinuance of Use of German Language," *Cole Camp Courier*, July 25, 1918.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ "Request Made that German Language [*sic*] Be Not Used," *Cole Camp Courier*, September 12, 1918.

legislature was in session, it could become a law. The announcement also states that the Lutheran churches and schools around the county had not yet taken action to discontinue the German language. At the end of the meeting, which resulted in the above statement, the chairman of the Benton County Council of Defense resigned due to "other pressing duties in connection with war work."

The change in leadership gave the impression that the chair was pushed out, possibly because of his inaction with respect to the issue of banning the German language in the county. The Benton County Council of Defense appeared to serve as a barrier between German culture in the community and the State Council of Defense by taking a passive approach toward the state and national pressures for assimilation. Benton County made it clear to those in the community that it was not responsible for the pressure to conform. Cole Campers and other German-American citizens in Benton County were beginning to feel the external pressure to assimilate, but not from officials in their communities.⁸⁵ In this particular case, the pressure was coming from the State level, as a member of the State's Council of Defense was present at the county's meeting when the firmer position regarding the discontinuation of the German language was taken.

Although Cole Camp did not ban the use of German, there were many places in the state that did. Some of these bans directly impacted the Cole Camp community as they were implemented in cities and towns that citizens frequented or where they communicated with people. The *Courier* covered many instances of these language

⁸⁵ Ibid.

bans and their effect. By May 10, 1917, *The Sedalia Journal*, a local German language newspaper, had suspended publication. The *Courier* noted that it stopped publication “due to the lack of a field for a paper published in a foreign language,” citing “patriotic reasons” for the suspending the paper.⁸⁶ When closing the publication, it proclaimed that “95 per cent of the Germans in this country are in sympathy with the aims of the United States in the war and that the citizens of German descent are as loyal as any other citizens.” This statement served as a closing defense for its subscribers as well as its publishers and employees.⁸⁷

German-language newspapers were targeted, as were some English-language newspapers in German towns. Many of these newspapers added the American flag to their title banners to demonstrate their loyalty, a practice that the *Courier* did not adopt. It became mandatory for the German presses to submit an English language translation of each issue to the postmaster and to print in the German language version of each issue, in English, that it had complied and submitted the paper for postmaster review. If the papers refused to comply, the post office would not deliver the paper. This regulation was really just symbolic, because had the paper wanted to be subversive, it could have easily done so and not included that in the English language version.

The Cole Camp Courier regularly reprinted stories from other Missouri newspapers, including those from the nearby city of Sedalia. Cole Camp was economically dependent on Sedalia, as it was the nearest large city. Therefore, news

⁸⁶ Charles Botz, “German Paper Suspends Publication,” *Cole Camp Courier*, May 10, 1917.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

which affected German-Americans was important to communicate to the community. One such article involved circulation of a petition to ban German in public places throughout Sedalia.⁸⁸ The possibility of the German language being banned in a city frequented by German-Americans from several nearby locations, including Cole Camp, was certainly newsworthy and served as the lead story of the issue. These language laws and prohibitions further isolated the German-American communities and made those who spoke only German reliant on bilingual family members and friends to conduct business for them.

Banning of the German language went from being a public issue, such as banning German on the streets, to a private one when public policies seeped into German-Americans' homes through the German language bans over the telephone. While standing in the privacy of one's home, even in a town where no language ban was in effect, one could be subject to such a ban in another town. One such instance was reported in the June 27, 1918 issue of the *Courier* for a phone call from Stover to Tipton, in which the Tipton operator interrupted the conversation in German, since the town had banned the language.⁸⁹ Two weeks later, an article announced that a Tipton citizen was charged with speaking German, though it does not state where he or she was at the time of the infraction, and that the individual was charged a \$25.00 fine for the offense.⁹⁰ By modern standards, this is equivalent to a \$3,945.63 fine.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Sedalia Democrat*, "Sedalia May Prohibit use of Garman [*sic*] Language," *Cole Camp Courier*, June 27, 1918.

⁸⁹ "German Talk Not Allowed," *Cole Camp Courier*, June 27, 1918.

⁹⁰ "Talked German; Fined \$25," *Cole Camp Courier*, July 11, 1918.

⁹¹ United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistic, Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject, CPI Inflation Calculator, www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm, accessed 9/22/2015.

Telephone operators in some towns monitored conversations, and as most houses utilized party lines, one's neighbors could easily monitor phone conversations and report to authorities if someone had violated the ordinance. Banning the German language ostracized and isolated those who spoke only German. The various news articles regarding German language bans outside of Cole Camp served as a reminder, or some might say a warning, to subscribers that a lack of a German language ban in their community did not lessen their need to be cautious when visiting or calling outside of their community, particularly noting the Cole Camp residents could be putting people in communities with language bans at risk.

As a result of Governor Gardner's anti-German Liberty Day declaration, there was an increase in cities and towns around Missouri banning the use of German. The city of Higginsville, for example, banned the use of the German language, and local schools and churches that used German were notified by the local "citizens loyalty league" that "the use of German was an indication of lack of patriotism," thereby pressuring them to discontinue its use.⁹² Some German language newspapers feared that they or their subscribers would be targeted as being un-American, and in response to these fears, the editor of the *Missouri Volksfreund*, a German language newspaper out of Jefferson City, had a safe built in the newspaper office to secure his subscription list to protect the identities of his subscribers.⁹³

The *Cole Camp Courier* served as a gauge of how the community viewed the war from its inception, through the United States' involvement, and to the end of the war.

⁹² "Higginsville Bars German," *Cole Camp Courier*, July 18, 1918.

⁹³ "Hides Subscription Books," *Cole Camp Courier*, September 12, 1918.

From the state of the war in Europe, the *Courier* demonstrated a surprising degree of diplomatic coverage of the war with news stories from both sides of the war. However, despite the joint news coverage, numerous articles expounded German pride or excused German war atrocities, such as unrestricted submarine warfare.

As more pressure built for the United States to join the war, it became clear that Cole Camp wanted America to remain neutral. The pressure for U.S. neutrality continued up to the last issue of the *Courier* before America declared war on Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By the first war issue of the *Courier*, it was clear that Cole Camp was not celebrating the news. There were no grand banners declaring that the U.S. was at war. It was more an acceptance of or even resignation to the fact that German-Americans were in a conflict between their Fatherland and their adopted Motherland. The ambiguity of war coverage continued until the dramatic tone shift as a result of Governor Gardner's Liberty Day speech in 1918 around the time of the Third Liberty Loan campaign.

There were accusations of disloyalty against some of those in the Cole Camp area, specifically Henry Eickhoff and Julius Polster; there were even a few instances of violence in Lutheran churches, school arson in Lincoln, and the attack on Lewis Balke by the Dillon gang, but most of the anti-German war coverage came from stories about other cities and towns in Missouri and those outside of the state. Sedalia, the nearest sizable city to Cole Camp, posed the greatest obstacle to its German-American citizens by its anti-German rhetoric, which also increased in response to Governor Gardner's position. Since much of the anti-German sentiment reached Cole Camp within the last

few months of the war, it did not take hold as it had in some communities. Cole Camp still prides itself on its German heritage and the lasting effects of anti-German sentiment as a result of the First World War seem to have been minimal.

CHAPTER 3
THE HERMANN ADVERTISER-COURIER (1912-1919)

Hermann, Missouri, was started as a German settlement specifically to recreate German heritage and culture west of the Mississippi River. This resettlement project, started by Pennsylvania's German Society for Resettlement, resulted in the scouting and founding of the community by 1837. Many of the early settlers were educated or skilled in trades, such as viniculture or printing. The strong German linkages helped the community to grow, but they became a divisive issue once war was declared in Europe and, eventually, in America.

Hermann's *Advertiser-Courier* newspaper did nothing to hide its pro-German and Austro-Hungarian bias in the early stages of the war in Europe. There were also several scathing remarks about President Woodrow Wilson and those who attacked or criticized Americans of German descent and the Allied powers, specifically England printed in the paper. By the time the US declared war on Germany and the Central Powers, the *Advertiser-Courier* had not left itself much, if any, room to take a neutral or pro-American stance in the war. It aligned itself with the Central Powers to such an extreme that once American involvement began, it was not able to make a clean swing over to the patriotic sector of the media, or at the very least, not a convincing one in the way of pro-Anglo America.

In 1914, there was still a strong sense of German identity; in Hermann and surrounding German communities people were proud of their heritage, as demonstrated

with the German Day Celebration in nearby Morrison. The celebration honored Morrison's German and German-American veterans with a parade in "real uniform" with German and American "colors" being displayed. Funds at the event were raised for the German Red Cross Society. Although the article did not mention how much was raised, it did say that "an appreciable sum has been raised . . . for this noble cause."⁹⁴ The Hermann community held additional fundraisers for the German Red Cross through activities in local women's clubs, organizations which are a common element in German society. In one particular article, American patriotism was used as a means of encouraging fundraising for the German Red Cross, comparing the patriotic efforts of American women during the Revolutionary War to those of German-American women aiding "those whose blood is kin to that of the men" fighting for Germany.⁹⁵ These fundraising efforts for the German Red Cross resulted in Hermann and surrounding communities contributing to the cause.⁹⁶

The news story implies and celebrates German aggression toward the Allied countries. This article, in particular, personifies the duality of Hermann's identity and loyalty to its heritage and its chosen homeland. While it may seem odd today to show patriotism for two lands, it was not seen as in conflict by German-Americans at the time. To them, picking a side was comparable to a child having to pick between parents. To choose made them patriots to one and traitors to the other. It was a no win situation for many German-Americans. As long as the United States remained neutral, German-Americans were able to maintain their dual status without any

⁹⁴ "German Day Celebration at Morrison," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, September 30, 1914.

