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German-America Writes “Home”: Its “Prevailing Mood” and the Beginning of World War I

The summer of 1914 was marked by ongoing tensions among the major European powers, but otherwise things seemed to be going for what had come to pass as normal on the continent. Although the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife, in the Bosnian city of Sarajevo on June 28, briefly disquieted what was for the most part a continent of nation-states ruled by monarchs—France being the most notable exception—, much of July came and went as Europe seemed to settle back into the armed camp that it had become in recent decades. But the spark produced by that moment in Sarajevo flared again on July 23 when Austria-Hungary issued an ultimatum to Serbia, which it held responsible for the archduke’s demise. Serbia rejected the ultimatum, and, in short order, the major European powers, with the commitments either specified or implicit in the ententes and alliances they had formed since 1879, entered into a war that for four and one-half years would devastate the continent, a war that in some quarters was quickly labeled a “world war.”¹

At the outset Germany and its ally Austria-Hungary confronted Russia, France, Great Britain, Serbia, and Belgium. Newspapers in Germany were especially concerned with reporting upon the Fatherland’s mobilization of its armed forces and with the early successes of its army and navy, and those newspapers used a good deal of space in assessing blame for the outbreak of war. While the United States was not a major player in the events as they were unfolding in Europe, German newspapers did note that President Woodrow Wilson had quickly declared his country’s neutrality in the conflict. The August 6 edition of Berlin’s daily *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, arguably the most authoritative of German newspapers,² not only reported upon Wilson’s declaration, but, in an adjacent article originating in New York,

informed its readers that the president of the National German-American Alliance had announced that “we German-Americans are obligated to stand together faithfully and forcefully,” and that the executive of the organization “is on the lookout for the best interests of Germany, for the best way of protecting that which is German in the face of the malevolence and ignorance of a minority in our own country.”³

The magnitude of the coalition facing Germany and Austria-Hungary forced the Reich of Kaiser Wilhelm II to assess its relations with those countries that had declared their neutrality in the conflict. At the very least, Germany hoped that those countries, and especially the United States of America, would be genuinely neutral. In addressing reports in the foreign press that Americans in Germany at the outbreak of war were being mistreated, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (full title: *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*) feared that such claims not only misrepresented the situation in the Fatherland, but also that they could lead to “a still greater danger,” the exacerbation of Germany’s isolation: “Without a single friend in Europe, [Germany] is certainly not in the position to make still more enemies overseas.”⁴

Much of the interchange between Germans in Germany and German-Americans in the United States focused on who was responsible for the war and how Germany’s armed forces were faring on the battlefield. That interchange, initially adversely affected by England’s cutting the transatlantic cable through which much news from Germany had reached the U.S., took a variety of forms: a telegraphic exchange between Kaiser Wilhelm and President Wilson⁵ and a “communication” (*Mitteilung*) from German Chancellor Theobald von Bethman-Hollweg to “representatives” of the United Press and the Associated Press;⁶ representations of the European situation by American tourists who were in Germany when war broke out and who, while there, were urged to tell Germany’s story when they returned home;⁷ correspondence from Germany to the United States, often including materials demonstrating Germany’s innocence at the outbreak of hostilities; and correspondence from the United States to Germany.

All of this played out in what Jeffrey Verhey has described as the “rich newspaper culture” of Wilhelmine Germany, a newspaper culture that included more than fifty newspapers in Berlin alone and more than 3,600 newspapers throughout the Reich, and that “was highly variegated and distinctly segregated. In 1914 all political parties had their own official or semi-official newspapers, which were either the ‘spokesman’ for the party, or the place to find out the party line on any particular issue.”⁸

This essay is embedded in that “newspaper culture” as it focuses on a subset of the letters sent from the United States to Germany, specifically letters that were published in German newspapers, and that were written either by

persons, generally of German heritage, who were living in the United States or by Americans residing outside the U.S.⁹ It will draw on such letters as they were reproduced in German newspapers from August 1914 through the autumn of that year, a period during which, despite President Wilson's declaration of U.S. neutrality, the exact contours of American foreign policy had yet to be defined. That those residents of the United States with German heritage might challenge the apparently pro-British slant of American public opinion and foreign policy made the views and actions of German-Americans more than a matter of incidental interest to much of the press in Germany.¹⁰

This article will draw on letters reproduced by German newspapers in four major German cities, Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, and Cologne, newspapers that, in some instances demonstrated their reach by printing letters previously published in venues as varied as the *Hannoverscher Courier*, the *Schlesische Zeitung*, the *Krefelder Zeitung*, the *Wilhelmshavener Tageblatt*, and the *Magdeburgische Zeitung*. For the most part these letters will serve as snapshots—verbal photos taken at a particular moment—rather than motion pictures as they depict the correspondents' perceptions of both their place in American society and culture and their connectedness—or not—to the Old Fatherland as Germany went to war.¹¹

The correspondence used in this essay took a variety of forms: letters or excerpts of letters from German-Americans in the United States, some of which were addressed to individuals in Germany who forwarded the letters to German newspapers;¹² letters from Germans who for whatever reason were in the United States when war began; and letters that were initially published by newspapers in the United States but also found their way into German newspapers.

A Munich daily, the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, spoke to the value of correspondence sent from the United States to Germany: "We have before us numerous letters from German-Americans that allow us to gain a vivid picture of the mood (*Stimmung*) that has prevailed among German circles in the United States since the beginning of war."¹³

The mood among Germans in America—the term "Germans" was often used for German-Americans as well as for German nationals visiting or temporarily residing in the United States—was reflected in two generally overlapping dimensions: how German-Americans related to the plight of the Old Fatherland, and how German-Americans related to each other and to the other residents of their adopted homeland. With regard to the former, the narrative conveyed by this correspondence was relatively consistent. With regard to the latter, the narrative was generally affected by the local situations in which the letters were crafted.

In the early days of the war German-Americans came to understand

the plight of the Old Fatherland in the following terms: that Germany was not responsible for the outbreak of hostilities; that Germans in the Old Fatherland had set aside their differences, whether political, economic, or religious, and united behind Kaiser Wilhelm II as Germany defended itself against the aggression of its opponents; and that Germany would win the war, though in some instances this confidence was slow to develop. Crucial to this understanding of the situation in Germany was the reporting of such in the United States.¹⁴

The one consistent feature of letters sent from the United States to Germany was the claim that the actions of the Old Fatherland were not truthfully recounted by most of the press in the United States. Speaking to that concern were lines (*Zeilen*) from Chicago that were published on October 12 in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, a newspaper that, according to one scholar, “possessed international significance.”¹⁵ The Cologne daily cited those lines, written on September 14, that were sent from “worried compatriots (*besorgte Landsleute*) in Chicago” to relatives in Germany as evidence that “Our enemies continue unabated their *constant* campaign of lies (*Lügenfeldzug*) [in the United States].” The actual author of the note wrote that “Lightning has at last struck Germany. Why do you not write anything at all?” From that campaign of lies the Chicagoan was told that “Poor Germany is lost.” The French and the English had just reported on “a great victory over Germany,” and the way was now free for the Russians to reach Berlin and Vienna. “If you can, write to me and let me know the truth. Also write to let me know where my brothers are or whether they are already dead. This is the third time that I write. I hope that things are not so bad with Germany as they are made out to be here.”¹⁶

Another letter, written some weeks earlier, echoed the note from Chicago but found at least one redeeming development as the war continued. This letter, sent from one brother to another and published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on September 19, described events in Bradford, Pennsylvania, up to the middle of August:

In headlines six inches high the English newspapers here (*Die englischen Blätter hier*) report on German defeats; at Liège 30,000 Germans killed and 8,000 taken prisoner; entire regiments destroyed by the brave Belgians; nineteen German battleships sunk in the North Sea, in effect, destroying the German fleet. Those were difficult days for us before we were able to learn with certainty that those reports were lies produced by *London* and *Paris*. The entire Anglo-American press is flooded with false news from London, some of it treacherously so.

The author of the letter went on to say that, were one to believe the English press, in Germany only the Kaiser, not the German people, wanted war. Moreover, it was the Kaiser who saw to it that the 110 Socialist deputies who had protested against the war were shot. "And so it continues with the yellow press such that it makes you want to throw up your hands in exasperation." But there was a bright side to all this: "Something positive seems to have emerged from these insolent and impudent lies: the *German-Americans have at long last reflected upon their own situation and decided to come together* in order to present a united front against the Anglo-American press."¹⁷

This "something positive" seems, at the very least, to imply that German-Americans had, in some respects, lost their way, lost their sense of being connected to the Old Fatherland. The feeling that the war in Europe had strengthened or perhaps even resurrected this connectedness, this *Deutschtum*, was evident in several of the letters treated in this study, among them one a part of which was published by the Berlin daily *Vossische Zeitung* on November 11 and, in a still briefer excerpt, by the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* the following day. That letter, "from Philadelphia," had this to say:

Since August 1 all of us here (millions of German-Americans) [*sic*] have become German nationals (*reichsdeutsch*). One might not have thought it possible, but it is so. I believe that there is no sacrifice that we would not be willing to make. We are even speaking German again. The shining coating on the surface of German-Americans has been washed away by the raw winds of war. Now there are only Teutons, whether Jewish or Christian. After years of estrangement there is for the first time *a single Germany in America*.

The excerpt closed by urging the letter's recipient to remember the name of Herman Ridder, owner of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and the "political leader of the newly aroused sense of German thinking in America."¹⁸

In a letter that, according to an October 2 article the *Kölnische Zeitung*, originally appeared in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, the correspondent related how the superintendent of his firm, "a German-American, born here of German parents," asked him a question in German. "He had never before spoken a word of German to me; in fact, I never knew that he could speak German. Then, at the moment when the Fatherland was in danger, he remembered his Germanness (*Deutschtum*)." Since that moment the two had spoken only in German, and the letter writer had managed to persuade "several colleagues in business to speak only German in private life as well as in business."¹⁹

Another letter offered a somewhat different observation about the use

of the German language as the war began. In that letter from Warrenton, Missouri, which was dated September 5 and published in the *Tägliche Rundschau* on October 8, the author noted a development that “even the English newspapers” had reported upon: that “one hears . . . in the streets and streetcars of St. Louis much more German being spoken than previously, and our German newspaper in St. Louis, the *Westliche Post*, alone has received 15,000 new subscribers in August, the first month of the war.” As did others, this letter noted that “The mood here in the states among the Yankees (*auf Yankeeseiten*) was initially completely for England and its accomplices (*Konsorten*).” But a complete change had taken place. Not only could one now see that claims of victories on the part of the Allies and charges of German brutality were untrue, but also that the English have been severely damaged by the entry into the war of Japan and India.²⁰

Other letters reflected this sense of a unified German-America. In a missive of September 6 a German-American living in Long Branch, New Jersey, wrote to his mother in Berlin, the relatives there subsequently passing the “touching letter” (*der rührende Brief*) on to the *Berliner Tageblatt* (full title: *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung*). The correspondent remarked that everything printed “here,” except for the *Deutsche Staatszeitung*, was anti-German, and that he found the situation “unspeakably difficult.” “But, just as in the Old Fatherland, where Germans have united to form a single Germany, so *the Germans here are now working together*.” Finally, the letter mentioned the periodical *The Fatherland*, “which appears in the English language” with articles by eminent Germans that are intended to enlighten America regarding the true reason for the war.²¹

The creation of *The Fatherland* represented one way by which German-America began to spread Germany’s “truth” to those who wished to know how the Old Fatherland was faring in the war and what the stakes were in it. Another such publication was *The Vital Issue*, which, as reported in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, “wants to be an independent journal, a truthful, sober judge and, for that reason, a ruthless fighter against all fakes and slanders, nothing more.” As such it will be “a defender and champion of our cause.”²²

The Fatherland and *The Vital Issue*, produced in the United States, served as reinforcements for publications originated in Germany and brought back to the U.S. by tourists who had been visiting the Reich when war began. One such publication was *The Truth About Germany: Facts About the War*, a relatively slim volume that was a collection of anonymous essays assembled by an “honorary committee” of distinguished Germans for their American friends who were returning to the United States. The publication provided material that could be used to explain—and justify—Germany’s actions at the outbreak of war.²³

A more widely distributed publication created to spread Germany's "truth" was the *White Book*, which was intended to demonstrate that Germany was not responsible for the European war.²⁴ The *Frankfurter Zeitung* cited a "private letter" that described how one German-American used a copy of the *White Book*. The article mentioned that a high-level officer in Frankfurt had sent a copy of the *White Book* to a relative in Baltimore. In that private letter dated September 10 the recipient of the *White Book* responded that he had read it aloud to the Maryland Club, "where the facts [set forth in the volume], until then completely unknown, created a great sensation." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* reported that the *Rotterdam*, a ship carrying Americans back to the United States, was stopped by an English warship and copies of the *White Book* were taken from passengers who had been given them for the "enlightenment of their countrymen." Then this: "It cannot be pointed out often enough that diplomacy and commerce have the absolute obligation to see to it that America is constantly provided with German news in order to challenge the anti-German mood in America that has been produced by the English syndicate of lies."²⁵

A letter dated September 10, which was published by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and, in a slightly abbreviated form, by the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, lamented how the American press was reporting on the war, described the correspondent's gesture in behalf of the Old Fatherland, and remarked upon a renewed sense of Germanness among his fellow German-Americans. In this letter the correspondent, a German-born American citizen and a resident of a New York suburb (*Vorstadt*), wrote to his brother that "The way in which the English-controlled press here incites and poisons public opinion against Germany defies description." The letter's author regretted that he and his son were not able to fight for Germany's freedom, but, upon Germany's declaration of war against Russia, he had taken a stand as a German by hanging a large German flag "at our window." "The flag will hang there until peace is concluded. That is all that I can do for Germany, save for providing financial help to the widows and orphans of fallen German soldiers." As did the Bradford, Pennsylvania correspondent mentioned above, this New Yorker sensed that Germans in the United States had lost an awareness of their Germanness, but that the outbreak of war had served to reconnect German-Americans to their ancestral homeland: "*Deutschtum* in America has at long last reminded itself of its origins and is united in helping to provide relief for Germany." This letter included a personal note that linked its author's past to the current war: "I have read with horror the casualty lists of the two regiments from Magdeburg, the 26th and 27th. In 1887 I participated in the 27th's reservists' exercise."²⁶

If the ways in which the English-language newspapers in the United States had reported on the war served to rekindle *Deutschtum* there, it also affected how German-Americans got along with those Americans who were not part of the German element. This was evident from a letter published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on November 4, 1914, a letter that had previously appeared in the *Schlesische Zeitung*.²⁷ That letter was sent by a man in Detroit to Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former German Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs and, as of late August 1914, a visitor to the United States seeking to raise funds for the German Red Cross. The Detroitier wrote that his effort at challenging the naive people who believe “all the trash” in the local press only “stirs up a hornet’s nest.” “The public would rather read about German defeats, even if the opposite were true.” If the day comes that the local press reports on a German victory, “instead of publishing it on the front page with headlines two-inches high, it will appear in small print and placed in a remote corner [of the paper].”

