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Apostles for the Old Fatherland: German-American Tourists and the Outbreak of World War I

Much anxiety is felt for German-Americans of this city and State, who are on a visit to Germany and are unable to return on account of the war situation.¹

Every American returning home actually becomes an apostle who proclaims what he has experienced here [in Berlin].²

We are especially pleased that the Americans [now leaving Germany for the United States] are bringing the truth about the cause of the war and the current situation to their homeland, which thus far has had to make do with British and French reports whose untruths (*falsche Nachrichten*) are familiar to us.³

In his presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society in April 2006, Elliott Barkan reflected on “lessons learned” from thirty-five years of interdisciplinary and multi-ethnic research.⁴ Barkan’s remarks included his recollection of an essay he had written more than thirty years earlier, one that treated four groups of immigrants to the United States who “shared a relatively close proximity to their respective homelands, and among all of them were many who maintained ties with their homelands and periodically returned to them.”⁵ In his essay, Barkan argued that “the quality and longevity of certain ethnic cultures will be significantly influenced by the close proximity of the groups’ homeland,” and he referred to the “extensive bi-directional flow of individuals

between their new communities and their original homelands” as “commuting immigration.” He also cited Jacques Ducharme’s 1943 observation that “by visit and by letter a sort of communal life exists” between the old and new homelands.⁶

Barkan would subsequently draw on oral histories in addressing the range of intensities by which immigrants remained connected to the places whence they came. He noted that immigrants’ experiences ranged from “disengagement from one’s society of origin at one end to extensive, transnational engagement in homeland affairs at the other.” In place of “transnationalism,” a concept scholars have used to characterize a more or less strong and steady tie between immigrants in the United States and their countries of origin, Barkan offered the “concept of ‘translocalism,’” which he defined “as situations where immigrants do not maintain multiple, intense, routinized bonds and networks with the homeland family, friends, and communities. Instead, those efforts most often are likely to be moderate and periodic, somewhat casual and uneven and not routine.”⁷

Several German-Americans from Wilmington, Delaware, and a Philadelphian closely connected to Wilmington, maintained ties with the Old Fatherland—Germany—that were arguably “translocal.” In this study the experiences of those German-Americans will serve as a case study of travelers who, in a time of crisis, were called upon to carry back to the New World Germany’s “truths” about the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914.⁸ Although these German-Americans did not live in “a relatively close proximity” to their ancestral homeland, to one degree or another they remained connected to it by transatlantic visits and by having their experiences “over there” shared with Wilmington’s German-American population through coverage provided by the local press. At another time, perhaps, relatively unremarkable links to the Old Fatherland, German-Americans visiting Europe in the summer of 1914 would be called upon by the press in Germany to be much more than unremarkable. They were to be “apostles” for the Old Fatherland, “bearers of truth,” persons entrusted with “a sacred mission.”⁹ For these ordinary men and women and children would find themselves caught up in the throes of a continent going to war.

Whether these Wilmington-area travelers were aware of the alliances and tensions that characterized Europe before the summer of 1914 is unclear. They may have known of Germany’s alliance with Austria-Hungary; of Russia’s alliance with France; of Great Britain’s links to Russia and France; and of Russia’s support of Serbia in the tensions that had come to characterize life in the Balkans. However, the travelers’ preparations, and the newspaper reporting of them, were very much in line with what some Wilmingtonians had done in previous years. Most of the Wilmington-area travelers would

leave for Europe before the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary, on June 28, though some would leave for Europe after that. Suffice it to say, these travelers were in Europe at the end of July and the beginning of August when Germany and Austria-Hungary on the one side, and Russia, France, Great Britain, and Serbia, on the other, went to war.

In fact, the translocal travel done by the Wilmington-area tourists treated in this study was probably more properly framed by an identity crisis of sorts. Indeed, Wilmington's "Germans" had for several years been experiencing a decline in their sense of Germanness. In the decade preceding the outbreak of war, the level of immigration from Germany had declined;¹⁰ the local German-language newspaper was reduced to a once-a-week publication; the forces of prohibition were gaining strength; and Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church had begun to address the reality that an increasing number of its congregants were relying on the English language instead of German. In fact, this latter concern would be accommodated by the arrival in Wilmington of the newly ordained Reverend Siegmund von Bosse, son of one of the travelers treated in this paper. The younger von Bosse's installation at Zion as an assistant pastor on June 1, 1913, was the result of a May 1912 decision on the part of the congregation to bring to Wilmington a clergyman who could speak both German and English.¹¹ He officially became Zion's pastor a year later, and he conducted his first service as pastor on August 2, 1914, one day after Germany and France began the mobilization of their armed forces, and at a time when his father and sister were visiting Germany. His facility with the English language notwithstanding, Siegmund von Bosse eventually became the most prominent representative in Wilmington of a heightened German consciousness—the term *Deutschtum* was frequently used. All this is to say that travel to Germany on the part of Wilmington-area German-Americans represented a significant link between the New Fatherland and the Old at a time when other indicators of Germanness suggested a decline in that regard.

Two of Wilmington's newspapers, the *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger und Freie Presse*¹² and, in its English-language German Column, the *Sunday Morning Star* reported on the comings and goings of the city's German-Americans.¹³ Such coverage offered even stay-at-home Wilmingtonians an opportunity to participate in these travels—these communal experiences—, albeit vicariously, and enabled them to remain connected, however tenuously, to the Old Fatherland. In effect, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column served as multipliers of the connection formed by the travelers between their host country—the United States—and their ancestral homeland—Germany.¹⁴

The intensity of that connection in the summer of 1914 was heightened by *perceptions*—travelers' perceptions about the outbreak of war and the Old Fatherland's prospects in it, perceptions with which the travelers returned to the United States, perceptions that they shared and tested with their fellow Americans, perceptions that for the moment heightened the sense of Germanness among the Wilmington area's German element. These perceptions were forged in the anxieties of both the travelers, on the one hand, and, back in the United States, their friends and kin on the other. For the former, returning from Europe in the midst of wartime mobilization was an ordeal; for the latter, news about both the fate of these travelers and the successes and failures of German arms was difficult to come by. They would have to be content with participating in the experiences of these transatlantic travelers by reading the cards and letters that the travelers sent home; by digesting newspaper accounts of the travelers' experiences; and by meeting with and listening to the travelers once they returned to the United States.

Finally, this study, with its combination of travel history and, in a time of crisis, ethnic reinvigoration, with its local, national, and international dimensions, will "remember" these German-Americans as persons who, residents of a country that on August 4 declared its neutrality in the conflict, thought themselves free to say and do what their sense of Germanness required of them as their ancestral homeland went to war. Although they were disheartened and occasionally distressed by what Wilmington's daily newspapers had to say concerning the causes and early course of the war, they were not yet the "victims" of a pro-Entente America that would by the spring of 1917 lead most of them to join a campaign against the Old Fatherland.¹⁵

Setting the Stage

Those Wilmingtonians preparing to travel to Germany in the spring of 1914 did so within a larger national and international context, though press coverage of the travelers' preparations paid little attention to it. Within the United States some held the view, as reported many years later by one scholar, that German-Americans, before 1914, "had been probably the most esteemed immigrant group in America, regarded as easily assimilable, upright Americans."¹⁶ But feelings toward German-Americans were probably more complicated than that.¹⁷ Indeed, one author has noted that, "Long before World War I, German immigrants and their children gained a reputation for radicalism, anarchism, and violence."¹⁸ On the international level, the years after the Franco-Prussian War and the birth of the German Empire, 1870-71, and especially after 1890, had witnessed a growing realization among American policy makers that U.S. relations with the young Reich were not

entirely harmonious. While scholars may not agree on the exact nature of relations between Germany and the United States in the years before World War I,¹⁹ the interests of the two countries had rubbed up against one another in a variety of places, among them Venezuela, Samoa, and the Philippines.²⁰ Potentially adding to the level of disaffection between the United States and Germany was President Woodrow Wilson's determination to make amicable relations with Great Britain a linchpin of American foreign policy.²¹ None of this would have mattered to Wilmington's travelers if Europe had not gone to war in the summer of 1914. But go to war it did, and these ordinary Wilmingtonians, having found their way to Europe, were forced onto the world stage as witnesses to war and, upon their return to the U.S., as bearers of Germany's gospel about the origins and course of the conflict.

No mere receptors of information about the course of events in Europe, the editors of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column would use the outbreak of war in shaping the travelers' experiences into a counter-narrative that urged the city's "Germans" to rally to their German heritage and to challenge what German-Americans had quickly concluded was the pro-Entente orientation of news—the "narrative"—appearing in most of the American press. This counter-narrative spoke to the origins and early course of the Great War from a perspective sympathetic to Germany, and it emphasized the continuing kinship between Germans in the Old Fatherland and German-Americans in the New.

The outbreak of the Great War at the beginning of August 1914 not only complicated the return to the United States of the many American travelers who were then visiting Europe, but it also severely disrupted the flow of information between Germany and the U.S. Very early on the British navy chased German passenger ships from the high seas, Britain cut the transatlantic cable that carried information from Germany to the United States, and the U.S. government took control of the German short-wave radio stations in Tuckerton, New Jersey, and Sayville, New York.²² In this circumstance, these German-American sojourners, these "bearers of truth" would, it was hoped, serve the interests of both Germany and those Americans who wished to know the German side of the story regarding the origins and course of the war. For Germany, which saw itself as cut off from the rest of the world, unable to influence the actions of nations that had yet to cast their lot with one warring side or the other, and nearly friendless, these apostles would counter British "lies" being disseminated in the United States.²³ For German-Americans who stayed at home, these tourists were eyewitnesses to what was happening in the Old Fatherland, and their accounts would carry the authoritativeness of not having been filtered through "the English press" in the United States.

In Wilmington the fate of the area's German-American travelers received

a good deal of attention from the local press: from the aforementioned *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star*, the latter dubbing those German-Americans trapped in Europe when World War I broke out as “war-stayed.”²⁴ But the adventures of the city’s European travelers, including those visiting Germany, were also covered by Wilmington’s daily “English press,” *The Evening Journal*, the *Every Evening*, and the *Wilmington Morning News*.²⁵ Indeed, the tone and extent of coverage devoted to German-American tourists by the city’s “English press” would suggest that Wilmington’s German element was, at least on the eve of the war, a fully and unproblematically integrated part of the local population.²⁶

The consistent attention that the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star*’s German Column paid to prewar transatlantic travel was the one ongoing reminder that some of Wilmington’s German-Americans remained personally linked to the Old Fatherland, and that, through the press, these personal connections extended to the entire German element of the city.²⁷ Such was the case whether the travel was conducted by Germans visiting the United States or by German-Americans vacationing in the German parts of Europe—Germany, Austria, and Switzerland—or re-migrating to the Old Fatherland. And when World War I erupted, this transatlantic connection became crucial to those promoters of *Deutschtum* who wished to mobilize support in the United States for a Germany at war.

**HAMBURG
AMERIKA LINIE**

London-Paris-Hamburg
 *Dirc. Route, 30. Apr. 1914. | Rail. Zug. Dirc., 7. Mai
 | | St. Petrosia, 1. Mai | Prof. Grant, 9. Mai
 † Hamburg direct, 6. Nur zweite Klasse.
 *Nur 1. Klasse. — | | Abfahrt vom Brooklyner Pier.

VON BOSTON NACH
LONDON-PARIS-HAMBURG
 Cleveland 30. April, 10 Dsm.
 Wexela 9. Mai, 10 Dsm.

BALTIMORE-ROUTE
 direct nach Hamburg.

GIBRALTAR, NEAPEL, GENUA
 Dampfer fahren von den Brooklyner Pier ab.
 Dpfr. HAMBURG, 19. Mai, 3 Nachm
 Dpfr. MOLTKE, 2. Juni, 3 Nachm
 Dpfr. HAMBURG, 30. Juni, 3 Nachm
 Dpfr. MOLTKE, 15. Juli, 3 Nachm
 Man schreibe um weitere Auskunft.
 Hamburg-Amerika Linie, 46 Broadway, N. Y.

An ad for the Hamburg Amerika Linie that appeared in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of April 28, 1914. John Lengel would be a passenger on the May 9 departure of the *President Grant*.

Packing Their Bags

As in previous years, Wilmington's German-American press in 1914 paid a good deal of attention to the travel plans of the city's Germans well before war broke out in August.²⁸ In mid-April the German Column of the *Star* indicated that John A. Lengel and his family would be sailing for Germany on the Hamburg-American Line steamer *President Grant*. The Lengels would embark upon "their annual trip to Europe," and they would return to the United States in September. "For over ten years Mr. Lengel has spent the summer months in Europe." The German Column subsequently reported that this veteran traveler, who usually tours Carlsbad and the southern part of Europe, "[i]n Munich at the Rathskeller . . . is as well known almost as in Wilmington." The *Lokal-Anzeiger* was somewhat more specific about the Lengels' travel plans: "As usual Mr. Lengel will . . . spend a long time at his sister's home in Heilbronn am Neckar." For his trip in 1914 Lengel, a retired brewery owner and a widower, would be accompanied by his niece, Lina Mai, and his granddaughter Catharine McDowell.²⁹

On April 25 the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that Misses Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser, two second-generation German-Americans,³⁰ would be departing for Germany on June 6, and that they would remain overseas until August 13. Previous accounts in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column demonstrated that such trips by unescorted German-American women were by no means unprecedented.³¹ Clodi and Ploesser, according to the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, planned to visit Darmstadt, Homburg in the Palatinate, and some of the larger cities in Germany. Homburg, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* pointed out, was the hometown of Katie's father, Louis Clodi, one of Wilmington's more prominent German-Americans.³² A day later the *Star* carried a similar report, though mentioning *Hamburg* instead of Homburg. According to the *Star*, Misses Clodi and Ploesser, "both well-known young German-Americans, have made up their minds to take a trip to Europe and visit the [ancestral] homes of their parents." Added the *Star*, "Both Miss Clodi and Miss Ploesser, altho young, have laid out the route of foreign travel in a way that would surprise even their elders."³³ Before Clodi and Ploesser departed, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* carried an additional report on the trip, noting that Katie Clodi would travel through the Black Forest in Baden and visit Tutach, her mother's *Heimatstadt*.³⁴

In early May the *Star's* German Column informed its readers that Mr. and Mrs. Constant J. Grandhomme of Centreville, Delaware, just outside Wilmington, would also be traveling to Europe. The couple, who planned to depart from New York aboard the steamer *La France* on May 6, intended to visit Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Belgium before their

return to the United States. "Mrs. [Emma] Grandhomme is a typical German and Mr. Grandhomme a Frenchman."³⁵

Both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column reported on William Mutschler's June 6 departure from Philadelphia aboard the steamer *Prinz Adalbert* of the Hamburg-American Line. Mutschler planned to visit his "old mother" and a brother in Malterdingen in Baden. He had seen neither in many years. Mutschler also intended to visit Karlsruhe and Freiburg where he hoped to meet with friends from his years of military service (*aus seiner Soldatenzeit*)—rather ironic given Mutschler's subsequent experiences in the Old Fatherland. The remainder of Mutschler's overseas stay was to include an extended tour of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.³⁶

**NORDDEUTSCHER
LLOYD**

London-Paris-Bremen

Bremen	28. Mai
Prinz Friedrich Wilhelm	30. Mai
*Kaiser Wilhelm II.	2. Juni
Berlin	4. Juni
Großer Kurfürst	6. Juni
*Kronprinz Wilhelm	9. Juni

* Segelt um 1 Uhr Morgens.
 ||Via Plymouth-Boulogne S. W.

Nach dem Mittelmeer

Prinzess Irene	17. Juni
König Albert	4. Juli

Baltimore-Bremen direkt.
 Eine Kabine (II.); Mittwoch.

Durch-Billete mit Lloyd-Dampfern von
 New York via Europa nach Süd-Amerika,
 Ägypten, Indien, dem fernen Osten
 und um die Welt. Unabhängige Fahrten
 DeLiaß & Co., General-Agenten.
 5 Broadway, N. Y.

An ad for Norddeutscher Lloyd departures that appeared in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of May 27, 1914. Samson Stern and his family would be passengers aboard the *Kaiser Wilhelm II.* when it sailed on June 2.

In early June the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that Samson Stern had departed from New York for Bremen aboard the North German Lloyd Line's steamer *Kaiser Wilhelm der Zweite*. Having made at least two previous visits across the Atlantic, on this occasion Mr. Stern would be accompanied by his wife Bertha and their two young children. The Sterns planned to spend a couple of months in Germany.³⁷

Two weeks later the *Lokal-Anzeiger* announced that Georg Kalmbacher, the president of the local German Library Association, a cabinetmaker employed by the Jackson and Sharp plant of the American Car and Foundry Company, and one of the founders of the Delaware branch of the National German-American Alliance (NGAA), would be leaving for Germany on July 7. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* mentioned that Kalmbacher intended to visit his two sisters in Wildbach in Württemberg, his old hometown (*seine alte Heimatstadt*), which he had not seen since he left Germany thirty-four years before. Kalmbacher also planned to visit Munich and other cities during his two-months' stay in Germany.³⁸

Nächste Abfahrten
— nach —
PARIS—LONDON—HAMBURG
„VATERLAND“
7. Juli, 10 Uhr Vorm.
**„Kaiserin Auguste
Victoria“**
11. Juli, 1 Uhr Nachm.
„IMPERATOR“
18. Juli, 12 Uhr Mittags.
Hamburg - Amerika - Linie
45 BROADWAY, NEW YORK
Telephon 1900-Reetör

An ad for the Hamburg-Amerika-Linie that appeared in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of July 4, 1914. George Kalmbacher would be a passenger on the July 7 sailing of the *Vaterland*.

In its July 4 edition, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that Christian Koehler, in the company of his adopted child (*Pflegekind*), Katharine Fuchs Koehler, and the child's aunt, Germany-born Jeannette Fuchs, had on June 27 sailed for his old homeland, which he had not seen for thirty years.³⁹ This issue of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* did not mention the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, which had occurred just six days before its publication and only one day after the Koehler party sailed for Europe.

The impending departure for Germany of Dr. William Kleinstuber and his wife Ida attracted the attention of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*. The couple had visited Germany on at least two previous occasions. Now, in 1914, after residing in Wilmington for twenty years, Kleinstuber, "this area's well-known German physician," and his wife had sold their home on Van Buren Street and would be sailing for the Old Fatherland on July 15.⁴⁰ The following day the *Star* issued a lengthier goodbye to the Kleinstubers. The German Column mentioned that the couple had been given "a royal farewell reception" at the home of Bernard Kleitz, and that the Kleinstubers would be departing the United States on the Hamburg-American Line's *Victoria Louise*. "It is not certain that Mr. and Mrs. Kleinstuber will return soon to this country." The report did note that William Kleinstuber was a charter member of the German Social Club, which had been founded in 1888.⁴¹

Wilmington's newspapers also covered the travels of the Reverend Georg von Bosse, in 1914 the 52-year-old pastor of St. Peter's German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. Georg von Bosse was the author of *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten*, published in Stuttgart in 1908, and, of more interest to Wilmington's Germans, the father of the Reverend Siegmund G. von Bosse, soon to be pastor of the city's Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. Georg von Bosse's 1914 trip to Germany would be at least his fourth since he first arrived in the United States in 1889. On this voyage he would be accompanied by his 19-year-old daughter Hildegard, who had been born in Egg Harbor City, New Jersey, and who, at the tender age of one and one-half, had accompanied her father, mother, and brother on a visit to Germany in 1896.⁴²

These, then, were members of the Wilmington area's German element who were traveling in Europe when war broke out in mid-1914: civilians⁴³ and American citizens all; Germany-born and U.S.-born; variously members of Lutheran, Catholic, and Jewish congregations; young and old; occasional and frequent visitors to the Old Fatherland, those who had not visited it since they immigrated to the United States, and those who had never seen the land of their ancestors.