⁹⁵ "German Red Cross Fund Still Growing," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, November 4, 1914.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

perceived conflict. This was one of the reasons that so many of the appeals in the papers did not support the United States entering the war on the side of the Central Powers, but rather that the United States stay out of the war altogether and promote peace. The American Aid Committee of Vienna, Austria, published an article in the *Advertiser-Courier* appealing to the people of Hermann for aid for their wounded soldiers. Funds for this cause were sent to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Washington, D.C.⁹⁷

The *Advertiser-Courier* ran an article from *The Christian Endeavor World* which opposed the notion that the warring European countries needed to continue the fight until one side had finally and clearly defeated the other. The most interesting aspect of its argument counter to a decisive victory was an eerie foreshadowing of future events:

It is freely said that if Germany conquers, all Europe will be an armed camp until the Allies can "lay the German spectre." Why is it not equally true that, if the Allies conquer, Germany will increase its armaments and plan for a day of revenge, thus forcing Europe to remain in readiness for another explosion!⁹⁸

Clearly, the authors did not feel that this war would be the "War to End All Wars," but merely a catalyst for a future conflict that would attempt to right the result of the Great War, whoever the victor. Sadly, they were proven right.

The *Advertiser-Courier* regularly used history as a justification for its continued loyalty to their Fatherland. The fact that America had never gone to war with Germany while the United States had fought for independence from Britain was regularly brought up in articles as a justification for sympathy with the Central Powers cause. British propagandists were quick to rewrite history to fit their needs, as was seen in many

⁹⁷ "Appeal for Aid," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, December 8, 1914.

⁹⁸ "Time For Peace," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, December 2, 1914.

posters, including one entitled "Joan of Arc Saved France: Women of England Save Your Country." The British failed to mention whom Joan of Arc was saving France from or who was responsible for Joan's death. The rewriting of history and the blatant omission of details that did not serve the immediate purpose were challenges that German-Americans and the *Advertiser-Courier* attempted to overcome at the local level.

Although the United States was a neutral country, it did not take long for the presses to pick sides, and the *Advertiser-Courier* was no different. By the end of 1914 and in early 1915, the paper was already heavily in defense of Germany and the Central Powers and countered anti-German articles that were published by English language presses. For example, "Unwarranted: The Anti-German Attitude of the American Press," counters the bias of the "majority press," or the Anglo-American press which was anti-German.⁹⁹ The article points to a history of German progressiveness and diplomacy in an attempt to discredit the perceived hostility of Germany at the time. Also, the article reiterates that Germany had never previously been an enemy of the United States. This theme is also seen in the following week's article, "The Case of Germany,"¹⁰⁰ and the following month in "The Truth About the Germans," which was a rebuttal to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's article, "A Policy of Murder: How Prussia has degraded the Standard of Modern Warfare."¹⁰¹ The *Advertiser-Courier* was clearly at war with the Allied propaganda machine well before the US became involved in the war. The Hermann paper took a more intellectual approach to its support of the German

⁹⁹ "Unwarranted: The Anti-German Attitude of the American Press," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, December 9, 1914.

¹⁰⁰ "The Case of Germany," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, December 16, 1914.

¹⁰¹ James O'Donnell Bennett, "The Truth About the Germans," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, January 27, 1915.

cause than did the *Cole Camp Courier* or the *Concordian* by using history and literature to make its case.

Besides being on the defensive, the *Advertiser-Courier* was also on the offensive and published many hostile propaganda pieces against the Allied forces, particularly the British, and even against President Wilson. One of these articles was the "Prayer of English: Applicably Revised To Meet Johnny Bull's Desires," which was said to have been "submitted as suggestions for a British Lord's Prayer" by Herman Ridder from Ellinwood, Kansas and was over nine hundred words long.¹⁰² Ridder accuses the British of creating orphans and betraying their "white" brothers: "Bless the United States . . . and for the \$400,000,000 worth of ammunition and war supplies they are sending over for British gold, to make more orphans . . . that by feeding us they are helping the Cossacks, Hindus, Algerians and Japanese destroy white Germany, and may they be willing to turn traitor to their white brothers."¹⁰³ This diatribe immediately used racism as a means to create division between the US readers and the Allies. This bizarre "prayer" was meant to be sarcastic, but it clearly accused the United States of essentially aiding and abetting Great Britain. Later in the "prayer" the United States and United Kingdom alliance morphs into the British threatening the Americans. It is not uncommon for propaganda pieces to possess hypocrisies, as they tried to convince people in as many ways as possible that the opposition was dangerous for various reasons. Logic was not an ally of the propaganda machine.

¹⁰² "Prayer of English: Applicably Revised To Meet Johnny Bull's Desires," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 3, 1915.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

America's neutrality further came into play in the news, when the *Advertiser-Courier* reported in the February 10, 1915, edition that the *Lusitania* was ordered by the British Admiralty to fly the U.S. flag to protect the ship and its cargo.¹⁰⁴ This order caused some controversy as it was implied that as long as there were American passengers on board, there was no objection to using the American flag. The United States was, however, protesting the use of its flag on foreign vessels as a means of protection. The act of displaying neutral countries' flags as a means of protecting vessels led to unrestricted submarine warfare and the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915. The tragedy was heavily covered by all papers, including those in German-American communities. It was the first factually negative story about Germany they simply could not ignore. The *Advertiser-Courier* reprinted the US Secretary of State's letter to Germany in response to the German sinking of the *Lusitania* and the deaths of over one hundred Americans on board. The letter mentions several other transgressions against British and American vessels by Germany that also led to American deaths and pointed to a pattern of hostility toward passenger vessels, condemning those acts and reminding Germany that it had no right to impede the movements or commerce of neutral nations.¹⁰⁵

An article from the *Westliche Post* was reprinted in the June 9, 1915, edition of the *Advertiser-Courier*. The article originated in the *Kopenhogener Extrabladet*, reputed to be "usually not friendly to Germany." It questioned why the sinking of the *Lusitania* was so offensive compared to everything else that had happened in the war. It goes

¹⁰⁴ "Lusitania Ordered to Fly U.S. Flag." *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 10, 1915.

¹⁰⁵ "American Note to Germany," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 19, 1915.

on to argue that Germany had warned the passengers of what would happen to belligerent vessels, and passes the blame back on to those on board. The article ends, "The whole business concerns neutral nations not in the least," arguing it was a ship of a warring nation, which was responsible for any neutral nationals, and that the loss of those lives, was not a direct attack on a neutral nation, but on the belligerent nation, as a vessel is equivalent to soils.¹⁰⁶ Clearly, this argument was considered to have some merit as it was reprinted in numerous papers, both English and German.

Up to spring of 1915, there was no clear political attack on German-Americans at the local level. The debate was really focused on nations, not people. That all changed with President Wilson's address to the Manhattan Club on November 5, 1915. Large portions of his address were reprinted in the *Advertiser-Courier*. Wilson proposed increases in the standing army through enlistments, which would lead to a trained citizenry with three years of active service followed by three years furlough. These soldiers would be in addition to the National Guard. Wilson also advocated building up the other branches of service as well. In view of what was occurring with the unrestricted submarine warfare and in the trenches in Europe, the building up of the armed services is not a particularly surprising step. The surprise came in his attack on the "hyphenates." The header for this section of Wilson's speech is "Hits at the Hyphenates." Wilson stated:

The only thing within our own borders that has given us grave concern in recent months has been that voices have been raised in America professing to be the voices of Americans which were not indeed and in truth American, but which spoke alien sympathies, which came from men who loved other countries better

¹⁰⁶ "Opinion of A Neutral," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, June 9, 1915.

than they loved America, men who were partisans of other causes than that of America and had forgotten that their chief and only allegiance was to the great government under which they live. These voices have not been many, but they have been very loud and very clamorous. They have proceeded from a few who were bitter and who were grievously misled. America has not opened its doors in vain to men and women out of other nations.¹⁰⁷

While Wilson did not directly point to Germany or those of German descent, it was clear that was whom he was referring to, particularly in light of Wilson's known preference toward England. In contrast, in the very next column, almost as a counter to Wilson's speech, the story "British Methods are Indefensible" has excerpts from Secretary of State Robert Lansing's letter to London regarding British blockades and the United States' stance that these were illegal and the search and seizure of vessels was a violation of America's neutrality.¹⁰⁸

As the war progressed in Europe, a sharp contrast in the number of immigrants, to the United States, including Missouri was noticeable. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "During the months of July, August and September, 1915, only 372 alien men, women and children entered seaports of the United States with Missouri as their direct destination" which "means an average influx of 124 each month, compared to an average monthly arrival of about 1,100 immigrants during the ten years preceding July 1, 1915."¹⁰⁹ This demonstrates a significant number of recent immigrants who had strong ties to their native lands and whose close family and friends had been in the conflict. Despite the statements by President Wilson regarding hyphenated Americans, the Hermann newspaper did not seem fazed. It continued to advocate for German

¹⁰⁷ "We Must Prepare Says President," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, November 10, 1915.

¹⁰⁸ "British Methods Are Indefensible." *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, November 10, 1915.

¹⁰⁹ "Immigration Falls to Nearly Nothing," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, November 24, 1915.

victory, including the "success of the present triple alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungry and Turkey" which would "make a decided change in the status quo of central Europe."¹¹⁰ As far as the *Advertiser-Courier* was concerned, it seemed as though the Central Powers were destined for success.

There was often a sense of mixed allegiance in the *Advertiser-Courier*; the cover page of the February 2, 1916, issue, for example, included an article on the county teachers' meeting in Owensville which opened with the singing of "America,"¹¹¹ ("My Country, 'Tis of Thee"), ironically set to the tune of the English national anthem, "God Save the King." In the next column, serving as a humorous political space filler, was this statement: "The vicious circle of the Wilsonian method of dealing with foreign affairs seems to be like this: Torpedo; note; 'grave crisis;' excuses; 'diplomatic victory.' And so on, ad infinitum [*sic*] ad nauseam."¹¹² While this was pre-war for the United States, many German-Americans in Missouri already felt that they were at war; at the very least, they were in opposition of Wilson.

The *Advertiser-Courier* printed the full remarks of US Congressional Representative, Dawson Shackelford, from Missouri's eighth congressional district, who defended German-Americans and their rights, as any other ethnic group or as "hyphenated Americans," in the House of Representatives on January 10, 1916, after they were attacked by a Massachusetts congressman. Ironically, in his speech before

¹¹⁰ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, December 29, 1915.

¹¹¹ Teachers Had Interesting Meeting at Owensville January 29," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 2, 1916.