In a letter written to his mother in the province of Posen, a “German living in Chicago” explained how he dealt with “Americans and Englishers” who came to “our shop.” He began by noting that “public opinion here in America is against Germany, except for the Germans and the Irish, with the latter wishing for victory on the part of the German armed forces.” The correspondent found Americans “frightfully uninformed, they believe everything that the English newspapers tell them. . . .” Despite early reports about German defeats, the letter writer went on to say that “Whenever Americans and Englishers come into our shop and begin to talk about the war, that they are sorry for Germany, I always tell them: ‘Never mind the Germans are going to beat them all [sic].’” The correspondent evidently saw fit to include in English what he said to his customers; either he or the *Berliner Tageblatt* added a German translation of the shopkeeper’s feisty English remarks. Indeed, this Chicagoan provided a rather inconsistent account of the flow of information in the Chicago area. On the one hand, nothing was heard from Germany because the transatlantic cable had been cut, and the “English newspapers” reported only about German defeats. On the other hand, splendid victories (*großartige Siege*) on the part of German forces had produced a complete change (*Umschwung*) in the opinion of Americans. News of those victories was reported upon not only by the German press—presumably the local German press—but even by the “English newspapers,” and news from Germany now was able to reach the United States via a radiotelegraph station on Long Island. As a result, “*Mit den Lügen ist es jetzt vorbei.*” The correspondent observed that “Among the Germans here [the English] are the most hated of Germany’s enemies.” And just the day before this letter was written, German Ambassador von Bernstorff had visited Chicago where he told the truth about the situation

in Germany. The correspondent mentioned to his mother that there were more than a half-million Germans living in Chicago; that twenty thousand Germans in the area had attended a rally that was "a protest against the English newspapers"; and that an aid society had been formed by Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians to ease conditions in "our fatherland" that were occasioned by the war. The correspondent remained confident about the war's outcome: "Should Germany win the war, which I do not doubt for a minute, then I will come to Germany for the *Kaiser's entry into Berlin*." After describing how German-Americans in Chicago were dealing with the outbreak of war, he inquired about "who of our relatives has gone off to war."²⁸

As these letters indicate, very much a part of the mood of German-America was its understanding of what was happening in the Old Fatherland, how the war began and who was responsible for it, and how Germany was faring in it. Among the most notable German-American interpreters of these matters was Hugo Münsterberg, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University. In a letter dated September 25 and published in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on October 22, Münsterberg offered his opinion about the way that newspapers in the United States reported on the war. In his letter the Harvard professor told a friend in Cologne that "The situation [in the United States] is entirely different from what you and most Germans imagine." Although the professor had received pages and pages of German newspapers, he found no information in them that had not already been published in the United States. To be sure, he found the value of news about Germany diminished by the headlines, lead articles, and photographs used to present the news overall, and by the fact that "ten times more news comes from England, France, and Russia, where America has more than one hundred special correspondents." What most concerned the professor was not news of victory or defeat; rather, it was the fact that news as reported in the United States was treating the war "purely as a moral question." "Every stupid youth outside Germany is firmly convinced that Germany is 300 years behind the culture of the western nations, that the violation of [Belgian] neutrality was the worst crime of mankind, and that the Germans in Belgium and France are behaving like vandals." In the professor's view, this would not have mattered if American public opinion did not carry such enormous influence on the world diplomatic stage. His "only hope" was to count on "the mutual jealousy of Germany's opponents."²⁹

Münsterberg's letter was almost certainly his response to an "open letter" from his "Cologne friend" Dr. Paul Rosenberg, who had written to Münsterberg on August 21 and who had just "a few weeks ago" enjoyed the hospitality extended to him at the Harvard University professor's home. In his letter, which was also published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, Dr. Rosenberg emphasized that the *truth* would suffice to counter the "lies and slanders"

produced by Germany's enemies, and he expressed his confidence that "the Americans with their wonderful, often almost undiplomatic pursuit of honesty and decency [will] know on which side they stand when they see the whole truth." But Rosenberg was sorely troubled by England's having cut Germany's transatlantic cable, which made it extremely difficult for the Fatherland to present an accurate account of the cause and course of the war. Rosenberg urged Münsterberg to use his "strong influence" in behalf of the truth, and, to assist the Harvard professor in knowing that truth, Rosenberg intended to do all that he could in sending "reliable German newspapers" to him.³⁰

This exchange between Münsterberg and Rosenberg was not the first occasion on which the former's defense of Germany's actions had crossed the Atlantic. The *Kölnische Zeitung* on August 25 had published a rather substantial article entitled "Professor Münsterberg to the Americans." The Cologne daily cited Münsterberg's "explanations" (*Darlegungen*) of the reasons for "the present war" as they had been published in *The* [New York] *Evening Post* on August 8.³¹

The *Evening Post's* article of August 8, just days after the war began, introduced the Danzig-born Münsterberg as a Professor at Harvard University, as "having been born in Berlin," and as having "a personal acquaintance with the Kaiser."³² The *Evening Post* was publishing Münsterberg's "arguments" in order "to present a Teutonic point of view of the war, with the knowledge that the United States is now cut off from Germany, its situation and the defence of its position."

During the remainder of 1914 Münsterberg would continue to be mentioned as a supporter of the German cause (*für die deutsche Sache*). He was identified as one of the contributors to the *The Fatherland*,³³ and he provided further evidence of his efforts in behalf of Germany's assertions with his book *The War and America*.³⁴ An article in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of November 14 provided both a review of Münsterberg's book and a comment upon his circumstance at Harvard, where, the article insisted, "all of Harvard University views Germany as the accursed disturber of peace and the Englanders as innocent little children." Despite Münsterberg's "compelling discussions" of the circumstances from which the war originated, the author of the article suggested that the Harvard professor's pen would perhaps have its greatest effect only later when the eyes of Americans are opened in another way: "by the final tremendous victory of Germany against the world of its enemies."³⁵

One letter, whose author—Henry Wood—was perhaps fairly described as a German-American-by-marriage—, made its way to the *Kölnische Zeitung* in a rather indirect way. On October 8, 1914, that paper published in German

translation a letter sent to the editor of the *New York Tribune*. That letter, originally appearing in the September 4, 1914 issue of the *Tribune*, expressed Mr. Henry Wood's vexation regarding cartoons—"pictured calumnies," he called them—published in the paper on August 30 ("Louvain—The Return of the Goth") and August 31 ("Women and Children First"). The *Kölnische Zeitung's* rendition of Wood's letter appeared in what was the fifth in a series of articles entitled "Kriegsbriefe aus Amerika."³⁶ In his letter to the editor, Mr. Wood (of Baltimore), pointed out that he was among the *Tribune's* readers "not of German birth or descent."³⁷ Mr. Wood went on to say that "There are bombs, Mr. Editor, worse than those of Zeppelin airships, and such are your two cartoons, hurled in defiance of all the laws of decency and fair play against a nation competent to teach you better things but from which you have evidently learned, and have wished to learn, nothing."



An editorial cartoon from *The New York Tribune* of August 30, 1914, one of two cartoons that were the subject of Henry Wood's September 4, 1914 letter to the *Tribune*, Wood's letter was reprinted (in translation) in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of October 8, 1914.

Wood's lengthy closing sentence drew on an argument made by German-Americans who, at the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914, urged their fellow Americans to remember how German immigrants had rallied to the

Union cause during the American Civil War:

Though no prophet, the writer [Wood here referring to himself in the third person] confidently anticipates the day when all that is worth while in the United States—including, perhaps, even *The Tribune*—will keenly regret the unforgettable insults and obloquy that are now being heaped upon a people closely related to us in all that is best—the only one of the great European nations that never begrudged us any good thing, and the selfsame people which furnished our North with such a noble contingent of naturalized citizens for winning the war against secession.³⁸

Although the *Kölnische Zeitung* did not provide its readers with copies of the cartoons that so irritated Wood, the publication of his letter offered German readers access to two arguments that German-Americans made in Germany's behalf: that the cartoons represented an absence of "fair play"—see Münsterberg's letters, articles, and book—with regard to "a nation competent to teach you better things," and that the United States was indebted to a Germany that provided the Union with large numbers of soldiers in the "war against secession."

Several letters touched on one of the most sensitive subjects of discussion in the early days of the war, charges of atrocities committed by the German army as it made its way into Belgium and France. Such letters provided third-party testimony that Germans were not the "barbarians" represented by newspapers in enemy and neutral countries. Such was the subject of a letter written by Emil Ahlborn, of Boston, to an unidentified recipient and published in at least four German newspapers. Ahlborn had heard "a number of horror stories (*Schauer geschichten*) about German atrocities" while sojourning in Switzerland. "I refused to believe them, and my assurances that such things were incompatible with the German character remained entirely unsuccessful." He was at least able to follow one such story to its origins. That story, widely circulated, concerned a man who, while driving from Paris to Vevey, counted "some 200 to 400 girls and children," refugees from Belgium, whose ears had been cut off by the Germans. Ahlborn located the driver—Herr H.—, who told him that he had seen no such thing. Ahlborn closed his letter by recalling what Abraham Lincoln once said: "Don't ever believe anything that you hear, and [believe] only half of that which you see."³⁹

Of even greater moment than Ahlborn's letter was testimony offered by five American journalists who had been embedded with German soldiers on the western front. On October 21 the *Tägliche Rundschau* described a series of "private letters" from Chicago that were made available by the *Kölnische*

Zeitung, letters demonstrating that "the English lies have short legs." The *Tägliche Rundschau* introduced the letters by alluding to a telegram that had been sent from Aix la Chapelle via Berlin to the Associated Press in New York; that was published on the front page of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* on September 7; and that was covered by much of the German press on September 11. The *Tribune's* rendition of that telegram appeared over the names of five correspondents, "all of whom are well known American newspaper men." In that telegram the correspondents "pledge[d] our professional and personal word" in stating that, "After spending two weeks with and accompanying the [German] troops upward of one hundred miles, we are unable to report a single instance of [German atrocities that was] unprovoked."⁴⁰

And yet the *Tägliche Rundschau* in its October 21 article described as "much more important" subsequent testimony provided by the same five correspondents that "takes the cake" (*schlägt dem Faß den Boden ein*). That testimony was provided in a "round robin," originally published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* on September 17, and subsequently appearing in at least two German newspapers, the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Tägliche Rundschau*. The "round robin" appeared over the name of one of the five correspondents, James O'Donnell Bennett, of the *Tribune*, but had the "full approval" of John McCutcheon, another *Tribune* reporter, and, as indicated in the body of the dispatch, was "signed" by all five reporters.⁴¹

O'Donnell Bennett closed his dispatch with these remarks:

I am not defending the Germans. I owe them nothing except what any man owes another who treats him with decency. I expect nothing from the Germans

The truth is that all of us correspondents have a right to feel a little resentful toward the German authorities, both military and civil.

They have balked our work [*sic*] at every turn.

...

Truth, however, remains truth, and in the matter of these alleged atrocities we feel there has been shocking falsehood.

I give my most solemn word as to the truth of what I have written.

We have seen no atrocities.

We can get proof of none.

...

Once more I say, there has been the inevitable and shocking waste and misery of war in this Belgian campaign, but to find the fiendishness of it, as that fiendishness is charged against the German

troops, a man will have to travel farther and observe more sharply than five intelligent, zealous American correspondents have traveled and observed.⁴²

The *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Tägliche Rundschau* published articles on the “round robin” by noting that the *Tribune* “at almost the same moment” reported on Woodrow Wilson’s meeting with the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, which presented the president with a list of charges against the German army. Finally, that closing paragraph expressed a reason to hope that this “clear, sober presentation of the truth” in the *Tribune* would effectively counter the fantasy-stories and hysterical persons, presumably those blaming the German army for atrocities in Belgium, for “the *Chicago Daily Tribune* is the greatest and most respected newspaper in the populous Middle West of the United States.”⁴³

On October 13, 1914, the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* printed a relatively brief note (*Zeilen*) about Germany’s treatment of wounded soldiers.⁴⁴ That note was submitted by an American woman, Ray Beveridge—not a German-American—, whose mother had “taught [her] to love Germany.”⁴⁵ At the time living in Germany, Beveridge was an actress and volunteer nurse who for some weeks had been working at a military hospital in Berlin, and her life, both during the war and for some time thereafter, would be closely linked to events in Germany.

In her note Beveridge felt compelled to address what she understood to be Georges Clemenceau’s insistence (*Aufforderung*) that the French provide their own wounded soldiers with better treatment than that which they should give to captured wounded German soldiers.⁴⁶ Beveridge, who noted that she had at one time hoped to become a surgeon and had “as a girl” received some medical training at the Lariboisière Hospital in Paris, claimed that Germany treated its wounded prisoners differently. She was working in a lazarette in Berlin “where there lay, among others, thirty-eight severely wounded Russians, dirty, brutish (*rohe*) soldiers. In spite of the disgusting muck none of the women nurses, some of whom belong to the best of families, treated the Russians worse than they did the Germans lying nearby. They all receive the same food.” Beveridge concluded her note by insisting that “These dedicated German women, and I with them, we want to show the world how ‘barbarians’ do their humanitarian work. How proud I would now be, to be a German!”⁴⁷

Beveridge would later provide an elaboration on her experiences in the Berlin lazarette. That elaboration, which included material appearing in the October 13 article discussed in the previous paragraph, took the form of a lengthier article published in at least four German newspapers. This longer

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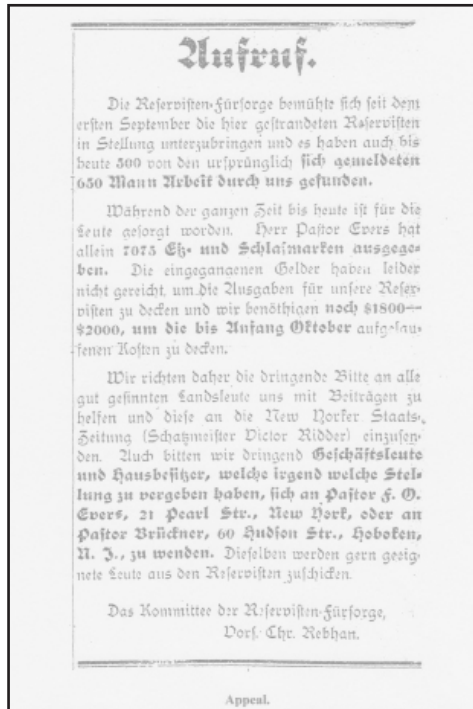
article introduced Beveridge's remarks by noting that she wished to have her account published in both American newspapers and newspapers in Germany. She again cited Clemenceau's claim regarding France's treatment of German wounded, then said that, "although I am not a Clemenceau, also not a writer, but [I am] an American who is in a position to make a judgment, to provide an answer in my unfortunately broken American German." She mentioned again the thirty-eight wounded Russian prisoners-of-war, and she spoke of the care that the nurses gave to them. In spite of the conditions, "in spite of the disgusting muck and the vermin, none of the caring women showed that they were unsympathetic to the poor, ailing enemy nor did they treat them differently than German wounded lying in nearby rooms." Beveridge spoke in some detail of two cases in which Russian prisoners received special attention from the staff at the lazarette. She went so far as to claim that, based on her eight months' work with Dr. Perrault at the Lariboisière Hospital in Paris, the captured wounded in the Berlin lazarette of Surgeon-in-Charge (*Oberstabsarzt*) Doctor W. were receiving better treatment than would the French have been given at the greatest Parisian hospital in peacetime. Beveridge closed her "letter" by contrasting the care provided by the Berlin lazarette with "reports we receive daily" of atrocities committed by Russians



This photo of Ray Beveridge and the accompanying caption that reported on her having been denied a U.S. passport appeared in *The Abilene Semi-Weekly Reporter* on November 12, 1915 (accessed at newspaperarchive.com via worldvitalrecords.com). Beveridge had returned to the United States in February 1915. Although initially unsuccessful in her application for a passport that would enable her to return to Europe, Beveridge would receive a passport in February 1916. This photo and caption were also carried by several other newspapers in the United States.

against German women, children, and men.⁴⁸

A crucial aspect of the mood among German-Americans was the desire of many to sail for Europe and fight for the Old Fatherland. In a letter to his relatives in Germany that was published in the *Krefelder Zeitung* an “ordinary German mason” living in the New York City area wrote that “a *panic* has developed among the Germans here in America.” What disturbed him most was his inability to return to Germany to fight for the Fatherland.⁴⁹ “My heart was quickly broken when I read the news yesterday (the letter was sent on August 12) [*sic*] that Italy declared war on Germany.⁵⁰ I want to, and I must, go back. And I’m not the only one. There are thousands of Germans who feel as I do. But we are not able to go.” The letter’s author was outraged that “One reads only about German losses. What garbage!” Were he able to cross the Atlantic, he was prepared to shed his last drop of blood for Germany. Absent that opportunity, he insisted that he would not let himself be pushed around by “the Italians and the English.” His letter then gave a graphic account about how he had already acted to defend the Fatherland against his American neighbors:



An appeal for contributions to cover the cost of providing for reservists who had gone to New York with the hope of returning to Germany and fighting for the Old Fatherland, *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, September 27, 1914.