“War-Stayed”

Wilmington's transatlantic travelers seemed unfazed by events unfolding in Europe in the summer of 1914. If one can judge from the fact that neither the *Lokal-Anzeiger* nor the *Star's* German Column reported upon the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28 or upon the subsequent diplomatic tensions as Austria-Hungary blamed Serbia for the demise of the heir-apparent to the imperial throne, Wilmington's German-Americans were preoccupied by other matters, especially the pressing “alcohol question” and what were perceived to be worrying divisions among the city's Germans.⁴⁴ Thus, even if other sources of information spoke to the developing crisis in Europe, some of Wilmington's travelers, George Kalmbacher and the Kleinstubers among them, kept to their plans and left the United States for Europe between June 28 and the outbreak of war at the end of July and the beginning of August.⁴⁵

Indeed, the cards and letters sent by Wilmington's German-American travelers, at least as they were reported by the city's newspapers, betrayed no distress among those tourists about the growing crisis in Europe between the assassination of the Austrian archduke on June 28 and the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia a month later.⁴⁶ By August 2, when the *Star's* German Column first reported on the crisis in Europe, Serbia had already rejected an ultimatum from an aggrieved Austria-Hungary; Russia had mobilized in support of Serbia; France, an ally of Russia, had mobilized its armed forces; and Germany, an ally of Austria-Hungary, had declared war on Russia. The German Column noted the presence of “many German-Americans making visits in Europe,” then added that “if war should be declared they will most likely be detained and be prevented from returning home to this country, and placed in the army.”⁴⁷ By August 8, when the *Lokal-Anzeiger* first reported on the crisis in Europe, Belgium had already rejected an ultimatum from Germany; Britain had begun a general mobilization of its armed forces; Germany had declared war on France; German troops had begun their invasion of Belgium; Britain had declared war on Germany; and the United States had declared its neutrality in the conflict. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* warned its readers that “Our fatherland [!] has difficult times in front of it. . . .”⁴⁸

The August 9 report in the *Star's* German Column, which described the “anxiety felt for German-Americans of this city and State,” expressed a concern that “This state of affairs may last for an indefinite time, but it is hoped, inasmuch as the United States is a neutral country, that provision for the return of American tourists will be made with different countries within a short time.”⁴⁹ The *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that it had received many inquiries about the fate of German-Americans who were visiting Germany when war

erupted. It seemed likely, observed the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, that those travelers would have to remain in Germany until the war ended.⁵⁰

The presence of Wilmington's travelers in Europe during August, September, and October of 1914 allowed them to convey their views on Germany's circumstance at the outbreak of war not only by writing cards and letters to their families and friends in Wilmington but also, once back in the United States, by recounting to the press their experiences in wartime Europe.⁵¹ And it was with such cards and letters, speeches, and interviews that these German-Americans provided the German perspective on events in Europe and enabled the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star* to produce a counter-narrative disputing what Wilmingtonians were otherwise exposed to in most of the city's English-language newspapers.

Curiosity about the fate of American travelers visiting Europe at the outbreak of war was not confined to Wilmington or to the German-American press and public. Interest was especially high in New York City, the point of departure and arrival for most transatlantic passengers going to, and returning from, the old country, and at the turn of the century home to more than 278,000 persons who had been born in Germany.⁵² Thus, shortly after Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, and as the major European powers were preparing for war, the *New York Times* in its issue of August 1 carried articles with the headlines "Tourists in Paris Are in War Panic" and "Tourists Left in the Lurch."⁵³ A day later a headline in the *New York Herald* screamed that "Americans, Terrified, Try in Every Way to Get Home."⁵⁴ The level of interest in these tourists is suggested by the fact that from August 1 through August 9 the *New York Times* carried more than twenty articles about American tourists caught up in the European maelstrom, people the *Star* in Wilmington tagged as "war-stayed."⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* was particularly attentive to German-American sojourners, whom it termed *gestrandete Amerikaner*.⁵⁶

Americans, Germany, and the German Press, August-September 1914

Wilmington's tourists in Germany witnessed a nation that, in the early days of August 1914, was mobilizing for war. Newspapers in Germany quickly focused on the activities of the nation's armed forces, but they also paid more than a little attention to events that captured the interest of German-Americans in the United States as well as German-Americans who were then visiting the Old Fatherland.

The following survey of information available to American tourists visiting Germany in the first few months of war draws on German newspapers, the primary means by which news about the war was disseminated throughout the

Old Fatherland. Although newspapers were not monolithic in their coverage of the war both as it was being fought at the front and as it affected life in Germany itself, they did generally present a standard German "narrative" of events in the early days of the war. That narrative was governed by at least four considerations: (1) a widely shared view that the instigators of the war were the Entente powers, and that Germany and its allies did not cause it; (2) a tendency to share the news, especially when a story originated with what was considered to be an authoritative source such as the daily *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, published in Berlin; (3) censorship imposed on the press by German authorities; and (4) a standard source of news about the war, specifically the Wolff Telegraph Bureau. The resulting German "narrative" would, upon elaboration, provide a "counter-narrative" used by the returning German-American tourists to challenge what they perceived to be the pro-Entente rendition of events as it was spread by the "English" press in the United States.⁵⁷

Another premise of this study is that the German-American tourists treated in it could read German newspapers, this despite the fact that on at least two occasions the German press commented upon Americans who did not know German. The first of these surfaced in coverage of events at the American embassy, where numerous U.S. citizens gathered to secure passports necessary for their return to the United States.⁵⁸ The second occasion, the initial departure by rail of Americans leaving Berlin for the long trip home, included the presence of translators who facilitated communication between the travelers on the one hand and train and service personnel on the other.⁵⁹ It seems fair to say that the travelers covered in this study were able, either by their own familiarity with the German language or, with the assistance of those they were visiting, to absorb Germany's narrative about the causes and early course of the war.⁶⁰

The press in the United States provided various estimates of the number of Americans in Europe in August 1914.⁶¹ The *New York Times* of August 3 reported on "the lowest estimate received by the Government," which showed that there were 150,000 Americans visiting Europe. And, added the *Times*, "The number of passports issued to Americans going abroad this summer was larger than ever before."⁶² According to the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of August 2, "at least 100,000, perhaps even 300,000 Americans [are] scattered across Europe."⁶³

The number of Americans in Germany was equally uncertain. In Wilmington the German Column of the *Star* indicated that "about 50,000 tourists will strive [for] home within a week or ten days on special ships." This report is less explicit than one would like, but the context suggests that the estimated "50,000 tourists" were touring Germany and did not include those

travelers visiting other parts of Europe.⁶⁴

On August 7 the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* and the *Vossische Zeitung*, both published in Berlin, cited an American Institute estimate of “more than 75,000 Americans staying in Germany.” The *Deutsche Tageszeitung* offered “a very special warning to the [German] public.” Since the outset of the treacherous attack upon the fatherland, Americans in Germany had behaved toward “us Germans” in the friendliest possible way. And that attitude was not limited to German-Americans, presumably in the United States, who immediately sent messages of enthusiastic support to the Kaiser, but also included “all the Americans who here in Germany enjoy the privileges of a guest.” In this circumstance, then, noted the paper, we are obliged to show our gratitude to our American guests when we see them expressing their friendship toward us. The *Vossische Zeitung* insisted on the necessity of avoiding nasty incidents on the part of “people”—Germans—who were unable to distinguish between Englishers and Americans since both used the English language. The United States had declared its neutrality in the current situation, and Americans in Germany had shown themselves sympathetic to the plight of their German hosts. Americans, many of them staying in such places as Bayreuth, the Tirol, and health resorts and spas, had been surprised by the outbreak of war and had rushed to Berlin where they believed the American embassy would provide them with protection and financial assistance. The *Vossische Zeitung* urged Germans to behave correctly in dealing with the Americans in their midst: “It is a matter of honor and duty that every German, in this most serious hour, support the efforts of our diplomats by seeing to it that Americans are protected and that no further diplomatic complications arise with the United States.”⁶⁵

A few days later, on August 10, several German newspapers published an article about the American presence in Germany. That article, originating with the Wolff Telegraph Bureau, referred to the “some 25,000 Americans” currently within Germany’s borders, whose summer trips were interrupted by the outbreak of war. Germans were not to confuse these Americans, many in dire financial straits, with Englishers. The article pointed out that the United States had already declared its neutrality, and that “on our part” the situation calls for courteous and hospitable behavior toward the American visitors. The article recalled that the United States had vigorously represented helpless and stranded Germans living in France at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and that it would be doing so again in the current situation.⁶⁶

Not surprisingly, Berlin as both tourist attraction and home to a sizable American colony was the center of the American presence in the Reich. Newspaper accounts do not always make it easy to distinguish between American tourists and those Americans residing in colonies throughout

Germany. Thus, the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* of August 14 estimated that 20,000 Americans were *living* in Berlin (*in Berlin wohnenden Amerikaner*), while the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* estimated that 20,000 Americans were currently *staying* in Berlin (*in Berlin weilenden Amerikaner*).⁶⁷ Among those Americans visiting Berlin were, according to "An American music teacher of Berlin . . . at least 8,000 American girl students left in the German capital, with almost no money." The students were, however, "all cheerful and anxious to see something of the excitement."⁶⁸ Such excitement apparently included a rush on the American embassy in Berlin. A *New York Times* report with a dateline of August 3 said that the embassy "was again besieged today from early morning until late in the evening by Americans who were seized with the greatest fear on account of the unknown perils that war might bring." Given the uncertainties faced by these Americans, one could not be surprised that "Many left today for England, Holland, and Scandinavia."⁶⁹

Americans in Germany at the beginning of August 1914 would have found themselves navigating through a Germany that was crusading against the threat posed by spies. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 5 informed its readers that "We are surrounded by spies." That article reported that French and Russian agents in Germany had already made "numerous attempts," fortunately thus far unsuccessful, to disrupt the movement of German troops by blowing up "communication structures, railway bridges, tunnels, and the like." The article downplayed a "so-called 'spy scare (*Spionfurcht*)'" but urged all Germans, in the face of such threats, to accept the "extraordinarily important task" of reporting to authorities suspicious activity, especially on the part of "foreign-speaking" persons intent upon impeding Germany's mobilization for war. "Those who fulfill their obligation in this regard perform a service for the Kaiser and Reich!"⁷⁰

A reading of the German press would suggest that Germans heeded the call to watch for spies. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* reported that a 35-year-old man had been seized on a bridge in Bingerbrück and was shot while attempting to escape. That issue of the paper also mentioned an announcement (*Bekanntmachung*) in which the Royal Police President in Breslau said that two spies had been summarily executed.⁷¹

Almost as quickly as the German press reported on the threat posed by spies, it also called on Germans to be careful about how they behaved in the midst of the crisis. In an August 6 article the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* warned Germans against demonstrations in which they were venting their bitterness about the turn of events. For the sake of the millions of Germans who were at the moment living in other countries it was important that Germans express that bitterness in ways that do not damage "our reputation" in neutral countries but rather serve "the good cause for which we fight."⁷² *Vorwärts*, the

daily newspaper of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, claimed that “unscrupulous elements” had used the military’s concern for bridge security to cast suspicion upon innocent persons and thereby, without any reason, endanger those persons. The article mentioned that there are “overzealous people [who] seem to see spies everywhere, which seems to be degenerating into a genuine spy hunt (*Spionenjagd*).” In the same article *Vorwärts* lamented the public’s treatment of foreigners as “truly vile.” “We repeat: One cannot condemn sharply enough turning against those who are defenseless and who have been living here for years.” *Vorwärts* thought it fit to mention that, “As far as our readers are concerned, we are certain that they are not participants in such a shameful campaign.”⁷³ While the link between spies and foreigners was at the least implicit in most accounts, the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* tied the two together in no uncertain terms by noting that, as is evident from official proclamations and warnings, the zeal of the population has led in many cases to an overzealousness (*Übereifer*) “that was no longer a hunt for spies, but which rather began to take shape as a campaign of agitation against foreigners (*Ausländerhetze*).”⁷⁴

Closer to the western front, the *Kölnische Zeitung* in its morning edition of August 4 also carried the remark that “We are surrounded by spies.” But, in its midday edition, it printed a substantial and cautionary article addressed to its “Fellow Citizens.” The newspaper admitted to “gripping scenes of patriotic enthusiasm among young and old that brought tears to our eyes. . . , [but] we have also seen other things, things that have shamed our national sensibilities.” The paper mentioned that prisoners taken into police custody had been beaten and mistreated. Perhaps they deserved to be thrashed. However, “In any case these people are defenseless, and mistreating the defenseless is not the German way.” The newspaper urged its readers to behave appropriately in this critical moment: stay at home; if required to go out, avoid mass demonstrations in the streets; don’t spread rumors; and, because alcohol is now an even greater enemy than in peacetime, stay away from noisy bars that do not befit the seriousness of the moment. In an accompanying article, the Landrat of Kochem insisted that the report of Gastwirt Nicolai’s having attempted to blow up a nearby tunnel and been summarily executed, and of his wife and daughter’s having been confined, was fabricated (*erfunden*). The following day *Vorwärts* cited the *Kölnische Zeitung*’s report and editorialized about it: “How much news will eventually be denied that originally stirred the public to a fever pitch?”⁷⁵

On August 5 Berlin’s *Der Tag* urged its readers to come to their senses, to be calm and prudent when encountering foreigners and things that seemed suspicious. The newspaper cited, though it did not describe, cases of pursuit the previous afternoon, chases that had taken “a truly shameful course—not for

the pursued person, however, but rather *for the pursuer!*" As before, Germans were to be alert to what was happening around them, "but to refrain from any act of street justice that is *not worthy of the German people!*"⁷⁶

German authorities were especially concerned that suspicions of subversive activity not produce mistreatment of American visitors at the hands of their German hosts. On August 7 the Prussian Minister of the Interior issued a decree (*Erlass*) calling upon officials in Berlin to see to it that the authorities and population extend the greatest possible courtesy to those American citizens staying in Prussia.⁷⁷

In an August 8 interview with a correspondent for *Der Tag* United States Ambassador James Gerard insisted that "Today Germany has no better friend in the whole world than us." Gerard pointed out that the U.S. had demonstrated this, in part at least, by providing protection to Germans in France, England, and Russia. "And that is not a matter of hundreds [of Germans], but of hundreds of thousands!" And in the United States, despite the fact that the country was flooded by news from England and France, the atmosphere for the German Empire was "everywhere favorable." It was all the more important, the ambassador observed, that this warm relationship between Germany and the United States not be troubled by misunderstandings concerning Americans living in Berlin. Yet, some unpleasantness, including the arrest of two newspaper reporters, had occurred. That "sets off alarms and makes for bad blood, which benefits neither us nor you. What is called for is a little more civility and caution."⁷⁸

Ten days later, and in a very different setting, Gerard sent a communication to the U.S. State Department that was intended to provide "the following facts in regard to the present European war, as a matter of record and for the information of the Department." In preparing his report, with its diary-like entries covering July 31-August 12, Gerard admitted that "such statements as I am able to make are based solely upon the carefully censored despatches as they have appeared in the German press." In his entry for August 4 Gerard mentioned that "Several newspaper correspondents, including two American citizens, Mr. Wile of the *New York Times*, and Mr. Bouton of the Associated Press, were arrested . . . under suspicion of espionage on the ground that they had been sending several telegrams and had been talking English." Gerard added that "Many Americans have been mistaken for Englishmen and arrested, and some have been mishandled by the crowd." Gerard remarked upon efforts by the German press "to show the sympathy existing between [Germany and the United States] and urging the German public to show Americans every possible consideration and sign of hospitality." He even noted "a marked attitude of ultrafriendliness to us at the Foreign Office and by all officials."⁷⁹

Perhaps hoping to make it easier for Germans to exercise such civility and caution, the U.S. embassy had suggested that Americans in Germany wear a small replica of the stars and stripes in the form of a stickpin or something similar. Doing so, according to the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, would enable the Americans to avoid any suspicion or inconvenience that might result from their use of the English language.⁸⁰ Such suggestions, cautionary decrees, newspaper articles, and the fact that Americans were reportedly wearing representations of the American flag on their breasts “in order to avoid being taken for Englishers,”⁸¹ were evidently not entirely effective. On August 13 Berlin’s *Der Tag* carried an article entitled “Learn to Tell Them Apart!” The article, authored by “a German-Russian [speaking] for many,” claimed that the ignorance of “our public” in the areas of culture and language had led to “numerous and very serious mishaps (*Entgleisungen*) and injustices.” Americans on account of their language were mistaken for Englishmen and treated accordingly. So, too, were Poles who, though having shown little enthusiasm for the czar, were nevertheless treated as Russians. The article insisted that “it would be well for our fellow Germans” to avoid all outrages against foreigners in general, but especially in those situations “where they do not know whether they are dealing with Englishers or Americans, or with Russians or Poles.”⁸² The *Kölnische Zeitung* expressed a similar concern in urging the population to exercise caution and prudence in dealing with foreigners who were caught by surprise when war broke out. It was very important to remember that “Not everybody who doesn’t know the German language or who speaks it with a foreign accent is a spy.”⁸³

The *Vossische Zeitung* reminded Germans that they had much in common with Americans and ought, therefore, to avoid any unfriendly behavior toward them. The United States has provided “innumerable Germans with security and a homeland (*Schutz und Heimat*), and for that we must be grateful.” The article pointed out that in this moment of crisis Americans have resoundingly expressed their approval and friendship for Germany, that American ambassadors have, as they did in 1870, provided protection to Germans in hostile lands, and that numerous Americans have with collections and the Red Cross provided practical assistance to Germans. “Therefore, protection and respect to all Americans!”⁸⁴

A charge that Americans in Germany had been mistreated drew the attention of several German newspapers, and those newspapers, in what were more or less identical articles, presented both the charge and a refutation of it. The newspapers’ concern focused on a report from London that appeared in Copenhagen’s *Nationaltidende*. According to accounts in the German press, the *Nationaltidende* article said that “The anti-German feeling in the United States has become increasingly bitter because so many American citizens have

been subjected to cruel treatment on their travels through Germany." To refute that charge German newspapers cited no less an authority than U.S. Ambassador Gerard: "Regarding irresponsible reports in foreign newspapers that Americans in Germany, specifically in their travels, have been treated badly, I would like to state emphatically that such is absolutely not the case." Gerard's statement allowed that, in the early days of the war, some Americans were arrested and held for a short time, "but those are incidents that happen in all great European wars. . . . The Americans are just as safe in Germany as they would be at home." Gerard wished to reassure the American population that, "to the extent allowed by the circumstances, Americans in Germany have been accorded the greatest possible courtesy and assistance."⁸⁵

German newspapers turned to their American guests to refute charges that Americans had been abused in Germany. The newspapers carried expressions of gratitude on the part of Americans who thanked German authorities for the hospitality extended to them during their stays in Germany and their return trips to the United States. Americans in Frankfurt expressed their gratitude to the local population whose friendliness had deeply impressed them.⁸⁶ Americans in Freiburg im Breisgau, about to begin their return to the United States, addressed a message to their hosts in which they said that their stay in Germany brought only pleasant memories, and that they considered it their "sacred obligation" to convey to their fellow Americans in the United States "our impressions of the injustices that Germany has experienced."⁸⁷

German newspapers also reported that American tourists, upon their return to the United States, had begun to play the role of apostle by telling Germany's truth to American officials, including President Wilson. An account appearing in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* reported on one such effort by Americans returning from Germany and arriving in New York aboard the *Rotterdam* on September 7. Among those passengers were several Americans who had been spending time in Munich when hostilities began, and who had, before their departure, assured Munich's Oberbürgermeister von Borscht that they would, with all their strength, tell the American public the truth about the origins of the war, and about "Germany's correct behavior and England's false game." Upon the passengers' return to the United States, "several hundred influential men from all of the American states" had also prepared a lengthy report intended for President Wilson and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan. In that report the signatories characterized claims that Germans had mistreated Americans traveling through Germany as "completely false." "The trip through Germany was, under the circumstances, completely safe, and the authorities as well as the population showed themselves, without exception, to be very friendly and helpful." In their report the signatories also insisted that Germany had not been the aggressor in the current battle, that, in fact,

Germany had been driven to war by nations jealous of Germany's growing power as manifested in its industry and commerce, and that those nations "have consequently sworn to destroy the German Volk." The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* was pleased to tell its readers that the activities of these returning Americans had already borne "good fruit."⁸⁸

The German press pointed to American gestures of friendship toward Germany in its hour of need. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported that the American government had through U.S. Ambassador Gerard communicated an offer from the American Red Cross for three doctors and twelve nurses who would tend to "our wounded." Further, "if necessary, the American people would be prepared to send additional doctors and nurses." Perhaps most importantly, "This relief work (*Hilfsaktion*) is just one in a series of countless friendly and humane gestures that have been forthcoming from the Americans, both those across the ocean as well as those living in Germany." Members of the various American colonies in Germany were competing with each other in offering their assistance for works of charity and for the care of Germany's wounded. "Our population" should, therefore, be especially courteous to those Americans that they encounter.⁸⁹

In Berlin the "American community" offered to German authorities the use of its church in the Motzstraße, with the church to serve as a lazarette.⁹⁰ In Frankfurt am Main, the American General Consul extended his sympathy to the Commanding General in Germany's time of trial, and he expressed his gratitude for the way Americans had been treated there. He also stated his intention to establish a fund for the benefit of the Red Cross and the families of fallen soldiers who had been serving in the XVIII Army Corps.⁹¹ In Bad Kissingen Americans donated 8,000M to the Red Cross.⁹² The American colony in Munich stated that it was ready to arrange for a daycare center (*Kinderhort*) and to provide breakfast and lunch for the children. An innkeeper in the same city admitted that, in the excitement of the moment, Germans might understandably direct hurtful language against English-speaking foreigners. But, she emphasized, English "is indeed the mother tongue of the Americans whose own country has shown its sympathy to ours." She pointed out that the only English-speaking residents remaining in her establishment were Americans, men and women who have declared their readiness to help with money and deed in looking after the sick and needy. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* opined that the innkeeper's story should not only demonstrate the goodwill of the United States toward "our dear citizens of Munich" but also encourage them to "offer a substitute homeland (*Ersatzheimat*) to those Americans who, in this hour of danger, have been compelled by circumstance to be here with us."⁹³ And in Frankfurt am Main the press urged its readers to demonstrate their hospitality to their American

Die Amerikaner.