¹¹² " *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 2, 1916.

Congress, Shackleford called out Wilson for a speech the President had made about his hyphenated American heritage:

Who is not proud of hyphenated Americans? . . . Why does the tory utter with hissing hatred the term German-American? Of all of the hyphenated Americans, who has been more industrious, honest, law abiding or patriotic than the German-American? . . . When the Civil War broke upon us the German-American was in the forefront of the contest battling for the Union Out in my State we give our daughters in marriage to German-American sons and take the daughters of German-Americans in marriage to our sons. We join our fortunes with theirs and with pride and affection we mingle our blood with theirs. Why should they be the victims of so much calumny here now? . . . I am an Anglo-American. Every drop of blood that courses through my veins [sic] came from England. But, Mr. Speaker, I am constrained to say that no nobler civilization ever blessed the world than the German. God bless the German-American.¹¹³

Congressman Shackleford was surprisingly vocal about his egalitarian views on all immigrant groups in America, even pointing to President Wilson's self-declaration of his hyphenated Scots-Irish-American status. Shackleford defended the sympathy that many German-Americans felt for their Fatherland as natural. He further defended it as in no way un-American or disloyal, since the United States was not at war. By defending his constituents, Shackleford earned praise in German-American communities in Missouri.

Patriotism became a recurring theme in the newspapers by late 1915. These stories tended to summarize and propagandize the American Revolutionary War and the more recent American Civil War. The interesting aspect of this is that both sides, pro-hyphenate/antiwar vs. anti-hyphenate/pro-war, used these events in American history to justify their respective causes. One such article in the *Advertiser-Courier* on March 8, 1916, was titled simply, "Patriotism." After citing several heroic American victories,

¹¹³ "A Strong Defense of the Hyphen," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 16, 1916.

author Lyman Abbott summed up his case: "He who looks with pride upon his history which his fathers have written by their heroic deeds, who accepts with gratitude his inheritance which they have bequeathed to him, and who highly resolves to preserve this inheritance unimpaired and to pass it enriched, is a true American."¹¹⁴ Abbott felt that heritage should be celebrated, not shamed.

The hostility toward German-Americans in 1916 is apparent in numerous new stories in the *Advertiser-Courier*. While some hostile acts were at the government level, several were even at the corporate level. One of these was seen with the Packard Motor Car Company which "evolved a plan to abolish the 'hyphen' from its plant. Promotion will be limited to native born or naturalized citizens of the United States, and while no discrimination is to be made against foreign workmen and now at work, a purpose to acquire citizenship will be a prerequisite to employment."¹¹⁵ The Vim Motor Truck Company, Henry Disston & Co., and John B. Stetson Company also planned to implement similar policies regarding immigrant workers. The article goes on to address the perceived double-standard among "hyphenates" of Allied countries and those of the Central countries:

If it is proper for an American citizen of French birth to hate and oppose and discriminate against an American citizen of German or Austrian birth in business, in politics and in society, for that reason, it is also proper for an American citizen of German or Austrian birth to hate and oppose and discriminate against American citizens of French, British or Russian birth . . . if the fact of birth and former citizenship . . . is going to make us hate and oppose each other, the rule will work both ways and he who gives opposition on this account will have to expect it in return.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Lyman Abbott, "Patriotism," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, March 8, 1916.

¹¹⁵ "Wil Hurt Everybody," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, March 8, 1916.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Clearly, the point was that when people from all over the world have come to America for the same political, religious and economic reasons, they should not fight amongst themselves, since they have the same goals in mind. Therefore, to attack one ethnic group, would only lead that group to hate the opposition and that will affect everyone.

Evidence of anti-Wilson sentiment increased in the *Advertiser-Courier* the closer to the presidential election the United States came. There were regular pointed short pieces which attacked Wilson and accused him of not being focused on his job, but rather golfing while the *Lusitania* sank as well as excessively attending the theatre and going on cruises while Pancho Villa was being hunted.¹¹⁷ These were just the first of several jabs in the March 29, 1916 edition of the *Advertiser-Courier* newspaper. One blurb said, "Another ship sank in the English Channel—London reports American lives were lost—time for Wilson to prepare an essay and hysterically to proclaim a crisis."¹¹⁸ There is a clear implication that the United States should not get involved in the conflict and that Wilson was prone to overreacting, by making every incident a conflict with America. The anti-Wilson stance was not concealed. A newspaper article reprinted from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported, "Every vote cast against Woodrow Wilson in the November election will be a vote for Germany, no matter who casts that vote." *The Censor* a paper also published in St. Louis and reprinted in the *Advertiser-Courier*, condemned the *Post-Dispatch's* claim: "Would you ever believe that a newspaper that lays any claim at all to neutrality would have published such a statement? To re-elect Wilson the [*Post-Dispatch*] is willing to resort to the most abominable un-American

¹¹⁷ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, March 29, 1916.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

methods. Such un-American journalism is dangerous and should not be tolerated; is [sic] should be suppressed."¹¹⁹

The hostility from some nearby presses in St. Louis, such as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *St. Louis Republic*, towards German-Americans resulted in the *Advertiser-Courier* taking a defensive stance. This was just one instance of the Hermann paper digging in its heels and clearly siding with the hyphenate community. The *Advertiser-Courier* did not restrict its opinions to local news coverage. For example, it reported about a San Francisco paper calling the German Relief Bazaar held there un-American, but labeling fundraising for Belgium "true Christian spirit and above all else humane."¹²⁰ Another example was calling out Americans who joined Canadian forces to fight, particularly as these individuals carried the American flag with them.¹²¹ The paper never hesitated to call out any perceived hypocrisy.

The push for patriotic fervor was in full force in 1916. One week prior to the first Flag Day, which made June 14 as the official day of celebration, President Wilson issued a proclamation for all communities to demonstrate their patriotism on this new national holiday:

I . . . request that throughout the nation and, if possible, in every community the fourteenth day of June be observed as Flag Day with special patriotic exercises, at which means shall be taken to give significant expression to our thoughtful love of America, our comprehension of the great mission of liberty and justice to which we have devoted ourselves as a people, our pride in the history and enthusiasm for the political program of the nation. . . .¹²²

¹¹⁹ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 10, 1916.

¹²⁰ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 31, 1916.

¹²¹ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 31, 1916.

¹²² "June 14 Is the Day For All American to Honor the Flag," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, June 14, 1916.

The irony of this proclamation came in the following issue of the *Advertiser-Courier*, which featured the flag, and a lovely poem to it, front and center along with the announcement that the Missouri German-American Alliance's 10th annual meeting was to be convened in Hermann. The community was selected for this honor because of its similarity to actual German towns and because the "people are proud of their German descent, where the city council keeps its minutes in the German language and where as the Kansas City Times once stated, 'even the dogs bark in German.'"¹²³ These reasons were all considered badges of pride for Hermannites.

The German-American Alliance meeting created quite a bit of excitement in Hermann. Each edition of the paper included planning details of the events and advised citizens to "Get your German and American Flags Ready."¹²⁴ With the lead up to the German-American Alliance meeting the community appears to have felt validated in its pro-German stance. One poem, "Our Mail," was printed to express, in mild terms, many people's frustrations with their government's hostility toward Germany and German-Americans:

Dear Uncle Sam, the Germans now
Have heeded your request,
They stopped the deadly submarine
When it was at its best.

They wanted peace at any price,
They wanted peace with you;
But tell us now, in heaven's name,
What you intend to do.

¹²³ "State Organization of the German-American Alliance," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, June 14, 1916.

¹²⁴ "Local Branch German-American Alliance Prepares to Entertain Big State Convention," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, June 21, 1916.

Your answer to the British lords
 Has seemed of no avail,
 And thousands in your dear old land
 Would like their stolen mail.¹²⁵

Because of a blockade by England, mail was not received or sent between the US and Germany. Clearly, as this poem demonstrates, the community was becoming frustrated by the communication barricade which became a recurring grievance in the paper. They also stated their frustration with President Wilson for not stopping the British blockade.

When Italy declared war on Germany, it was quickly condemned by the *Advertiser-Courier*: "To all appearances the dagoes have bitten off more than they could chew when they declared war on Austria-Hungary. No doubt the ancient ruins have ceased to interest modern tourists or are crumbling to dust and the Italian government declares war on Germany for friendly services on the part of Germany to create more modern ruins."¹²⁶ It is ironic that the *Advertiser-Courier* would use a derogatory term such as "dagoes" in reference to Italians, when the Germans were also being disparagingly called "Huns." As was often the case, the Hermann paper complained about these same grievances that they were also guilty of committing.

The *Advertiser-Courier* also did not mince words when declaring its political stance in the 1916 election. The *Advertiser-Courier* was avidly in support of the Republican ticket from the local and state elections, straight through to the presidential ticket. The paper was opposed to Wilson for being sympathetic to England, as well as for his inaction with Pancho Vila. They wanted America to get involved in the conflict,

¹²⁵ The German-American Alliance, "Our Mail," *Herman-Advertiser-Courier*, July 12, 1916.

¹²⁶ "Italy has declared war on Germany," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, August 30, 1916.

but on the side of the Central Powers. Even with the US as a neutral country, German-Americans felt they were under attack. The English blockade did not affect just the mail, but also US commerce with northern Europe and Scandinavia. Additionally, England was seizing American ships that were "owned in part by parties with German names."¹²⁷ Wilson's inaction in the face of these violations was considered a weakness. News that was negative with respect to German aggression was regularly turned around to blame the victims for the circumstances that they found themselves in. This was the case with Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare, specifically in relation to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which was blamed on Wilson's "inaction" or preference toward England.¹²⁸

While the anti-Wilson articles were interspersed with the German-American Alliance news, the priority was clearly placed on the celebration of German culture:

Thousands of people will meet here in this American Rhine city to feast, to hear German addresses by the best German speakers of the state, to sing the songs of the old Vaterland, to see and take part in the mammoth parade and to enjoy real German music. They come to meet with brother Americans, who pride themselves in being descended from a race now so gallantly fighting for right and justice; who are proud that their forefathers once fought under the black, white and red, but who love and are loyal to none but the stars and stripes.¹²⁹

The event was a success, with praise in the following week's edition of the *Advertiser-Courier* for the German Day Celebration, claiming that at least ten thousand people attended the festivities. Hermann "presented a decidedly patriotic appearance.