In fact, just yesterday, Saturday, when news arrived her that the Italians are helping the French, I had to fight. There were three Italian laborers here at work, and they began to quarrel with me and another German. Believe me, I was not about to put up with that. I was beside myself with rage. We two Germans fought a battle in neutral territory, not however with rifle and revolver but with a crowbar. Within two minutes a thousand spectators had gathered at the building site. Two Italians are in the hospital. I also gave an *English mason*, a young wise guy, something to remember, a couple of blows to the head delivered with a level (*Wasserwage*). I was arrested, and it was only with a great deal of difficulty that I was not lynched by the mob. After four hours, when I could pay ten dollars, was I able to go home again. But all this wasn't just my battle. Those who were German fought for me. At the police station hundreds of Germans showed up demanding that I be immediately allowed to go free. I do not know who paid the ten dollars for my fine. But they were German. I have had to give up my job, the employer is an Englishman, and, as a result, I am out of work. I now want to go to New York City and try to get to Germany and meet my death with honor.

The letter is interesting not only for the "ordinary German mason's" account of how he dealt with people who apparently saw the war differently than he did, but also for the fact that, in addition to its publication in the *Krefelder Zeitung*, his letter found its way to at least three other German newspapers, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the *Tägliche Rundschau*, and the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁵¹

An undated letter, also from New York, addressed a "nonsensical" attack against Germany and the Kaiser that appeared in the local press. In his letter Dr. K. Sch. insisted that defenders of Germany in the United States, especially German newspapers and societies and "above all the National German-American Alliance" were pressing Germany's case. And there were positive developments. Locally, "the Jews of New York, numbering approximately one million, speak out against the Russians and wish victory to Germany." Moreover, "The Irish here hate England and speak out in behalf of Germany's cause." Dr. K. Sch. closed his letter by expressing the hope that the "truth about Germany is no longer withheld from the American people."⁵²

A Munich artist and reservist residing in New York—and therefore probably not to be numbered among German-Americans in the United States—recounted his experience when war began: "Obviously I and

thousands of others immediately got in touch with the Consul. However, to our indescribable pain the Consulate cannot promise us when or whether we can come over [to Germany].” As if his disappointment were not enough, “we must here endure the most monstrous of insults . . . for almost everyone here seems to be against Germany.” Among the greatest insults that “we” are forced to suffer is the newspaper coverage of the war provided by a press most of whose editors are “Englishers.” The letter cited one especially troubling example of the pro-British press: “Even the ‘gentlemen-like’ [*sic*] *Times* carried this masterpiece (*brachten dieses Meisterstück*): ‘that German lancers, driven by hunger, have killed, roasted, and consumed (*verzehrt*) Belgian children.’”⁵³

One former reservist offered a different perspective on the situation. In his wartime letter (*Kriegsbrief*) of August 19, Dr. Hermann Gerhard of Deutschburg, Texas, recounted that he had learned of the outbreak of war when his “little daughter Adele” rode her pony to Francitas, some seven miles away, to pick up the mail. As she arrived home, the excited young girl yelled “Papa, Germany is at war with Russia!” When she handed the newspapers to her father, she said “Papa, are you going to war?” Gerhard glanced through several papers, some in English, some in German. “Of course, the English [papers are] full of lies that make my blood boil.” Among the stories that Gerhard included in his letter was this: “I sat down right away and wrote a letter to the German Consul in Galveston placing myself at his disposal. Even though I am also an American citizen and am already beyond age 45, I think that, in this world war, where everyone is pouncing like dogs on the German Michael, the Kaiser can use all the help he can get (*der Kaiser jeden Arm gebrauchen kann*).” In his letter to Germany Gerhard mentioned that he had served in the 11th Hessian Rifles, and that he now would like “to put his marksmanship to the test against the perfidious English.” Unfortunately, the Consul had not thus far responded to his offer, so Gerhard had written to him once again.⁵⁴

Sharing the wish to join his “brothers” on the battlefield in Europe was the author of a letter from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, dated October 10, and published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. He began by expressing his surprise at learning that the German army had captured the fortress of Antwerp. In the early stages of the war, “we heard from the lying English press only of German defeats that are now revealed to us as infamous lies. One can scarcely describe the maliciousness with which our enemies work against our highly developed culture and civilization.” He admitted to reading in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, “with deep pain,” the many notices announcing that “On the field of battle my dear . . . [*sic*] died an honorable death for the fatherland.” Even so, the correspondent indicated that he had not given up all hope of returning to fight for Germany: “Should that moment come when

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England's fleet is no longer capable of holding us prisoner here, we will then with fierce determination (*mit heißem Verlangen*) place ourselves at the side of our dear brothers and share their lot as many have already done before us." Unfortunately, all one could now do was to raise sums as had already been done by "German churches, associations, and newspapers."⁵⁵



Among the many notices (*viele Anzeigen*) that the Pittsburgh letter writer might have viewed were these that appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in September 1914. Such notices, memorializing those of Germany's sons who had given their lives for the Fatherland, would occupy an increasing amount of space in the German press as casualties mounted.

Another letter, also from the Pittsburgh area, took a very different tack in discussing the first few months of the war. Rather than residing in the city of Pittsburgh itself, the author noted that he lived "in a small city of approximately 12,000 inhabitants [that] economically belongs to the Pittsburgh industrial district." He suggested that it might be of interest to many in the homeland (*Heimat*) to hear something about how "the tremendous events of recent months" had been experienced not "by the German elite (*in den führenden Schichten des Deutschtums*) in the big cities of America, but in the smaller places where one can really speak of a diaspora. . . . I ask that that always be kept in mind because in the large cities and German-settled farm areas relationships (*Verhältnisse*) are different." Of the younger Germans in the area where the correspondent lived, most "come from Austria (Siebenbürgen). The children of the older immigrants are, as is entirely so in smaller locales, completely Americanized. As a rule, they speak and feel German not at all. Many are even ashamed of their German roots." That said, the war had changed things a bit, created a division (*Scheidung*) among people in the

area. There were, on the one side, “many, whose Germanness was only a word (*deren Deutschtum nur noch ein Name war*), who again became consciously German (*bewußt deutsch*). . . . On the other side there are many Germans, above all from the second generation, born here, but also, sad to say, from the first [generation], for whom it has become clear that they are no longer Germans.” Despite this division, with the war the correspondent saw a closing of ranks among the Germans: “All are working hand in hand, and just as the German language is spoken more within families and on the street, so is that German consciousness a broad basis on which many come together who were previously unfamiliar (*fremd*) with one another.” The letter-writer touched on other subjects, among them “the bitter hate against England” and the German mothers in the area who were to be thanked for instilling “German national consciousness and pride” in the following generation.⁵⁶

The mobilization of financial resources for Germany and Austria-Hungary was very much a part of the mood among German-Americans. Letter after letter described the fund-raising efforts among German-Americans in big cities and smaller localities that were to benefit Germany’s widows, orphans, and wounded warriors. Berlin’s *Vossische Zeitung* cited such a letter from “Michigan-City” to the effect that “We in our little city have already collected 10,500 M from Germans alone, but we hope to raise 15,000 M. The Men’s Choir in La Porte has done its part with a German concert that brought in 3,300 M, and, with additional contributions, should reach 5,000 M.” That letter also mentioned that the Germans in Chicago will raise “at least 1 million,” and that 400,000 M had already been sent to the German and Austro-Hungarian Red Cross.⁵⁷

The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of November 1 printed part of a “private letter” from St. Louis. That excerpt described “a great festival” held there on October 4 and attended not only by Germans but also Poles, Slovaks, and Irish. The proceeds from that were intended for “support of the wounded and for families of the fallen.” At the festival \$10,000 had been raised from the sale of replicas of the Iron Cross, and “in the near future a very large sum will be raised for Germany’s relief programs (*zu Unterstützungszwecken für Deutschland*).”⁵⁸

If German-Americans initially held to a rather pessimistic view of events regarding the outbreak of war—their relations with their fellow Americans and the uncertainty regarding the fate of the Old Fatherland and its armed forces—, that mood began to change. Major contributors to this change were the return of American tourists who had been visiting Germany when war began and the establishment of reliable radio transmission, each of these bringing to North America news from Europe that spoke to German military successes. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of September 13 quoted part of a private letter

that "arrived here today from New York." The author of the letter lamented that one could get no direct news from Germany. "Everything goes through Paris or London, where it is thoroughly doctored before continuing on its way." But in the last few days direct wireless communication had brought news that was published by the German Embassy in Washington. "One is now rather amazed to see that Germany has brought to completion a direct connection in order to be able to communicate at least a bit of the truth to the world."⁵⁹

An article that appeared in both the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* and *Der Tag* on September 13 presented excerpts from two letters illustrating how one woman in New York, addressing relatives in Berlin, experienced that changing mood.⁶⁰ The newspapers' introduction to the letters emphasized the importance of informing Germans in neutral countries about "the true course of things." The newspaper referred to "a whole series of letters, which we have before us, that show our compatriots (*Landsleute*), specifically those in America, full of fear and worry, indeed positively in despair." But, "as soon as the truth leaks out, the mood changes completely, and the tormented souls feel as though they have been liberated from a bad dream."

In the first letter, dated August 5, the correspondent tells her "dear mama" (*Muttelchen*) that "I can no longer read any newspaper, else I would go truly crazy." The newspapers are filled with accounts of nothing but French and English victories and German defeats: that Germany has lost 80,000 men, that Alsace-Lorraine has been taken, and that in Paris victory trumpets are already sounding. In the midst of all this, "one hears absolutely nothing from Germany." The letter reported that the Kaiser is mocked in cartoons and blamed for the war. "The fury of the English and French for Germans defies every description." German reservists are not able to leave for Germany, and "Almost all German businesses are filing for bankruptcy."⁶¹ All this reflected a situation in which the war had changed things "in no time at all." Heretofore, in her estimation, Germans in the United States were very well-liked and the English hated. "Despite all this, one should not give up hope, though I have come close to doing so." The letter-writer wished to know how her mother was coping with life in Germany, particularly as things were likely to have become fearfully expensive, and she asked for a detailed letter along with newspaper clippings that would let her know the truth about life in wartime Germany.

The correspondent's second letter, dated August 12 and addressed to "dear Ina," was very different in tone. In it she wrote that, earlier in the day, she had awakened with a feeling that something good was about to happen. And exactly so! She learned that the German army had advanced into Belgium and captured Liège, a triumph that even the "lying press here can no longer deny."

German victories on the Aisne were much more important than reports of French victories in Alsace for "Alsace has only historical value while Belgium is militarily important." For the correspondent, "All at once the mood here has changed." The streets are crowded with Germans "who today hold their heads up high. For myself the sun seems to shine so much brighter."⁶²

The changing tone of events in the United States was also discussed in a "private letter" published by the *Vossische Zeitung* on September 17. The correspondent, a Philadelphian writing on September 4, mentioned that, until recently, one could read in American newspapers nothing but stories about victories of the Belgians, French, and English. But, "All at once the mood has changed." Among the reasons for this were the efforts of the "millions of Germans in America" who have so energetically challenged the newspaper reports "that even President Wilson issued an appeal that one-sided false news not be spread." One could now read about German victories, though, since most of the editors of American newspapers are either English or have English ancestors, the significance of those victories is minimized. What seemed to the correspondent to precipitate a change in perceptions about the war was produced by the Japanese action in China: "Since the English have called on the Japanese for assistance, the Americans are against England because the Japanese are hated here." The letter claimed that, due to American irritation on this matter, "the English newspapers have telegraphed England to put a stop to the Japanese if it does not want to lose American sympathy."⁶³

Karl Luetcke, an Austin, Texas attorney, also sensed a change in mood. In a letter dated September 4 he wrote that "Here in America, since the beginning of the battles in *Belgium*, a strong *anti-German* feeling has dominated; every American, with few exceptions, wished the worst for the Germans (*jeder Amerikaner—mit wenigen Ausnahmen—wünschten die Deutschen in des Teufels Küche*). . . ." Luetcke did notice a significant change with reports that Japan had moved into Tsingtau, though with the English having poisoned the newspapers and their readers in the area, it would be difficult to persuade Americans of "our just cause" (*unsere gerechte Sache*).⁶⁴

German newspapers on their own also noted a change in American public opinion and, as did some German-Americans, linked this change in opinion to the activities of the Japanese in the Far East. The author of an article that appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung*, Professor Dr. Ludwig Stein, wrote that "in recent weeks in America a marked change of mood (*Stimmungsumschlag*), discernible in several areas, has begun to take place in our favor." These areas included "England's racial betrayal" (*Rassenverrat Englands*) by pressing the Japanese to attack German interests in China. As to U.S.-Japanese relations:

Decisive in all this for the undeniable change in opinion in our favor

is the following reality, which has emerged in recent days. As was to be expected, England's racial betrayal has gone to the heads of the Japanese. With the impetuosity of the political upstart [the Japanese] have recently demanded unrestricted immigration to California, and in the future to all of America. The Americans have now come to realize the magnitude of the danger posed to them by Japan at the instigation of England.⁶⁵

If there was something positive for Germany in this development, it was the possibility, however remote, that England's alliance with Japan and Japanese activity in East Asia might drive the United States to Germany's side in the World War. Ludwig Stein also addressed that possibility: "The differences between Japan and America are coming to a head such that, possibly, the Americans in accordance with the inexorable law of national self-preservation will have to enter [the war] on our side just as Turkey and Persia have already done, and as China in the long run probably will do."⁶⁶

There was material to hand that the German press could draw on in justifying its understanding of the kind of threat that Japan posed for Germany and the United States. The *Kölnische Zeitung* cited a "very remarkable article" by an East Asian expert that was published in the "most significant German newspaper in Nebraska, the *Omaha Tribune*." That expert claimed that the basis of Japanese policy was "Asia to the Asians under Japanese leadership! If the Japanese succeed in driving Germany, one of the leading white great powers (*eine der ersten weißen Großmächte*), out of East Asia, that will only whet their appetite. Today the Germans [out of China], tomorrow the Americans out of the Philippines. . . ." That expert went on to list more of what seemed to be almost inevitably the future targets of Japanese expansion. "The prestige of the white man sinks if the yellows (*die Gelben*) are able to proceed so brutally with impunity."⁶⁷

On this same issue the German press could point to a statement issued by the American Truth Society in Munich (*das amerikanische Aufklärungskomitee in München*), perhaps the most active and vocal of the organizations formed by any of the American colonies in Germany once war began. In a lengthy report that received extensive coverage throughout Germany, the Committee addressed "England's false game with respect to the present war." That report began with a general statement assessing England with "direct responsibility for this terrible war." The Committee's statement catalogued a long list of England's sins in producing and prosecuting the war, then closed with this indictment:

Finally, we call upon our fellow American citizens to *protest against the*

*participation of the Japanese in this European war. This participation, produced by England, will not only threaten American interests, but it will also place into question the supremacy of the white race. We therefore condemn most emphatically the despicable attempt by England, with the assistance of Asiatic hordes, to destroy western European culture and German civilization.*⁶⁸

Some Germans could find threats to civilization posed by nations much closer to the Old Fatherland than Japan. In a letter dated September 23 and originating in Chicago, “Prof. Dr. G.” expressed a concern that “We are all convinced that a Slavic victory would mean a step back (*Rückschritt*) in human civilization, not even to mention art and science, and therefore educated Americans certainly if secretly hope for a German victory.”⁶⁹ Another letter “from a North American city” touched on the same issue: “No German in the Reich can imagine how badly everything German is reviled and besmirched. Against us ‘Barbarians’ were even the Cossack bearers of culture whose successes were cheered—in America, the land of the free!”⁷⁰



The German army as the benevolent occupier of the territory it conquered in the early days of the war. *Berliner Morgenpost*, November 8, 1914.