Amerikaner in München: „Wir protestieren dagegen, daß die „N. Y. Times“ die kaumenschweren Erfolge des deutschen Heeres verkleinert.“

The Toads: Americans in Munich: “We are protesting against the fact that the *New York Times* disparages the astonishing success of the German army.” *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, October 6, 1914, page 1.

guests by providing temporary shelter to those visitors utterly unprepared for extended stays caused by the hostilities that were preventing them from returning to the United States. Such gestures will be amply repaid by the cultural and humanitarian benefits and friendships derived from housing people "as interesting and honorable as the Americans." Already reports were showing how grateful the American guests were for the hospitality shown them. "American doctors are placing themselves at the disposal of the Red Cross, a variety of wealthy men have donated large sums for our wounded, and American women are stepping forward and offering their services to our welfare organizations." But the real benefit will come when these Americans reach their homeland and "over there tell the truth about us Germans" in the face of English lies that have poisoned American public opinion. "The returning Americans will then become heralds of truth (*Verkünder der Wahrheit*) testifying to our friendship, our achievements, and the spirit that animates us."⁹⁴

Among those Americans who found themselves in Germany when war broke was, as reported by the Berlin daily *Der Tag* on August 14, A. J. Guggenheim, a New Yorker, the co-owner of the famous copper firm of the same name, and currently in Berlin. He demonstrated his sympathy for Germany with a 20,000M donation for the widows and orphans of German soldiers who had been called to arms (*für die Hinterbliebenen der eingezogenen Krieger*).⁹⁵ American women living in Frankfurt had, in conjunction with the Red Cross Society, formed a committee to produce clothing for the families of those whose men had been called to arms. Anyone wishing to help, whether "by sewing and knitting or by donations of new material, new or used clothing, or other useful items," was urged to get in touch with Mrs. Cooper, Miss Adams, or Mrs. Macfarlane.⁹⁶

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, and in following upon its expressions of sympathy for the Kaiser and the German people, the American Chamber of Commerce in Berlin forwarded to the German Red Cross a donation of 1,000M, and it announced the formation of a committee that would reach out to "German newspapers in the United States" and to German-American firms with the purpose of raising funds for "the needy wives and children" of German soldiers. The resulting contributions would be handed over to German authorities in Berlin who would distribute the funds.⁹⁷ The German-American Petroleum Company in Hamburg had decided to donate 100,000M to the central office of the Red Cross in Berlin. A related firm, the Mannheim-Bremen Petroleum A.G., had committed 25,000M to the Berlin office of the Red Cross.⁹⁸

The German press also reported that the Fatherland was benefitting from the generosity of German-Americans in the United States. The *Münchener*

Neueste Nachrichten reported that a woman who was in Munich when war broke out had, shortly after her return to the United States (exact location unidentified), thus far collected “the impressive sum” of \$60,000 for the widows and orphans of German soldiers and for the Red Cross.⁹⁹ The president of the local German society in San Antonio, Texas, had issued a proclamation expressing the organization’s intention to raise funds for the wounded warriors of Germany and Austria-Hungary.¹⁰⁰ In the aftermath of a proGerman mass rally in Chicago \$5,000 had been raised for the Red Cross and its efforts in Germany and Austria-Hungary.¹⁰¹ Frau Helena Nordhoff-Gargan of Boston, Massachusetts, donated the sum of 10,000M to the American Red Cross Hospital in Munich. The donor, the sister of the hospital’s current director, Doctor Sofie Nordhoff-Jung, had attended the University of Munich and, upon the completion of her studies, continued living in the city. She intended that her donation show her sympathy to Munich and the Red Cross Hospital. This donation marked a success in the effort to tell Germany’s story in the United States (*Aufklärungstätigkeit*). Frau Nordhoff-Gargan had initially delayed making her donation “because she had read in American newspapers ‘that the Kaiser had seized all of Germany’s banks and saving institutions.’”¹⁰²

The German press added another dimension to the imperative of extending hospitality to Americans in the Old Fatherland. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* commented on the potential danger to Germany’s interests when the press outside Germany—and, in this case, specifically the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*—reported that Americans in Germany were being mistreated. Such reports not only misrepresented the situation in Germany, but they also threatened “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.”¹⁰³ The *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* also remarked upon Germany’s isolation and, in doing so, urged Germans to “Help All Americans, Our Friends!” The newspaper cited the example of Hedwig Reicher, who had demonstrated her generosity by informing Berlin’s Oberbürgermeister Adolf Wermuth that she was prepared to host, free of charge, two American children at her Villa Reicher in Saarow at Scharmützelsee. Dresden, Munich, Hannover, and Brunswick had also provided demonstrations of goodwill toward Americans. “The more numerous our enemies, all the more must we demonstrate our gratitude toward our friends.”¹⁰⁴

Americans (as well as British subjects) in Germany who wished to return home were urged to deal with the nearest American consulate rather than attempt to address their concerns directly to the currently overburdened American embassy in Berlin. The *Kölnische Zeitung* identified thirty-six German cities in which American consulates could be found.¹⁰⁵

Shortly after the outbreak of war, the *Berliner Morgenpost* described how the American embassy in Berlin was besieged not only by citizens of England and France whose representation and protection was assumed by Ambassador Gerard but also by Americans who were residing in the city or visiting it in the course of their European travels, and who were unprepared for the complications produced by the outbreak of war. The report spoke of the "coming and going" of hundreds, with many of the Americans seeking passports that would validate them as "free citizens" of the United States. "In long lines they stand in the rooms and hallways of the building, they sit on the rug-covered staircases, and wait for the number they were issued to be called." Embassy staff worked at a "feverish pace" to cope with the demand for passports. In the last few days the embassy had issued "several thousand" passports. The article closed by noting that "Most of the Americans passing their time in Berlin, specifically those who do not understand German and must rely on the English language, have worn small flags or lapel pins with the stars and stripes in order to announce their American citizenship."¹⁰⁶

Many Americans in Germany who learned that hostilities were imminent or had already begun and who consequently wished to arrange for their immediate return to the United States would find themselves more than a little inconvenienced as Germany mobilized for war. According to the *New York Times* of August 5, the German Government had informed the U.S. Department of State of an order preventing foreigners from leaving the country during Germany's mobilization. The *Times* remarked that "There are thousands of Americans in Germany at this time," and that the order "applies to American citizens and to women and children as well as to men." This restriction would no doubt "impose considerable hardship on many residents of the United States who are already unnerved by the discomforts and embarrassments to which they have been subjected through inability to return to their homes."¹⁰⁷ That same day Secretary of State Bryan "learned through German Government sources" that the restriction was "a precautionary measure." The German rail network, fully committed to the movement of German soldiers and equipment, would not at that time be able to carry passenger trains. Further, the report continued, "it was essential that all aliens in Germany should be identified and their neutrality established before they were allowed to depart." Once mobilization was completed, the German Government would not object to the departure of American citizens and their families.¹⁰⁸ The *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* carried a similar report on the same day. According to the *Staats-Zeitung*, the "Berlin Government" had announced that foreigners could not leave Germany. The ban was intended to prevent the transmission to the enemy of information about Germany's mobilization, whether "by spies or by innocent sources (*durch*

unschuldige Quellen),” and to keep persons who owed Germany military service from escaping overseas. It was unclear from the announcement when Americans might be permitted to depart, though there was already concern that American tourists would not have the financial means to support an extended stay in Germany.¹⁰⁹

Two days later, on August 8, the *New York Times* reported that “American Government officials entrusted with the task of facilitating the return of Americans from Europe to this country” had learned from the British, French, and German governments that Americans stranded in Europe would be free to leave once military mobilization was completed.¹¹⁰

Eventually German military mobilization reached the point where some resources could be devoted to Americans who wished to return home. The first of those Americans began their journey to the United States on the afternoon of August 13. In an event widely though inconsistently covered by the Berlin press several hundred Americans gathered at the Charlottenburg Bahnhof, there to board a special train that would take them from Berlin to Bentheim at the Dutch border. From there the Americans were to travel by train to Rotterdam, then board a ship that would take them “on a dangerous ocean journey.” The Charlottenburg event was, by one account, “a very strange scene” (*ein ganz eigenartiges Bild*) as Americans, loaded down with their luggage, streamed into the train station. A sense of community on the part of the travelers (*Reisegenossenschaft*) was evident from both the language they spoke and the little flags they wore on their clothing. Their special train consisted of nine passenger cars, with every seat occupied, and a number of open cars that would carry the automobiles of the departing “American guests.” Shortly before the train’s departure, Ambassador Gerard and his secretary went from compartment to compartment to see that things were going well for the travelers. Almost every one of the passengers held on to a packet of correspondence, “letters from Berliners addressed to their friends and relatives in America,” with the correspondents assured that their letters would be forwarded to their final destinations immediately upon the travelers’ arrival in the U.S. What was especially important to the German observers of this scene was the hope that these returning Americans would “bring the truth about the causes of the war and the current situation to their homeland, which thus far has had to rely upon British and French communications, the falseness of which we are well aware.” For this effort the Americans were fully provisioned. Hundreds of copies of Germany’s *White Book*¹¹¹ and stenographic reports of the Reichstag’s session convened at the outbreak of war had been distributed to the travelers at their hotels, and, at the train station, the Americans received German newspapers, among them a compilation of material from the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, “that

contained all of the official news about the origin and course of the war," and issues of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and, at the instigation of the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland, copies of the *Vossische Zeitung*. Finally, thousands of pamphlets, in English, were given to the departing Americans that included "the earnest plea that the travelers be moved to spread the truth everywhere in their homeland." "Without a doubt, these American guests will do that, and, in addition, they will also certainly tell how chivalrously (*ritterlich*) and courteously the German people have behaved toward them." As the train pulled out of the station, the passengers waved handkerchiefs and exchanged "Hurrahs" and "Farewells" with those gathered on the station platforms. In one passenger car women and men began singing the "Wacht am Rhein," and one old passenger, leaning precariously from a window, called out "Our wish is that victory be yours!"¹¹²

Wilmington's Travelers

Among the first of Wilmington's war-stayed to write home was Georg Kalmbacher. On July 25 the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported receiving a letter and a postcard that Kalmbacher had mailed at Cherbourg. Kalmbacher spent much of his voyage to Europe savoring the comforts of the *Vaterland's* smoking salon for second-class passengers, where he sang, danced, and drank Würzburger beer.¹¹³ Shortly thereafter both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star* mentioned that Kalmbacher had sent postcards to several Wilmingtonians once he reached Berlin¹¹⁴ The *Star's* German Column later placed Kalmbacher in Stuttgart when Europe plunged into war: "He writes that the excitement was indescribable."¹¹⁵ The German Column subsequently indicated that no additional information had been received from Kalmbacher, though he and other war-stayed Wilmingtonians "are expected home within a week or two, as ocean travel has been partly resumed."¹¹⁶

Shortly after the European war began in earnest, the *Star* listed John A. Lengel and family among Wilmington's war-stayed. The Lengels were "thought to be in Augeburg [*sic*], Bavaria."¹¹⁷ A week later the *Star's* German Column reported that "No special news was received from German tourists last week," though it insisted that Lengel, "when last heard from, was at Carlsbad."¹¹⁸ It was not until September 13 that the German Column could provide details of John Lengel's fate—details taken from an August 18 letter that Lengel had written to an unidentified recipient. The German Column mentioned that the Lengels had been abroad since May, that they were with relatives in "Heilbroun [*sic*], South Germany, and they are in no danger." The report added that "For fifteen years [Lengel] has visited Europe regularly each summer for the benefit of his health. Like many other tourists, this time, he

was caught in the tumult of war." In reporting on the letter's contents, the German Column noted that "Mr. Lengel . . . intended to sail on a German steamer on which he had arranged for the return trip, but as the German lines are not running owing to the danger that their ships may be held up and captured, he would have to make the return trip some time next month, via Rotterdam, Holland." Lengel also sent "by the same mail an official copy of the 'White Book' which is printed in English. The issue is of the month of August and contains valuable information as to the origins of the war."¹¹⁹ Yet, it would be an additional month before the Lengel party set out for home: "A cablegram has been received from John A. Lengel, in which he states that he and his family will leave Rotterdam on Saturday, October 24. He states that they are all doing well."¹²⁰

Wilmington's war-stayed included not just a local luminary like Kalmbacher or a retired businessman like Lengel but also the two young women, Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser, "who traveled extensively during the summer in Germany and France, visiting relatives, [and] were last heard from in Baden, Germany."¹²¹ The *Lokal-Anzeiger* was finally able to report on August 29 that "very much to the relief of their relatives in this area" an August 1 letter from Misses Clodi and Ploesser had reached Wilmington. In it the young women wrote that they were staying with Rosa Ploesser's aunt in Ebingen, Württemberg, where they "are being well taken care of."¹²² The following day the German Column carried a similar though slightly different account. It stated that, "after many weeks of patient waiting by the parents of the two young tourists, . . . word has been received from them that they are safe with relatives in the Black Forest (Schwarzwald) [*sic*] Germany. They will there await their time for the chance of securing transportation to this country, which may be soon."¹²³ The trip would not, however, be so expeditiously concluded. Six days later the *Lokal-Anzeiger* described letters dated August 24, which the two women had sent to their parents. They seemed in no hurry to return to the United States. Katie Clodi wrote to her father that a ship left Rotterdam for America every Saturday. Before returning, however, she would first visit her aunt of whom her father had heard nothing in twenty-five years. In the words of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, the two women said that "the Germans are very obliging (*sehr entgegenkommend*) and in every way display an extremely friendly and civil demeanor." The article closed by reporting that Clodi and Ploesser felt safe in the fatherland and planned to return to Wilmington in October.¹²⁴ The following day the *Star's* German Column told much the same story. The travelers had written from Stuttgart, and Katie Clodi would be visiting an aunt in Berlin before leaving for the United States. "Both the young tourists speak highly of the courteous treatment which American travelers in their plight receive from the Germans."¹²⁵ Finally, added the

Nr. 211.
Montag, 4. August 1914.

Berliner Morgenpost.

Zweite Beilage.

Das Deutsche Weißbuch.

Urkundliche zum Kriegsausbruch.

Im der Weißbuch über den Ausgang der Ereignisse...

Weißbuch.

Am 20. Juni 8. 1914 hat der Kaiserliche Hof...

in Gegenwart des Reichspräsidenten...

und abgelesen, mit Worten von der höchsten...

Unter dieser Umkleidung wird die Kaiserliche...

Wiederholt wurde den Kaiserlichen Hof...

ausgesprochen und die Kaiserliche Hof...

Wiederholt wurde den Kaiserlichen Hof...

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Wiederholt wurde den Kaiserlichen Hof...

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A one-page edition of The German White Book published by the Berliner Morgenpost on August 4, 1914.

German Column, the two women "deny the reports of atrocities by German soldiers towards women and children in the country of the enemies which are published in the press." The issues addressed by these remarks—captured by the denial that American tourists had been mistreated in Germany or that German soldiers had committed atrocities in Belgium and France—proved to be constant threads in communications between the tourists in Germany and their relatives and friends in the United States. And such letters provided an indication that German-American tourists were answering doing the work of apostles for the Old Fatherland even before they returned to the United States.

These two young women were, it seems, among those tourists that Ambassador Gerard had in mind when he later noted that "Few Americans had taken the precaution of travelling with passports, and passports had become a necessity." However, most of Wilmington's German-Americans treated in this study left for the Old Fatherland with U.S. passports. Exceptions in this regard were Misses Clodi and Ploesser, who, in order to facilitate their wartime passage back to the United States, applied for emergency passports while in Germany. Thus, on August 19 Clodi and Ploesser secured an emergency passport at the American consulate in Stuttgart, that one passport carrying the names of both women. Several days later, on September 1, each of the women obtained her own emergency passport at the U.S. embassy in Berlin.¹²⁶

Initially, accounts in the Wilmington press concerned the uncertainty that hung over the fate of American tourists caught up in a Europe at war. But that concern, while not altogether discarded, for the most part yielded to allegations that tourists in Germany were being mistreated by German authorities and the larger public there. As early as August 6, in an article entitled "Germans Brutal to Fugitives," the *Morning News* told the story of "John Jay Chapman, the New York writer, [who] scores [*sic*] in the London Times the Germans for their treatment of Americans in Germany who were escaping to England. . . ."¹²⁷ The following day the Wilmington *Evening Journal* reprinted an editorial from the *New York Sun*, which, as it appeared in the Wilmington paper, carried the headline "Our Citizens Held in Germany." The editorial was, in fact, less strident than the headline might have suggested: "Presumably the detention is only temporary and arises from the fact that every official activity and channel of transportation is imperiously used for war."¹²⁸ Perhaps more alarming was what one could read in New York City where the *Times* of August 9 carried a large headline streaming across much of the top of page 3: "Indignities to Americans in Germany." That page included an article by Frederic W. Wile, identified as the "Berlin Correspondent of The New York Times and London Daily Mail." Wile began his report by stating

that he had "succeeded in effecting [his] escape from war-mad and infuriated Germany and reached London last night." Wile, who wrote that "Americans marooned in Berlin and numerous other German cities cannot escape the consequences of general Anglophobia," also claimed that "many Americans are likely to suffer disagreeable experiences as the war proceeds" because Germans "are unable to distinguish between Americans and English. . . ." As a result, "The American Embassy, which has performed wonders in the last ten days in giving succor to every kind of distressed persons [*sic*], advises that Americans wear tiny American flags and speak as little English as possible in public places."¹²⁹ Again and again, German-American tourists would contest these charges by emphasizing the good treatment they had experienced at the hands of the German hosts.