Welcome arches in German and American colors spanned the streets and the red,

¹²⁷ "Are Our Rights Maintained," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, August 30, 1916.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ "Missouri German Day Celebration Sunday, September 24," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, 9/20/1916.

white, and blue and black, white, and red decorated every business and dwelling. But though it was German Day, the stars and stripes were everywhere given the place of prominence."¹³⁰ Effort was made during these events to demonstrate the community's American patriotism while simultaneously celebrating their heritage with several patriotic speakers.¹³¹ The community was clearly aware of the delicate situation it was in. The German-American Alliance issued the following resolutions as a result of its September 25, 1916, meeting in Hermann:

1. We again enter our protest against the exporting of munitions of war, this protest on grounds of humanity and observing a strict neutrality.
2. We believe in regulating all difficulties between capital and labor through arbitration committees. We endorse the workmen's compensation law and the conservation of all natural resources.
3. We believe in a cable that is not subject to the pleasure or displeasure of any nation whatsoever.
4. Our motto as has been repeatedly proved throughout our transactions and in the history of Americans of German descent, is "American first and above all, then Germany."
5. We condemn the curtailing of American trade with neutral nations, interference with aid to the International Red Cross, the tampering with American mail and the proclamation of the so-called American "blacklist."
6. We stand for strict neutrality towards all of the warring nations and condemn any attitude that leans toward a violation of such neutrality.
7. We above all things take a decided stand against those newspapers which in the interest of a foreign country and under the protection and patronage of politicians seek to make our country an English colony. These newspapers and their patrons we declare traitors to our beloved America.
8. We declare anew that we do not approve of the prohibition propaganda and that we stand for personal liberty.¹³²

While most of the grievances that the organization addressed were related to the war and America's not so neutral role in it, domestic issues regarding labor rights and

¹³⁰ "Fully Ten Thousand People Attend Missouri German Day at Hermann," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, September 27, 1916.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² "German-American Alliance Closes Business Session Monday Evening," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, September 27, 1916.

temperance were also addressed. The committee clearly felt that the US needed to remain neutral not just in the military sense but also financially neutral. Despite the positive and pacifist nature of this celebration, it did not escape some anti-German hostility. The *Advertiser-Courier* reported that "someone, possessing no sense of property rights and inflated with a lamentable conception of patriotism, went about under the cover of night" and painted on public and private property using red, white and blue.¹³³ The *Advertiser-Courier* essentially called this individual a coward and "un-American."

The *Advertiser-Courier* was not apolitical as it avidly promoted Republican politicians, not only in Missouri but also at the national level. This was clearly demonstrated, not only in its repeated criticism of Wilson's policies but also in a precursor to the *Chicago Tribune's* "Dewey Defeats Truman" moment with the "Chas. E. Hughes Elected President" headline on the November 8, 1916, edition. An update, rather than a correction, was printed on page six of the February 21, 1917, issue announcing with subtitle, "Congress Decides That He Beats Hughes," the "He" being Wilson.¹³⁴ The reelection of President Wilson was not news that was celebrated in Hermann.

In January 1917, the *Advertiser-Courier* printed letters from both of Missouri's US Senators, William Stone and James A. Reed, who advocated for peace. There were numerous articles like this in Hermann, pushing for neutrality. Simultaneously, there were articles accusing England of continuing the aggression by impeding peace.

¹³³ "And You Would Bite the Hand That's Feeding You," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, September, 27, 1916.

¹³⁴ "Wilson Declared Elected," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 21, 1917.

Several small snippets also belittle the Allies and their leaders: "London is said to have experienced the thickest fog that was seen there in recent years. Possibly Lloyd George's speech contributed to befog their vision."¹³⁵ Statements like these appear throughout the paper with subtle and often not so subtle articles belittling or dismissing the opposition. These barbs were not just for the Allies as anyone who spoke up against Germany was likely to be criticized, as was the case with former President Theodore Roosevelt: "Roosevelt saw a chance to get his name before the people and so he publicly offered the nation the service of himself and his sons in case of war with Germany. The real hero gives his services when needed and does not make a big noise before doing so."¹³⁶

One month before the US declared war on Germany the Hermann newspaper reported William Grabenstein of Wellsville had been arrested by a US Deputy Marshal for making disloyal remarks, allegedly stating to a Red Cross worker asking for donations, that "he would not help with the prosecution of the war against Germany, where he had friends."¹³⁷ Of the three communities and their papers, this was the first account of an arrest being made for disloyalty and the only one that occurred prior to the start of the war. Within the paper, there was not much fanfare or acknowledgement of Congress' official declaration of war by Congress. It appears that there was a degree of resignation by Hermannites that America was at war. The April issues contained informative factoids for the community, including American flag etiquette. It seemed as if the news was in a holding pattern waiting for more information before reacting and

¹³⁵ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, January 3, 1917.

¹³⁶ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 7, 1917.

¹³⁷ "News From Other Counties," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, March 6, 1917.

reporting on further war coverage. Given how adamantly opposed to war against Germany the *Advertiser-Courier* and Hermannites were, the stagnation in world and national news at the start of the war is logical. It was almost impossible for the paper to do an about-face at this point after having had such a strong opposition to Wilson and the US's involvement in the war. The reporting took a passive voice and avoided the stronger political and opinioned stances that were seen prior to the declaration of war.

The virtues of farming for the war effort were stated in late May 1917: "The farmers who stay at home and raise 'bumper crops' are rendered equally as patriotic service as those who 'go down in battle.'"¹³⁸ This pacifist trend of German-Americans in the Hermann area was confirmed with a declaration that "in the view of many patriots who would rather serve their country on the farms than on the field of battle, harvest hands will be more than plentiful this year."¹³⁹ Through farming, a pacifist or objector was able to work around the draft system to get a deferment. The German inheritance structure resulted, in some instances, in the early division of family farms, enabling male children to inherit farm land early and, therefore, qualifying them for exemption status in the draft.

The *Advertiser-Courier* quickly became an instruction manual for the community explaining the whos, whats and hows of the war. Articles explained liberty loans and how they worked, flag etiquette, what the draft was, what questions would be asked of potential draftees, and what information they would need to provide. In May 1917,

¹³⁸ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 23, 1917.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

August Heidbreder, a German born man and farmer from Bland, Missouri, in Gasconade County, was arrested by a US Secret Service agent for threatening President Wilson by stating, "President Wilson ought to be put in the mouth of a cannon and shot out. If anyone would put him in I would shoot him as far into the ocean as he would go."¹⁴⁰ After he was advised that those types of statements could get him into trouble, he stated, "Let them arrest me. If they do I will give them the damnedest lawsuit they ever had."¹⁴¹ The maximum penalty for making threats against the president was a \$1,000 fine or up to five years in prison; however, after being tried in federal court, Heidbreder was fined \$100 and court costs.¹⁴²

The Hermann paper became defensive when early accusations of disloyalty threatened a neighboring town, Washington, Missouri, arguing that patriotism can be subtle and does not need to be overt. By the end of the first draft registration on June 5, 1917, Gasconade County had successfully registered all men aged between 21-31 years. The *Advertiser-Courier* proudly proclaimed that the county, "whose citizens are practically all of German ancestry, has again proved that her citizens are the flower of loyal American citizenship."¹⁴³ By June 1917, the tone of the paper had changed toward a more patriotic American leaning. It is not clear if external factors, such as the arrest of August Heidbreder and the accusations against neighboring Washington, Missouri, had triggered this change or if there were other factors. Sheet music and lyrics for "America" and other patriotic songs were printed in the paper along with

¹⁴⁰ "Missourian Held on Charge of Threatening President," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 30, 1917.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² "Aug. Heidbreder Fined \$100," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, June 27, 1917.

¹⁴³ "Not One 'Slacker' in County," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 30, 1917.

stories honoring patriotic historical figures from the American Revolution, including Martha Washington.¹⁴⁴

Missouri's German-American Alliance had its annual meeting in Washington, Missouri, on September 9, 1917, and adopted a resolution "declaring for firm allegiance to the constitution of the United States and staunch loyalty to the Stars and Stripes."¹⁴⁵ The editor and publisher of the *Republican Headlight* in Union, Missouri, roughly thirty-five miles southeast of Hermann, was arrested under the espionage act for printing an editorial that the government said was "an attempt to cause disloyalty of the military forces." If he had been found guilty, he could have faced up to twenty years in prison.¹⁴⁶ Steinbeck, however, posted a \$1,000 bond and stated that his son was in the army, his father was a Union Civil War veteran, and his family had been US citizens since 1837.

Jos. Ponzar's coworkers in De Soto took such offense at some of his comments regarding the purchasing of Liberty Bonds that they "baptized" him in a nearby creek and forced him to wear the flag or make other patriotic demonstrations. The following day he purchased a Liberty Bond.¹⁴⁷ Not only did Ponzar's story serve as another instance of public shame reported in the *Advertiser-Courier*, but it also served as a warning for other German-Americans that free speech was not an option in public. By late 1917 the *Advertiser-Courier* ran the "Weekly War News Digest" section on the front page of the newspaper.

¹⁴⁴ "America," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, June 27, 1917.

¹⁴⁵ "German-American Alliance Met at Washington, MO," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, September 12, 1917.

¹⁴⁶ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, October 24, 1917.

¹⁴⁷ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, October 31, 1917.

Continuing to provide German-Americans in the county with instructive advice, the *Advertiser-Courier* guided many German immigrants through the changing laws regarding alien nationals in the area whether they had started the naturalization process before the war or not. Instructions were also provided for the mandatory registration of enemy aliens. After the initial push for alien registration, which included only men, the paper reported that only sixteen men in the area had not completed US naturalization and of those, only six resided in Hermann.¹⁴⁸ These individuals' names were withheld, but their ages and number of years in the United States and the Hermann area were printed. Alien enemy women, defined as fourteen years of age and older, were not required to register until June 1918. Once again, the newspaper guided these women through the process of registering with the government. Women who were natural born citizens of the United States or who had naturalized citizenship and who were at that time married to German citizens, were considered alien enemies in their own homeland. If these women were widowed or divorced from German citizen husbands, they regained their American citizenship.¹⁴⁹ Likewise, if a German citizen or widow married an American man prior to April 6, 1917, she gained American citizenship for herself and any of her "foreign-born minor children."¹⁵⁰ By the end of the mandatory female registration, eighteen women were on file and of these fourteen were native born Americans who had married German citizens.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ "Registration of Alien Enemies," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, February 13, 1918.