The horrifying prospect of a *Russian* triumph was raised more specifically in a letter that appeared in a least two German newspapers. On September 19, the *Berliner Morgenpost*, the most popular newspaper in Germany,⁷¹ and, the following day, the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* published in translation a letter that originally appeared in the *St. Louis Times*. The *Morgenpost* identified the author of “an open letter” as Dr. Paul Fletcher, a “member of the Senate of the American state of Missouri.” The *Lokal-Anzeiger*, on the other hand, did not identify the author of the letter but merely introduced its article as “An open letter from the *St. Louis Times*, which has, in translation, been placed at our

disposal. . . ." In addition to the fact that Fletcher, at least by his entry in the 1910 federal census, showed no evidence of a link to German-America, the two renditions of his letter offered an interesting contrast to other occasions where letters originating in the United States appeared in more than one German newspaper. Such shared letters were generally little more than copies, in whole or in part, of letters published elsewhere. But while both the *Morgenpost* and *Lokal-Anzeiger* printed a version of Fletcher's letter, each of them included some material that the other did not, and, when covering the same material, provided different translations of the English-language original. Both versions spoke to the possibility that a victory by the Entente powers of Great Britain, France, and Russia might lead to the unthinkable ("undenkbar" in the *Morgenpost*, "nicht zu begreifen" in the *Lokal-Anzeiger*)—that the "Russian hordes" might be permitted to achieve "the destruction of the culture of the German Reich." In their accounts of Fletcher's letter, and in contradistinction to the absence of cultural contributions on the part of Russia, both newspapers asserted Germany's preeminence in the arts and sciences, though the *Morgenpost's* rendition cited the doctor's own field of medicine ("In meinem Fache, der Medizin, haben die Deutschen unbestreitbar die Führung übernommen."), while the *Lokal-Anzeiger's* pointed to the natural sciences ("entsinne ich mich nicht eines einzigen in den Grenzen des russischen Reiches, der einen wertvollen Beitrag zu den Naturwissenschaften geliefert hätte"). The *Morgenpost* concluded its account of Fletcher's letter in this way: "In contrast to the international prostitutes (*Buhlerinnen*) France and England in the forefront and, behind them, Russia, that enemy of freedom and apostle of darkness, Germany offers the world the heroic image of a people of the purest nobility of soul, that, in the twilight of civilization, must fight for its existence." The *Lokal-Anzeiger* chose to cite Fletcher's closing words (in translation) regarding the frightening prospect of the Czar as the autocratic ruler of "today's great, united Germany! The victory of the Entente powers (*Allierten*) means a return to the time of the cavemen and the residents of the Stone Age."⁷²

If the change in mood described above did not ease the minds of German-Americans in every respect, it did at least seem to provide them with a certain confidence as the war continued. The German military, both on land and at sea, had scored some notable victories; newspaper coverage in the United States, while often unsympathetic to the German cause, had begun to provide a more balanced picture of the course of events; and German-Americans had developed a sense of unity and confidence as they challenged what they took to be a pro-British narrative in much of the American press and as they worked to raise funds for the Old Fatherland. Perhaps this new mood was captured by the correspondent from Long Branch, New Jersey, whose letter

was cited above: "If one were previously ashamed to read the German press here, today one can say it loud and clear to all the world: I am a German, I am a Teuton, and the world is mine."⁷³

* * *

The letters treated in this essay touched on a variety of subjects. Two among them were central: whether German-Americans would, or even could, come together as a force in a world at war, and how they could assist the Old Fatherland in its battle against England and her allies. Those letters showed German-Americans to be generally sympathetic to, and supportive of, the Old Fatherland as it very quickly confronted Russia, France, England, Serbia, and Japan, and they reflected a renewed sense of Germanness—*Deutschtum*—in the United States. The letters reflected both a willingness on the part of German and German-American reservists to return to Germany and fight for the Kaiser, and their inability to do so, and they described financial sacrifices that German-Americans were willing to make in behalf of widows, orphans, and wounded soldiers in the Old Fatherland. There were even accounts of the sometimes tense relations between German-Americans and their fellow Americans. Yet, despite the change of mood discussed in some of the letters, by late autumn of 1914 the prospect that German-Americans might be able to affect either newspaper coverage of the war by the English-language press in the United States or the policies of the U.S. government to the benefit of Germany had faded if not disappeared entirely, all of this well before the German government in February 1915 unleashed its U-boats against merchant ships, neutral or combatant, carrying material to England, and well before a German U-boat sank the *Lusitania* in May 1915. For the German press by the end of 1914, what happened with relations between Imperial Germany and the United States had largely sorted itself out, and nothing that happened there was likely to benefit Germany.

It seems fair to say that the press in Germany was interested in the fate of German-America, and the letters treated in this essay provided snapshots of how German-America was faring as Imperial Germany went to war. The stories told in the letters were interesting in themselves. After all, millions of Germans in the Old Fatherland had relatives in the New World. But those letters, along with other reporting from the United States, were perhaps even more valuable in another sense as they offered indications of whether or not the United States would in any way pursue policies that would benefit the Kaiser's Reich. Almost inevitably, more favorable policies on the part of the U.S. government toward Germany would require a change of heart by the larger population, which gave every indication of holding to its support for

England. This was not lost on the correspondent, the resident of a small town near Pittsburgh, whose letter, composed in the middle of October, was discussed above. In that letter he wrote that "The most difficult job of the German press [in the U.S.] and of individuals [here] was and is to carry out the necessary enlightenment of the Americans. Despite every effort, thus far not much has been achieved; even so, that work will continue undeterred, and the small fruits of today promise a better harvest for tomorrow."⁷⁴

But there were any number of indicators that, by the end of autumn, German-America's "small fruits" had not yielded a "better harvest," that neither the larger American public nor the U.S. government was persuaded to support policies that would work to Germany's advantage. From the outset it was clear that, whatever the wishes of her reservists in the United States, Germany was not to benefit by their returning to the Old Fatherland. The Royal Navy had quickly seen to that.

By October 1914 most of the tourists who had been visiting Germany when war began—some 25,000 souls⁷⁵—, and who had been eye-witnesses as the Old Fatherland mobilized for war, returned to the United States. Once there, those tourists made the case that Germany had not caused the war and that the Kaiser's armed forces had achieved a number of successes both on the battlefield and high seas, but their testimony had little effect on their fellow Americans.⁷⁶ Moreover, the physical and personal connection represented by the presence of German-American sojourners in the Old Fatherland all but ceased to exist.

An exchange of telegrams between the Kaiser and President Wilson had no discernible effect on the course of events. In his September 7 message to President Wilson "as the preeminent representative of the principles of humanity" (*als den hervorragendsten Vertreter der Grundsätze der Menschlichkeit*), the Kaiser had described outrages committed by the French in using dum-dum bullets and by the Belgian civilian population that in its guerilla war perpetrated atrocities against wounded German soldiers, doctors, and nurses, all of this, so said the Kaiser, justifying the harsh retaliation carried out by the German army. In closing, the Kaiser insisted that "*My heart bleeds* when I see that such measures [taken by the German army] have become unavoidable, and when I think about the countless innocent people who have lost their homes and property *as a result of the barbarian behavior of those* [French and Belgian] *criminals.*"⁷⁷ In reply the President told the Kaiser this: "I pray to God that this war may very quickly come to an end." Nevertheless, Wilson thought it "unwise" for a non-combatant and "even incompatible" with the principle of neutrality for a nation such as his "to form a conclusive judgment or to give expression to it" regarding the charges made by the Kaiser.⁷⁸

Similarly, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg's September 2 communication

to representatives of the Associated Press and the United Press, which was a lengthy indictment of England and a defense of Germany, had little if any bearing on how the press in the United States viewed Germany's claims regarding the causes and course of the war.⁷⁹ And the possibility, mentioned now and again in the German press, that Woodrow Wilson and the United States might serve as arbiters in bringing the war to an early end faded as the belligerents continued to bloody each other in an unprecedented way.⁸⁰

Disappointing, to say the least, was the fact that U.S. protests against British treatment of neutral shipping had no impact on the possibility that American producers might be able to sell their goods to Germany.⁸¹ Perhaps more troubling still for Germany in all this were the increasingly frequent reports indicating that the Fatherland's enemies were able to trade with the United States while Germany was not, that, in fact, Germany's enemies were able to purchase war material from the U.S. to use against the Old Fatherland. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* found evidence of this in two publications, *Steel and Iron* and *Iron Age*. The newspaper's consideration of the issue led it to this conclusion: "Here therefore it can be said publicly and without any hesitation: American industry is by every means working to produce guns, ammunition, and still other war material and supplying them to countries that are our enemies (an das uns feindliche Ausland zu liefern)."⁸²

A late October article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* exposed its German readers to the possibility that America would be supplying airplanes to England. The article cited a German newspaper, the *Freie Presse*, published in Atlantic City, that described how three aircraft were shipped from a factory in Hammondsport, New York, to New York City, where they were loaded aboard the Cunard steamer *Mauretania*. "All of the packing and loading (*Verpackung und Einfrachtung*) was done in the dark of night and carried out with the greatest of secrecy. . . . There seems to be no doubt that the airplanes are destined for the English army command (*Heeresleitung*)."⁸³

Some weeks later Berlin's *Tägliche Rundschau* provided details about orders placed with companies in St. Louis: by the French military, footwear (*Schuhwerk*) costing \$250,000; by the British government from another St. Louis firm, also at a cost of \$250,000, 1,500 harnesses (*Geschirrausrüstungen*) to be used by horses in the service of British heavy artillery units; and a third arrangement, also with the British, for 10,000 saddles and 10,000 harnesses. And, "[W]ith the firm Oppenheim and Oberndorf (such genuinely American names! The editor.) (*welch echt amerikanische Namen! D. Red.*) the governments of England as well as France and also Russia have placed orders for gigantic numbers of soldiers shirts (*Soldatenhemden*)."⁸⁴

On a late November visit to Munich U.S. Ambassador to Germany James W. Gerard was asked whether American firms could supply war materials to

Germany's enemies since President Wilson had declared U.S. neutrality at the beginning of the world war. The ambassador replied that "he personally knows nothing of such deliveries; however, if the news about the transport of munitions and weapons from the Union [*sic*] should be confirmed, such would not be against international law. The things would have come from private suppliers, and they would send the same to Germany if it were to give orders over there. Of course the transport [of such articles to Germany] would then be more difficult and the risk greater."⁸⁵ Gerard's claim that the mood in America was beginning to turn in favor of Germany and Austria-Hungary notwithstanding, his remarks were not likely to have reassured Germans about the role that the United States would play as the war continued.

Troubling as well was the possibility that the United States might supply submarines to Germany's enemies, a possibility that was raised at the end of the year. Notable in this regard was an article carried by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in December. According to that article, "Secretary of State Bryan announced that the Fore River Shipbuilding Company submits to the wishes of President Wilson and does not want *to build any submarines for the belligerents* (für die Kriegführenden) *in Europe.*" A few days later that same newspaper revisited the subject by quoting Secretary Bryan's explanation (*Erklärung*) of the matter. In Bryan's account, the U.S. Department of State had received news that the Fore River Company would be building "a number of submarines for one of the Allies." Bryan pursued the matter, discussing it with Charles Schwab and meeting with President Wilson. The President told the Secretary to inform Schwab that his firm would not be permitted to build the submarines. Shortly after his meeting with the President, Bryan received a call from Schwab telling him that "he submits to the view of the president in the matter, and that I could announce that his [Schwab's] firm *will build no submarines for delivery to any belligerent state during the remainder of the war.*" The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* concluded its article with this observation: "It is to be hoped that the decision in this case will prevent any further discussion about the construction of ships in the United States."⁸⁶

There was little discussion of American policy in the letters treated in this essay, though other articles in German newspapers were quite concerned with whether U.S. actions in the war were genuinely neutral and even-handed. As 1914 neared its end, there seemed to be little indication that German-Americans had been able to persuade the U.S. government that it should pursue a policy that would improve Germany's chances in what had quickly become a world at war. But events had not waited on either German-Americans or the U.S. government. Somewhat ironically, on September 5, the same day that the correspondent in Warrenton, Missouri, wrote a letter that made its way to the *Tägliche Rundschau*—discussed above—, the French

Sixth Army attacked the right wing of the German First Army, some twenty-five miles northeast of Paris. This, the Battle of the Marne, would last a week and would prevent the German army from destroying the French army and capturing Paris. If, in the judgment of one historian, “much of the combat on the Marne was . . . tactically indecisive. . . , [it was] strategically and operationally . . . a truly decisive battle in the Napoleonic sense. . . . With hindsight, some would say that [with it] Germany had already lost the war.”⁸⁷

German-Americans would continue to support the needy in the Old Fatherland. On December 8, the *Nordeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on the generosity and commitment of New Yorker Richard August Schnabel, who as an honorary citizen of Hückeswagen was sending 10,000 M to the Liebesgaben Committee there. In his letter, which accompanied his donation, Schnabel noted that “in New York’s German circles and especially in the Deutsche Verein, of which I am a member, significant sums have been collected and sent over there as *Liebesgaben*. As with those over there, we here hold close to our heart the success of German weapons and the well-being of our dear Fatherland, and we look to the future in complete confidence.”⁸⁸ And later that month Berlin newspapers would report on the donation of Christmas gifts filling “not less than six railroad cars with a weight of altogether some 33,000 kilograms.” These gifts, to be distributed in Berlin, were collected by American young people—presumably German-American young people—for the orphans of fallen German soldiers.⁸⁹ Such efforts could not conceal the fact that in the summer and autumn of 1914 U.S. policy toward Germany had not benefitted the Reich. And things would not improve in that regard. In the first four months of the war, German-Americans had not made themselves into an effective voice that could move the United States even to a genuinely neutral policy in the conflict. The pressure on German-Americans to distance themselves from the Old Fatherland would increase in 1915, and, by April 1917, they would find themselves living in a United States that was at war with their ancestral homeland.

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Notes

¹ For a recent account of developments transpiring between the assassination in Sarajevo and the beginning of hostilities, see Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013).

A headline on page 1 of the August 1, 1914, edition of the *Berliner Morgenpost* [hereafter, in citations, *BM*] prospectively employed the term “world war,” thus, even before German troops crossed into Belgium and Luxembourg: “Vor dem Weltkrieg. Ein befristete Note an

Rußland. – Deutschland im Kriegszustand."