At the end of September the *Star's* German Column reported that Louis Clodi, Katie's father, and Louise Ploesser, Rosa's mother, had received letters originating in Berlin on August 28. There "the two young travelers are now visiting Mrs. Christiana Neumann, a sister of Mr. Clodi, whom he has not seen for twenty-five years. The letters say: 'To get home is by way of Rotterdam, Holland, but we are not allowed to leave here until the German government furnishes us with our sailing tickets. Every now and then special trains are run from here to Rotterdam, but only those are allowed to depart for home who have steamship tickets.'" Mrs. Neumann also took the trouble to write to her brother in Wilmington to let him know that she was enjoying the visit by his daughter and her friend, and that she was taking good care of them.¹³⁰

The next report on the two women was somewhat more somber: "Miss Katie Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser, both of whom have been unwillingly detained by war in Germany for the past three months, sailed yesterday from Rotterdam, Holland, on the steamer 'Amsterdam' for New York." The German Column reminded its readers that the two women "have been in Europe on a visit to relatives of their parents whom they had never seen before." After spending a couple of weeks in Rotterdam awaiting passage, Ploesser and Clodi were expected to arrive home in about a week. "While they were in the best of hands, the enforced war stay worried them greatly and no doubt they will both welcome with all sincerity the Goddess of Liberty in New York harbor."¹³¹

The war-stay of Samson Stern, "the King Street saloon proprietor," took a path very different from those traveled by Misses Clodi and Ploesser. The *Star's* German Column informed its readers of a report that Stern "has been detained by the German Government and held to serve his unexpired term in the German army. This could not be verified." Nothing, however, had been heard from Mr. Stern since he sent a letter from Switzerland in late July.¹³²

The Wilmington *Evening Journal* was more specific about Stern's military status when it reported on August 13 that "It was said this morning that he is a captain in the German army [and] was a member of the German army reserve forces. . . ." ¹³³ Twelve days later that same newspaper told its readers this: "[I]t is thought that [Stern] has been compelled to join the Kaiser's army. Mr. Stern, when a young man, served six months of his three years enlistment in the German army, when he was placed on the reserve list." ¹³⁴

Back Home

On Friday, September 4, the *Morning News* reported on Stern's European adventure, though it confused Samson with his brother Samuel: According to a "wireless telegram," Stern would be arriving in New York aboard the steamship *Rotterdam* three days later. In mentioning reports that Stern "was requisitioned into the German army corps," the *Morning News* added that "a younger brother, Leopold Stern, and several nephews are fighting in the German army, they being residents of Germany." ¹³⁵ Two days later, on Sunday, September 6, the German Column of the *Star* announced Samson Stern's imminent return to the United States. According to the report, Stern "has during the week sent a cable, that he and Mrs. Stern would return to this country and arrive here tomorrow or Tuesday." The German Column expected this news to ease the anxiety of Mr. Stern's friends in Wilmington "who had feared that Mr. Stern had been drafted for the [German] army." But he had not. Rather, he and his wife were traveling in Switzerland and "apparently stayed there, while the mobilization was going on in Germany. They took passage home from Holland, which is, as Switzerland, a neutral country." ¹³⁶

On September 8, the day after Samson Stern's return to the United States, Wilmington's daily press carried accounts of his experiences in a Europe at war. Once again misidentifying the traveler as Samuel, the *Morning News* mentioned what it described as "a very trying voyage across the Atlantic." Stern, "when interviewed last night, spoke very highly of the treatment afforded German tourists in Germany." He indicated that 2,500 Americans had returned to the United States aboard the *Rotterdam*, and that more than 1,000 of them had signed a statement protesting the hostility toward Germany that characterized the American press's coverage of the war in Europe: "It is surprising to me that American papers should take such a stand against Germany, . . . [a] country that has so helped us in our greatest troubles, the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. I think such people should be ashamed of themselves for even thinking some of the things which they have printed." ¹³⁷

Later that day the Wilmington *Evening Journal* also carried a report on

Stern's adventure. Stern was confident of a complete German victory, claimed that Americans were generally ignorant about the actual military situation, and lamented (as the *Evening Journal* paraphrased his view) that "the majority of American newspapers are printing only the news colored by French and English agencies. . . ." Stern boasted that "The Germans have won countless victories which never have been made public and their grand march across France is without equal in the military history of the world." Emphasizing the authoritativeness of a person caught up in the swirl of events and quite possibly intending to counter stories of German atrocities in Belgium, Stern insisted "that the people of the United States ought to know how the French and British are fighting. I have in my possession copper explosive bullets taken from French prisoners. Three are for rifles and one for a revolver. The French have violated every law of civilized warfare."¹³⁸

Given the more timely coverage provided by Wilmington's daily press, perhaps the *Lokal-Anzeiger* chose to print for those who preferred to read their news in German only a relatively brief account of Stern's arrival in Wilmington: "Mr. Stern asserts that all Americans in Germany are being treated very well." The same item mentioned that more than 10,000 Americans were waiting in Rotterdam for the opportunity to return to the United States. Only a single line was still providing transatlantic transportation, and up to \$3,000 was being paid for passage to New York.¹³⁹

Samson Stern and his family were not, however, the first of Wilmington's war-stayed to return from the European continent. Rather, as the *Star* mentioned, that distinction belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Constant J. Grandhomme, who lived in a "commodious country residence" in Centreville, just west of Wilmington. The *Star's* German Column had reported on the couple's May departure for Europe, but lengthy coverage of their arrival back in the United States instead began on the *Star's* front page. Perhaps the title of the article, "Blame the Kaiser for Spoiling a Trip," and what Mrs. Grandhomme had to say about the excursion did not quite fit the message the German Column wished to convey. In any event, the Grandhommes had left for Europe on May 6. They stayed in Paris for a week, then visited the birthplace of her husband, "a country district quite a distance from Paris." From there the couple traveled to "Hanover, Germany, my own home." The couple then toured Berlin, where they stayed for several days. "This was in June, and nothing was said about war at the German capital. Now and then we read some war-like articles in the press, but no one seemed to pay much attention to them." The couple then traveled to Coblenz, and from there to "Luzern, Zurich, and other [Swiss] cities of note . . . but still no one was aware that one of the greatest conflicts . . . the world ever will see was pending." Off to Italy, then "direct to Munnich [*sic*], Bavaria, and there is when we saw in

the papers that war was in sight and that the armies of the great European powers were mobilizing their forces." The Grandhommes concluded their abbreviated stay in Munich on July 28 and reached Paris the following day. Fearing that things would only get worse, they set out for Havre on August 3: "[W]e left on a cattle train. It took us 12 hours to reach our destination which at regular schedule time should be made in less than four hours." The Grandhommes later learned that "all railroads . . . were excluding passenger service and every available train leaving Paris was used for the transportation of troops to the front." They boarded the liner *La France*, "and there we stayed for 10 days." They valued their sojourn on the liner "because in the first place we had a shelter over our heads, and the most important point, was that if the *La France* was ever allowed to start for the United States, which was then very uncertain, we would have a better chance to get home." Mrs. Grandhomme's verdict on her experience: "I blame the Kaiser for cutting short my outing. I really enjoyed our trip greatly until this war put a stop to it all."¹⁴⁰

As late as September 20 the German Column announced that no one had heard from Georg Kalmbacher since July 28, and "His family is greatly worried about his whereabouts."¹⁴¹ But, in fact, Kalmbacher was already on his way home. He had departed Rotterdam on September 12 aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, and he would reach New York on Monday, September 21.¹⁴² He arrived in Wilmington on September 23, and the following afternoon the city's *Evening Journal* carried a lengthy account of Kalmbacher's transatlantic adventure. According to the *Evening Journal*, Kalmbacher—identified throughout the article as *Kalmbach*—was convinced that the American people were not provided with accurate information about either the successes of the German army or the treatment accorded American tourists in Germany. The *Evening Journal* noted that the German-born Kalmbacher was "a naturalized citizen of the United States, having lived here since he was 17 years of age." The report mentioned that Kalmbacher was in Munich when war broke out and because "he had passports was not molested when they were shown." He subsequently traveled to Berlin where he remained during the early days of the war: "Mr. Kalmbach [*sic*] remarked that while there was great excitement at first, the populace soon settled down, and when he left there on September 6, there was 'no excitement, plenty to eat and plenty to drink in the German capital.'" The *Evening Journal* quoted Kalmbacher as saying that "All the German people are for war, . . . and they have no doubt but what they will win because they think the war was forced upon them." Kalmbacher insisted that "The German forces are advancing slowly but surely. Official statements are issued every day giving the war news, the names of those killed and wounded in battle, and how and where they were wounded."¹⁴³ Kalmbacher traveled to Holland from which he sailed for

the United States. "He sailed on the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, and he stated that many millionaires occupied steerage quarters on the ship, being unable to get better accommodations." On the vessel were 787 citizens from thirty-six states who signed an "Open Letter to the President of the United States of America," which the *Evening Journal* printed in full. The signers of the Open Letter, Kalmbacher among them, intended that it serve as testimony to the good treatment of Americans who were visiting Germany when war broke out: "In truth the attitude of all Germany, throughout the whole situation, has been one of serious consideration for the safety and comfort of all the strangers within her gates."¹⁴⁴ Thus did these returning apostles begin their work of spreading Germany's gospel. Also exposed to this Open Letter were newspaper readers in Germany, who, through the efforts of the Munich-based American Committee for Truth (*Das amerikanische Aufklärungskomitee München*), learned about the open letter.¹⁴⁵

The following Sunday the German Column of the *Star* mentioned Kalmbacher's return but saved its more extensive coverage of his visit to the Old Fatherland for a later date.¹⁴⁶ In the October 4 issue of the *Star* the German Column reported that Kalmbacher, upon his return to Wilmington, was "asked [for] his version of the war." In his response he indicated his surprise at "the mess of doctored news which is sent over here from the scene of war and is published by our papers as the real thing." Kalmbacher said that he had expected a more objective chronicling of events "because I always relied on the outspoken fairness of our American press." He added that while in Germany he had "watched with interest the war reports . . . from the front." They were "with very few exceptions . . . in favor of the German army." Kalmbacher then indicated his overall assessment of what he had seen: "The general and the universal feeling in Germany is that we [*sic*] will win a great victory, and I really believe that this victory will be won in less than one month."¹⁴⁷

A week later the *Star's* German Column reported that "we received a communication" from Kalmbacher in which he once again asserted his views with the authoritativeness of a man who, by virtue of his trip to Germany, had been a party to the events unfolding in Europe. He reiterated his concern that "our country [the United States] has not been truthfully informed as to the conditions before the war started, and even now I venture to say that we are not reliably informed." In referring to dispatches from the German Emperor to the Czar of Russia and the King of England, Kalmbacher insisted that they represented Kaiser Wilhelm's "prayer . . . for the preservation of peace." Kalmbacher was distressed that "many of our American friends lay the blame of this war on the German Emperor" when, in fact, "The Emperor of Germany was not the instigator of this bloody conflict." Kalmbacher drew

Verlustliste Nr. 2.†)

Enthält die seit dem 10. August namentlich und mit Sicherheit bekannte
geordneten Verluste.

Stab der 14. Inf.-Brigade. Tot:
von Wuffow, General-Major. Bae-
dicker, Oberleutnant d. R.

Inf.-Regt. Nr. 18. Tot: Grabowski,
Paul, Gefreiter, 7. Komp. Ward, Paul,
Reservist, 7. Komp.

Inf.-Regt. Nr. 20. Tot: Schlicht-
Oberst.

Inf.-Regt. Nr. 27. Tot: Krüger,
Oberst. Hildebrand, Hauptmann. Rü-
besamen, Leutnant. Darrath, Leut-
nant. Rudloff, Leutnant der Reserve.
von dem Berne, Leutnant von Groß,
Leutnant. Preuß, Leutnant. Volgt,
Leutnant der Reserve.

Fü.-Regt. Nr. 35. Tot: Meilag,
Major. Sabinski, Hauptmann von
Puttamer, Hauptmann. Sawada,
Hauptmann.

3. Schief. Inf.-Regt. Nr. 156. Schwer
verwundet: Bartelt, Joseph,
Musketier, 7. Komp. (rechtes Bein). Ide,
Emil, Musketier, 8. Komp. (rechtes Fuß über-
fahren und gebrochen, Marien-Hospital, Gen-
schau).

Inf.-Regt. Nr. 165. Tot: Leppien,
Leutnant.

Inf.-Regt. Nr. 171. Tot: Licht, Ro-
bert, Musketier, 10. Komp. Bodeker, Ernst,
Musketier, 10. Komp. Franzen, Albert,
Unteroffizier, 10. Komp. Lange II, Carl,
Friedr., Ernst, Gefreiter, Hornisch, 7. Komp.
Marcus, Friedr. Wilh., Reservist, 1. Komp.
Vermißt: *) Bittroff, Carl, Leut-
nant, 6. Komp. Kornse, Otto, Sergeant,
6. Komp. Matthes, Herm., Musketier,
6. Komp. Sturm, Albert Heinz., Muske-
tier, 6. Komp. Marg, Siegf. Gust., Muske-
tier, 6. Komp.

Schwer verwundet: Spintig, Wilh.,
Bisfeldwebel, 3. Komp. (rechtes Oberschenkel),
Fett, Theodor, Musketier, 3. Komp. (rechtes
und linkes Oberschenkel), Wisgermann,
Wilhelm, Musketier, 1. Komp. (Unterleib).

Jäger-Bat. Nr. 1. Tot: Rathser,
August, Jäger, Radfahrer.

Schwer verwundet: Mehl, Otto, Bi-
feldwebel (Kopfschuß) Jagarett Reibenburg.

Jäger-Bat. Nr. 4. Tot: Ganderl,
Leutnant.

Jäger-Bat. Nr. 14. Tot: Wegener,
Führer. Schwentl, Jäger, Wrede,
Jäger, Euech, Jäger, Wolfenstein,
Jäger.

Verwundet: Rhaue, Jäger, Weich,
Jäger, Henkel, Jäger, Astelshon, Jäger,
Andre, Oberjäger. Eugel, Oberjäger,
Brause, Jäger, Biedemann I, Jäger,
Sump, Gefreiter, Hennings, Gefreiter,
Wostl, Gefreiter, Mahnte, Jäger, Dech,
Gefreiter, Gotthmann, Jäger, Roden-
brock, Gefreiter, Ulrich, Jäger, Dreier,
Jäger, Verdun, Jäger, Schuidt II,

Jäger, Jürgens; Jäger, Hautz, Jäger,
Prohl, Jäger.

Inf.-Regt. Nr. 5. Vermißt: Gold,
Wolff, Bisfeldwebel, 4. Eskadron.

Drag.-Regt. Nr. 7. Tot: Reiser-
mann, Dragoner, 4. Esc. Windermann,
Dragoner, 4. Esc. Palm, Dragoner, 2. Esc.
Brüdemann, Dragoner, 4. Esc.
Verwundet und gefangen: Simbichtl,
Sergeant, 4. Esc. Reißmann, Dragoner,
4. Esc.

Drag.-Regt. Nr. 10. Vermißt: Her-
mann, Dragoner, 5. Esc.
Gefangen: Socha, Dragoner, 5. Esc.

Drag.-Regt. Nr. 14. Tot: Leng:
Wilh., Dragoner.

Vermißt: Kunkel, Wilh., Unteroffizier,
Heinrich, Alfred, Gefreiter.

Gefangen: Singer, Lucian, Dragoner.
Leicht verwundet: Kollied, Otto, Dra-
goner (Armschuß, Jagarett Schlettstahl), Wöl-
fer, Friedr., Unteroffizier (Schulter-
schuß, Jagarett Kolmar).

Flauen-Regt. Nr. 7. Tot: Reßmar,
Oberleutnant.

Flauen-Regt. Nr. 8. Tot: Korn-
schat, Emil, Sergeant, 1. Esc. Heibst,
Johannes, Mann, 1. Esc. (gest. am), Kri-
ewitz, Wilh., Mann, 3. Esc.

Vermißt (sollen gefallen sein): Böhm,
Werner, Rich., Mühl, Leutnant, 1. Esc.
Wichmann, Paul, Mann, 1. Esc.

Vermißt: Bohr, Paul, Jos., Mann,
1. Esc. Gimmering, Aug., Mann, 4. Esc.

Schwer verwundet: Ribellus, Ferd.,
Mann, 3. Esc. (linke Hand, rechtes Arm, Re-
servelagarett Stollupönen), Szillat, Aug.,
Sergeant, 5. Esc. (rechte Schulter, Reservelagarett
Stollupönen), Schwabe, Gustav,
Mann, 5. Esc. (rechte Hüfte, Reservelagarett
Stollupönen).

Leicht verwundet: Ribnast, Aug.,
Mann, 1. Esc. (rechte Schulter, Reservelagarett
Stollupönen), Reinken, Friz, Gefreiter,
4. Esc. (rechte Hüfte, Reservelagarett Stollu-
pönen), Haberkus, Carl, Gefreiter, vierte
Esc. (linke Schulter, Reservelagarett Stollu-
pönen), Westphal, Franz, Mann, 4. Esc.
(rechtes Bein, Reservelagarett Stollupönen),
Sturm, Max, Gefreiter, 4. Esc. (rechtes
Arm, Reservelagarett Stollupönen), Röck,
Fritz, Mann, 5. Esc. (rechtes Arm, Reservelagarett
Stollupönen), Dahle, Otto, Mann,
5. Esc. (linker Arm, wieder dienstfähig, Re-
servelagarett Stollupönen).

Feldart.-Regt. Nr. 4. Tot: Wilm-
sen, Hauptmann, Brandhorst, Carl-
Lorenz, Leutnant, Duerre, Leutnant d.
Reg., Rudolph, Kommandeur der Mun-
itionskolonnen, Oberstl. z. D.

Fliegertruppen. Tot: Jahnow,
Oberleutnant, Fliegerabtlg. I (abgestürzt, Schü-
delbruch).

Berichtigung der Verlustliste 1.

Inf.-Regt. Nr. 156. Tot: Knott
Schubert, Ignaz Franz, Gefreiter der Re-
serve, 6. Komp. — tot, ist zu sehen: Kra-
wieh, August Jos., Reservist, 6. Komp. —
tot.

*) Sollen nach Angabe von französischen Ge-
fangenen gefangen genommen und nach Gerar-
mer transportiert sein.

†) Die Verlustliste Nr. 2 ist am 9. dieses Monats vom Wolfenbütteler Katastralbureau bearbeitet
und von uns mitgeteilt worden.

“Casualty List Nr. 2” as it was distributed by the Wolff Telegraph Bureau and as it was published in the *Berliner Morgenpost* of August 15, 1914, page 3. “Contains the names of those who are confirmed to have become casualties since August 10.”

on his recent travels in describing developments in the Old Fatherland: "I noticed while in Germany that after all [of the Kaiser's] overtures had been left without notice [*sic*], every German, by birth or adoption, then saw that his nation had been ignored, and that there was no other alternative but to fight and save their homes and the honor of their country." And, once again, the authoritativeness of the eyewitness: "I also noticed that there was no doubtful feeling and no fear of defeat, and that the only solution of the question was war."¹⁴⁸

Kalmbacher defended the Kaiser's decision to invade Belgium. The explanation for this was simple enough: "Had Germany not invaded Belgium, France would have done so, by using the protection of Belgium for making a short cut into Germany. It was known in Germany that such a plan was in force even before war was declared. . . ." Finally, Kalmbacher confessed to being confounded at how "Americans can favor a country like Russia, whereas Germany has always stood at the front for education and moral character. What has Russia ever accomplished for the good of civilization or education?"¹⁴⁹

Surprising about the German Column's accounts of Kalmbacher's views, which were based on his sojourn in Germany, is what was not reported about the traveler's return trip. Whether Kalmbacher dealt with the homeward voyage in his remarks and the German Column decided not to describe it, whether he simply did not discuss the trip home, or whether he thought it had been fully covered by the earlier report in the *Evening Journal*, it was by other accounts quite an adventure. The *New York Times* reported that the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, the ship on which Kalmbacher sailed, was the largest of four ships to arrive in the port of New York on September 21. The *Nieuw Amsterdam* carried 1,798 passengers "of all classes," the majority of them German-Americans. The *Times* added that "resolutions were adopted acknowledging the courtesy shown to Americans in Germany and expressing doubt about alleged atrocities." These resolutions were presumably the Open Letter printed in the *Evening Journal* of September 24. Neither did the German Column mention that the *Nieuw Amsterdam* "was held up three times by British cruisers before she got clear of the English Channel, and Capt. Baron was requested to send down his wireless apparatus, which was replaced after the liner was well clear of the land." Further into the voyage "the liner passed an iceberg 150 feet out of the water."¹⁵⁰

The authoritativeness accruing to Wilmington's German-American war-stayed returnees was captured by the *Lokal-Anzeiger's* brief report on a meeting of the local *Männerverein* held on the evening of October 6. Almost in passing, the newspaper mentioned that more than fifty members of the Men's Society had assembled to hear Kalmbacher and Stern provide a candid

description "of their experiences in the war" (*über ihre Kriegserlebnisse*).¹⁵¹ Earlier in the week other newspapers had provided a bit more information. In almost identical articles the *Evening Journal* and the *Every Evening* mentioned that Kalmbacher and Stern "told of their experiences and described minutely the mobilization of the German army and the scenes which they witnessed in that connection." Both newspapers reminded their readers that the meeting was sponsored by the Men's Society of Zion Lutheran Church and then indicated that "Some of the men present had fought in the Franco-Prussian war and were surprised at the immense progress of the [German] army."¹⁵² Few among the city's German-Americans were likely to doubt the word of their ethnic colleagues who were reported to have experienced the war firsthand and who were able to provide news that was not filtered through the "English press."