¹⁴⁹ "Registration of German Alien Females," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, June 5, 1918.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ "Eighteen German Females Register at Hermann," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, July 3, 1918.

Many of the draft registrants appealed their classification claiming exemption as farmers for having married after the May 18, 1917, cutoff date. The *Advertiser-Courier* printed the names of all individuals who had filed appeals for deferments. While this could seem to many as the printing of draft dodgers' names, this does not appear to have been the tone or reason for publication. Perhaps this was done instead to protect those individuals from censure for being seen in town and not having already taken the uniform.

By April 1918, there was a clear push towards the purchase of Liberty Loans, in its Third Campaign, and War Saving Stamps. This is also seen in Cole Camp as the result of Governor Gardner's Liberty Day speech. Full page ads were taken out to encourage citizens to purchase their patriotism. The ads focused mostly on patriotic duty rather than fear mongering or insulting the Germans, as can be seen in much of the World War I propaganda. However, there was an ad in late April 1918 claiming German war crimes, including the slaughter of women and children in a Belgian church during Good Friday services.¹⁵² This was one of the few anti-German propaganda pieces printed in the Hermann paper.

The Third Liberty Loan campaign was clearly successful and Gasconade County and the city of Hermann exceeded their quota and were awarded an honor flag not only for the county but for each city and town in the county.¹⁵³ From all appearances, Hermann did not have trouble raising funds for the war effort, unlike other German

¹⁵² "Easter Eggs From Germany," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, April 24, 1918.

¹⁵³ "Gasconade County 'Over the Top'", *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, May 8, 1918.

communities. Hermann seems to have been able to purchase its patriotism as far as non-Germans viewed them:

There crops up now and then evidence that some people in this country regard a German name evidence of disloyalty. A man in Montana writes to us that he is dismayed to find nearly all the Government posters in his town bearing the mark of firms that to him "sound German." We have had other letters of similar import. In each case the writer seems to think "something ought to be done about it," We think something ought to be done about people who feel this way.¹⁵⁴

The article goes on to advise these individuals who are offended by German sounding names to look at the US Army casualties list and that one cannot judge people's character by a last name. The defensive stance that Hermann took was bold in light of the hostility that existed in other parts of the state and among state officials.

By the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, in October 1918, the propaganda became more inflammatory against Germany, with a focus against the Kaiser, rather than the German people. The October 16, 1918, issue, for example, definitely demonstrated the priorities of the community. Anheuser-Busch had a full page announcement that, in accordance with the President's orders, it was going to suspend production of beverages on December 1, 1918, and convert the plant to aid in the war effort.¹⁵⁵ The other news in that issue was to explain that the gunfire and church bells between midnight and 1:30 A.M. the prior Sunday were in celebration of Germany accepting the terms for peace.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ "Americans of German Blood," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, reprinted editorial from *Collier's* (May 1918), June 12, 1918.

¹⁵⁵ "Announcement by Anheuser-Busch," *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, October 16, 1918.

¹⁵⁶ *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, October 16, 1918.

The news of the official end of the war in the November 13, 1918, issue was marred by several death announcements as a result of the influenza epidemic striking Hermann. The article on the German surrender was to the point. Most of the cover page was focused on the local news. It was almost as if the paper had regressed to pre-war structure within two days following the end of the war. The only major continuing theme after the end of the war was the need for food conservation and providing food to war-torn Europe. Any lasting effects of any German sentiment were minimal to non-existent within Hermann.

Hermann did not appear to suffer from the hostility of its own or surrounding community members during America's involvement in the war. This is surprising in view of Hermann's strong pro-German stance leading up to the conflict. Even during the early stages of America's involvement in the war, there was reluctance and even advice given to the German-American community as a sort of survival manual. Throughout the early years of the war, there are numerous mentions of celebrations and pride in various aspects of German heritage, including theatrical productions in German as well as literature and cultural festivals in Hermann and nearby communities. There does not appear to have been an active attack on the community because of the use of the German language.

Hermann appears to have largely weathered the war through purchased patriotism. The Hermann community was considered educated and financially better off than more agrarian Missouri German communities. This provided its citizens with more freedom to openly express themselves and to take a defensive stance against any

accusers. It appears that the greatest difficulty that those in Hermann faced was for alien residents or American women married to them. The threat of losing property and having no Constitutional rights made them easy targets.

One unique omission in the Hermann *Advertiser-Courier* was that it did not adopt the use of the American flag in the title banner for the paper during the war. Cole Camp and Concordia had added the flag to their banners as a show of patriotism. Hermann added only the food conservationist icon to its banner. This apparent omission demonstrated the paper and, in turn, the town's perceived security from anti-German attacks. Hermann was largely spared from hostility or suspicion from its neighbors or internal strife within the community, despite the paper's strong anti-Wilson and anti-Gardner stance. The paper and community also promoted and prided itself on its German heritage, including its support of the German cause prior to the United States declaration of war. In spite of all of these possible obstacles for Hermann, they came through the war largely unscathed and guided their subscribers through the wartime bureaucracy.

CHAPTER 4
THE CONCORDIAN (1912 – 1919)

Concordia, located in Lafayette County, Missouri, in 1910 was comprised of a predominately Lutheran community with a population of 951 within the city and 3,113 for the surrounding community.¹⁵⁷ Geographically, Concordians were more isolated from other communities than were Cole Camp and Hermann and many of the other small towns around them were populated by German speaking immigrants, which likely improved Concordia's experience during the Great War. Concordia's weekly newspaper was *The Concordian*, which provided citizens with all of the local news and occasionally state, regional, national, and international news.

German heritage was a point of pride for residents of Concordia, and it was celebrated in the community. The "Deutscher Kriegerverein" (German War Veterans) of Lafayette County met in Concordia, January 1914, and the *Concordian* staff attended to cover the meeting for its readers, describing those in attendance and their organization as "purely social" and having "beneficial character."¹⁵⁸ The article made it apparent the community felt these men were war heroes who deserved to be recognized. This story predates the start of the conflict in Europe by six months and aided in demonstrating the dual sense of patriotism and pride that Concordians felt towards Germany and America.

¹⁵⁷ US Census Bureau, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Vol. II, 1078. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1913, Reprinted April 1915.

¹⁵⁸ "German Veterans Met," *The Concordian*, January 15, 1914.

While it contained a notable lack of war and political coverage during the early part of the war in Europe, the *Concordian* demonstrated the community's pro-German stance in articles of local news and even advertisements. Numerous Budweiser beer ads expounded the virtues and bravery of German leaders, including Bismarck.¹⁵⁹ These pro-German beer ads were in nearly every issue of the *Concordian* from 1914–1916. So, even advertisers catered to German heritage to improve sales.

In one of the early war articles, Germany was viewed as on the defensive against unjustified militarization by Russia. As a result of the war between Germany and Russia, the author accuses France and England of less-than-honorable reasons for aggression: "France [was] waiting to get a chance at Germany," and England was blaming Germany for "the whole trouble," with Great Britain "jealous of the growth of German commerce and the German navy."¹⁶⁰ The dismissive nature of the Allies' position and reason for joining the conflict is almost juvenile, and the treatment of France and England as being immature and vain is not uncommon at this point in the war amongst German-American communities and presses.

The Concordian printed John Andreae's poem, "A Press Toast," in late August 1914 which addressed the bias of the English and French, accusing them of killing Germans with their words. However, poems and jokes at the expense of the English were not uncommon in the newspapers of German-American communities, including

¹⁵⁹ "Bismarck—the 'Greatest of the Germans,'" Anhusser-Busch Advertisement, St. Louis, *Concordian*, April 9, 1914.

¹⁶⁰ "War is On: Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Servia, England, etc. Mixed Up." *Concordian*, August 6, 1914.

Concordia.¹⁶¹ By using these methods, the authors were able to make a political statement without seeming overly hostile in the delivery of the message. This was just one of many instances of the *Concordian's* heavy criticism of the anti-German press. There were also several articles attempting to clear the German army of atrocities, including mistreatment of prisoners or refugees.

People in Concordia and Lafayette County regularly proved their loyalty to the Fatherland between 1914-1916, often financially. The newspaper did not name the Lafayette County committee that collected donations for the German Red Cross, to support German widows and wounded, but the article made it clear that donations would be used only for the aforementioned purposes.¹⁶² It is unclear if this committee was serving in any official capacity for the county or if it was simply a group of people from the county that organized the fundraiser. The close ties of Lafayette County and Concordia citizens to Germany were in greater evidence in the partial reprint of a letter from a resident's brother in Germany who looked forward to being called to service in the German Army.¹⁶³ The letter, which was translated into English by the paper, encouraged volunteers for service and donations to the German Red Cross.¹⁶⁴ These links with the old country explain why many residents were sympathetic to the German cause.

The dual patriotism of Concordians was evidenced throughout the newspaper between 1912 and 1916. On November 12, 1914, a German-American band stopped in

¹⁶¹ John Andreae, "A Press Toast," *Concordian*, August 27, 1914.

¹⁶² "Collect for German Red Cross, Widows and Wounded," *Concordian*, September 10, 1914.