² At least two Berlin dailies referred to the "halbamtliche *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*" [hereafter, in citations, *NAZ*]. See "Zur Festnahme der Engländer in Deutschland, *Tägliche Rundschau* [hereafter, in citations, *TR*]," November 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3, and "Die englische Krieganleihe – made in Germany [*sic*]," *Deutsche Tageszeitung* [hereafter, in citations, *DT*], November 27, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3.

³ "Neutralitätserklärung der Vereinigten Staaten [datelined "Washington, 5. August.]" and "Die Deutschamerikaner," *NAZ*, August 6, 1914, 1.

⁴ "Aufklärung des Auslandes," *Frankfurter Zeitung* [hereafter, in citations, *FZ*], August 19, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 2.

⁵ "Berlin, den 8. September. Politischer Tagesbericht," *NAZ*, September 9, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1. For Wilson's response, see "Antwort des Präsidenten Wilson auf das Telegramm des Kaisers," *NAZ*, October 8, 1914, 2, and "Richtigstellung," *NAZ*, October 8, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2. The Kaiser's telegram addressed what he insisted was the perfidy of the Entente powers, specifically the French army's use of dum-dum bullets and the Belgian government's carefully prepared resort to guerilla warfare on the part of that nation's civilian population. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* commented on the Kaiser's "fiery protest," a highly unusual and urgent step: "In no other way could one tear apart that web of lies and fables that our enemies all over the world have spun about us." "Frankfurt, 10. September," *FZ*, September 10, 1914, Abendblatt, 1.

⁶ "Mitteilung des Reichskanzlers an die Vertreter der 'United Preß' und der 'Associated Preß,'" *NAZ*, September 7, 1914, Montags-Ausgabe, 1.

⁷ See, for example, "Die Haltung der ausländische Presse," in Berlin's *Der Tag*, August 14, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2.

⁸ Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15. Peter Fritzsche reported that, in 1914 "an astonishing 4,200 newspapers . . . were published in Germany." See his *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 53.

For a more elaborate treatment of German newspapers as representatives of political parties and positions and, in particular, of the connections between those newspapers and the German foreign office, see Klaus Wernecke, *Der Wille zur Weltgeltung: Außenpolitik und Öffentlichkeit im Kaiserreich am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1970).

⁹ For a different approach to correspondence between German-Americans and Germany during World War I, see Antje Kreipe, "Wir wurden mit Euch bekriegt von unseren eigenen Mitbürger: Die Deutschamerikaner und der Erste Weltkrieg," Staatsexamensarbeit, Ruhr Universität Bochum, October 1999.

Although most of the letters in these volumes predate World War I, there are some written during the Great War. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt, 1830-1930* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1988), 265-67 and 474-76, and Kamphoefner, Helbich, and Sommer, eds., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1991 [paperback]), 278-80 and 503-04.

¹⁰ The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Postverbindung mit Amerika," October 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 3) published a telegram sent to the Postmaster General of the United States by the American Association of Commerce and Trade in Berlin. In that telegram the Association reported on its concerns about delays in the movement of mail between Germany and the U.S.: "Letters three to seven weeks in transit. Printed matter regular. Many American businesses (*Häuser*) here complain that mail does not arrive."

Except for correspondence originating with German nationals, persons living in the United States were the authors of most of the letters that were published in German newspapers

in the summer and autumn of 1914, though, on occasion, German newspapers did publish letters from persons living in other neutral countries. Within three weeks of the beginning of hostilities, however, another kind of letter, the *Feldpostbrief*, began appearing in the German press. These letters from members of the German armed forces provided the newspaper readers with eyewitness accounts of what German soldiers, and occasionally sailors, faced in combat. And the accounts therein would sometimes describe measures on the part of Belgians, French, and Russians that would seem to justify the harsh responses that the German military inflicted on residents of the territories that it occupied. Perhaps indicative of what was to come were the *Feldpostbriefe* published on the front page of the *Norddeutscher Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 19 (Erste Ausgabe): "Aus dem Feldpostbrief eines Lüttichstürmers," a letter previously printed in the *Magdeburgische Zeitung*; "Nächtlicher Ueberfall auf deutsche Soldaten"; and "Zwei Brigaden—Drei Tote, achtzehn Verwundete," a *Feldpostbrief* previously printed in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*.

¹¹ "German-America" was not at the start of the war entirely "geographically fixed." Thousands of German-Americans were visiting the Old Fatherland when the war began, and some of them wrote letters that eventually appeared in German newspapers. See, for example, "Abschiedsbrief eines Amerikaners" and "Heimkehrende Amerikaner," *NAZ*, August 22, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2 and 3 respectively; "Sympathiekundgebungen von Ausländern," *NAZ*, September 19, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1; and "Amerikanische Dankbarkeit," *KZ*, November 21, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1.

¹² One German-American, living in London at the outbreak of war and subsequently relocating to "a city in the Rhineland," wrote to "a German friend." A portion of her letter, which conveyed her impressions about the situation in England when war began, was published by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*: "Die Kriegswut der Engländer," *NAZ*, October 9, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2.

¹³ "Amerika-Deutsche," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* [hereafter, in citations, *MNM*], September 23, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, 2.

¹⁴ Although not in the form of a letter from the United States, the German press would at least in one instance present American testimony regarding unity. In an article entitled "Die Wahrheit in Amerika," the *Kölnische Zeitung* (October 24, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe [1 Uhr-Ausgabe], 2 [hereafter, in citations, *KZ*]) reproduced in German translation an article from the New York *Evening Post* which spoke to the evidence of national unity as witnessed by American tourists "in Munich or Frankfurt or Berlin" in the first days of the war.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* had earlier pronounced the New York *Evening Post* as the "undisputably best and most serious newspaper in the United States." See "Eine Stimme aus den Vereinigten Staaten," October 9, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2.

In a letter dated September 14, an "expert" on America informed the *Tägliche Rundschau* that the *Evening Post* was a "praiseworthy exception" to the generally anti-German orientation of the press in the New York City area. To that expert the *Evening Post* had "successfully attempted to adopt an unbiased point of view. It carries all the European reports, but unvarnished, and leaves it to the reader to judge for himself. It is to be regretted that this outstanding paper reaches fewer of the masses because it is three times as expensive as almost all the other newspapers." See "Newyorker Zeitungen während des Krieges," *TR*, October 15, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2.

And in referring to an article in the *Evening Post* that reported quite favorably as to how Germans in the Old Fatherland had come together as their country went to war, the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* [hereafter, in citations, *BNM*] had this to say: "After so many statements of complete incomprehension [regarding the situation in Germany] one is doubly and triply pleased to see such a warm-hearted, penetrating judgment. From the *Evening Post* we would of course have expected scarcely anything else. We know that it has been for many years the leading newspaper for truly educated and distinguished, thinking Americans." See "Eine

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amerikanische Stimme über Deutschland," *BNN*, October 24, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

¹⁵ Wernecke, *Der Wille zur Weltgeltung*, 22.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* was an especially active German newspaper in reporting on events in "German-America." Wernecke (21) described the *KZ* as National Liberal on domestic politics and noted that it took "a leading role as mouthpiece (*Sprachrohr*) of the Foreign Office." Another scholarly publication referred to it as "National Liberal" and "generally pro-government." See John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914. A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 105, 134. On the eve of the World War the National Liberal Party occupied the "center-right" position on the German political spectrum. Still another scholar characterized the *KZ* as "the main organ of the Government (after the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*) [*sic*], and the mouthpiece of the German Foreign Office. . . ." See David Welch, *Germany, Propaganda and Total War, 1914-1918. The Sins of Omission* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 59.

¹⁶ "Unwiderstehlich—im Lügen!" *KZ*, October 12, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2.

¹⁷ "Ein Stimmungsbild aus Amerika," *KZ*, September 19, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

One article, published some two months after the war began, described the obstacles confronting German-Americans who wished to be informed about "Germany's truth" regarding the cause and course of the war. Said the author of that article, probably a U.S.-based reporter for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, "As I have already previously reported, the mood of the Americans with respect to the war, insofar as it is reflected in the press, is completely on the side of the Allies. I know of not one newspaper published here in the English language that has declared itself for Germany and Austria." "Die Stimmung in Amerika," *FZ*, October 4, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 1.

¹⁸ "Vaterlandsliebe der Deutsch-Amerikaner," *Vossische Zeitung* [hereafter, in citations, *VZ*], November 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 4, and "★Amerika-Deutsche," *MNN*, November 12, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, 3.

¹⁹ "Die Deutsch-Amerikaner," *KZ*, October 2, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1-2.

A month later the *Kölnische Zeitung* would quote the *Omaha Tribune* in supporting the claim that the war had affected *Deutschtum* even "in the most remote areas": "The world-historical events of recent weeks have had the good effect of *shaking* German-America out of its *lethargy*, and [those events] have welded together a bond of hearts and minds." See "Von den Deutschen in Amerika," *KZ*, November 1, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

²⁰ "Grüße aus Amerika," *TR*, October 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 6-7.

²¹ "Brief aus Amerika," *Berliner Tageblatt* [hereafter, in citations, *BT*], September 25, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 5-6. The full title of the publication was *The Fatherland: Fair Play for Germany and Austria*.

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* observed that the need to create *The Fatherland* to treat what one would think was the obvious "truly speaks whole volumes." For the *NAZ* it was a sign of the times that, decades-long, have suffered "the systematic Anglophilic falsification of everything that has happened and that has inflicted unspeakable damage to German interests throughout the world." See "Amerika. Eine amerikanische Zeitschrift zum Schutze Deutschlands und Oesterreichs," September 2, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1.

A letter dated August 10 that was sent from New York and placed at the disposal of the *Kölnische Zeitung* referred to "an English[-language] Kampfschrift 'The Fatherland.'" See "Die Stimmung in Amerika," *KZ*, August 24, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2. The *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* [hereafter, in citations, *M-AA*] ("Die Stimmung in Amerika," August 27, 1914, 5) reprinted most of the letter as it had appeared in the *KZ*. The *Kölnische Zeitung* would on one occasion ("Der deutsche Leutnant," November 7, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 2) refer to the *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* as "a liberal Bavarian newspaper."

The *Tägliche Rundschau* ("Freunde in Amerika," October 31, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3) pointed to the difficulty that the German-American press and the National German-American Alliance faced in countering the partisan lies produced by the British and French. The English-language *Fatherland* was established because "the large majority of all Americans understand either no German at all or at least not enough in order for the truth to reach them." The article noted that copies of *The Fatherland* were regularly sent without charge to 2,500 of the most important Anglo-American newspapers. "Its favorable influence on American public opinion is clearly evidenced by the fact that many of its articles have been reprinted in the daily press of the United States."

The Fatherland was not only a publication but also a publisher of material intended to arm German-Americans in their efforts to justify the actions of Germany. The November 11, 1914, issue of *The Fatherland* would, for example, carry ads for *The German White Book*, Hugo Muensterberg's *The War and America* (discussed below), *Truth about Germany. Facts About the War*, and *Germany's Just Cause*. Except for Munsterberg's book, priced at \$1.10, these publications were available for \$.10 each.

²² "Ein wackerer Helfer," *KZ*, November 10, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 2. The *Tägliche Rundschau* ("Unser 'Neutralitätsbruch,'" November 27, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2) would carry in translation an article from *The Vital Issue* that intended to set the record straight regarding the charge that Germany violated Belgian neutrality in August 1914. The author of that article was Professor John W. Burgess of Columbia University, a teacher of constitutional law and an occasional contributor to that publication. The article as it appeared in *The Vital Issue* (October 10, 1914, 3-4) carried this lengthy title: "Belgian Neutrality. It's [*sic*] Real Meaning. Why the German Chancellor Called the Neutrality Guarantee a 'Scrap of Paper'. Histories of Various Treaties." In an earlier edition of the publication (September 7, 1914, 6) Burgess described himself as "an Anglo-American of the earliest stock and the most pronounced type . . . But [an] Admirer of Germany." Some of Burgess's work appeared in early issues of *The Fatherland* ("Prof. John W. Burgess Champions Germany," September 6, 1914, 14, and "Professor John W. Burgess, Champions Germany," September 14, 1914, 13-14). He also contributed three brief articles to the multi-authored book/pamphlet *Germany's Just Cause*, an ad for which appeared on page 16 of the October 28, 1914, issue of *The Fatherland*.

The Vital Issue was born in New York as the *News Examiner and Commentator* on August 24, 1914. That issue stated that "The object of this paper is to give a true and correct interpretation of all important events." The publication next appeared on September 7 with the title *The Vital Issue. Bi-Weekly Paper for TRUE INFORMATION ready to help all who fight for PRINCIPLES, IDEALS, HONOR and JUSTICE*.

With its October 23, 1915, issue, the publication was renamed *Issues and Events*. Doing so, the editor remarked, "will give us an opportunity to discuss not merely the world-war alone, but a great many issues which arise from it."

²³ The *Vossische Zeitung* on August 15 ("Die Aufklärung Amerikas," Abend-Ausgabe, 3-4) reported that it had received "a little book, in a yellow envelope," which left the printing press the day before. "This little *Gelbbuch* should enlighten the American public about Germany, whose enemies control the transoceanic cable and fill the world with lies. A few hundred of our American friends are leaving German soil today. They are taking with them the translation of the *White Book*, in which the Reich's government laid out before the German Reichstag the prehistory of the war, and this *Yellow Book* that was written for the enlightenment of America." (This title is not to be confused with *The French Yellow Book*, a collection of documents that was, in part at least, the French government's response to Germany's *White Book*, and that intended to show how "Germany Forced the War.")

The *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* ("Die Aufklärung Amerikas," September 20, 1914, Sonntagsblatt, 8C) reprinted the *Vossische Zeitung* article—including the title—in calling its readers' attention to the publication. In a subsequent article ("Aufruf," September 23, 1914,

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9) the *Staats-Zeitung* described the financial difficulties of producing such material in the United States. The *Staats-Zeitung* did publish material from the "Truth about Germany." See, for example, "From 'The Truth About Germany.' IX. Neutrality by the Grace of England," September 27, 1914, *Sonntagsblatt*, 2A.

The Vital Issue began publishing excerpts from *The Truth about Germany* in its issue of October 31, 1914 (page 14). This first excerpt included an "American Forward" provided by John Burgess.

²⁴ On August 4, at the very outset of hostilities, a preliminary draft of the *White Book* was delivered to members of the Reichstag and published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Vorläufige Denkschrift zum Kriegsausbruch," Sonder-Ausgabe, 1-4). And by that same date some German newspapers were already using the title by which the text would be known. It did not take long for the German government to realize that an English-language version of *Das Weißbuch* could serve as a weapon that German-Americans returning to the United States could use in the battle for public opinion being conducted in the U.S. This "war of lies" seemed to blame Germany for the outbreak of war. Among the many renditions of the *White Book* was one produced by the German-American publisher of *The Fatherland: The German White Book with Important Official Addenda. Documents Anent the Outbreak of the European War. Issued by the German Government. Authorized Edition for America* (New York: The Fatherland [1915]). Editions of the *White Book* are available online at the Hathi Trust Digital Library (hathitrust.org).

²⁵ "Die Stimmung in Amerika," *FZ*, October 6, 1914, *Abendblatt*, 2.

An abbreviated article on this matter was published in the *Tägliche Rundschau*: "Der Eindruck des 'Deutschen Weißbuches' in Baltimore," October 7, 1914, *Morgen-Ausgabe*, 3. This was another example of how German newspapers reproduced, with or without modification, letters that appeared in other German papers.