Although Wilmington's newspapers paid a good deal of attention to Kalmbacher's European adventure, their reports could not have covered all that he told his acquaintances among the city's German element. An opportunity for surmising what Kalmbacher might have said to his fellow Wilmingtonians is provided by the September 22 article in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, which described the voyage of the *Nieuw Amsterdam* that brought Kalmbacher and some 1,800 other passengers back to the United States. In addition to discussing the voyage itself and the Open Letter to President Wilson, the article addressed stories of atrocities committed by the warring armies in Belgium and France. One part of the article dealt with "Belgian Abominations" (*Belgische Greuel*) as they were recounted by the nineteen-year-old Marya Richards, an American from Baltimore who was visiting relatives in Cologne when war broke out. In a hospital there Richards had seen "German soldiers as well as women and children with eyes gouged out and with hands and feet chopped off." When she asked who had committed such horrific acts, the answer was always the same: "Belgian Frantireurs and women" (*Belgische Frantireurs und Weiber*). What Richards had to say—presumably to a reporter for the *Staats-Zeitung*—drew on charges and counter-charges regarding atrocities perpetrated by German soldiers on the western front in the first six weeks of the war. *Francs-tireurs*—armed civilians forcibly resisting the German forces—featured prominently in these allegations of German brutality because German military units often justified their brutal treatment of Belgian and French civilians by claiming that their soldiers had been fired upon by *francs-tireurs* who operated outside the rules governing the conduct of modern war. At the same time, Richards's claims of Germans whose eyes had been gouged out and whose hands and feet had been hacked off mirrored charges made by Belgian and French authorities that such inhuman acts had been perpetrated by *German soldiers* against the

Belgian and French populations.¹⁵³

This same article in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* reported that an unnamed passenger aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam* had shown the paper's reporter a packet of dum-dum bullets taken from a French prisoner of war. The informant insisted that French soldiers had an ample supply of ammunition, including dum-dum bullets, this despite the fact that the use of dum-dum bullets contravened the rules of modern warfare. Once again a passenger claimed, and the *Staats-Zeitung* reported, that military forces fighting against Germany were guilty of the same malicious acts that the American press was attributing to the German army.¹⁵⁴

By the time that Kalmbacher returned to the United States, allegations of German atrocities in Belgium and France had received a good deal of attention in the American press.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, on September 23, the very day that he reached Wilmington, the *Morning News* carried articles with the titles "Two Towns Razed. Germans Take Revenge for Attack by Civilians" and "Woman Tells of German Cruelties. Troops Shot Non-Combatants in Mulhausen, Then Destroyed Residences."¹⁵⁶ It seems not unreasonable to assume that the passengers on board the *Nieuw Amsterdam* had in the course of their nine-day-voyage constructed a shared understanding that refuted or deflected charges of barbaric behavior on the part of German soldiers, and that emerged as a chapter in the larger counter-narrative by which the German-American press challenged the version of events presented to readers by most newspapers in the United States. Thus, the *Staats-Zeitung* article blamed the Belgians and the French for the very misdeeds others were attributing to the German army. The unnamed passenger on the *Nieuw Amsterdam* was not plowing new ground with his claim that French soldiers possessed dum-dum bullets. According to an article in the *Sunday Morning Star* dated September 5, the German general staff had charged the British and French armies with using dum-dum bullets.¹⁵⁷ That the passengers aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam* were aware of how Germany and Germans were being represented to the American public by much of the American press, and that the passengers were capable of creating such a counter-narrative, was demonstrated by the 787 of them who signed the Open Letter to President Wilson, with the letter itself a shared counter-narrative speaking to the treatment of foreigners who found themselves in Germany when war broke out. The preamble to the letter made it clear that the 787 signatories were responding to reports "from cables, letters and newspapers received by us" concerning the treatment of tourists who found themselves in Germany when war broke out.¹⁵⁸ Finally, it seems fair to say that Kalmbacher and the other signers of the Open Letter would share with their German-American acquaintances that counter-narrative regarding atrocities committed in Belgium and France.

beruht Haupt und Malbuchschaffen, namentlich in demjenigen von der Gauer durchflochtenen Getreide, das zu den Kleibern gehört. Dort liegt das ländliche Wäldchen wieder und wieder die Bedeutung diese luxemburgische Sommerliche fest, erlich man schon daraus, daß sie hier das größte Gebiet hat ganzes Land befindet. Belgien und Holländer, Deutsche und Franzosen, das sind hier die Gäste. Die Gegend ist schon im frühen Namen, die Franzosen haben hier ebenfalls trübselig gewohnt, als in der West und am Rhein. Besonders namentlich sind die Klauen von Bouloze, es ist das soll ein Schützling des Königs im ersten Napoleon. Auch das merkwürdige Gäß an der Gauer weiß die Trümmern dieser zerstörten Bürgern auf. Am schönsten liegt die herrliche Burgmauer von Bionden, eine außerordentliche Gießmauer für die Kaiser. Bionden ist die Stimmung des



Ehemaliges Dorf Klungen, Luxemburg

Erzamt gewesen, jedoch hat König Wilhelm für zwei sehr reichliche Güter für dieses Gebiet seiner reichlichen Güter am der Zug, jetzt, kann er verkauft das herrliche Baumgut für 5000 Gulden an einen Unterbeamten. Nun wurde die Burg ein Spielplatz. Die letzten Gebäude und Ruinen wurden herausgerissen und verkauft. Oben diesen Denkmalen prunkte das Land, und König Wilhelm konnte schließlich das Trümmern jenseitig, aber nur um es einem anderen Eigentümer, dem Sohn der Zeit, zu überlassen.

Dum-Dum-Kugeln.

Genauere Beschreibung über die Beschaffenheit dieser Geschosse.



Die Beschaffenheit dieser Geschosse, ein Teil seiner Wirkung sei mit Dum-Dum-Geschossen ausgeübt gewesen.



Bei französischen Gefangenen beschlagnahmte Dum-Dum-Geschosse. (Oben: Kugeln nach dem Schuß.)

Die Dum-Dum-Geschosse sind eine englische Erfindung. Nach Einführung des Heerartigen Dienstes,



Schuh war 7 Millimeter-Mitteldurchmesser. Wussten Geschosse zur sicheren Führung mit einem Schmalzmittel umgeben war, soßen die Engländer bei ihren Kämpfen gegen die wilden Weibegeschosse die Beobachtung gemacht haben, daß die bösen getroffenen Pferde nicht sofort kampfunfähig wurden, sondern ihre Kraftbewegung nach längerer Zeit. Um die Schmalzmittel geschädlicher zu machen, setzten die Engländer die Geschosse mit einem Metallstreifen des Geschosses den Mantel sprengte. Später wurden solche Geschosse in der Geschossefertigung Dum-Dum in dem Sinne von Metall hergestellt. Man fertigte zwei verschiedene Muster heraus. Bei dem einen wurde bei Geschossen mit dem Metallstreifen mit dem Mantel wurde in die ununterste Stelle eine Einbohrung in der Richtung der Geschosse gemacht.



Schuh mit Dum-Dum-Kugel. Schuß. Welche Male war der Joch, die Verwundungen schwerer blühbar zu machen.

In der dritten Deklaration der Kongress-Präsidenten (1899) wurde die Verwendung von Geschossen die sich im menschlichen Körper nicht auflösen oder auflösen, als unethisch unterstellt. Die Deklaration ist von Frankreich, nicht aber von England unterzeichnet. Vorher hat alle England- und West, selbst von der ganzen zivilisierten Welt als unethisch gebilligt. Geschosse zu verwenden. Frankreich dagegen hat sich durch den Gebrauch solcher Geschosse eines schweren Vorwurfs der von ihm eingegangenen völkerrechtlichen Verpflichtungen schuldig gemacht. Bei den Gefangenen sind insbesondere Geschosse mit Schmalzmittel, die in der Spitze mit einer Metallspitze ausgestattet sind, gefunden worden. Die normalen Geschosse sind meistens aus einer Kupferlegierung, die natürlich nicht in dieser Weise unzerstörbar werden können. Wie weiter unten man solche gefunden, die an der Spitze schon abgeleert oder eingetrübt waren. Selbstverständlich, damit das aufrechte Geschoss beim Eindringen in den menschlichen Körper sich aus Metall- und schwere Wunden erzeugt. Es scheint dem Gedächtnis das kaiserlichen Untersuchungsrichters nachschauen zu sein, bei italienischen Gefangenen hat während der italienisch-afrikanischen Krieges wiederholt und unter Hinweis auf viele aufgetriebene Stellen darüber berichtet haben, daß französische Gefangenen den Befehl erhalten über Tausend Dum-Dum-Geschosse vorgelesen haben.

Wie berichtet wird, steht im deutschen Lager ein Bataillon mit zehn Bataillon im Feld. Der größte Stamm der zum Schuß des Geschosses so notwendig betrogen. Ich bringe diesen und kommt aus England von Westland. Die selber steht als Dampfburmannen auf vorgeführtem Bodenposten. Sein längerer Sohn hat sich als Kriegsfreiwilliger gemeldet.

An article about dum-dum bullets ("Dum-Dum Kugeln") that appeared in the *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger* of November 7, 1914.

Illustration of four cartridges: "How they look before being fired."

Illustration of three spent rounds: "Dum-dum bullets taken from French prisoners. (Above: How they look after being fired.)"

Illustration of top skull: "A shot from a 7 millimeter military rifle."

Illustration of bottom skull: "A shot from a dum-dum bullet."

On October 26 the *Morning News* was able to report that Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser had arrived in Wilmington the day before. The story in the *Morning News* dealt mostly with the efforts of the two young women to make their way back home and with the reception accorded them upon their return. Still, said the article, "the young women stated that all the officials of the railroads and at the various boundary lines were most cordial, and that they experienced no trouble whatever, with the exception of a slight disadvantage in going from one place to another."¹⁵⁹ Later that day the *Every Evening* informed its readers that Clodi and Ploesser, "burdened with great quantities of interesting souvenirs from the center of the world's war," had reached Wilmington the previous evening.¹⁶⁰ The *Every Evening* described the young women as "Paying a great tribute to the military and railway officials of Germany for their unflinching courtesy and consideration of Americans who were trapped in the domain of the Kaiser when the war clouds broke."¹⁶¹ The following Saturday the *Lokal-Anzeiger* told much the same story that appeared in the *Every Evening*: that "to the great joy of their relatives" Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser had returned home. But the *Lokal-Anzeiger* had more to report. According to Misses Clodi and Ploesser, Germans were convinced that the triumph of German arms was inevitable and that the war would not be a long one. Clodi told the *Lokal-Anzeiger* that she had stayed with an aunt in Berlin, where near the castle she saw the Crown Princess who was about to bring flowers to wounded and hospitalized German soldiers. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* went on to say that Miss Clodi was much impressed by other events: "In Berlin the celebration of Sedan Day on September 2 was indescribably beautiful, as Fr. Clodi told us. A massive number of people in the streets and a grand enthusiasm were the order of the day. Along Unter den Linden passed a parade that included captured Belgian, French, and Russian cannons and other weapons." This kind of news from Germany would benefit not only from the recollections of the two young women but also from the "many German periodicals" that, according to the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, they brought home with them.¹⁶²

Under the heading "Safe and Sound at Home" the *Star's* German Column offered a lengthy account of the Clodi-Ploesser odyssey: "Last Sunday evening Miss Katie Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser, after being absent for five months, and almost within hearing of the voice of battle, arrived from Germany and were met at the railroad station by relatives and friends." Earlier in the year the two young women "conceived the idea of a trip to Europe, for the purpose of paying a visit to near relatives of their parents, whom they had never seen." The "reporter of the German page yesterday" interviewed Miss Clodi at her home. In accounting for German hospitality toward American tourists, she said that "A German respects and admires the American mostly



Parade of captured guns and flags on Sedan Day in Berlin, 1914.

“Miss Clodi and Miss Ploesser home.” On Sunday evening . . . , Miss Katie Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser returned from Germany safe and sound. . . . Miss Clodi lived the last five weeks with an aunt in Berlin. . . . Miss Clodi told us that the celebration of Sedan Day on September 2 in Berlin was indescribably wonderful. That day was marked by great enthusiasm and an enormous number of people in the streets. Along Unter den Linden moved a procession in which captured Belgian, French, and Russian cannons, etc., passed by. (*Wilmington Lokal Anzeiger*, October 31, 1914)

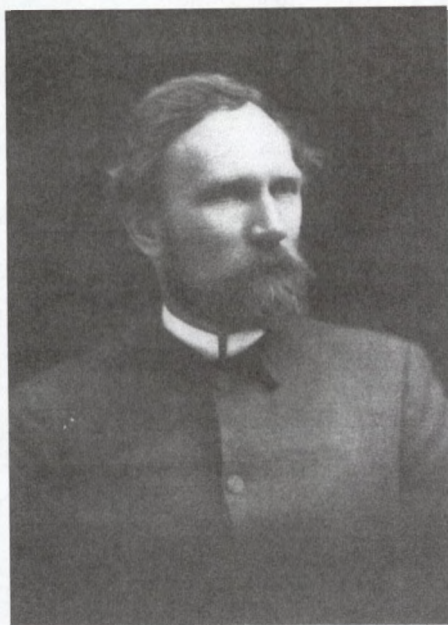
on the ground that [Germans are] in some way closely connected with the United States, because of the fact that the majority of families in Germany have relatives and friends residing right here among us.” The young woman described the early stages of the trip, mentioning the beauty, art, and industry of Europe, and particularly of Germany. “All went well with us until the war clouds became thicker and more threatening every day.” The war thereafter provided its own unanticipated adventure. Clodi reported that she had seen in Stuttgart large numbers of German soldiers moving to the front; in Nuremberg some thousands of French prisoners of war—“a poor looking lot, fagged out with the misfortunes of war”; and in Berlin “a great many wounded soldiers of all the warring nations.” It was also in Berlin, Clodi remarked, that the two women had “lots of time to study the war situation.” The recently returned Wilmingtonian observed that “The enthusiasm of the German people knows no bounds. Even the school children return from their sessions in groups and sing patriotic songs in the streets.” But Berlin already seemed to be showing the stress of wartime: “All large, available buildings

have been fitted up as temporary hospitals. . . . Ragtime music, balls and receptions are at the present time not permitted in Berlin. At the theatres only patriotic music is allowed." Returning to the United States proved to be an ordeal. The women telegraphed to Rotterdam for passage on an outgoing steamer, "then left for the Hague, where we stayed for three weeks before we could get accommodations." The travelers were in Holland long enough to learn "that its people are most unfriendly to the Germans, altho Holland is a neutral country." In the end, "we were glad to get away. Upon reaching New York harbor at night, the Goddess of Liberty shone in splendor with hundreds of electric lights surrounding her, and let me tell you, we were glad to be home once more." Undaunted upon her return to Wilmington, Clodi announced that "This will not be my last trip to Germany. I shall make another visit as soon as this war calamity has passed over."¹⁶³

Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser were not the only passengers aboard the *Rotterdam* to attract the attention of Wilmington's German-Americans. On that same voyage was the Reverend Georg von Bosse, introduced earlier in this study as the pastor of St. Peter's German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia and the father of Reverend Siegmund von Bosse who, since August 1914, was serving as pastor of Wilmington's Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. The German Column of September 6 had reported that Georg von Bosse and his daughter Hildegard had traveled to Europe "early in the summer . . . for a stay in Germany." Nothing was heard from the couple, noted the German Column, "since the war broke out until yesterday when a post card was received saying that [Georg von Bosse] is in Saxony. His daughter is staying with an aunt in Dresden."¹⁶⁴

Within a month of his October 25 return to the United States Georg von Bosse shared with Wilmingtonians his experiences in Germany and his sense of how the Fatherland would fare in its current travail. On November 21 the *Lokal-Anzeiger* published "A Communication (*Schreiben*) from Pastor Geo. von Bosse." In it the elder von Bosse wrote of his delight in learning that German-Americans and the entire German-American press had unanimously stood up for the Fatherland which had been attacked "in a wicked way by hate-filled enemies" because it too wished to have a "place in the sun." Based on what he had seen during his visit to Germany, von Bosse was able to report that "to a man" Germans were united in their support of the Kaiser. "I see it as a blessing from my God that I was permitted to witness this powerful awakening (*gewaltige Erhebung*) of the German people, and never have I been prouder to have sprung from German roots (*dem deutschen Stamm entsprossen zu sein*) and never have I been a greater admirer of the noble German Kaiser than at this momentous time." In von Bosse's opinion, "all confessional and political boundaries [in Germany] have fallen," and Germans have become

a unified people. This unity has been strengthened by a deeply religious sensibility, "which has been slumbering in recent years." This feeling has exploded "with an elemental and incomparable force," and an "unshakeable confidence in the help of our righteous Lord" has become for Germans "a source of unconquerable and insurmountable strength." German-Americans must do no less than their "brothers and sisters over there." "Come forward, let us genuflect before our God who has always so wonderfully blessed the German people and who will continue to bless them in spite of their countless enemies and in the face of the lies, slanders, and hateful speech." Every person who carries "a drop of German blood," who "claims to be a truth-loving human being," has a "sacred obligation" to combat the lying and slandering perpetrated by Germany's enemies.¹⁶⁵ Von Bosse's insistence on this "sacred obligation," this *heilige Pflicht*, recalled the "heilige Pflicht" mentioned in the letter that American guests leaving Freiburg im Breisgau sent to the authorities in that city (and cited earlier in this paper).



Georg von Bosse.

Photo of Georg von Bosse taken from his book *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses*. Stuttgart: Chr. Belsersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908.

The same issue of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* that carried Georg von Bosse's communication also announced that the Philadelphia pastor, "the father of our pastor at the local Zion Church," would be giving a lecture in Wilmington. Lovers of "excellent German," the newspaper insisted, will appreciate the fact that Georg von Bosse "understands better than anyone else how to bring forth the full beauty of the German language." More importantly, he had only recently returned to the United States, and he would be presenting news that he had gathered during his trip. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* asked all those with German roots to attend the event, and, in particular, the newspaper encouraged Wilmington's German societies to appear *in corpore* brandishing their badges and banners.¹⁶⁶

News of Georg von Bosse's appearance in Wilmington was not confined to the *Lokal-Anzeiger* or the German Column of the *Star*. The *Evening Journal* told its readers of the upcoming mass meeting at Zion and mentioned that Georg von Bosse, the principal speaker who "is well known here," had only recently returned from Germany. "He has been in a position, due to a military pass which took him into the prisoner camps and on to the military trains, to gain valuable information still lacking in press accounts of the war." The article, which indicated that "All Americans are invited to be present," did not mention that Georg von Bosse would deliver his remarks in the German language.¹⁶⁷ The *Morning News* carried a similar notice, though adding that Georg von Bosse had used family connections in placing himself where he could observe the course of events: "Through his brother, who is a major-general, [Georg von Bosse] obtained a military pass, which enabled him to ride on any military train and visit the prisoners' camps."¹⁶⁸

Because the "mass meeting" was held on a Monday evening, coverage by Wilmington's daily "English" press appeared well before that offered by the city's German-American press, the latter published on Saturday (the *Lokal-Anzeiger*) and Sunday (the *Star's* German Column). Thus, the day after the event the *Evening Journal* gave a spirited account of Georg von Bosse's remarks. In a church "which was filled to capacity with Germans anxious to hear of conditions in the Fatherland" Georg von Bosse presented a "word picture of stirring scenes in Germany at war—Germany battling for its very life against almost overwhelming odds. . . ." Once again the authoritativeness of the eyewitness: "Dr. von Bosse, Sr., has just returned from a tour of Germany, where he gained first hand information concerning the situation." Von Bosse described Germany as "a vast armed camp" and claimed that "The Fatherland never will be conquered because the people are united. Caste has disappeared, and men of all classes are standing together ready to give their life blood for the Kaiser and the nation." Germany, which had not wanted war, was fighting to defend itself. The *Evening Journal* reported that von Bosse "spoke with pride of the feats of German arms, and then turned to the oft raised question

of alleged cruelty to prisoners. He denied that Germany maltreats soldiers of the Allied forces who fall into its hands, declaring . . . such barbaric treatment as is often set forth in newspapers to be pure inventions." Indeed, "The speaker contrasted the kindness and consideration shown aliens in Germany with the conduct of French, English, Russian and other authorities toward peaceful Germans within their jurisdiction." Toward the end of his remarks Georg von Bosse "appeal[ed] to the Germans to stand together and added that they might rest assured that the German people will fight to the last man in defense of their institutions, culture, firesides and Fatherland."¹⁶⁹

The capacity crowd at Zion then heard from Georg von Bosse's son, "Rev. Mr. von Bosse, Jr.," who spoke about "Germany's efforts to prevent the mighty conflict sweeping Europe." Siegmund von Bosse read from "the diplomatic correspondence of the German Emperor himself, showing that the Kaiser had personally telegraphed to the English and Russian rulers to use their influence with their cabinets to hold fast for peace." The *Evening Journal* mentioned one message that the Kaiser had sent to the King of England advising him that Russia was mobilizing on Germany's eastern frontier. In effect, the younger von Bosse insisted, "Russia forced the conflict by massing horse, foot and guns in almost overwhelming numbers on the German eastern front, thus forcing the Kaiser and the German General Staff to act."¹⁷⁰

The *Morning News* and the *Every Evening* provided brief and relatively uninformative coverage of Zion's event.¹⁷¹ But at week's end both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star* devoted a good deal of attention to the gathering at Zion and, in particular, to Georg von Bosse's speech.¹⁷² The *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column told much the same story, though there were some differences in their respective accounts. Thus, the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, which was published on Saturday, reported—and the German Column of the *Star* on Sunday did not—that the Philadelphia pastor declaimed against the untruthful reports regarding the treatment of foreigners who were in Germany when war broke and against the treatment that he, a German-speaker, had received in Paris. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* also mentioned that Georg von Bosse read a poem he had brought with him from the battlefield at the Meuse and which "gives a verbal picture (*Stimmungsbild*) of the confidence of the German soldiers."¹⁷³

Much in keeping with what would appear in the German Column of the *Star* the following day, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* also reported that Georg von Bosse's speech addressed charges of German responsibility for the outbreak of the war, which, he said, were completely misplaced. "The Kaiser gave the order for mobilization only after the Russian hordes had already invaded East Prussia; only after French airmen had appeared over German cities and dropped bombs on them; and only after French troops had already crossed the

German border." Equally wrong-headed were charges that German militarism was somehow to blame for the war: "In the German sense militarism is nothing more than that a person takes a weapon in his hand and defends his fatherland just as every head of the household would defend his home." Echoing remarks made in his communication to the *Lokal-Anzeiger* some nine days earlier, von Bosse described how Germans were turning to God at this crucial hour. The churches were crowded and, more than ever before, Germans were praying and placing their trust in God. Finally, according to the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, the Philadelphia pastor urged German-Americans to give their whole-hearted support to the German Volk "not only because we are part of the German race but also because Germany is fighting for a just cause." The *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that von Bosse's speech created a deep impression on the audience because he "spoke with conviction and his deep melodious voice went straight to the heart."¹⁷⁴