¹⁶³ "Letter from Germany" *Concordian*, October 15, 1914.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

Concordia and played both German and American tunes including the Star Spangled Banner, with the paper declaring, "Ach, es war so schoen" (Oh, it was so beautiful).¹⁶⁵ This instance, like others in Cole Camp and Hermann, once again demonstrated that duality of identity was not considered a contradiction for German-Americans' patriotism. As seen in the two other German communities, Concordia also had a large 4th of July celebration with traditionally American activities including baseball, concerts, speeches, and fireworks. However, this American holiday, which, according to the *Concordian* "for a quarter of a Century Concordia has not failed to celebrate and . . . will not miss to observe the natal day of your Uncle Sam" included the community's German heritage.¹⁶⁶ The Independence Day event organizers incorporated a large number of German tunes in their musical itinerary, such as "The Fatherland – German Airs."¹⁶⁷

As Concordia progressed through 1915 and 1916, the paper's criticism of President Wilson increased significantly with articles claiming he was biased toward the English cause and had complete disregard of the German-American population. One article reprinted from the *Sedalia Capital* was in response to Wilson's Manhattan Club speech where he accused Americans who hyphenated their identity of being unpatriotic. The *Sedalia Capital* attempted to turn the tables by asking Wilson how he would feel if the President of the United States was named "Frederick Schultz" who showed an interest and bias toward only the German culture and language and did not value other ethnic groups.¹⁶⁸ Then the article went on to use the hypothetical President Schultz to

¹⁶⁵ "Serenaded' Concordia," *Concordian*, November 12, 1914.

¹⁶⁶ "The Fourth Will Be Celebrated in Concordia," *Concordian*, June 14, 1915.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ "The Most Hyphenated American," *Concordian*, November 18, 1915.

call out all of the alleged diplomatic and domestic abuses that Wilson had made against the German-Americans, by having Schultz make these same transgressions against Anglo-Americans. The article ended with this question to Wilson: "What would you think" of this situation and president if you were on the other side?

However, by the start of 1917, there was reconciliation to the seemingly inevitable fact that the US would not only enter the war but would do so on the side of the Allies. After having been so opposed to the Allies' cause, the *Concordian*, much like the Hermann paper, had to do an about face to fall in line with the American government's stance on the war. Snippets declaring Concordia's patriotism were seen throughout the paper, and a small American flag was added to the upper left corner of the newspaper as a symbol of the press' patriotism, with the paper encouraging residents to also fly their flags in solidarity.¹⁶⁹ The April 5, 1917, issue, one day before the United States officially declared war on Germany, published a story of a Baltimore man who had allegedly threatened Wilson's life and was sentenced to eighteen months in the Atlanta federal penitentiary.¹⁷⁰ This article easily served as an early warning of what could result from disloyalty.

The display of the American flag in the town became a running theme in the Concordia paper. Prior to the start of the US' involvement in the war, the Concordia city hall did not have an American flag. This was soon remedied, and within a week of the official declaration of war the city bought a flag, erected a flag pole, and, with rope

¹⁶⁹ "Concordia Patriotic," *Concordian*, April 5, 1917.

¹⁷⁰ "Prison for Wilson Threat," *Concordian*, April 5, 1917.

and brackets donated by locals, raised the American flag over the city.¹⁷¹ Additionally, a warning regarding the desecration of the flag by aliens stated: "Any alien enemy tearing down, mutilating, abusing or desecrating the United States flag in any way will be regarded as a danger to the public peace . . . and will be subject to summary arrest and confinement."¹⁷² Many of these brief articles served as a warning or a means of advising the local alien and German-American population on what to do and what not to do during the war and for them to keep their dissent to themselves. It is unclear if this article was the result of a flag having been desecrated, or just a warning.

The Liberty Loan drives in Concordia did not begin until October 1917. The paper published a telegram appeal, signed by Governor Gardner, for citizens to purchase loans for the war effort, with the reprinted telegram specifically stating that a copy of the paper with the telegram was to be sent back to the Missouri State Council of Defense to show compliance to the request.¹⁷³ This was a unique component to the *Concordian* as this telegram does not appear to have been reprinted, or requested from the *Cole Camp Courier* or *Hermann Advertiser-Courier* papers. Its inclusion in the paper implies that the state's Council of Defense did not trust either the community of Concordia and/or the local paper to do its patriotic duty.

By early February 1918, German citizens were required to register with the Postmaster, but this did not include women or children under the age of fourteen as the government viewed only German men or boys, deemed old enough to fight, as a

¹⁷¹ "How the City Hall Came to a Flag," *Concordian*, April 12, 1917.

¹⁷² "A Flag Warning to Aliens," *Concordian*, April 12, 1917.

¹⁷³ "A Patriotic Appeal," *Concordian*, October 25, 1917.

possible threat.¹⁷⁴ This announcement was accompanied by a small ad encouraging the purchase of Liberty Loans. By March 1918, in advance of the 3rd Liberty Loan campaign, the *Concordian* had increased the size and changed the design of its flag for the banner on the newspaper as well as relocating it to the right side for the publication. This was clearly an effort to make its patriotism more visually apparent. *The Concordian* did not appear to be initially aggressive in advertising and advocating for the purchase of bonds compared to the other papers. To start the 3rd Liberty Loan drive, another small ad was placed in the paper with several articles regarding the patriotic activities to take place in conjunction with the loan drive.¹⁷⁵ One of the heavily publicized events was held at the Walkenhorst School which was labeled patriotic because of its promotion of the Liberty Loan drive and patriotic events. For the May 2, 1918, issue, it was reported that Concordia had oversubscribed by \$10,000 and there was a push to try to double the quota.

The Lafayette County property of a German citizen who had died in 1916 and left it to his relatives in Hamburg was seized by the government and held in probate by the courts.¹⁷⁶ This was reported in the paper as the first such instance in the county and again served as a warning to others in the area. As the names of alien enemies were published, this could be considered a real concern to those who feared the seizure of their property. It also served as an incentive to update or change a will to avoid a similar outcome.

¹⁷⁴ "Unnaturalized Germans Must Register," *Concordian*, January 24, 1918.

¹⁷⁵ *Concordian*, April 11, 1918.

¹⁷⁶ "Alien Property Seized," *Concordian*, March 14, 1918.

While many other papers provided large or full page ads for the loan drive, this was not the case for the *Concordian*. In fact, the first full page ad in the *Concordian* was purchased by local businesses to support and raise funds for the American Red Cross, with the ad covering the front page of the paper on May 23, 1918.¹⁷⁷ For many in the community, supporting the Red Cross was a preferable option to supporting the American war effort, as their money was not going to support munitions violence toward their German relatives, which the Liberty Loans funded. This was a very different tactic from what was seen in Hermann and Cole Camp and was a way to show patriotism through pacifism.

The newspaper covered some instances of disloyalty, but these were not as commonly published as in the other papers. Whether this was done to avoid creating alarm among its citizens or because many of these cases were far enough away that there was no perceived threat to the community is not known. Whatever the case, the *Concordian's* editor, J.J. Bredehoeft, did not publish many of the anti-German articles that other papers covered. One of the few reported instances of unpatriotic activity in Concordia came from Robert Heisterberg who was visiting the area from Kansas City. Heisterberg was sent to Lexington, the Lafayette county seat, for having made disloyal remarks, but what he was accused of saying was not reported. The article went on to state that "authorities at Lexington fined some men who accused" Concordians of being "pro-German" and said that the paper wanted it known that Concordians and "officials will not tolerate disloyal remarks, but neither will they tolerate remarks that people here

¹⁷⁷ "Across the Sea They Call," *Concordian*, May 23, 1918.

are Pro-German unless the accuser produces proof."¹⁷⁸ This was the only instance of fighting back that was seen in the newspapers of the three German communities. In the other two towns there appeared to be more blame on the accused than the accuser. Papers would often stand up for the community as a whole as being patriotic, but Concordia and the county seemed to defend their citizens. In the case of Heisterberg, however, the *Concordian* made it clear that he was not a member of the community.

Reports of German publications in Missouri which were suspended, such as Higginsville's *Missouri Thalbote*, were covered by the *Concordian*.¹⁷⁹ No doubt, there were several members of the community who were subscribers to these publications, so it would have been of interest. Additionally, these articles demonstrated the hardships that many outside of Concordia were experiencing in regard to attacks on German culture.

During the US' involvement in the war, the *Concordian* was much bolder in its criticism. One joke in the paper mocked the paranoia many had during the war and, in turn, the government's warnings about German subversives:

The old farmer had read the repeated warnings about keeping his knowledge to himself during the war, lest information of value might get into the ears of a Hun spy. So when an affable stranger approached him with a smile and looked like he would enjoy a little commonplace conversation, the old farmer was ready for him. 'Looks like it would rain, doesn't it?' suggested the pleasant one. 'It's looked like that afore, an' didn't,' snapped the farmer. 'Had any rain in these parts lately?' 'See here, young feller,' roared the food producer, 'I don't know who you be, an' goshdinged if I'm goin' to give out any information like that without I do.'¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ "Charged with Disloyal Remarks," *Concordian*, July 25, 1918.

¹⁷⁹ "Suspended Publication," *Concordian*, July 25, 1918.

¹⁸⁰ "Secretive," *Concordian*, August 1, 1918.

While this is in jest, it was surprising to find it in a publication as many took the war effort recommendations extremely seriously, sometimes to a fault. This snippet shows that Concordia had a better understanding than Cole Camp, for example, of its role and influence in the war, which, based on the above, was insignificant in the grand scheme. Other German communities lauded their role and importance, but that often sent the wrong message to their Anglo-American neighbors.

In mid-October 1918, with the push for the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, there was concern that Concordia had not met the quota, after having been so successful in the Third drive. Citizens were encouraged to purchase bonds before the end of the campaign, and Concordia just made the quota by the end of the drive. The front page coverage of the war was heavily local. Soldiers' letters, news about young men sent off for training or being shipped to France, and draft registrants were the primary coverage. The other major news story, which sometimes eclipsed the war coverage, was that of the pandemic influenza. In October, Concordia and surrounding communities were fighting the flu, and many of its young residents were losing the battle. The community essentially shut down to limit the spread of the virus, and schools, churches and businesses were included in the quarantine. The flu outbreak was likely the reason why the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign did not make much news.

News of a possible peace agreement barely made it to Concordia in time for the November 7th issue. The *Concordian* declared that "just before the press hour all church bells and the fire bell were ringing and all whistles were blowing as the best news that was received for a half Century was received, that 'Germany agreed to terms'

which spells peace."¹⁸¹ Students from St. Paul's College marched through town with bands playing, patriotic songs were sung, and flags were waved. This celebration was a bit presumptuous as the fighting and official peace occurred four days later on November 11th. After the end of the war Red Cross fundraising drives continued on through December to support the troops who were still overseas. By early 1919 there was coverage, much as in Hermann, of food shortages in Europe and the continued duty of Americans to conserve food. However, from appearances, life had largely gone back to its normal ebb and flow.