²⁶ "Ein Brief aus Amerika," *NAZ*, October 5, 1914, *Montags-Ausgabe*, 2. The letter, as it appeared in the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* ("Deutsche Treue im fernen Westen," October 6, 1914, *Morgen-Ausgabe*, 6), did not include the remark about the correspondent's military service in Germany.

A somewhat more emphatic if not entirely convincing assertion of unity among Americans—not just German-Americans—and support for Germany appeared in a letter published by the *Hannoversche Courier* and later printed in a Cologne daily. In that letter the president of the B. F. Goodrich Company in Akron, Ohio, insisted that "My sympathies in this time of war are completely with Germany, and I believe it is safe to say that *all Americans think the same*." See "Amerikanische Sympathien," *KZ*, August 18, 1914, *Zweite Morgen-Ausgabe*, 3.

²⁷ "Ein amerikanischer Jugendfreund Dernburgs," *NAZ*, November 4, 1914, *Zweite Ausgabe*, 1.

For Dernburg's arrival in the United States see "Graf Bernstorff und Dernburg in Amerika," *Der Tag*, August 27, 1914, *Morgenausgabe*, 2.

²⁸ "Briefe aus Amerika," *BT*, September 24, 1914, 5.

The Irish were also mentioned in a lengthy letter dated October 20 written by a correspondent in Grant City (Greater New York City) to "My dear Joseph" in Cologne. The latter placed it at the disposal of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. In part, the letter had this to say: "In this difficult hour the German-American has found a true friend in the *Irish-American*. The Irish nationalists, who want to liberate themselves from the British yoke, have extended their hand to us in the fight against the Anglophile opinion-makers in America." "Aus einem New Yorker Brief," *KZ*, November 15, 1914, *Erste Morgen-Ausgabe*, 2-3.

A letter from New York—from "a true expert on America and a friend of our newspaper"—provided the exact date on which reliable news began to reach the United States: "The *truth* originally saw the light of day [here in the United States] on August 20 when the first mail,

letters, and newspapers arrived from Germany.” See “Newyorker Zeitungen während des Krieges,” *TR*, October 15, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 1-2.

²⁹ “Aus einem Briefe von Professor Münsterberg,” *KZ*, October 22, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe (1 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1.

The *New York Times* [hereafter, in citations, *NYT*] subsequently (October 24, 1914, 3) published an article that included in English a portion of Münsterberg’s letter as it appeared in the Cologne newspaper. The *Times* article carried the headline “Fake, Says Muensterberg. Denies Letter Printed Over His Name In The Cologne Gazette [sic].” Beyond the headline, however, the article carried no indication that Münsterberg denied having written the letter. The *Times* article was accessed online at proquest.com.

Berlin’s *Tägliche Rundschau* (“Die Wahrheit in Amerika,” October 25, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 6) not only printed the excerpt from Münsterberg’s letter as it appeared in the *Kölnische Zeitung* but also mentioned the professor’s recently published book *The War and America* (discussed below).

³⁰ “Offener Brief an Herrn Prof. Hugo Münsterberg, Harvard-Universität, Cambridge (Mass.), Amerika,” *KZ*, August 24, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe (1 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1. Whether originally a part of Rosenberg’s letter, or whether added by the newspaper, the place of origin and the date of the letter carried this tag: “On the eve of the German victory in Lorraine.”

³¹ “Professor Münsterberg an die Amerikaner,” *KZ*, August 25, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1.

Münsterberg’s article in the *Evening Post* carried the title “Fair Play for Germany” (August 8, 1914, Final Edition, 3). His remarks, as introduced by the *Evening Post*, were apparently part of “a discussion in a recent issue of the Boston *Herald* of who is to blame for the present great war in Europe.” For its part, the *Kölnische Zeitung* introduced Münsterberg’s remarks by placing them among those “powerful attempts on the part of German-Americans . . . to liberate public opinion in [the United States] from the web of lies, the Anglo/French-produced fraudulent news, that has captured [the U.S.].” In his book *The War and America* (page 30) Münsterberg would claim that “the ‘Fair Play’ article has been reprinted in more than fifty large papers throughout the country and has brought forth a flood of letters to the editors for and against my plea.”

The *New York Times* also reported on Münsterberg’s remarks: “Says Crisis Forced Kaiser to Fight,” August 9, 1914, 5 (accessed online at proquest.com).

³² For Danzig as his place of birth see Münsterberg’s book *The War and America*, 63.

³³ See “Amerika. Eine amerikanische Zeitschrift zum Schutze Deutschlands und Oesterreichs,” *NAZ*, September 2, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2, and “Freunde in Amerika,” *TR*, October 31, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

Münsterberg’s early contributions to *The Fatherland* included “Fair Play” (August 10, 1914, 10-11) and “Where the Crowd Stands” (August 17, 1914, 7-8). For the most part, the former duplicated Münsterberg’s August 8 article in the *Evening Post*.

Münsterberg was also a presence in *The Vital Issue*. See “Treatment of German Civilians in England. Letter from a German to Professor Münsterberg,” November 21, 1914, 14.

For Münsterberg as one of the “well-known German scholars” who are attempting to combat “the anti-German mood” in the United States, see “Die Stimmung in Amerika,” *FZ*, October 4, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 1.

³⁴ Hugo Münsterberg, *The War and America* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1914). Münsterberg dedicated the book “To all lovers of fair play.”

³⁵ “Der Krieg und Amerika,” *MNN*, November 14, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2. The author of the article is identified simply as “M.”

The *Kölnische Zeitung* also reviewed Münsterberg’s book, describing it as “a welcome guest from America,” and provided an excerpt from it. See “Der Krieg und die Amerikaner,” October 29, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1. In a reconsideration of the book, the *Kölnische*

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Zeitung still judged it "excellent and very worthwhile for our German cause" and provided an excerpt from it, yet suggested that the author had not fully appreciated the racial dimensions of England's perfidy in the war, in particular as it incited "its hypocritical yellow ally (*seinen gelben Heuchelgenossen*) in the Far East against us." See "Die Aufklärung der Amerikaner," November 12, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 1.

For Münsterberg's activities from the outbreak of war until the end of 1914, including the controversies ensuing from his pro-German activities and a discussion of his book, see Phyllis Keller, *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), 69-87.

³⁶ "Kriegsbriefe aus Amerika. V," *Kölnische Zeitung*, October 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 1.

The cartoons ("Louvain—The Return of the Goth," August 30, 1914, 8, and "Women and Children First," August 31, 1914, 6) and "Wood's letter, "Pictured Calumnies" (September 4, 1914, 6), all in the *New York Tribune*, are accessible online at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>.

Beginning on October 1, 1914, the *Kölnische Zeitung* ran a series of articles entitled "Kriegsbriefe aus Amerika." What seems to have been the last of the series, the fifth, appeared on October 8. Each of these articles carried a dateline of "Washington," and each letter within the articles carried its own date. The authors of the letters were not identified. Three of these articles carried a single letter, though Henry Wood's letter was in effect a letter within a letter. The other two articles included two and three letters respectively. The tone of some of these *Kriegsbriefe* seems less that of personal letters, and more that of a reporter sending reports back to the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The column containing Wood's letter was dated September 6, and it was subtitled "Die amerikanische Dreckschleuder."

³⁷ While Wood mentioned that he was "not of German birth or descent," that claim did not fully describe his relationship to Germany. A "Prof. Henry C. Wood, of Johns Hopkins University," served as the translator of an article ("Ernst Haeckel and Rudolph Eucken Rally to the Flag") that appeared on page 8 of the September 23, 1914, issue of *The Fatherland*, and, in an ad for that weekly that appeared on an unnumbered page in *Germany's Just Cause*, Wood was listed among the "Contributors" to *The Fatherland*.

Moreover, although Wood was not German, his wife Clotilde was. The 1920 Federal Census and her 1921 passport application indicate that she was born in Hergisdorf, Germany. Both records show her to be the wife of Baltimorean Henry Wood, with the census identifying her husband's occupation as a professor of literature.

For Clotilde Wood's census record: *1920 United States Federal Census* [database-on-line], for Clotilde Wood [Clotilde Wood], at Ancestry.com. For her October 6, 1921, passport application: *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database-on-line], for Clotilde V Ver Wood [Clotilde v. Kr. Wood], at Ancestry.com. Her passport was issued on October 15, 1921.

³⁸ Wood's letter appeared in "The People's Column: An Open Forum for Public Debate," *New York Tribune*, September 4, 1914, 6. The heading for his letter was "'Pictured Calumnies[.]' So a Critic Regards The Tribune's Belgian Cartoons."

³⁹ See "Wahrheit über deutsche Grausamkeiten," *VZ*, October 28, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2, and "Die Wahrheit über die deutschen Grausamkeiten (Ein amerikanisches Urteil)," *NAZ*, Erste Ausgabe, October 29, 1914, 2. The *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Tägliche Rundschau* provided abbreviated accounts of the letter, identifying its author only by "An American writes." See "Wie die schändlichen Lügen entstehen," *KZ*, October 28, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 2, and "Wie eine Verleumdung entsteht," *TR*, October 30, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 7.

Emil Bernard Ahlborn's 1922 passport application indicates that he was born in Swampscott, Massachusetts, and that his father, Henry C. Ahlborn, born in Germany, came to the United States in 1859. The 1870 United States Census lists Henry Ahlborn's place of birth

as Prussia and shows Emil Ahborn's mother to have been born in Massachusetts.

For the passport application: *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database-on-line], for Emil Bernard Ahlborn, at Ancestry.com. The passport was issued on April 24, 1922. For the census record: *1870 United States Federal Census* [database-on-line], for Henry C. Ahlborn, at Ancestry.com.

⁴⁰ For the article in the *Tägliche Rundschau* see "Die Wahrheit in Amerika," October 21, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2-3.

For the initial publication of the telegram, see "Alleged Cruelty of Germans Untrue, Statement of Tribune War Correspondents," *Chicago Daily Tribune* [hereafter, in citations, *CDT*], September 7, 1914, Final War Extra, 1. The five correspondents were James O'Donnell Bennett, *Chicago Tribune*; John T. McCutcheon, *Chicago Tribune*; Roger Lewis, the Associated Press; Irvin S. Cobb, *Saturday Evening Post*; and Harry Hansen, *Chicago Daily News*.

One of the five, Irvin Cobb, a reporter for the *Saturday Evening Post*, would a few months later reaffirm that conclusion: "Finally, to their credit be it said, we personally did not see one German, whether officer or private, who mistreated any citizen, or was offensively rude to any citizen, or who refused to pay a fair reckoning for what he bought, or who was conspicuously drunk." See Irvin S. Cobb, *Paths of Glory: Impressions of War Written At and Near the Front*. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1915. Cobb's introductory "Note" to the volume is dated January, 1915. This statement would not appear in a revised edition of his book that was published after the United States entered the war. That revised edition included two new chapters in which Cobb both defended himself against charges that his 1914 reporting had marked him as pro-German and explained what was behind the brutality of the German army in Belgium and France. For the second volume, see Irvin S. Cobb, *Paths of Glory: Impressions of War Written At and Near the Front*. Revised Edition. New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1918. Cobb's "Revised Foreword" is dated January, 1918. The two volumes are available online at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000447620> and <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005875655>.

For German newspaper coverage of the five correspondents' original statement see, as examples, "Amerikanisches Zeugnis für deutsche Manneszucht," *DT*, September 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Amerikanisches Zeugnis für die deutschen Truppen," *Der Tag*, September 11, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 5 (of the Nachrichten-Teil); "Ein amerikanisches Zeugnis für die deutschen Truppen," *FZ*, September 11, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 2; "Ein amerikanisches Zeugnis für deutsche Kriegführung," *VZ*, September 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Erklärungen der amerikanischen Kriegskorrespondenten," *M-AA*, September 11, 1914, 2; "Das Zeugnis amerikanischer Pressevertreter [with this report attributed to the Wolff Telegraph Bureau]," *NAZ*, September 11, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1. "[W]hen war broke out, [the] WTB became the German newspapers' sole source of official war news." See Welch, *Germany, Propaganda and Total War*, 28.

At least two German newspapers found it unlikely that the statement made by the five American correspondents would prevent the British propaganda machine from making further claims of German atrocities: "Of course, this explanation by independent eyewitnesses will not prevent the English from manufacturing additional fairy tales about the German barbarians that will give neutral countries the creeps (*wird . . . nicht hindern, mit weiteren Märchen über die deutschen Barbaren das neutrale Ausland gruseln zu machen*)." See "Ein unparteiliches Zeugnis," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* [hereafter, in citations, *BV-Z*], September 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2. (The *BV-Z* was accessed online at zefys.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de.) And this in the *Kölnische Zeitung* ("Die Wahrheit über deutsche Brutalitäten," October 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 1), referring to the testimony of the five reporters: "That is a statement made under oath. And what does the English-language press do with it? It treats it like an ordinary event, placing it in a familiar corner and using ordinary, unobtrusive print. The average newspaper reader, and that represents 99 percent of the entire body of readers, focuses only on that which leaps out at him.

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As a result, he will not read the testimony of the five trustworthy individuals, and, as before, he will talk claptrap about the dreadful things done by the Germans, and the newspapers will print his angry letters, and that impression will stick with the public for all time."

Horne and Kramer (*German Atrocities, 1914*, 251-53) place this reporting within a larger context.

⁴¹ "German Atrocities Fiction, So Far as Tribune Men in Belgium Can Find," *CDT*, September 17, 1914, 1, 4.

An adjacent item ("Elaborates and Confirms 'Round Robin' Denying Charges of German Cruelty") explains the journey that the message took to reach the United States and indicates that "its statements have Mr. McCutcheon's full approval."

In addition to O'Donnell Bennett's English-language "message," the *Tribune*, in order "To give the widest publicity possible" to it, also provided a German-language version "courtesy of the [Illinois] *Staats Zeitung*, . . . [which] prepared the translation for its own use and for the use here made of the German text." See "Bennett's Message from Aix Translated Into German. Die Wahrheit erringt Sieg. Amerikanische Denkschrift über 'deutsche Grausamkeiten' Londoner Zensur entgegen," *CDT*, September 17, 1914, 5.

⁴² Here I have used the English-language version of the report as it appeared in the *Tribune*.

⁴³ The *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Tägliche Rundschau* published the "round robin" under the same headline: "Ein Wahrheitszeuge über die deutsche Kriegführung" (*KZ*, October 14, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 2, and the *TR*, October 15, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 7-8, which cited the *Kölnische Zeitung* article of the previous day).

"List of Alleged German Outrages Presented to Wilson," *CDT*, September 17, 7; "Belgian Charges Against Foe Laid Before President Tell of Cities and Villages Destroyed by Germans; Men Shot, Women and Children Victims of Outrages," *Washington Post* [hereafter, in citations, *WP*], September 17, 1914, 3; and "President Hears Belgian Charges. Documents Placed in His Hands Accuse German Soldiers of Many Atrocities," *NYT*, September 17, 1914, 4. For a "Summary of Charges. Prepared by Belgian Commission from Report Handed to the President. Special to the New York Times," see *NYT*, September 17, 1914, 4. These articles were accessed at proquest.com.

⁴⁴ "Die feindlichen Verwundeten bei den Deutschen," *MNN*, October 13, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, 2. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Verwundete Feinde in deutscher Pflege," October 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 5) cited the Munich newspaper as it reprinted the "letter" from "an American woman working in Germany (*einer in Deutschland tätigen Amerikanerin*)."