Coverage in the *Star's* German Column duplicated much of what the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported about the assembly at Zion. This included a lengthy excerpt from Georg von Bosse's speech, which he delivered in German. The German Column found it worthy of note that "among the hearers were many ladies, who have taken a great interest in the serious conflict in which many of their relatives are engaged. Those assembled belonged to all creeds." The Philadelphia pastor, "who had only recently returned from Europe, founded his discourse on facts that he personally observed." He proceeded to share his experiences in Germany and to present his views on the origins of the war. "The great world war is on, and whoever is responsible for it will have much to answer for." Germany, with its immense prosperity, had no reason to go to war. Nor did the Kaiser want war. William II, who just a year before, upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the imperial throne, was hailed "by the press of all the civilized world [as] the 'Ruler of Peace' . . . has [now] been styled and named the 'War Lord' by the press which formerly sang his praises as the promoter of peace." The elder von Bosse went on to say that "For 42 years Germany worked and lived in peace with all other nations, and it would yet be living in peace if this deplorable conflict, the greatest and most destructive in history, had not been forced on the German Empire thru jealousy and nothing else." Even the German Socialists, which many expected to oppose the war and the government, have backed the regime and the war effort. The speaker was particularly concerned to set the record straight regarding what he termed the "false and outrageous reports" from London and Paris regarding Germany's treatment of the prisoners its armies had captured—an issue touched upon by many of the German-American tourists. "Let me tell you," he said, "I happened to be in a position while traveling in Germany by special permission to visit hospitals and quarters

assigned to prisoners, and I must say that they are treated and taken care of with the greatest possible care. They are much better off, I venture to say, than their poor brothers on the battlefield. Reports to the contrary are malicious and absolutely untrue. The helping spirit in Germany for the sufferers is the greatest I ever saw." The one-hour speech "was listened to with the greatest attention [and] the meeting adjourned with many congratulations to the speaker, who is well known here."¹⁷⁵

In song the crowd expressed its loyalty to both the Old Fatherland and the New. The German Column reported that the children's choir and a "mass chorus" early in the evening sang *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*; the rally closed with "the singing of the Star Spangled Banner by the choir and audience." In its account of the event the *Lokal-Anzeiger* referred not only to the singing mentioned by the German Column but also to an early evening rendition of *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* and a later singing of *Die Wacht am Rhein*.¹⁷⁶

The Lengels along with two other war-stayed Wilmingtonians, William Mutschler and Christian Koehler, finally completed their trips back to the U.S. on November 3. They all returned from Germany via Rotterdam on the steamer *Potsdam*. In Rotterdam the Wilmingtonians met "without previous appointment." The travelers "were only too glad to get back home and altho the voyage was not a pleasant one, eight days of continuous storm being encountered, they were glad for every day's progress they made for the United States." According to the item in the German Column of the *Star*, "Every available space on the *Potsdam* was filled" because of a report circulating in Rotterdam that "after this voyage of the *Potsdam*, it would not be likely that the Holland-American Steamship Company would allow any more ships to leave Rotterdam on account of the dangers of mines and hold-ups on the sea." If that proved to be the case, the article continued, "many American tourists now in Germany will be held up until the war is over, or until such time as some agreement can be reached by the warring powers for the transportation of passengers and freight."¹⁷⁷ The voyage of the *Potsdam* received brief coverage in the *New York Times*, which noted that the ship "On account of the danger of mines in the North Sea . . . had a special pilot to take the ship through the danger zone. The lifeboats were all swung out and most of the passengers sat up on deck, the officers said."¹⁷⁸ The *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* also carried a relatively brief account of the voyage, which related that the *Potsdam*, after a stormy trip across the Atlantic, had reached New York from Rotterdam three days late. The *Staats-Zeitung* mentioned that German-Americans, more than seventy-five percent of the passengers on board, were unanimous in their view that during their stay in the old homeland they had received from both private individuals and public authorities the most polite

treatment possible.¹⁷⁹

The *Star's* German Column carried an extensive interview with Lengel, who told the newspaper's "representative" that he was "dumbfounded at the reports I read [in the United States] about conditions in Germany." With the authoritativeness of an eye-witness and the fervor of an apostle, Lengel stated that he had spent six months in Germany, mostly in Heilbronn, "where we have relatives and friends." Heilbronn, Lengel related, "is in the southern part of Germany only a short distance from the scene of war near the French and Belgium borders, but notwithstanding this close proximity, there was no one alarmed that an invasion might take place. In fact, business went on in the usual way, and the only signs of war were trainloads of wounded and prisoners that arrived daily." Lengel recounted that "Day after day I saw trainloads of soldiers (Germans) [*sic*] pass thru Heilbronn enroute to the front. The trains were decorated with bunting, garlands and flowers, and even the soldiers carried floral decorations. Some carried them in their helmets and others in their belts and guns." These soldiers, Lengel continued, "some with families at home, sang patriotic songs while on the way to the front and perhaps to death." Lengel admitted that "The losses of the Germans up to the time we left, were heavy, but the number of killed and wounded of the other powers are far larger, as are also their losses in guns and prisoners." In the course of the interview Lengel introduced "the newspaper man" to his sixteen-year-old granddaughter, Catherine McDowell. McDowell, who had made the trip with her grandfather, then described to the reporter how she had served on the staff of the Red Cross Society in Heilbronn: "A class of young women were detailed for duty at the railroad station where we served tea, coffee, cakes and bread to the wounded who passed thru Heilbronn. I served every day for six weeks, eight hours each day, and I saw a great deal of war, or, rather the consequences of war. All of the wounded, whether French, German or English, were treated with kindness, notwithstanding the false reports of the English papers that the French and English wounded were neglected."¹⁸⁰

Lengel claimed that the perpetrator of the war "was mainly England." He added that "As a businessman I often came in contact with men of affairs in Germany during my recent visit. . . . I am informed on the best of authority that England had declared war against the foreign trade policy of Germany some months before war was declared." Lengel's overall assessment: "There is not a German nor an American in Germany at the present time who does not fully believe in the final victory of the German army."¹⁸¹

Christian Koehler,¹⁸² another of the war-stayed, was likewise interviewed by the *Star's* "representative." Accompanying Koehler on his very recent trip to Germany was Katherine Fuchs Koehler, the four-year-old child that he and his wife had adopted. Because the child's grandparents in Germany

had "expressed a desire to see their grandchild before they died," Koehler explained to the interviewer, "I made up my mind to make the trip to Europe with the child and her aunt (her mother's sister) [*sic*] to gratify the old folks' wish." Koehler planned to depart from Hamburg for the United States on August 2, "but transportation had closed, and we had to return again to the south of Germany where our relatives lived." The planned visit of not more than four weeks became a war-stay of nineteen weeks.¹⁸³ In Cassel Koehler saw "Thousands of soldiers and wounded prisoners [who] were brought in daily from the front and sent all over Germany." Once Koehler learned that ships were sailing to the United States from Rotterdam, he met in Cassel with "the consul of Holland, Mr. Pechmann, brother of Mr. Pechmann who conducts a pharmacy at Marcus Hook, Pa. [just north of Wilmington]." With Mr. Pechmann's assistance, and after yet another delay in Rotterdam, the Koehler party eventually sailed from the Dutch port aboard the *Potsdam*. The accommodations were less than ideal. "We had to sleep on a concrete floor, but fortunately I secured some blankets for my little ward. . . . They fed us poorly. I never ate such food, but we were glad to be on our way home." Perhaps even more distressing, said Koehler, was the fact that "The inhabitants of Holland are bitter against the Germans and even on the ship one could notice this, but the better and more intelligent class of that country blame England and France for all this trouble." The German Column, which designated "Little Miss Koehler . . . the youngest war-stayed tourist of this city," reported that the tot did not want to repeat her trip to Europe: "'No, I don't want to go to Germany any more,' she said in excellent German. . . . 'Because there are too many soldiers there and the mud is so deep that I soil my shoes. They have no pavements.'"¹⁸⁴

Of the Wilmingtonians who returned to the United States on November 3 aboard the *Potsdam*, William Mutschler, Sr., could perhaps recount the most unnerving of adventures.¹⁸⁵ His stay in Germany was marked by "many trying experiences in which he witnessed many important events in the present war in Europe. . . ." Mutschler brought back to Wilmington "many interesting souvenirs and remembrances from his relatives and comrades in the Fatherland, who have gone to the front." These souvenirs included a snuff box "given to him by a friend two days before he was killed at the first battle at Littisch. [*sic*]"¹⁸⁶

More remarkable, while in Germany Mutschler "was mustered into the German army for two days and had to notify the American consul before he was released. He still retained his American passports and those proved that he was a citizen of the United States and could not be held."¹⁸⁷ Although the *Star's* German Column had voiced the concerns of Wilmington's German-Americans regarding the possibility that Samson Stern had been called to

serve in the German army, it made no mention of the possibility that the same fate might befall other Wilmingtonian war-stayed travelers and, specifically, William Mutschler.¹⁸⁸ The record does not show whether German authorities had granted Mutschler permission to emigrate when he departed Germany in 1892 at the age of twenty-three, but the *Lokal-Anzeiger's* reference to Mutschler's *Soldatenzeit* indicates that he had served in the German army.¹⁸⁹ Had he not emigrated, or had he emigrated without permission, his military commitment in the reserves would have extended through age forty-four. Mutschler, just three weeks short of his forty-fifth birthday when he sailed for Germany on June 6, 1914,¹⁹⁰ would have reached his forty-fifth birthday during his visit to the Old Fatherland. This tourist might have anticipated his fate had he known what a former United States consular official in Brunswick, Edward W. S. Tingle, had written in 1903. In a slim volume Tingle described the hypothetical "German-American" who, as a member of the Reserves or National Guard while residing in Germany, had emigrated without permission, and who was "in process of acquiring or having already acquired U.S. citizenship": in the event that "a summons be published for all Germans to return to their native land," that German-American "cannot justly be held accountable upon returning to Germany on a visit. In practice, however, he is often proceeded against." Elsewhere, Tingle observed that such a German-American "may not be punished on his return [to Germany] though it is possible he may be proceeded against until the ambassador makes representations in his behalf."¹⁹¹ Mutschler evidently experienced firsthand the meaning of "proceeded against."

If it is not so remarkable that Wilmington's three daily newspapers, the *Evening Journal*, the *Every Evening*, and the *Morning News*, covered Mutschler's two-day stint in the German army,¹⁹² one cannot but wonder why neither the *Lokal-Anzeiger* nor the *Star's* German Column mentioned it. Was the episode as described in Wilmington's daily press on Wednesday and Thursday too dated to be presented once again on Saturday and Sunday in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column, or were the two weeklies unwilling to report on the unpleasantness that authorities in the Old Fatherland had visited upon a German-American tourist? The latter seems the more likely explanation since those two papers managed to note Mutschler's return to Wilmington, and the *Lokal-Anzeiger* even carried an article describing a welcoming-home visit paid him by the Delaware *Sängerbund*.¹⁹³

Mutschler's experiences extended well beyond his encounter with the German army. According to the press coverage of his trip, 400 of the 900 residents of Freiburg, the small town that he was visiting, were serving in the German armed forces. Thus, the town was "greatly handicapped because all of the men folks were sent to war, and Mr. Mutschler helped them to

harvest their crops.”¹⁹⁴ In the course of his visit to Germany, Mutschler also met fellow war-stayed Wilmingtonians Ploesser and Clodi. Mutschler’s recollection of the voyage home was of a piece with his five months in Germany. According to the *Morning News*, Mutschler mentioned that there were still many thousands of Americans in Rotterdam, that the ship he had been scheduled to sail on was sunk by a mine, and that “on the way across several ships including many English battleships were sighted. The passengers expected to be blown out of the water at any time by a marine mine.”¹⁹⁵

The adventures of Wilmington’s war-stayed citizens seemed to conclude with the return of “the last three of Wilmington’s Germans,” Lengel, Mutschler, and Koehler, “who since the outbreak of the war were whiling away their time in the Old Fatherland.”¹⁹⁶ That their experiences in Germany endowed the war-stayed with an authoritativeness regarding Germany’s role in both the outbreak and subsequent conduct of the war was made clear by the *Star* on December 6. In that issue of the paper the German Column referred to “reports which are published from time to time charging brutality on the part of Germans to the wounded and prisoners of the allied forces,” then stated that “In this city a committee of German-Americans will shortly be formed to refute untruthful reports.” At stake was “the confidence and respect of our American friends as to charity and humanity, which have always been Germany’s most noble virtues.” The German Column mentioned specifically Kalmbacher, Lengel and his granddaughter, Mutschler, Koehler, and Georg von Bosse, who “all speak in the highest terms of the treatment accorded prisoners and wounded soldiers by the Germans.”¹⁹⁷

As it turned out, however, the story of Wilmington’s German-American returnees had not yet run its course with the arrival in Wilmington of Lengel, Mutschler, and Koehler. As mentioned above, the William Kleinstubers had sold their home and in July 1914 sailed for Europe. Had the couple decided to spend their remaining years in the Old Fatherland, or had they rather planned for only a prolonged stay in Germany? Or, upon their departure from the United States, had the couple not decided? On his June 19, 1914 passport application, Kleinstuber formulaically indicated that “I intend to return to the United States within two years.”¹⁹⁸ Wilmington’s German-American press, which seemed uncertain about the Kleinstubers’ plans, nevertheless followed their trail in Europe. In doing so, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star*’s German Column relied on correspondence from Dr. Kleinstuber.

Early on the German Column counted the Kleinstubers among the war-stayed, though as of August 9, it reported that “they are thought to be in Paris.”¹⁹⁹ A month later the German Column told its readers that “Nothing has been heard from [the Kleinstubers] who left early in the season for a long stay in Germany and France. It is thought that [they] are at the present time

in France or Switzerland.”²⁰⁰ Still no word by the end of September. And their many friends were increasingly concerned. According to the *Star*, it was the Kleinstubers’ intention “when they left for Europe to visit Switzerland and France and make their stay an extended one.” If they were still in France, “there is a chance for them to return from Havre to this country, as steamers are departing from that port for the United States. However, it is believed that within two weeks all the war-stayed travelers will arrive home.”²⁰¹ Finally, in mid-October, word was received from the Kleinstubers. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* of October 17 indicated that the two “are spending time (*weilen*) at Villa Bellaria in Wörishofen in Bavaria, and [they] write that they are well.”²⁰² The *Star*’s German Column on the following day reported that the Kleinstubers “make no mention as to their return home. They have been absent for several months.”²⁰³ In early November the *Lokal-Anzeiger* informed its readers that it had received from William Kleinstuber several copies (*eine Anzahl*) of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, “which contain interesting details about the war,” and that it intended to publish some of the articles from that Munich newspaper when the opportunity presented itself.²⁰⁴ Apostolic work from afar! As was often the case, the *Star*’s German Column carried a similar though lengthier report the following day. The German Column, which mentioned that Wörishofen, the Kleinstubers’ current residence, is known for the “Kneip” water cure institute, also indicated that it had “received word from Dr. Kleinstuber in the form of interesting newspaper clippings from leading newspapers in Munich, which will be translated for the benefit of The *Star*’s readers next week.” As for the Kleinstubers’ plans: “[They] have no intention of coming home, and altho close to the scene of war, are seemingly content to stay in Germany for an extended time.”²⁰⁵ True to its word, the German Column did publish some of the articles from the Munich press. In introducing them, the Column referred to Kleinstuber as “of this city, who is now with Mrs. Kleinstuber a temporary resident of Worishofen, near Munich, Bavaria, Germany.”²⁰⁶

The Kleinstubers remained in Germany into 1915. In March of that year the German Column reported that “Letters continue to arrive from Dr. Kleinstuber, who is wintering in Bavaria. They are brim full of optimism and presage a victorious climax to the war for Germany’s armies.”²⁰⁷ Two weeks later, in an effort to reassure Wilmington’s German element that the Old Fatherland was not suffering serious food shortages, the German Column described a letter in which Kleinstuber claimed that “his wife pays \$1.25 for a large turkey in Munich. That surely does not look like starvation.”²⁰⁸

In April 1915 the *Star*’s German Column reported that the doctor had finally clarified his plans for the future: “One of our most estimable citizens, Dr. William Kleinstuber, has signified his intention of remaining in

Germany, where he went last July for his health." This was so despite the fact that Kleinstuber had maintained "a vital interest" in the affairs of Wilmington and Delaware and had followed conditions "over here" through the columns of the *Star*. "Dr. Kleinstuber will be missed greatly by his numerous friends and his absence will be felt in German-American circles especially. Besides maintainin[g] a large practice among the Germans [in Wilmington], the doctor was qu[i]te active in society, being a member of the German-American Society, of the Germania Social Club, of which he is the first departing member, of the Saengerbund and the Zion Lutheran Church." The German Column closed out its report by indicating that "The wishes of all Germans in this city for happiness in his new home and an occasional visit are hereby expressed."²⁰⁹

That same issue of the *Star* carried an article on the April 13 meeting of the German-American Society. The organization, probably acting in connection with Kleinstuber's decision to stay in Germany, "reluctantly accepted" the resignation of the doctor, "a charter member of the society, who is at present in Germany," and made him an honorary member of the organization.²¹⁰

In light of these developments, news that the Kleinstubers had returned to Wilmington was nothing short of astonishing. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that the couple's arrival in the city on June 1, 1915, came "to the greatest surprise of their friends for it was said that they wanted to settle in Germany." In its brief account of this development, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* stated that the Kleinstubers' return to Wilmington was produced by the wartime situation and by the doctor's interest in resuming his medical practice.²¹¹ The German Column of the *Star*, however, was unable to keep up with events. The day after the *Lokal-Anzeiger* announced that the Kleinstubers had returned to the United States, the German Column reported that "Mr. E. Schell has received a letter from Dr. Kleinstuber, who is in Germany, stating that he intends returning soon."²¹² The *Star* redeemed itself a week later in an article located adjacent to, but evidently not part of, the German Column. The article provided a lengthy and revealing account of the Kleinstubers' experiences in Germany and their return to the United States, an account based on an interview with Dr. Kleinstuber.²¹³ According to the article, Kleinstuber "cut short what he had expected to make a prolonged visit to Der Vaterland" because of "the anti-American feeling which exists in the breast of the average German and for fear that the entrance of other nations into the European conflict might so complicate matters as to postpone indefinitely his return to America." The article pointed out that "While the doctor is a German by birth, yet, while travelling in Germany he was regarded by the German people as an American and as such he sensed the undercurrent of anti-American feeling as he was thrown into contact with the German people." Nevertheless,

Kleinstuber emphasized, "Americans at no time have been subjected to any indignities in Germany. They have always been treated courteously but there is an undercurrent, in conversations and manifested in other ways, of feeling against Americans." That feeling, Kleinstuber told the *Star*, was the result of the unevenness of United States policy toward England and Germany. Said Kleinstuber, "Their country, they think, should have been permitted to trade with the United States. Germany is placed at a disadvantage because England can trade with the United States but she cannot." Kleinstuber cited as "another cause for complaint" the fact that the United States was supplying munitions to England. In the course of their German stay, the Kleinstubers had visited Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich, and Wörishofen. In the course of their travels, the Kleinstubers had been impressed by the large attendance at church services; by the "prompt measures [taken] for the relief of those among the country's poor, who might have been affected by the war"; by the presence of Russian prisoners of war at a camp near Munich; by the rail service, which seemed normal, "with no congestion whatever of passengers, troops or freight"; and by "women working on the farms in the place of their men folk who were in the war." All this led Kleinstuber to conclude that "Germany [remains] a country of quiet, orderly and systematically managed cities and towns, despite the awful throes of war into which its millions of men are plunged."

Kleinstuber cited no particular event, neither the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, nor the Wilson administration's reaction to the loss of 128 American lives, that might have precipitated the couple's decision to leave Germany for the United States. Perhaps it was only a coincidence that the Kleinstubers, despite their recent resolve to stay in Germany, sailed from Rotterdam for the United States on May 19,²¹⁴ just twelve days after the *Lusitania* went down. Perhaps nothing is to be inferred from the article's relating that on the couple's voyage to Europe the Kleinstubers "sailed on the Kaiser Wilhelm Der Grosse, which was later sunk," and that "The doctor, during a previous visit to Germany, returned to this country on the *Lusitania*, the tragedy to the passengers of which yet remains an awful and clear memory."²¹⁵

With the Kleinstubers' return to the United States, Wilmington's German-Americans, and particularly the promoters of *Deutschtum* among them, had lost one of the very personal links between the New Fatherland and the Old. No longer able to rely on the testimony of the city's war-stayed, the local German element would have to turn to other devices, particularly the transatlantic mail, for first-hand German perspectives on the war and for news on the fate of their relatives and friends in the world they and their parents had left behind. And it was the letters and cards from Germany

to Wilmington, at least until early 1917, that would sustain the counter-narrative offered by the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column to the city's German element.