Concordia seems to have avoided a lot of the hostility that other German-American communities experienced. It is possible that Concordia's geographic isolation from larger non-German or mixed communities aided in providing a barrier between the community and outside hostilities. Prior to the war in Europe, Concordia's split patriotism was made clear through several articles in the paper. While this was not an issue at the time, it quickly became a conflict once the US entered the war.

Concordians took a pacifist approach during the war by strongly supporting organizations, such as the American Red Cross and food savings campaigns, placing less emphasis on the Liberty Loans. The community's defense against and intolerance of anti-German rhetoric was surprising during the war. The mocking of government propaganda pieces was also surprising during the conflict and something that was not seen in the other two communities.

¹⁸¹ "PEACE!," *Concordian*, November 7, 1918.

Concordians, like Hermannites, and unlike Cole Campers, stayed united during America's involvement in the war. They came to the defense of anyone in the community who was at risk of being falsely accused of un-American activities. They were quick to call out any outsiders with those pro-German sentiments, but not their own. While Hermann received praise and Cole Camp censure from the State Council of Defense, Concordia did not appear to receive much notice from the group. The one article that was reprinted at the Council's request, was clearly done out of necessity, but otherwise there was no apparent hostility.

Of the three communities, Concordia appeared to have been the least affected during the US involvement in the war. Some of the super-patriotism may have been partly curbed in the fall of 1918 because of the Spanish flu epidemic. As many of the patriotic campaigns were dependent on public events, committees, and fundraising, the flu would have definitely prevented and excused Concordians from participating. With the community being heavily hit with the Spanish flu, schools, churches, businesses, and government offices were shut down to contain it. Additionally, the news coverage of the war became secondary to reporting the illnesses and deaths of young community members.

CHAPTER 5 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MICROCOSM

Through an analysis of the effects of the First World War on a smaller scale, it becomes clear that the German-American experience during the war was no more homogeneous than German-American communities or individuals. For these three communities, Cole Camp, Hermann and Concordia, it is clear that even within the state of Missouri, experiences varied from pressures at the national, state, county and local levels as to how the community and press handled the various challenges that were presented to them.

Land and inheritance structures were a critical component of the German culture and are largely responsible for the creation of the German settlements and continuous generations of Germans living in these communities. Additionally, the equal distribution of land and wealth from parents to male children resulted in the easy distribution of inheritance to sons who were eligible for the draft. Early distribution of the inheritance allowed many young German-American men to avoid the initial draft by qualifying as farmers.

The German-American experience in Missouri was not homogeneous during the First World War. Several factors seem to have contributed to the varied experiences of Concordia, Cole Camp and Hermann, including the ethnic diversity of the community, the proximity to non-German communities, and the number of recent immigrants to the community. Other less apparent aspects include the reliance of German-American

communities on neighboring non-German-American cities for commerce and transportation. Observing these communities through their English language presses demonstrates the prevalence of Old Stock Germans and non-Germans in these communities and the level of assimilation to the Anglo-American structure. However, the level of integration is very different within these communities. Prior to the war it is clear that Concordia and Hermann openly honored and celebrated their towns' German heritage, while Cole Camp's ethnic roots are less apparent to the reader. Yet, as the war in Europe continued, Hermann's *Advertiser-Courier* took a hard stance against President Wilson and the Allies. Concordia's news demonstrated a definite bias toward the German cause and was dismissive of news that favored the Allies' gains on the war front. Concordia and Hermann actively supported fundraising for the German and Austro-Hungarian Red Crosses. It would seem that Concordia and Hermann had closer ties to their European lineage with more recent immigrants living in and near their communities, fueling their support for the German cause.

There is a significant amount of literature regarding German communities and society in the United States and Missouri. However, these histories are condensed and therefore generalized in their discussion of the topic. There are several community histories and books for these three towns, but the Great War is glossed over or not discussed in the communities' histories. There are always chapters in these works on the Second World War, but not much, if anything, addresses the First.

Cole Camp's *Courier* took an initially passive approach to the war, prior to America's involvement. The newspaper coverage was fairly equal for both sides of the

conflict, in what was a professional journalistic approach to the news cycle. As the pressure for US involvement increased, Cole Camp pushed for US neutrality. Peace Parades were scheduled right up to the official declaration of war. While Cole Camp was the least political of the three and provided early war coverage from both sides, it was not spared the anti-German rhetoric. Once the United States declared war, the community fell immediately under suspicion by its neighbors, which the *Cole Camp Courier* quickly refuted. However, it was never able to shake these early suspicions throughout the war. The most surprising aspect of all of Cole Camp's coverage was the fact that their community, despite its attempts to avoid conflict, experienced the most violence and anti-German attacks of the three. Cole Camp and Benton County endured the most pressure from the Missouri Council of Defense, resulting in the county's chair resigning under pressure from apparent failure to advocate for a discontinuation of the German language. While the community did not ban German, it was surrounded by communities that were or were in the process of doing so by the end of the war. Cole Camp and its surrounding area had the most arrests and violence, including arson, of the three.

The question then becomes why Cole Camp and not Concordia and Hermann, when the latter took such strong stances for Germany. Cole Camp was dependent on neighboring, non-German communities, such as Sedalia and Warsaw, for economic reasons as well as transportation. A narrow-gauge train line connected Cole Camp to Sedalia, with the nearest train line for transportation and commerce, and Warsaw, the

Benton County seat.¹⁸² These non-German communities created much of the difficulty for Cole Campers. Anti-German laws banning the German language in public or over the phone were passed in neighboring communities, and accusations were made against the citizens of Cole Camp by their neighbors. It is possible that the *Courier's* neutral news coverage prior to the war was the result of awareness of the precarious cultural climate that the town was in and that the push for neutrality was an effort to avoid what was to come. Additionally, the *Cole Camp Courier* newspaper was the only paper of these three communities that accused, threatened and verbally attacked the German-American subscribers as a whole. The paper went from defending the citizens in mid-1917 to, near the end of the war, adopting the aggressive tactic of accusations of disloyalty for failure to purchase Liberty Loans and threatening "slackers" with public shame, by printing their names. The *Courier* started out as the newspaper that seemed to have the most journalistic integrity but morphed into a threatening and alarmist publication. Because the paper was written and published by members of the Cole Camp community, this hints towards internal conflict and distrust within.

Hermann's *Advertiser-Courier* was the most political of the three papers. It strongly supported the Republican candidates at all levels in the 1916 election. The paper strongly criticized President Wilson and supported the German cause. In late 1916 Hermann was host to the Missouri German-American Alliance conference, celebrating German-Americans, which the community was clearly proud to be a part of. However, this served as a catalyst for one of the only blatantly anti-German attacks the

¹⁸² "Cole Camp in History," <http://www.colecampmissouri.com/ourcommunity/history>, accessed 11/16/2015.

community faced, with the defacing of property by a would-be American patriot. As it became clear that if the US entered the war it would do so on the side of the Allies, there was a significant push towards remaining neutral to avoid the conflict.

Hermann was financially a more prosperous community than Cole Camp or Concordia, and this served its citizens well during the Liberty Loan campaigns. Through purchased patriotism, Hermann was able to demonstrate its loyalty to the United States. This became critical to Hermann's avoidance of suspicion from the Missouri Council of Defense and, in turn, neighboring communities. Communities, particularly those with German heritage, were gauged patriotic or unpatriotic based on Liberty Loan purchases. In this respect, Hermann had an advantage over the more agrarian Concordia and Cole Camp.

As for the *Advertiser-Courier*, the newspaper remained loyal and defensive of its subscribers throughout the war. Hermann's *Advertiser-Courier* guided many of its community members through the war process, from draft registration, to flag etiquette, to enemy alien registration. The paper became a manual in some respects on how to survive the war. Hermann's physical location was also an important factor in its survival. Gasconade County itself was heavily populated with German-Americans. Hermann was also in close proximity, compared to the other two communities, to a larger urban hub, in this case, St. Louis, which had a strong, prosperous German-American community.

Concordia appears to have been the least impacted by the war. Concordia's paper, like Hermann's, was political, but not as blatantly antagonistic as Hermann's at

the beginning of the war. Once war was declared, the community unified and scrambled to Americanize, at least in external appearances. The rapid purchase and installation of a flag and pole at the city hall came within a week of the official declaration of war. The community felt the need to publicly demonstrate its patriotism.

Despite the war being declared, Concordia appears to have continued to take a pacifist approach. In place of Liberty Loan campaigns and promotion there were Red Cross fundraisers, which served as a peaceful way to be patriotic. Only by the 3rd Liberty Loan campaign, when so much pressure by the Governor was placed on German communities, did Concordia start to step up to the challenge. Concordia, by late 1918, experienced an additional obstacle with the Spanish influenza epidemic. By this point and time, Concordians appeared to have suffered the most of the three communities. The epidemic's victims were front page news, and the war appeared to have taken second place in the level of importance. The town was placed under a quarantine to minimize the spread of the virus. This quarantine would have impacted any additional fundraising efforts or obligations towards the war effort.

Cole Camp and Hermann were located in the most populated townships for their counties, and Concordia was in the third most populated township. This is significant because Liberty Loan quotas were based on the township populations and, therefore, the greatest share of the quota in their respective counties was placed on Hermann and Cole Camp. Hermann was able to carry this financial burden, but Cole Camp could not and seemed to panic and cave to the pressure of meeting the expectations of the Missouri Council of Defense. Concordia, as the third largest township in Lafayette

County, did not seem to feel the same level of commitment or pressure to carry the quota. The higher quota expectations also drew more attention to these communities and resulted in both of them receiving visits from state Council of Defense officials, for very different reasons. Hermann's visit was to praise the community for going "over the top" in meeting its quota, while Cole Camp's was to pressure the county council president to step down from his post and to push for the banning of the German language in Benton County. Concordia and Hermann seem to have been more protected than Cole Camp with respect to geographic factors. Cole Camp was not as isolated as Concordia. However, while Hermann was close to many other communities, they were largely comprised of other German-Americans. Cole Camp was close to Anglo-Americans and other ethnic groups and was more economically dependent on these other communities.