⁴⁵ Ray Beveridge dedicated her book *Meine lieben Barbaren* (Berlin: Georg Stilke, 1917, unnumbered page) "To the memory of my mother, who taught me to love Germany." In his introduction to that book (pages 1-2), Dr. Hermann J. W. Schmidt said that Beveridge's "mother's second husband was a German, Baron Hermann von Wrede from Celle in Hanover, and as a result [Ray Beveridge] got acquainted with the German character and home life in a way that was seldom permitted to a foreigner." Ray and sister Kuhne were products of their mother's first marriage. (*Meine lieben Barbaren* is available online at <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN719800803>.)

In a book published twenty years later, Beveridge would recall that, while growing up in Illinois and "When we were somewhat older, mother sent my sister and me to a German school for young children (*in eine deutsche Kleinkinderschule*). And here the seed was planted that would develop in such a glorious way so as to bear the richest of fruit; here lay the roots of my love for Germany." See Ray Beveridge, *Mein Leben für Euch! Erinnerungen an glanzvolle und bewegte Jahre* (Berlin: Verlag Ullstein, 1937), 20.

⁴⁶ Clemenceau was at this time a prominent French politician and journalist, and a former and future premier of France.

Beveridge may have been reacting to a report carried by the *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* on September 21, 1914 ("Clemenceau, der Gemütsmensch," Montags-Ausgabe, 2). According to that report, Clemenceau asserted that wounded German prisoners held in France did not deserve the same level of care as others because of atrocities allegedly committed by Germans. (This article was accessed online at zefys.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de.)

⁴⁷ In newspapers and postcards German publishers would use the term "barbarians" ironically, generally when describing or depicting a scene in which Germans, often soldiers feeding children in France, or, in this case, nurses tending to enemy prisoners, were behaving humanely. For a defense of Germany against charges of barbarian behavior, see "Wir Barbaren," *KZ, Mittags-Ausgabe (1 Uhr-Ausgabe)*, September 3, 1914, 1-2. A lighthearted treatment (*harmlos liebenswürdigen Luftspiel*) of the subject was staged at Berlin's Apollo Theater in October, 1914. That production, set in France in the winter of 1870, showed how misplaced the fears of Marquis von Thérigny were when two Prussian officers—"barbarians"—lived with him for a couple of weeks during the Franco-Prussian War. See "Barbaren," *Vossische Zeitung*, October 6, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2. The ironic use of the term would also be captured by the title of Ray Beveridge's 1917 book, *Meine lichen Barbaren*.

That the issue of "barbarian" behavior on the part of the German army was likely to affect American perceptions of the way that Germany waged war was evidenced by a publication directed toward Americans. See Wilhelm Marten, *Deutsche Barbaren und englische Kultur-Dokumente aus belgischen Kampfstätten* (Berlin: Weltbund der Wahrheitsfreunde, n.d. [reprint from the collection of the University of Michigan Library]). The text of the volume is available online at the HathiTrust Digital Library: <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063883634;view=1up;seq=9>

For a brief discussion of Ray Beveridge's experiences at the lazarette and her decision to communicate with German newspapers and eventually return to the United States, see her *Mein Leben für Euch*, 186-89.

Beveridge would return to the United States on February, 15, 1915. In the application for a passport that she completed at the American Consulate in Hamburg on December 3, 1914 (with the passport issued on January 12, 1915), Beveridge indicated that she was born in Evanston, Illinois, on February 1, 1888; that she was the granddaughter of John L. Beveridge, former Governor of Illinois; that she was an actress; that she had left the United States in November 1910; that she was sojourning in Hamburg; and that her permanent residence was "Hollywood, Los Angeles," California. See *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database-on-line], for Ray Beveridge, at Ancestry.com. Beveridge would cite her February 1, 1888 date of birth on at least three other passport applications. However, other records indicate that she was born some ten years earlier. The 1880 federal census indicates that she was three years old on June 2, 1880, when her family was enumerated. (See the *1880 United States Federal Census* [database-on-line], for John L. Beveridge [John L. Beveridge] at Ancestry.com.) The passenger list for the November 24, 1888 (the year she later claimed to be born), New York arrival of the *Lahn* (ports of departure Bremen, Germany, and Southampton, England) gives Ray Beveridge's age as "9." (See the *New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [database-on-line], for Ray Beveridge, at Ancestry.com.)

Upon her return to the United States Beveridge was interviewed by a representative of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. The newspaper's account of that interview began with the observation that, "Since yesterday, German-America has a new ally (*Bundesgenossen*) in its battle against lies and hypocrisy." Beveridge, who, according to the article, had returned to the United States "to speak the truth to her countrymen," told the *Staats-Zeitung's* representative that "You have no idea of what I am ready to do (*wozu ich fähig bin*). . . . I could commit a murder for Germany." See "Zittere, Park Row! Ray Beveridge ist fähig, 'für Deutschland einen Mord' zu begehen," *NYSZ*, February 16, 1915, 9.

Beveridge's story would also be covered by other publications in the United States. In

one article she revisited the claim that she had made in her note to the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*: "In the hospitals [in Germany], she declared, the wounded of the allies get as much attention as the Germans. . . ." See "Berlin Calm, She Says. Miss Ray Beveridge Loud in Praise of the Germans. Served in Their Red Cross," *WP*, February 17, 1915, 4 (accessed online at proquest.com). For a somewhat lengthier treatment of her stay in Germany during the early days of the war, see "American Girl's Vivid Story of the War. Saw Duchesses Washing Feet of the Common Soldiers—Says Belgian Women Are Ferocious," *WP*, May 2, 1915, ES6 (accessed online at proquest.com). "Miss Ray Beveridge. A Victim of British Intrigue" made the cover of *Issues and Events*, November 13, 1915, Vol. III, No. 20. See also page 7 of that issue, "Miss Ray Beveridge's Passport. Passport Denied Through English Intrigue."

In New York on January 22, 1916 Beveridge applied for a passport (issued February 4) so that she could work as a "Correspondent for Hearst Papers" in Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Austria. She would later claim to "have held out here in Germany with the Germans since 1915." See "Abendpost—November 10, 1919. 'I Beg for My Dear Germans' by Ray Beveridge," Foreign Language Press Survey, accessible online at http://flps.newberry.org/article/5418474_9_0570.

On August 2, 1917, she would file an Emergency Passport Application at the American Legation in Stockholm for the "purpose" of "Newspaper work" in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. (For the 1916 and 1917 passport applications: *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database-on-line], for Ray Beveridge, at Ancestry.com.)

⁴⁸ The same article appeared under the title "Eindrücke einer Amerikanerin in einem Berliner Lazarett," in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, November 23, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe (4 Uhr-Ausgabe), 2, and in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 27, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1. The *Berliner Morgenpost* ("Unsere Lazarette. Eindrücke einer Amerikanerin," November 27, 1914, 5) reproduced the article as it appeared in the *NAZ*. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, which on October 13 had published an earlier and briefer report by and about Beveridge's activities in the Berlin lazarette (discussed above), cited the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in publishing the longer report on her activities, though omitting some of the *NAZ* article: "Aus einem Berliner Lazarett," November 27, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2. The *MNN* closed by adding some biographical material not included in the *NAZ* article: "The author is the actress Beveridge; her sister is an architect active in Munich."

In postwar Germany Beveridge became, in the words of one scholar, "one of the most vocal and racist opponents of what she termed 'die schwarze Schmach' [the black shame]—the presence of French colonial troops in Germany." See Jens-Uwe Guettel, *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism, and the United States, 1776-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 181. Another scholar's coverage of the "discourse" concerning the presence of Black occupation troops in postwar Germany mentioned that "Beveridge became a much-sought-after speaker at protest rallies throughout Germany, well known for her ability to move her audiences." See Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 58-59. Campt (page 59) mentioned one of Beveridge's speeches at a rally in Munich in February 1921 "which was reprinted in newspapers throughout Germany. . . ." Concerning the subject that most concerned Beveridge in postwar Germany, Peter Collar said this: "Die Schwarze Schmach is usually translated as 'the Black Disgrace'. I argue that 'Black Humiliation' better reflects the feelings of those who coined the phrase." Beveridge would later become an admirer of Hitler and would apply for membership in the Nazi Party. See Peter Collar, *The Propaganda War in the Rhineland. Weimar Germany, Race and Occupation after World War I* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 128, 276 n4.

⁴⁹ The military obligations of German males, whether in Germany or abroad, included service in the reserves that extended through age forty-four. See Steven D. Fisher's entry "Germany, Army" in Spencer C. Tucker, ed., *The European Powers in the First World War: An*

Encyclopedia (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), 294.

Germans in America who owed military service to the Old Fatherland provided a kind of litmus test in assessing how well the New Fatherland remained linked to the Old. An article in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* urged the paper's readers to avoid concluding that German-Americans were somehow alienated from the Old Fatherland. "Right now, in an hour of great danger, German-Americans extend across the broad waters their brotherly declarations of loyalty. Many of them have risked the hazardous journey aboard Greek or Dutch ships in order to place themselves at the disposal of their threatened homeland. Many of them today sit defenseless and anxious (*wehrlos und knirschend*) in English prisoner-of-war captivity." See "Amerika-Deutsche," *MNN*, September 17, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 1. The adventures of one such "young German" who successfully made the journey from America to the Old Fatherland were recounted just a few days before in the *MNN*: "Wie ich zum Kriege reiste," September 15, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, Haus und Heim, 2-3.

For a somewhat larger survey of the situation faced by German-American reservists, see "Ankunft deutscher Reservisten aus Amerika," *BT*, September 26, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 6.

An article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* touched on the lot of reservists in the United States and expressed the newspaper's hopes for them: "The enormous energy produced by the feeling of unity that upon the outbreak of war has struck all of Germany has also reached our blood brothers (*Stammesbrüder*) on the other side of the ocean. It is heartening to see that the Germans in the United States stand with the Old Fatherland. Hundreds of thousands of them would now fight under our flag were their way not blocked by England's domination of the seas. Since they are not now able to resort to the sword, they need to perform their service with the pen in order to liberate Germany's truth from the nets of English lies and malicious slanders." See "The Fatherland," *KZ*, October 24, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

⁵⁰ This correspondent was misinformed. Italy did not enter the war until May 23, 1915, when it declared war on Austria-Hungary.

⁵¹ The author of this essay has yet to see the letter as it originally appeared in the *Krefelder Zeitung*; rather, he has relied on the letter as it was subsequently published in at least three German newspapers, all of them citing the *Krefelder Zeitung* as their source for the letter. See "Von den Deutschen in Amerika," *FZ*, September 7, 1914, Morgenblatt, 2; "Die Begeisterung der Deutschen in Amerika," *TR*, September 9, 1914, Abend Ausgabe, No. 429, 2; and "Die Begeisterung der Deutschen in Amerika," *NAZ*, September 11, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2. Interestingly enough, each of these three newspapers chose to place emphasis on different parts of the letter. In choosing what to emphasize in his translation of the letter, the author of this essay has relied on the *Frankfurter Zeitung's* rendition of it.

The article in those three newspapers that contained the "ordinary German mason's" letter also included two other letters, one from a machinist on a German merchant ship who happened to be in New York, and another from someone in Chicago.

⁵² "Englisches Gift," *NAZ*, November 18, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1.

⁵³ "Amerika Deutsche," *MNN*, September 23, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, 2.

The letter-writer may be referring to "Louvain Slimly Defended. Only Three Thousand Belgians Left There to Check the German Advance. Special Cable to *The New York Times*," *NYT*, August 21, 1914, 1. The article carried a dateline of Brussels, August 20, and indicated that it originated as a "Dispatch to The London Daily News." In part the article had this to say: "One woman with two children told me [unidentified] how the Uhlans made their supper of children if they could not get enough to eat, and old men recounted an ancient tale, as old as war itself, of how they roasted people head down over a slow fire." The *Times* article was accessed at proquest.com.

⁵⁴ "Das Echo des Weltkrieges im fernen Westen. Kriegsbrief aus Deutschburg in Texas," *TR*, September 18, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 5-6 (pages 1-2 of the *Unterhaltung der Täglichen Rundschau*).

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⁵⁵ "Von den Deutschen in Amerika," *FZ*, October 28, 1914, Abendblatt, 2.

⁵⁶ "Vom Deutschtum in Amerika. Brief aus einer kleinen Stadt," *TR*, November 24, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 8.

⁵⁷ "Deutscher Opfermut in Amerika," *VZ*, December 12, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2. The following day the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Deutscher Opfermut in Amerika," December 13, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2) credited the *Vossische Zeitung* in reprinting the article.

In a report from New York dated October 30 the correspondent admitted that it was impossible to know how much money had been collected for German relief, but then said this: "My estimate is that already three to four million dollars has to have been collected." See "Kriegsbrief aus New York," *FZ*, November 19, 1914, Abendblatt, 1.

⁵⁸ "Kriegshilfe der Deutschen in Amerika," *MNN*, November 1, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, 3.

⁵⁹ "Deutschland und Amerika," *MNN*, September 13, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 1-2.

The *Vossische Zeitung* reported that the first radio message from Berlin received by the German Embassy in Washington arrived on August 21. That message announced that "A German army has won a brilliant and bloody victory near Metz in Lorraine." See "Die erste deutsche Sieges-Funkenbotschaft nach Amerika," September 15, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4. The following day the *Kölnische Zeitung* ("Ein neuer Nachrichtenweg nach Amerika," September 16, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 2) re-published the *Vossische Zeitung* article.

⁶⁰ "Wenn die Wahrheit durchdringt," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger. Zentral-Organ für die Reichshauptstadt* [hereafter, in citations, *BLA*], September 13, 1914, Sonntagsausgabe, 2, and "Wenn die Wahrheit durchdringt," *Der Tag*, September 13, 1913, Morgenausgabe, Nachrichten-Teil, 2.

⁶¹ Another letter, this a *Seemannsbrief* from New York, spoke to the fate of business in the United States. The correspondent specifically mentioned that, in the absence of shipping and trade, businesses "here" are suffering, and "everyday large export houses go broke. Pharmacies will soon have no more medicines, because all of the raw material for them came from Germany." See "Lügen haben kurze Beine," *KZ*, September 28, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 1. This letter subsequently appeared in at least one other German newspaper. See "Stimmung in Nord- und Südamerika: Lügen haben kurze Beine," *M-AA*, October 1, 1914, 2-3.

Reports regarding the problematic situation of the American economy at large were carried in the German press. See, for example, Berlin's *Tägliche Rundschau* ("Amerikanische Friedenswünsche," October 15, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3), which quoted part of an article attributed to the *New York Times*: "Our foreign trade is for the most part destroyed, our domestic commerce depressed, our finances in a mess, our stock markets closed." This article was also carried by other German papers, among them the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Nach Schluß der Redaktion eingetroffene Depeschen," October 15, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2); *Vossische Zeitung* ("Friedenssehnsucht in Amerika," October 15, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3); *Der Tag* ("Amerikanische Klagen über den Krieg," Morgenausgabe, October 15, 1914, 2); and *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* ("Friedenswünsche in den Vereinigten Staaten," October 15, 1914, 3). The articles in the aforementioned four papers (but not the *Tägliche Rundschau*) indicated that they originated in London on October 14. The *New York Times* printed a multitude of reports on the U.S. financial situation from the beginning of the war until October 15, including the closing of the New York Stock Exchange on July 31. This author, however, has not been able to locate the piece quoted in the German press.