The Effects of Spreading the Gospel

How successful were the returning German-American tourists in their efforts to spread Germany's gospel? An examination of Wilmington's press suggests that, for the most part, those eyewitness accounts informed the city's German-Americans who were inclined to support the Old Fatherland in the crisis. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* would continue to serve as a vehicle that explained events from a perspective favorable to Germany, and reinforcements for the *Star's* German Column arrived with the addition of a regular feature entitled "The War From the German-American's Viewpoint," which was introduced to the paper's readers on October 25, 1914, and which was authored by Zion's Reverend Siegmund G. von Bosse, the son of traveler the Rev. Georg von Bosse, and the person who would emerge as the leading voice of the city's German element.

The *Evening Journal*, which identified itself as a Republican Newspaper, one that "uses the United Press News Service," advocated a policy of strict neutrality for the United States regarding "the greatest war since the earth was created."²¹⁶ The "one wise thing" for the United States to do "in the present world-wide emergency. . . is to permit the other nations to fight to their hearts' content while [the U.S.] attends strictly to the pursuit of peaceful business, but ready at all times to defend its honor and territorial integrity."²¹⁷ The *Evening Journal* later underlined its view that the United States had no business involving itself in that "world-wide emergency" by insisting that "Any American citizen, no matter whether he be native-born or naturalized, who attempts to embroil our nation in the work of slaughter that now is going on should be looked upon as a criminal and treated as such."²¹⁸ In an August 7 editorial the newspaper had this to say: "The concensus [*sic*] of opinion seems to be that Emperor William precipitated the struggle and that the German people are destined to be the greatest sufferers from what he has done."²¹⁹ This rather tepid indictment of the German Emperor may have been an indication that, in the paper's commitment to neutrality, the *Evening Journal* would not, at least early on, take sides in the war that was already raging both in Europe and beyond that continent's boundaries.

The *Evening Journal* did offer harsh criticisms of Germany and its policies, most notably by publishing a series of opinion pieces that originally appeared in the *New York Tribune*, among them "German Diplomacy Chiefly to Blame for Germany's Predicament," "Germany Continues to Violate the

Humanities [sic] as Well as the Rules of War," "The Crime of Rheims and Herr Ridder's Vision of Its Atonement," "Neutral Nations Also Threatened by Germany's Uncivilized Methods of Warfare," and "More German-American Sophistries About Belgium's Neutrality."²²⁰ Articles from London, appearing over the byline of United Press Staff Correspondent Ed. L. Keen, were more than offset, however, by reports from the United Press Staff Correspondent in Berlin, Karl H. von Wiegand, whose articles seemed to describe Germany's actions in a way that would not have troubled German authorities.²²¹ And readers who thought that much of the press in the United States failed to recognize Germany's achievements on the battlefield would have been cheered by *Evening Journal* editorials offering high praise for the German army's performance.²²²

The *Evening Journal* also published material of local interest that would have received a friendly reception among the city's "Germans." These included a substantial letter sent by a German soldier to his aunt in Delaware City,²²³ and, as the Christmas season approached, the *Evening Journal's* editors' inclusion of the children of Germany and Austria among those—"the millions of helpless, dependent and destitute children"—who should benefit from the War Children's Christmas Fund.²²⁴ Finally, the *Evening Journal* gave its readers the opportunity to hear the "German side" of developments as the returning tourists, especially Katie Clodi, George Kalmbacher, Samson Stern, and Georg von Bosse presented Germany's gospel to their fellow Wilmingtonians.²²⁵ All in all, Wilmington's German-Americans would probably have regarded as balanced the "war news" as presented by the *Evening Journal*.

The *Wilmington Morning News*, which on its editorial page identified itself as an "Independent Republican Newspaper" and a member of the Associated Press, shared the *Evening Journal's* editorial position that the United States should adhere to a policy of strict neutrality in the conflict. The *Morning News* considered it "the duty of Americans . . . to keep their heads level and obey in letter and in spirit the proclamation of neutrality by President Wilson," and it expressed the hope "that the jingoes will not be able to stir up any kind of war scare in the United States of America."²²⁶ Another editorial took pains to point out that "this country of ours has a more cosmopolitan population, far more cosmopolitan than the unthinking man may imagine." It would be natural enough, the editorial continued, that "there should be strong positions taken by many of our people who do not weigh the consequences [of their doing so]." Disputes within that cosmopolitan population "can accomplish no good purpose." In a subsequent editorial the *Morning News* reported on an unidentified Wilmingtonian, "just returned from Europe," who had no desire to stay on a continent that "promises to be one vast hospital." This prospect, the paper editorialized, furnishes "an irresistible reason for the United States

to keep clear of [the war].”²²⁷

At the same time the *Morning News* was quick to place responsibility for the war with the Kaiser. In its August 3 issue the paper found it

difficult to believe otherwise than that at the outbreak of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia Germany foresaw that all efforts at peace would be useless and that the Kaiser had made up his mind to engage in a titanic struggle which promises to convulse Europe and cause a tremendous destruction of life and property, the effects of which will be felt throughout the world.²²⁸

Three days later the *Morning News* insisted that “had Germany desired peace it could have prevented Austria from taking drastic action against Servia or[,] after such action had been taken, German diplomacy would have found a way to adjust the trouble.” But

The fact that Germany entered upon this war, and is striking out right and left, as the saying is, must be explained, it seems to us, only on the theory that the Kaiser and his advisors have been calculating the cost [of the mighty struggle upon which he has entered] for years and years, and think Germany can hold her own and will emerge from the Herculean conflict as the greatest of European powers.²²⁹

The paper carried reports of German perfidy,²³⁰ but it also gave the German point of view a hearing. The *Morning News* published letters from Germans arguing the Fatherland’s case to relatives in the United States;²³¹ a plea to Americans that originally appeared in the German press;²³² articles that explained the “German side” of burning issues in the early stages of the war;²³³ letters to the editor defending Germany’s cause to the paper’s readers;²³⁴ and even editorials that suggested caution in accepting accusations against Germany’s conduct of the war. The *Morning News* on at least two occasions carried articles by Herman Ridder, president of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*.²³⁵ The paper also provided a letter written by a German soldier to his mother, and a German war correspondent’s rebuttal of charges that the German army had behaved horrifically against innocent residents of Belgium and France.²³⁶ And, on one of the most sensitive subjects of discussion in the early days of the war, charges of brutality on the part of the German army, the newspaper’s September 7 edition featured a front-page article reporting that five American journalists, who had spent two weeks with German troops in Belgium, found such charges “groundless as far as we are able to learn.”²³⁷

Not surprisingly, such an assessment by reporters from a neutral country

found its way into several German newspapers.²³⁸ The *Morning News* also carried three lengthy pieces that took Germany's part: an article by Professor Hugo Munsterberg of Harvard University urging that the Kaiser receive "fair play" in American newspapers; a report from an unnamed Associated Press correspondent "of American birth and antecedents" who recounted his experiences in Belgium at the time of Germany's invasion; and a lecture on the unity of Germans in the face of war.²³⁹ Finally, the *Morning News* gave voice to the city's German-American tourists. This included an article about letters sent from Misses Clodi and Ploesser to their parents in which "They declare that the majority of the stories which have been told concerning the atrocities and insults which tourists have undergone are without foundation."²⁴⁰ And once the city's German-American tourists reached Wilmington, the paper would report on their activities and on their assessments of events in Europe. The *Morning News* even seemed to allow that there might be an imbalance in its coverage of the war. In an editorial of August 19 the newspaper noted that "Our German-American citizens and their sympathizers took a sensible view of the war situation so far as Wilmington and its newspapers are concerned." It allowed that

the newspapers here, like most of those in other parts of the country, have had the greatest difficulty in getting accurate news of the war It must be remembered that much of what is printed is rumor and report [*sic*], gathered some distance from the scene of the conflict. Then, again, it has been almost impossible to get any information from German sources. Our newspapers are only too willing and anxious to print news from Berlin if they can get it, and we should think it would be to the advantage of the German government to assist in sending out news.

That same editorial complimented the city's German-Americans who

are putting their sympathy for the fatherland in the great calamity that has come upon it to a practical purpose. A large fund is to be raised for the relief of the widows and orphans of German soldiers killed or disabled in battle. . . . The woe and desolation that will be caused almost passes [*sic*] comprehension, and what generous Germans of this city will contribute will be but a widow's mite compared with the vast sum that can be used. But every penny secured, the donors may rest assured, will be helpful to those beyond the seas and will be greatly needed.²⁴¹

All this is not to say that the *Morning News* was "pro-German." Rather, it is to suggest that the paper would be perhaps the least likely of Wilmington's three dailies to incur the wrath of the city's German-Americans.²⁴²

Things would go differently for the third of Wilmington's daily papers, the *Every Evening*. On its editorial page the *Every Evening* informed its readers that it was "the only evening Newspaper in Delaware using The Associated Press news service." Although not there identifying itself as supportive of a political party, the *Every Evening* would, in the upcoming November 3 local and congressional elections, recommend that readers vote for the entire Democratic slate. Early on, however, the paper's German-American readers were not likely pleased by an August 10 editorial in which the paper remarked that "It is a tribute to the blessing of peace that England and France held off until baited into conflict by 'The Troubler of the World,' as [English poet] William Watson calls the Kaiser. . . ." ²⁴³ A month later, in lamenting the inclination of the warring parties to invoke "the aid of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe," the *Every Evening* singled out Germany's William II: "The Kaiser calls upon the Lord and almost claims kinship with him, confidently relying upon His aid and co-operation in the work of slaughter." The paper contrasted such invocations on the part of the warring powers to that of Woodrow Wilson's, whose October 4 Day of Prayer would address "the Almighty in behalf of peace."²⁴⁴ In a separate editorial published on the same day, the *Every Evening* mentioned that "England's cause in this war seems eminently just. . . . It is a war of aggression, started without the slightest justification for a resort to force and arms."²⁴⁵ By this time, in the *Every Evening's* eyes, at least, there could be little doubt about the identity of the aggressor. Otherwise, the *Every Evening* was a staunch supporter of American neutrality, a neutrality that was to be shielded from both the cries for "preparedness"²⁴⁶ and the enthusiasms of Americans who had emigrated from one or another of the combatant states: "It may be well for all foreign-born citizens of this country to remember that no matter how their sympathies may incline, their interests are with the home of their adoption. Let the warring nations across the ocean fight this dreadful war. We will be all the better for keeping out of it."²⁴⁷

An October 13 *Every Evening* editorial reiterated the paper's position regarding "this war of German aggression": "No matter what excuses may be offered for Germany, despite the insistent claim that she 'was obliged to fight,' the stern fact remains that she started the war and struck the first blows before an armed hand had been directed against her." Not likely to win new subscribers among Wilmington's Germans was the *Every Evening's* assertion that "It is apparent to all readers of the press and all intelligent observers that since the beginning of armed hostilities in England [*sic*] the sentiment of our people has been against Germany." This sentiment was "almost unanimous,

as it prevails among nearly all our people save citizens of German birth or ancestry who naturally feel an affection for the Fatherland and cannot bring themselves to condemn its attitude or refrain from extending to it their sympathy and good will."²⁴⁸

Although the *Every Evening's* editorial page clearly blamed Germany for the war, the newspaper otherwise offered a mix of stories some of which were critical of Germany,²⁴⁹ while others offered accounts of events that, on their own, would not have upset Wilmington's German element. The latter included a lengthy article on the local "Germans'" decision to stand by their "Fatherland"; two letters to Mrs. Sadie Collison of Dover "from a resident of Germany, husband of an intimate woman friend"; and an article in which an Associated Press reporter described his week with a German army unit in France.²⁵⁰ On August 15 the *Every Evening* even went so far as to print a substantial article, not at all unsympathetic to Germany, about a traveler who had returned to the U.S. on April 28, some three months before the war began.²⁵¹

As with the *Morning News*, the *Every Evening* expressed its concern about newspaper coverage of the war. The *Every Evening* admitted to "an element of truth" in an "impression that seems to prevail with many persons . . . who are neutral in their attitude towards the combatants as well as those whose sympathies go out to Germany, that the newspapers are not treating Germany fairly in the news that is printed in their columns." The fault, however, lay not with the newspapers but with the "German sources of information" who provided comparatively less information than did their English, French, and Russian counterparts.²⁵²

In view of the opinions expressed in the *Every Evening's* editorials, few should have been surprised at the open conflict that broke out in December between the paper and representatives of Wilmington's German element. In a December 8 editorial, the newspaper took aim at those who argued that the United States, in view of "the valuable services of German immigrants or their sons in making the country and especially as soldiers in our Civil War," owed Germany more favorable treatment than it had thus far received. The *Every Evening* found German-Americans' "feverish concern" with the successes of the Germany armed forces "hard to conceive." Moreover, that concern

gives rise to the probability, fortunately, however, very remote [*sic*], that if Germany should emerge successful from the pending European conflict, and next attempt to extend her imperial war power to the extent of a conflict with our country, we might find ourselves tormented and threatened by some millions of naturalized citizens and citizens of German parentage who would become enemies in our

midst. . . . They should suppress their enthusiasm for Germany and remember they are citizens of the United States.²⁵³

That editorial earned for the *Every Evening* a protest from the Delaware branch of the National German-American Alliance. That protest, along with two pertinent editorials, appeared on the same page in the *Every Evening* on Saturday December 12. The protest took the form of a letter to the editor and included a series of "resolutions," among them one charging that the *Every Evening* "has insistently given evidence of a feeling hostile and unfair to Germany in every way. . . ." The Alliance concluded "That the policy of the *Every Evening* [is to] be condemned as one that is false, slanderous, libelous and untrue; [and] that the German people know how to act in the face of these insults. . . ."²⁵⁴ In one of the accompanying editorials, the *Every Evening* reiterated its view of December 8 by disputing "the preposterous claim that this country is under obligations to Germany, the favorite argument of Germany's defenders in the United States." That editorial expressed the concern that "They came here, voluntarily and gladly, in the hope of bettering their condition. . . . Yet now they join in lustily singing 'German Land Above All Others,' and become wildly indignant over expressions of sentiment in this country which do not sustain Germany and [do not] admit that what it did in precipitating the most terrible war of all history was wise, patriotic and humane." A second editorial, on the same page, adopted a slightly different tone. The sympathy for the Allies, which "has been stirred to an unusual extent by the desperate plight of Belgium" and is "felt by a great majority of people in this country . . . does not grow out of any feelings of hostility towards the German people." Rather, "It is the ruling class, which stands for German militarism and absolute imperialism, that is held responsible and is justly condemned and detested." The editorial pointed to the stance taken by Karl Liebknecht, the Socialist member of the Reichstag who voted against funding necessary for prosecuting the war. "When the people of Germany make the attempt to rid themselves of the cruel influences which have led them into such a deep sea of suffering and disaster, and resolutely endeavor to reform the situation, they will not lack sympathy and encouragement from the people of the United States."²⁵⁵

The timing of the controversy prevented the *Lokal-Anzeiger* from providing an extended commentary on the *Every Evening's* "insults to Deutschtum" and the reactions of the local NGAA branch to them. The newspaper did on that same Saturday refer to the "resolution"—with its several parts—that was authored by Siegmund von Bosse and that represented the convictions of all of the delegates at the Alliance's Thursday night meeting.²⁵⁶

A day later the *Star's* German Column provided a fuller account of the

December 10 Alliance's meeting ("Every Evening Censured," December 13, 1914, 16). Included in the gathering's "new business" was a discussion of the *Every Evening's* original editorial, "which some of the delegates declared very unjust and misleading against the German-Americans of our city, State and country." The *Every Evening* editorial was "carefully read to the meeting and denounced as against the German-American interests as well as to the American citizenship of German residents, taxpayers and business men." The German Column provided the text of both the *Every Evening* editorial that sparked the controversy and the resolutions passed by the NGAA assembly that condemned the editorial. The Rev. Siegmund von Bosse "introduced the . . . resolutions, which were, with slight changes, unanimously adopted by the delegates [of the local branch]."²⁵⁷

The *Lokal-Anzeiger* did fire one last shot in this controversy, a December 19 article authored by its special correspondent "W." In the article the correspondent—Wilhelm Woernle—discussed a flier, distributed throughout Germany, that pointed to the close relations between Germany and the United States, and which emphasized the obligation on the part of Germans to extend hospitality (*Gastfreundschaft*) to the Americans in their midst. And how do "native-born Americans" relate to the German-Americans in their midst? "What does the Wilmington *Every Evening* do, a paper which thousands of German-Americans get and read? It *insults* [emphasis in the original] the Germans!" W., who insisted that England bore the greatest responsibility for the war, found it "truly unforgivable that German-Americans are vilified [here in the United States]," and he closed by urging "all right-thinking Americans" to protect their German-American fellow citizens.²⁵⁸

Postscript

The December 1914 controversy between the *Every Evening* and Wilmington's German element offers a fitting conclusion to the mission of the city's tourist-apostles, the 1915 return of the Kleinstubers notwithstanding.²⁵⁹ The German-Americans described in this study had, upon their return to the United States, spread Germany's gospel in a variety of venues. But the passage of time would, almost inevitably, have dulled the authoritativeness of what these eyewitnesses had to say. And developments in the war, especially Germany's decision in the early days of 1915 to unleash its U-boat fleet, would only serve to heighten tensions between the Old Fatherland and the United States. To be sure, public opinion in the United States was not particularly receptive to Germany's gospel, especially in light of reports about the actions of the German army as it swept through Belgium and into France. One fund-raising episode in Wilmington perhaps captures the challenges the

city's German-Americans, and particularly the German-American tourist-apostles, had to face. The Red Cross station at the Hotel du Pont reported on contributions made by "the people of Wilmington and this state [that] are indicative of their great heartedness and their sympathy for the many thousands of sufferers in lands across the sea." Of the \$2,160.46 raised by the Red Cross on that occasion, \$925 was donated for specified purposes. Of that amount, \$777 was intended for the Belgium Relief Fund; \$25 for English relief; \$13 for French relief; and \$100 for the American Ambulance Hospital in Paris. While funds specified for German relief (a mere \$10) would not seem significantly less than the money earmarked for England and France, the \$777 for Belgium relief represented a significant gesture of support made by persons not likely to sympathize with the German cause.²⁶⁰

The Great War did not mark the end of travel to Germany on the part of Wilmington-area German-Americans. Indeed, such postwar travel seemed to be as "moderate and periodic, somewhat casual and uneven and not routine" as it was before August 1914. Between 1920 and 1936 John Lengel visited Germany at least thirteen times, the last of them in 1936 at age 86. On eleven of those trips he was accompanied by his niece, Lina Mai, who went to Europe with him in 1914. Samson and Bertha Stern would make at least three trips to Germany after the war. Georg Kalmbacher did not make another trip to Germany, though his son Andreas did in 1921. Georg von Bosse traveled to Germany at least five times after World War I ended, and daughter Hildegard, who married Pastor Heinrich Kropp in 1918, made at least three postwar trips. The author has not been able to find evidence that Katie Clodi traveled to Europe after the war, but her father and mother did in 1922, and her father again in 1927.²⁶¹ Nonetheless, in the years after World War I Wilmington's Germans would lack crucial mechanisms—multipliers—that would have enabled their vicarious participation in that travel. The *Star* no longer carried a column devoted to the area's German-Americans, and the *Lokal-Anzeiger* had breathed its last well before the war ended. The demise of the "German-American press" in Wilmington not only signified a general decline in the strength of the forces of *Deutschtum*, but also, and more specifically, the absence of reporting about travel from the New Fatherland to the Old all but severed a public link between the area's German-Americans and their friends and relatives across the sea.²⁶² The ethnic synergy created by German-Americans' visits to the Old Fatherland, and the reporting of such by newspapers directed at the area's German element, would be lost. Travel would be travel, but it would no longer sustain the ethnic consciousness as it had done before, and in the early stages of, the Great War.

Notes

¹ "German-Americans Abroad," *The* [Wilmington, Delaware] *Sunday Morning Star* (hereafter cited as the *Star*), August 9, 1914, 19. Wilmington's newspapers generally employed the hyphen in identifying the city's German-Americans, and this author will use the hyphenated form in this study.