Petra DeWitt argues that the hostility of anti-German sentiment in Missouri would have been worse, as it was in other Midwestern states, had the state's General Assembly been in session during the war.¹⁸³ This argument, however, implies that Missouri's ethnic composition was the same as other states' that had increased hostility against German-Americans. This is why the microcosm is important for understanding the political stance of elected officials who were reliant on these ethnic groups and communities to keep them in their offices. This codependence was seen with Missouri's US Senators standing with their German-American constituents at a national level. Up to April 4, 1917, Senator William J. Stone warned his fellow US senators, who were

¹⁸³ Petra DeWitt, (video of lecture, "Missouri's German Americans During World War I," Kansas City Missouri Public Library, September 28, 2014), accessed, November 2, 2014, <http://www.c-span.org/search/?searchtype=All&query=petra+dewitt>.

about to vote in support of the war, that they "will commit the greatest national blunder in history."¹⁸⁴ Even at this point, when the tide was against him, Senator Stone spoke out against the war with Germany on a national stage. Within the United States Senate, Senator Stone was one of only six senators who voted against the war. Why would the state assembly not also do the same had it been in session? The assembly's representatives and senators would have been much more connected and dependent on those German-American votes within their constituency at the state level than at the national level. Based on the outspoken nationally elected officials from Missouri regarding anti-German sentiment and the declaration of war, it stands to reason that had the Missouri General Assembly been in session, the anti-German sentiment spurred by Governor Gardner could have been curbed or regulated by its presence. Instead, Governor Gardner was able to take a dictatorial approach on how he dealt with German-Americans in the state.

While many communities faced the threat of losing their German identity, these communities were three of the ones that have not only survived the attacks and suspicions of the First World War but also of the Second, and these communities continue to celebrate their heritage. For many descendants of non-English speaking immigrants the most obvious loss to their cultural identity was their language. Many Americans continue to identify with their German heritage through a last name, stories, religious beliefs, and often food and drink, but the spoken and written word was usually the first cultural loss. This is often the result of language being one of the first forms of

¹⁸⁴ Edwin C. McReynolds, *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 340.

identifying those who are different. The outlawing of the German language had a lasting effect on many following the war.

Although another war with Germany was in the future and the communities potentially repeated some of these experiences, the Great War created the groundwork for how to survive future anti-German attacks, and these early lessons no doubt served to guide them on how to balance their German identity while demonstrating their patriotism. During World War I, German-Americans demonstrated their patriotism in two primary ways: through public displays or purchased patriotism. The only government recognized proof of patriotism seemed to be the ability to purchase the community's quota in Liberty Loans. Those communities who could not meet the quota were placed under more suspicion and received visits and pressure to conform from the State Council of Defense. As resources were drained during the third campaign, pressure mounted during the fourth and more hostile of the loan drives. In many cases, church congregations held Liberty Loan drives to enable the church to purchase the loans, and in turn protect those who worshipped under its roof. This method was a way for churches to provide sanctuary to its members.

The 1910 census stated that 8,282,618 German people, as classified by the government, were in the US, with 2,501,181 (30.2%) having been born in Germany and 3,911,847 (47.23%) born in America to both German-born parents while the remaining 1,869,590 (22.57%) were born in the US to at least one German born parent.¹⁸⁵ By the start of the US' involvement in the war, roughly 150,000 German

¹⁸⁵ "U.S. Will Favor the Aliens," *Concordian*, April 5, 1917.

citizens were living in the United States.¹⁸⁶ The foreign born white population in the state was 15.8% with an additional 7% of the population descended from one or both parents who were foreign born, making 25.8% of the population having close linkages back to the old world.¹⁸⁷ Within the state of Missouri, among its white foreign born population, 38.5% were from Germany, 7.1% were from Austria and 5% were from Hungary, resulting in 50.6% of the white immigrant population in Missouri originating from enemy nations.¹⁸⁸ This could have served as a considerable voting bloc.

Despite the challenges that these three communities faced during the Great War, citizens and leaders were able to learn lessons from them and likely applied these to their survival during World War II. Cole Camp, Hermann, and Concordia were and still are havens of German culture in Missouri. The German language fluency appears to have been the greatest victim of the war, but other aspects of the culture and traditions have survived. These communities are still proud of their German heritage and celebrate it. The Cole Camp city website welcomes visitors in German before English.¹⁸⁹ The traditional Oktoberfest is held annually as well as the Christkindlmarkt, Christbaumfest and German Christmas Program all celebrating citizens' heritage and traditions. Through these events and with churches and community organizations, including the Plattdüscher Vereen von (Low German Association of) Cole Camp, the German heritage remains alive in this community. Hermann still proclaims its town "German in Every Particular" to visitors and uses its uniquely German architecture, food

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ US Census Bureau, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Vol. II, Alabama – Montana, page 1093. Washington Government Printing Office, 1913, Reprinted April 1915.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 1094.

¹⁸⁹ Cole Camp, Missouri, www.colecampmissouri.com, accessed 10/29/2015.

and drink and cultural events, such as their Oktoberfest, to attract tourists.¹⁹⁰

Concordians continue to celebrate their heritage, most notably through the annual Concordia Fall Festival where the town's "heritage is put on display."¹⁹¹ Additionally, Concordia's Heidelberg Gardens, an outdoor German restaurant and beer garden, is a staple of the community. These communities' also have recent publications of the towns' histories highlighting the German influence and culture, which continues to be a point of pride for the residents.

¹⁹⁰ Hermann Area Chamber of Commerce, <http://visithermann.com/about-hermann/history-heritage/>, accessed 11/2/2015.

¹⁹¹ Concordia Fall Festival, www.concordiafallfestival.com, accessed 11/2/2015.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NEWSPAPERS

Cole Camp Courier. January 1, 1912-December 31, 1919. State Historical Society of Missouri Newspaper Library, Columbia, Missouri.

Concordian. January 1, 1912- December 31, 1919. State Historical Society of Missouri Newspaper Library, Columbia, Missouri.

Hermann Advertiser-Courier. January 1, 1912-December 31, 1919. State Historical Society of Missouri Newspaper Library, Columbia, Missouri.

DOCUMENTS

United States Census Bureau. *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Vol. II, Alabama – Montana*. Washington Government Printing Office, 1913. Reprinted April 1915.

United States Census Bureau, American Fact Finder, 2011 American Community Survey, accessed 9/18/2013, <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?ftp=table>

United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject, CPI Inflation Calculator. Accessed 9/22/2015. www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm

CONTEMPORARY WORKS

Duden, Gottfried. *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, '25, '26, 1827)*. Trans. James W. Goodrich. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980.

Lay, Jas. H. *History of Benton County Missouri to July 4, 1876*. Re-Printed Warsaw, Missouri: The Printery, 1969.

COLLECTIONS

Bird, Kenneth and Cole Camp Area Historical Society. *Images of America – The Cole Camp Area*. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2010.

Brauer, Leonard and Evelyn Goosen, eds. *Hier Snackt Wi Plattdeutsch: The Story of a*

Missouri Community and Its German Heritage. The City of Cole Camp, 1989.

Cates, Judith N. and Marvin B. Sussman, eds. *Family Systems and Inheritance Patterns.* New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1982.

Coetzee, Frans and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee. *World War I: A History in Documents.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Graveman, Dianna and Don Graveman. *Images of America-Missouri Wine Country: St. Charles to Hermann.* Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2010.

Marshall, Howard Wight and James W. Goodrich. *The German-American Experience in Missouri: Essays in Commemoration of the Tricentennial of German Immigration to America, 1683-1983.* Columbia: University Missouri Press, 1986.

Rischin, Moses, ed. *Immigration and the American Tradition.* Indianapolis: The Bobs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976.

Trask, David F. ed. *World War I at Home: Readings on American Life, 1914-1920.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970.

CHAPTERS AND ARTICLES

Child, Clifton J. "German-American Attempts to Prevent Exportation of Munitions." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* 12, no. 3. (December 1938): 351-368.

Gross, Stephen J. "'Perils of Prussianism': Main Street German America, Local Autonomy, and the Great War." *Agricultural History* 78, no. 1 (2004): 78-116.

Parrish, William E., Charles T. Jones, Jr., and Lawrence O. Christensen. "Chapter Fourteen: World War I and the 1920s." In *Missouri: The Heart of the Nation.* 3rd ed. Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2004.

STUDIES

Burnett, Robyn and Ken Luebbering. *German Settlement in Missouri: New Land, Old Ways.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996.

Detjen, David W. *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985.

DeWitt, Petra. "Fighting the Kaiser at Home: Anti-German Sentiment in Missouri During World War I." Masters Thesis, Truman State University, Kirksville, 1998.

- _____. *Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community During World War I*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012.
- Gibbs, Christopher C. *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri's Resistance to World War I*. Columbia: University Missouri Press, 1988.
- Kazal, Russell A. *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Keller, Phyllis. *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Luebke, Frederick C. *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974.
- McReynolds, Edwin C. *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- Schroeder, Adolf E. *Concordia, Missouri: A Heritage Preserved*. Columbia: University Missouri Press, 1996.

WEBSITES

- City of Cole Camp. "Cole Camp, Missouri." Accessed 10/29/2015. www.colecampmissouri.com.
- _____. "Cole Camp in History." Accessed 11/16/2015. <http://www.colecampmissouri.com/ourcommunity/history>.
- "Concordia Fall Festival." Accessed 11/2/2015. www.concordiafallfestival.com.
- DeWitt, Petra. (video of lecture, "Missouri's German Americans During World War I," Kansas City Missouri Public Library, September 28, 2014). Accessed, November 2, 2014. <http://www.c-span.org/search/?searchtype=All&query=petra+dewitt>.
- Hermann Area Chamber of Commerce. "Hermann: 'German in Every Particular'." Accessed 11/2/2015. <http://visithermann.com/about-hermann/history-heritage/>.