⁶² That this change in sentiment reached beyond the claims made by German-Americans is suggested by a survey of the American press carried out by *The Literary Digest*. That publication posed the following question: "Do a majority of the American press or the American people favor the Germans or the Allies?" The *Digest* asked "between 350 and 400 editors . . . for their own attitudes and the feelings of their communities toward the warring nations." The result of this survey: "Of the 367 replies, 105 editors report that they favor the Allies, 20 favor the Germans, and 242 are neutral." But *The Literary Digest* also had this to say: "Reports of

pro-German sentiment follow pretty closely the geographical distribution of our German-American population, but at the same time a number of editors report a more favorable feeling toward Germany now than at the start of the war, so both sides can exact some comfort from the findings." See "American Sympathies in the War," *The Literary Digest*, November 14, 1914, 939-41, 974, 976-78.

In an article originating in New York on November 21, at least one German newspaper covered *The Literary Digest's* report, going so far as cite the opinions of editors in a range of American cities, among them Lima, Ohio; Racine, Wisconsin; Bad Minette, Alabama; and Martinsburg, [West] Virginia. The article, as it appeared in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, included this remark: "Noteworthy is also the report from Martinsburg in [West] Virginia where the Allies' false accounts (*Lügenberichte*) of German atrocities (*Greuelthaten*) are being deplored, and where this development, along with the compulsory censorship (*Zwangszensur*) that England exercises over the sources of news, and, finally, to Japan's participation in the war, have led to a complete change of mood (*Umschwung der Stimmung*)." See "Amerikanische Stimmungen," *NAZ*, December 16, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2. *The Literary Digest* article identified the Martinsburg, *West Virginia* source of this report as a "neutral editor."

⁶³ "Der Umschlag der Stimmung in Amerika," *VZ*, September 17, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4. Here the letter is referring to the Japanese siege of the German colony of Tsingtau (Tsingtao, today Qingdao), which took place September-November 1914. For Japan's seizure of the German-occupied port of Tsingtau (Tsingtao), see the section on "Japan Enters the War" in Hew Strachan, *The First World War: Volume I: To Arms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 [paperback]), 455-65.

For an elaboration of the concern of German-Americans with regard to the activities of the Japanese in China, see "Die Deutsch-Amerikaner gegen Japan," *VZ*, September 29, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 4, and "Deutsche heraus! Ein Aufruf an die Deutsch-Amerikaner," *TR*, September 29, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3. These articles, though not exactly the same—the latter is slightly longer than the former—, described an appeal to German-Americans, which, they claimed, was published by all newspapers in the United States. That appeal commented upon Anglo-Japanese collaboration against Germany: "It is no longer a fight of Germany against its enemies, . . . this is now civilization against barbarity, the white race against the yellow, Indo-Germans against Mongols!" The appeal mentioned the large number of Japanese on America's west coast; increasing tensions between them and other Americans and a sense among the latter that an "unavoidable conflict is much closer"; a wish on the part of the National Guard commander in Portland that his regiment be brought to full strength (*sein Regiment auf Kriegsfuß zu bringen*) and his special appeal to Germans. "Here the lever must be used! If the Germans of America unite, inspired by a single will, and act as true sons of their adopted homeland, they can then perform an enormous service for the Old Fatherland, a service the value of which even surpasses the millions and millions of dollars that we send over there. . . ."

The frustrations of German reservists in the United States and the anger at what German-Americans perceived to be the ignominy of Anglo-Japanese cooperation merged on at least one occasion. Berlin's *Tägliche Rundschau* ("Deutsche Reservisten unter der amerikanischen Flagge," October 24, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3) reported that some 3,000 German reservists in Chicago had declared their readiness to fight under the stars and stripes (*Sternenbanner*) should war break out between Japan and the United States.

⁶⁴ "Die Deutsch-Amerikaner," *KZ*, October 2, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 1-2.

⁶⁵ Professor Dr. Ludwig Stein, "Stimmungsumschlag in Amerika," *VZ*, December 7, 1914, Montags-Ausgabe, 1-2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Stein (1859-1930), born in Hungary and educated in Hungary and Germany, was a rabbi in Berlin, a professor of philosophy in Switzerland, and a political journalist in Germany. As a

journalist in wartime Germany, he was affiliated with the *Vossische Zeitung*. For more on Stein, see <http://www.ludwigstein.org/en-biografia.asp>, accessed on February 26, 2015.

At least one German newspaper had addressed this issue more than three months earlier. The *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* of August 24 ("Keine Hoffnung auf Amerika," 4) challenged the notion, discussed by "Berlin political circles," that the attack on Kiautschou might lead to American intervention that would benefit Germany. The article considered American intervention unlikely. The United States will pursue its own interests, and it would be unworthy of Germany to count on foreign assistance. "*The German Empire is determined to take care of its own business, and it is in the position to do so in association (in Gemeinschaft) with its faithful, battle-tested Austro-Hungarian ally.*"

⁶⁷ "Japans Vorgehen in amerikanischer Beurteilung," *KZ*, October 19, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 2.

⁶⁸ "Eine amerikanische Kundgebung gegen England," *MNN*, October 20, 1914, Vorabendblatt, 2-3, and "Ein amerikanischer Protest gegen England," *FZ*, October 20, 1914, Abendblatt, 2. Two renditions use the same title and are substantively the same: "Englands Falschheit von Amerikanern bloßgestellt," *NAZ*, October 23, 1914, Zweiten Ausgabe, 2, and *BNN*, October 23, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5. Other German newspapers, though in less detail, also covered the Munich Committee's announcement. See, for example, "Das amerikanische Aufklärungskomitee gegen England," *TR*, October 20, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 4; "Eine amerikanische Kundgebung gegen England," *BLA*, October 20, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 3; "Ein amerikanischer Protest gegen England," *BT*, October 20, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3; "Ein amerikanischer Protest gegen England," *BV-Z*, October 20, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2; and "Amerikaner gegen England," *KZ*, October 23, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 1. (The *Kölnische Zeitung* article, really quite brief, cites the Wolff Telegraph Bureau as the originator of its report.)

The *Berliner Morgenpost* ("Ein amerikanischer Protest gegen England," October 20, 1914, 3) concluded its rendition of the report by noting that the Society's report challenged the anti-German point of view held by much of the American press: "It is nice to be able to confirm that American expressions of disapproval [regarding Germany's enemies] are steadily increasing in number and strength. If American newspapers have not thus far been willing to admit that their attitude toward *Germans* is to this point unjust and rooted in ignorance of the facts, they are nevertheless unable to obscure the evidence provided by objective Americans—at the least if this evidence comes from *Americans* who for years have lived in our midst and are therefore able to judge us based on their own experience."

The one-page report of the Amerikanisches Aufklärungskomitee in München, "Englands Falschheit von Amerikanern bloßgestellt," is available online: pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/24508357.

An English-language rendition of this report was published in *The Vital Issue* (December 5, 1914, 9): "Facsimile of Circular Distributed by The American Truth Society in Munich, Germany."

⁶⁹ "Deutschfreundliche Stimmen aus dem Auslande," *TR*, October 23, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 6. This article contains excerpts of eight letters that had recently been received by Geh. Rat Prof. Axenfeld in Freiburg i. B., who offered them to the newspaper for publication. According to the *Tägliche Rundschau's* introduction, the excerpts provided evidence that, in spite of the lies cultivated by "our enemies," the truth had reached "members of the male elite (bei Männern der führenden Kreise)."

⁷⁰ "Die Deutschen in Amerika," *FZ*, October 30, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 3.

⁷¹ Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900*, 78: "In 1913 the [*Berliner Morgenpost*] claimed 390,000 subscribers. No other Berlin (or German) newspaper approached this level of popularity." The *Morgenpost* (November 1, 1914, 17) proclaimed itself "Deutschlands verbreitetste Tageszeitung" with "more than 420,000 subscribers."

⁷² "Amerikanische Stimmen für Deutschland," *Berliner Morgenpost*, September 19, 1914, 2; "Eine vernünftige Stimme aus Amerika," *BLA*, September 20, 1914, Sonntagsausgabe, 2.

For the original of Fletcher's letter, see "Sad Possibilities," *The St. Louis Times*, August 25, 1914, 6.

⁷³ "Briefe aus Amerika," *BT*, September 25, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 5-6 overall, 1-2 of Erste Beiblatt.

⁷⁴ "Vom Deutschtum in Amerika," *TR*, November 24, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 8.

⁷⁵ "Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *NAZ*, August 10, 1914, Montags-Ausgabe, 1. The dateline for this article indicated that it originated with the Wolff Telegraph Bureau.

⁷⁶ Initial reactions regarding the effect of tourists returning from Germany were quite positive, however. The *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* ("Nagel tritt für Deutschland ein. Ex-Arbeitsminister spricht über deutsche Kriegs-Verhältnisse," October 8, 1914, 1-2) carried a lengthy article that began by describing these tourists as witnesses who would challenge the "Allies' web of lies." These "indisputably unprejudiced Americans" could "report from their own experience that no other nation in the wide world was as inclined to peace (*friedfertig*) to the last minute as Germany was." At least two German newspapers carried the *Staats-Zeitung's* article: "Vorkämpfer der Wahrheit in Amerika," *NAZ*, October 27, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1, and "Die Wahrheit in Amerika," *TR*, October 29, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 8.

⁷⁷ "Politischer Tagesbericht," *NAZ*, September 9, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1. This exchange between the Kaiser and Wilson was widely covered by the press in Germany.

⁷⁸ "Amerika. Richtigstellung," *NAZ*, October 8, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2. This was a corrected copy of Wilson's reply to the Kaiser. Earlier in the day, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Amerika. Antwort des Präsidenten Wilson auf das Telegramm des Kaisers," Erste Ausgabe, 2) had produced a version of Wilson's telegram "in German translation" that had omitted some lines from his message.

⁷⁹ "Mitteilung des Reichskanzlers an die Vertreter der 'United Press' und der 'Associated Press,'" *NAZ*, September 7, 1914, Montags-Ausgabe, 1.

⁸⁰ The *Vossische Zeitung* ("Wilson's Friedenssehnsucht," December 9, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4) reported on Wilson's recent address to Congress. In concluding his remarks "Wilson expresses the fervent hope that America will have the opportunity, which is rarely offered to a nation, to bring about peace and reconciliation." The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Präsident Wilson an den Kongress," December 10, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2) carried a similar article on Wilson's "wish" for peace.

There were earlier indications that Germany was not prepared for a peaceful settlement mediated by the United States. See, for example, "Politischer Tagesbericht," *NAZ*, September 21, 1914, Montags-Ausgabe, 1, and "'Höherer politischer Blödsinn.' Ein angeblicher Friedensvorschlag Deutschlands," *BV-Z*, November 24, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

⁸¹ The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* as late as December was reporting that the United States had not successfully challenged Britain's domination of the seas in a way that would benefit Germany. See, for example, "Die von England angemaaßte Oberherrschaft zur See in amerikanischer Beleuchtung," December 24, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1, and "Der Einspruch Amerikas gegen die englischen Uebergriffe zur See," December 31, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1.

The editors of some German newspapers might have found some small solace in an article on "militarism" that originally appeared in a major American newspaper, the *Washington Post*, and that received coverage in at least four German newspapers, the *Berliner Volks-Zeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the *Vossische Zeitung*. In more or less identical articles, with occasional differences in emphases, the four papers published portions of the *Post's* article, among them these remarks: "The United States would have a special interest in freedom of the seas; control of the seas (*Seeherrschaft*) on the part of England would be just as intolerable for it [the U.S.] as if it were exercised by Japan, Russia, or Germany. . . . *The world would gain no advantage if Germany were destroyed* [emphasis added by the *KZ*] and in its place another colossal militarism on the part of Russia or France were created; just

so little would the world gain if militarism on land were replaced by militarism at sea. . . . America would be a rival of England in peaceful trade; American ships must have the freedom to visit any place in the whole world for its harmless commercial business without succumbing to surveillance (*Spionage*) by British warships and stifling regulations." See "Amerika gegen Englands Militarismus zur See," *BV-Z*, December 3, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3 (accessed online at zefys.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de.); "Amerikanische Forderungen," *KZ*, December 3, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe (1 Uhr-Ausgabe), 2; "Englands Herrschaft und der amerikanische Handel," *NAZ*, December 3, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 3, and "Eine amerikanische Stimme gegen Englands Terrorismus," *VZ*, December 4, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4. For the *Post* article, see "Militarism on Sea a Greater Menace Than Militarism on Land," November 19, 1914, E4 (accessed online at proquest.com).

⁸² "Amerika als Kriegslieferant der Triple-Entente," *FZ*, November 28, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 3.

⁸³ "Amerikanische Flugzeuge für England," *FZ*, October 29, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 3.

⁸⁴ "Der Dreiverband bestellt Kriegsmaterial in Amerika," *TR*, November 17, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2.

Oppenheim, Oberndorf & Company, founded in 1888 and based in Baltimore, Maryland, was a manufacturer of men's shirts. For more, <http://www.yorkblog.com/yorkspast/2013/11/05/24-oppenheim-oberndorf-and-company-in-york-part-of-a-baltimore-shirt-manufacturer/>

Similarly, the *Lokal-Anzeiger der München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* ("Amerika als Lieferant von Kriegsmaterial," November 23, 1914, 1) cited a report originating in Washington and carried by French newspapers in which government officials estimated that European states, probably the Triple Entente, had placed orders with American factories for ammunition and weapons valued at one billion francs. "In many American factories the employees must work overtime."

⁸⁵ "Eine Unterredung mit dem amerikanischen Botschafter," *MNN*, November 30, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 1. At least two other newspapers cited the *MNN*'s report in providing an account of Gerard's conversation. See "Der amerikanische Botschafter über die Kriegslieferung Amerika," *VZ*, November 30, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3, and "Amerika und der Krieg," *NAZ*, December 1, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 4. For a translated rendition of the conversation see *A Month's German Newspapers, Being Representative Extracts from Those of the Memorable Month of December, 1914* (London: Gowans & Gray, Ltd., 1915), 9-10 (accessed online at www.forgottenbooks.com).

⁸⁶ "Amerika. Präsident Wilson an den Kongreß," *NAZ*, December 10, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2. "Amerika. Keine Unterseeboote für einen kriegführenden Staat," *NAZ*, December 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2.

For more on the Fore River Shipyard in Quincy, Massachusetts, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fore_River_Shipyard#World_War_I, accessed on February 21, 2015. The article mentioned only a "Herr Schwab," who almost certainly was Charles M. Schwab, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which had purchased the Fore River Shipyard in 1913.

⁸⁷ Strachan, *The First World War. Volume I: To Arms*, 261.

For a detailed description of the battle, see Holger Herwig, *The Marne, 1914. The Opening of World War I and the Battle That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2009). On page 310 Herwig cites Strachan's assessment of the battle, then adds this: "A new school of German military historians goes so far as to suggest that Germany had lost the Great War by September 1914." In a footnote (page 367), Herwig identifies those military historians and their book in this way: Hans Ehlert, Michael Epkenhans, and Gerhard P. Groß, eds., *Der Schlieffenplan: Analysen und Dokumente* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006).

For the September 5 letter treated earlier in this essay, see "Grüße aus Amerika. Aus einem Brief, geschrieben in Warrenton, Missouri, den 5. September," *TR*, October 8, 1914, Abend-

Ausgabe, 6-7.

⁸⁸ "Liebesgabe eines Deutsch-Amerikaners," *NAZ*, December 8, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2.

⁸⁹ Among the newspapers describing the arrival of the gifts were the *Berliner Tageblatt* ("Ankunft der amerikanischen Weihnachtsgaben," December 24, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 5) and, citing the *BT* report, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Ankunft der amerikanischen Weihnachtsgaben," December 25, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 3).