Indeed, the person who would emerge as the most prominent advocate of *Deutschtum* in Wilmington, Rev. Siegmund G. von Bosse, insisted that "We resent the protest against the use of the word 'German-American,' for where is a native American in whose blood is no drop of foreign tincture?" See "The War From the German-American Viewpoint," *Sunday Morning Star*, November 8, 1914, 3. (Siegmund von Bosse and even more so his father Georg von Bosse will play prominent roles in this paper.) Because von Bosse's irritation was published almost three months after remarks made by President Woodrow Wilson, it was probably not a direct response to what the president had to say: "Some Americans need hyphens in their names because only part of them have come over, but when the whole man has come over, heart and thought and all, the hyphen drops of its own weight out of his name." ("President Urges Temperate Speech. Need of Observing Spirit of Neutrality Pointed Out in Address to Fellow-Countrymen," *New York Times*, August 19, 1914, 4.) It is nevertheless safe to say that Siegmund von Bosse did not agree with the president's sentiments.

² Martha Toepflitz, "Wir Amerikaner in Berlin," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 15, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

³ "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

⁴ Barkan's address was published as "Changing Borders, Moving Boundaries: Lessons from Thirty-five Years of Interdisciplinary and Multi-ethnic Research," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 26 (Winter 2007): 85-99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 93. The four groups Barkan treated in his essay were French Canadians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. A shortened, published version of Barkan's essay appeared as "Proximity and Commuting Immigration: An Hypothesis Explored via the Bi-Polar Ethnic Communities of French Canadians and Mexican Americans," in Jack Kinton, ed., *American Ethnic Revival* (Aurora, Illinois: Social Science and Sociological Resources, 1977), 163-183.

⁶ "Proximity and Commuting Immigration," 163-164, 170. Ducharme offered his observation in *The Shadows of the Trees: The Story of French-Canadians in New England* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), 14.

As would become abundantly clear in the summer of 1914, the German-Americans of Wilmington, Delaware, also maintained a postal connection to the Old Fatherland, and the city's newspapers would share with their readers some of the correspondence from Germany. This study will treat the "visiting" dimensions of Ducharme's observation. The author is treating the "by letter" aspects in a separate study.

⁷ Elliott Barkan, "America in the Hand, Homeland in the Heart: Transnational and Translocal Immigrant Experiences in the American West," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 35 (Autumn 2004): 332, 340.

⁸ The German-American population of Wilmington, Delaware, was large enough to have generated a full array of institutions and organizations capable of nourishing its German heritage. By 1900 home to an active German element and by far the largest city in the state of Delaware, Wilmington with its Germany-born population of 1,762 placed among the 94 American cities with Germany-born residents numbering between 1,000 and 15,000. (Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Arno Press reprint edition, 1976), 108.)

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By 1910 the number of Germany-born Wilmingtonians had risen to 1,911 in a population of 87,411, and they constituted some fourteen per cent of the city's foreign-born white population. The figure of 1,911 includes neither the 887 Wilmingtonians born in "Austria" nor the 215 born in "Hungary," some of whom were "German." (Department of Commerce and Labor, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Abstract of the Census. Statistics of Population, Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining for the United States, The States and Principal Cities* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 95, 211.)

The city's businessmen included a substantial number of German-Americans, among them retailers, brewers, hotel keepers, and cigar and shoe makers. Churchgoers could attend German-language services at Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, the German Baptist Church, and the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart. (Sacred Heart was by 1910 no longer a "national parish," though German-language services continued to be offered there.) On the eve of World War I Wilmington was also home to a growing Jewish population, part of which had its roots in Germany. (For a history of Wilmington's Jewish population, see Toni Young, *Becoming American, Remaining Jewish: The Story of Wilmington, Delaware's First Jewish Community, 1879-1924* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999).)

The activities of the many German-American societies—*Vereine*—called to the attention of the larger Wilmington population the presence of the city's German element. The *Directory of German-American Societies and Churches of Wilmington, Delaware, 1917-1918* (Wilmington: Delmarvia Printing & Publishing Co., n.d.) listed some 27 different German-American organizations and institutions in Wilmington.

⁹ For "apostle," Toepfitz, "Wir Amerikaner in Berlin"; for an "apostle of truth," "Weitere Abreise von Amerikanern," [Berlin] *Tägliche Rundschau*, September 11, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4; for "a bearer of truth," "Sympathiekundgebungen der Amerikaner," [Berlin] *Der Tag*, August 13, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2; and for the Americans' "sacred mission," "Die Haltung der ausländische Presse," *Der Tag*, August 14, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2.

¹⁰ "Staatsverband Delaware," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, January 21, 1911, 1. This decline was attributed to improving conditions in Germany, specifically to health insurance and old-age pensions in the Old Fatherland. Ironically, the federal census for 1910 indicated that 1,911 Wilmingtonians were born in Germany, an increase from 1,762 just ten years earlier. See Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Abstract of the Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 211, and Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (reprint edition, Arno Press, Inc., 1976), 108.

¹¹ "Auch englischer Gottesdienst," *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 18, 1912, 1.

¹² The *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger und Freie Presse*, which by 1914 appeared each Saturday, was the survivor of a newspaper established in Wilmington in 1880. Bound volumes of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* for the years 1907-1917 were part of the "Wilmington Turners Lodge" collection (M91-145), which was donated to the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* is now among the holdings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

¹³ As did many items mentioned in this study, "German-Americans Abroad" appeared in the "News Notes of the German-Americans" column of the *Star* (hereafter referred to as the German Column). The *Star* had since 1905 regularly carried an English-language column directed at Wilmington's German-Americans. The "News Notes of the German-Americans" would run under that heading until September 1915. Thereafter, substantively, if less conspicuously, the German Column would continue through March 31, 1918, though without the "News Notes . . ." heading.

In most cases the German Column items cited in this study carried subheadings, and those subheadings are used in the citations. In the absence of such subheadings, "Untitled item, 'News Notes of the German-Americans'" is cited.

The *Star's* German Column is replete with infelicities, among them typos, misplaced commas, inconsistencies in capitalization, and the absence of italics where contemporary usage might call for them, for example, in the names of ships and newspapers.

¹⁴ Indeed, for turn-of-the-century German-Americans in Wilmington the Atlantic Ocean might have seemed less the "geographical obstacle to frequent cross-continental encounters and a barrier to communication" and more "a connective lifeline between the Old World and the New." These views are advanced separately in Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross, eds., *Traveling between Worlds: German-American Encounters* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Press, 2006). Viewing the Atlantic Ocean as "geographical obstacle," see Christof Mauch, "Oceans Apart: Paradigms in German-American History and Historiography," 5; for the Atlantic as "connective lifeline," see Thomas Adam, "Cultural Baggage: The Building of the Urban Community in a Transatlantic World," 80. In justifying his view of the Atlantic as a barrier, Mauch notes (also page 5) that "Radio, television, airplanes and the Internet had not yet come into existence." His failure to include the transatlantic mail seems a curious omission.

¹⁵ One scholar has found this to be true of German-Americans in general as they tried to secure their footing in the early stages of the war: "On the basis of America's constantly emphasized neutrality, many German-Americans were actually convinced that their aggressive support for Germany would not place them at odds with their new, adopted fatherland." See Jörg Nagler, *Nationale Minoritäten im Krieg: "Feindliche Ausländer" und die amerikanische Heimatfront während des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Hamburg: Hamburg Edition, 2000, 106-107).

¹⁶ David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 67-68.

¹⁷ See Christine M. Totten, "Elusive Affinities: Acceptance and Rejection of the German-Americans," in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History. Volume II: The Relationship in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press paperback, 1990), 186-203.

¹⁸ Paul Finkelman, "The War on German Language and Culture, 1917-1925," in Hans-Jürgen Schröder, ed., *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900-1924* (Providence, Rhode Island: Berg, 1993), 177.

¹⁹ Reinhard R. Doerries has suggested that "no serious differences marred relations" between the United States and Germany before 1914. See Doerries, "Empire and Republic: German-American Relations Before 1917," in Trommler and McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans. Volume II*, 6.

Ellis Hawley, on the other hand, has found those relations much more problematic: "Between 1900 and 1913 American relations with Britain had steadily improved, while those with Germany had rapidly deteriorated." See Hawley's *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933* (New York: St. Martin's Press [1979]), 16.

Some major figures had struck an ominous chord. Within the context of the Spanish-American War, "[American Admiral George] Dewey in 1898 flatly predicted that the next war of the United States would be in fifteen years with Germany." On the German side, "Kaiser [William II] was convinced by the turn of the century that especially in the field of economic competition the United States posed the greatest threat to Germany." See Holger H. Herwig, *Politics of Frustration: The United States in German Naval Planning, 1889-1941* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 18, 42.

²⁰ David Traxel, *Crusader Nation: The United States in Peace and the Great War, 1898-1920* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 137.

Writing shortly after the conclusion of the World War, one scholar chronicled the tensions that led to a "change in attitude" on the part of the United States toward Germany from 1870, when "the sympathies of the United States were unquestionably with Germany," to 1914, when "the prevailing attitude in [the U.S.] was anti-German." See Clara Eve Schieber,

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"The Transformation of American Sentiment towards Germany, 1870-1914," *The Journal of International Relations*, 12, 1 (July 1921), 50.

²¹ Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase, "The United States and Germany in the World Arena, 1900-1917," in Schröder, *Confrontation and Cooperation*, 55.

²² Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 117.

²³ "Künftige Kabelsicherung," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, September 16, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1; "Die Wahrheit ins Ausland!" *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 24, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2; and "Kabelverbindungen mit Amerika," *Tägliche Rundschau*, September 6, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

²⁴ The German Column of the *Star* employed the term "war-stayed" in its August 9, 1914 issue ("German-Americans Abroad," 19), the first issue published after the outbreak of full-scale war in Europe. On that occasion the *Star* placed the term in quotation marks, though the term was generally used without them.

²⁵ This coverage was not peculiar to Wilmington's press. Christopher Endy has written that "Metropolitan newspapers wrote frequent editorials on the travel scene and often printed travel letters of local citizens writing from across the ocean." Christopher Endy, "Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1917," *Diplomatic History*, Volume 22, Number 4 (Fall 1998), 568.

²⁶ From August into early November 1914, the period during which most American tourists in Europe struggled to return to the United States, coverage of those tourists and, for that matter, of the war itself had to share space in Wilmington's newspapers with a number of extraordinary events, among them the death of President Woodrow Wilson's wife Ellen (August 6); racial turmoil in the city (August 16 and 17); the death of Pope Pius X (August 20); the election of Pope Benedict XV (September 3); and a November 3 election (for a variety of local and state offices as well as that of Delaware's lone member of the U.S. House of Representatives).

²⁷ As early as 1905 the *Star*'s German Column suggested that travel to Europe was not an extraordinary undertaking: "To make a trip to Europe is at the present time no more thought of than to spend a month at the seashore. The expense is about the same and the knowledge one derives from it is much greater. Nowadays a person or persons can make a trip abroad if the tour is practically mapped out at a very reasonable figure, and at the same time see and learn things which were formerly foreign to them." ("News of German-Americans," *Star*, August 13, 1905, 9.) The German Column did not speculate about how many of Wilmington's German-Americans could afford to spend "a month at the seashore."

²⁸ That the German Column of the *Star* did not limit its reports on transatlantic travel solely to German-Americans traveling *eastward* to the Old Fatherland is shown by the German Column of May 3, 1914 ("Notes of Special Interest," 9), which mentioned that "H. Sieberg, of 827 North Franklin street, is honored by a visit of his brother, Professor August Sieberg, of Dresden, Germany."

²⁹ "Will Sail May 9," *Star*, April 19, 1914, 18. "Bon Voyage to Mr. Lengel," *Star*, May 10, 1914, 6. "Herr Lengel reist," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 9, 1914, 1. Lengel had made at least eleven trips to Europe before 1914.

The newspaper coverage of travelers treated in this study has been supplemented by U.S. census records, passport applications, and ship arrival lists used at (and in the case of census records purchased from) the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The author has also used the websites of *ellisland.org* (passenger and ship arrivals in New York, accessed with home computer), *heritagequestonline.com* (U.S. census records, accessed with home computer), and *Ancestry.com* (passenger arrivals, passport applications, and U.S. population census records, accessed at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, and the Chinn Park Regional Library in Prince William County, VA). Where no electronic source is indicated, the author used the

microfilmed record at the National Archives in Washington.

³⁰ Katie Clodi, age 18 in 1910, and the daughter of German-born immigrants Louis and Christine Clodi, was born in Pennsylvania. In newspaper accounts she is variously identified as Katie, Kätie, Katherine, and Catherine. This study will use "Katie." Rosa Ploesser was also 18 years old in 1910. She was then living with her father Christian and his second wife, Lydia, who was not Rosa's mother. Both Christian and Lydia were born in Germany. Rosa was born in Delaware. "1910 United States Federal Census" in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Katie A. Clodi and Rosa Ploesser. Original Source: National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, National Archives Microform Publication (hereafter cited as NAMP) T624, roll 147, enumeration district 39, sheet 21, and enumeration district 54, sheet 10, respectively.

³¹ Misses Leila Stoeckle and Bertha Erb "have been making an extended tour of Germany and other European countries. . . ." (Untitled item, "News of the German-Americans," *Star*, September 5, 1909, 5.) Mrs. Teresa Boeck and daughter Matilda "are at Schussenriehl, Wurttemberg [*sic*], Germany, taking a rest after several weeks' tour through European countries." (Untitled item, "News of the German-Americans," *Star*, September 12, 1909, 9.) Two sisters, Helene and Louise Pfisterer left the United States for München Gladbach and Stuttgart. ("Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 1, 1911, 1.) Mrs. M. Eisenmenger and Miss E. Eisenmenger sailed from New York to Bremen aboard the *Kronprinz Wilhelm*. ("Persönliches," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 13, 1911, 1.) The wife of William Scholl along with the family's four children sailed on the steamer *George Washington*, eventually to reach Bavaria, where she and the children would visit relatives. ("Deutschland-Reisende," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 14, 1913, 10.)

³² Untitled item, *Lokal-Anzeiger*, April 25, 1914, 1.

³³ "Items of Special Interest," *Star*, April 26, 1914, 6. Hamburg is probably wrong. On two passport applications (1922 and 1927) Louis Clodi indicated that "I was born at Bavaria, Germany." He was probably born at Homburg am Main in Bavaria.

³⁴ "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 30, 1914, 1.

³⁵ "Will Take European Trip," *Star*, May 3, 1914, 9. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," May 2, 1914, 1) also mentioned the Grandhommes' pending departure for France, Germany, and other countries.

While the census records identified Mr. Grandhomme's ancestral homeland as France, his 1914 passport application indicated that he was born in "Bonhomme, Alsace-Lorraine-Germany" on June 23, 1844.

For the census, "1910 United States Federal Census" in Ancestry.com (accessed July 19, 2007) for Constantin Grandhomme. Original Source: NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 146, enumeration district 78, sheet 7B.

For Grandhomme's passport application, see NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925*, NAMP M1490, roll 207, certificate #26005.

Alsace-Lorraine had changed hands when France was defeated by Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Thus, when Mr. Grandhomme was born, Alsace-Lorraine was part of France; when he applied for a passport, it was a part of Germany.

³⁶ "Mutschler reist nach Deutschland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 6, 1914, 1, and "Mr. Mutsehler [*sic*] Goes Abroad," *Star*, June 7, 1914, 10.

³⁷ "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 6, 1914, 1. See also NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 210, certificate #29476).

³⁸ "Herr Kalmbacher reist nach Deutschland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 20, 1914, 1. See also "Zum Bunde' Off for Germany," *Star*, June 21, 1914, 16.

George Kalmbacher's June 17, 1914 application for a passport indicated that he had been born in *Wiltbad*, Germany, on February 16, 1861, and that he had sailed from Hamburg for America on April 10, 1880. Kalmbacher's passport application also showed him as a cabinet

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maker who had uninterruptedly resided in the United States (New York, Philadelphia, and Wilmington) for the previous 34 years. See "U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for George Kalmbacher. Original Source: NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925*, NAMP M1490, roll 216, certificate #35187.

For Kalmbacher's employment by the Jackson and Sharp Company, which built railroad cars and ships, see his obituary in the *Star*, January 25, 1931, 29. For his role in the founding of the Delaware branch of the NGAA, see the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 11, 1907, 1.

There is no indication in the newspaper reports that Kalmbacher's trip to Germany was meant to help him recover from the personal losses he had suffered in 1913, but those losses may have influenced his decision to see the Old Fatherland once again. On October 24, Nanita, "the [eighteen-year-old] daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Kalmbacher, died . . . after an illness of several years," and on December 23 his wife, Hedwig L., died. See "Death of Nanita Kalmbacher," *Star*, October 26, 1913, 11, and "A Sad Christmas," *Star*, December 28, 1913, 24.

³⁹ "Besuchen die alte Heimat," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 4, 1914, 1. The full identification of Koehler's adopted child and the child's aunt (the sister of the child's deceased mother) is taken from the German Column, "C. Koehler Speaks of War," *Star*, November 15, 1914, 6.

⁴⁰ *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 11, 1914, page 1, "Reisen nach Deutschland." Wilmington's newspapers were not consistent in their spelling of "Kleinstuber." Except in quotations where the Kleinstubers' family name is spelled differently, this study will use "Kleinstuber."

⁴¹ "Farewell to Dr. Kleinstuber and Wife," *Star*, July 12, 1914, 15.

⁴² For 1896, NARA, *Passport Applications, 1795-1905* (NAMP M1372, roll 463, certificate #9729); for 1914, NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 213, certificate #31514).

⁴³ Tammy M. Proctor (*Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 2010, 3)) has written that "The years between 1914 and 1918 witnessed the invention of the modern 'civilian,' the first mentions of the 'home front,' and the advent of a totalizing war strategy that pitted industrial nations and their citizenries against each other." Proctor did not have people like the Wilmington-area tourists in mind, but these travelers were witnesses to, and arguably participants in, the early stages of this "totalizing" war. Indeed, these travelers might have viewed their "home front" as Germany, a view not altogether undone by the tourists' return to the United States. For most of them, the United States as their "home front" was probably determined only when America declared war on Germany in April 1917.

⁴⁴ The assertion of divisions among Wilmington's Germans appeared in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("An das Deutschtum Wilmingtons. 'Seid einig, einig, einig!'" July 18, 1914, 1) and was countered the following day by an article in the *Star's* German Column ("Heise [*sic*] Luft," July 19, 1914, 18).

⁴⁵ The *Star's* initial coverage of the crisis appeared on its front page on July 26, some four weeks after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke. See "War That Will Involve All Europe Is Now Threatened."

⁴⁶ For an up-to-date account of that period, see Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013).

Ironically, one Wilmington traveler, who returned to the United States on June 3, more than three weeks before the crisis began, insisted that he had had premonitions about the war. According to the *Every Evening* ("War Opinions of Man from Austria. Aaron Keil of This City, Just Back From Europe, Gives His Views. Saw War Intimations. Talked With Many Persons and Became Convinced There Would be a Conflict," August 15, 1914, 1). Keil, proprietor of a saloon at Front and King streets, witnessed "As early as the latter part of April the fever of war [that] gripped the minds of the people of Germany and Austria. . . . At Berlin and all through Germany, Mr. Keil said, all the German people were talking war."

⁴⁷ "Should There Be War," *Star*, August 2, 1914, 15.

⁴⁸ "Der Krieg tobt," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 8, 1914, 1.

⁴⁹ "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.

The literature on the World War is vast. Two relatively recent books place the German experience at the center of their accounts: Holger H. Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914-1918* (London: Arnold, 1997), and Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1998). An extensive treatment of Europe as it went to war is provided by Hew Strachan, *The First World War: Volume I: To Arms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). The longer view is offered by Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2013).

⁵⁰ Untitled item, *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 8, 1914, 1.

⁵¹ The most prominent of Delaware's transatlantic travelers in the summer of 1914 were Governor and Mrs. Charles R. Miller, who departed New York on July 28 aboard the North German Lloyd steamer *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*. The liner was scheduled to reach Bremen after intermediate stops at Plymouth and Cherbourg. Coverage of the Millers' experiences by the Wilmington press was both conflicting and sensationalized, due in no small part to reports that the ship was carrying some \$10,000,000 in gold and \$1,000,000 in silver. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* of August 1 ("Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," 1) led its readers to think that the Millers were heading for Bremen, while other newspapers reported that they would be meeting their daughter in Plymouth and subsequently traveling to the continent. Upon learning that war had broken out, the *Cecilie's* captain, who was also a Lieutenant-Commander in the German naval reserve, reversed the ship's course and "made a dash back to the United States and put in at Bar Harbor, Maine, to escape British warships." See "Governor Home; Tells of Thrill of Over-Sea Dash," *Evening Journal*, August 27, 1914, 1-2. This article, based on an interview with the Governor once he had returned to Delaware, is one of the clearest and most comprehensive of the many reports on his adventure. See also the Associated Press Dispatch that was carried by the *Every Evening* on August 4, 1914 ("Cecilie Is Safe at Bar Harbor," 1).

⁵² Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Abstract of the Census*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913, page 210. This does not include the 190,246 New Yorkers born in Austria (the figures for Hungary were listed separately) nor the 10,542 New Yorkers born in Switzerland. Of course, not everyone born in Germany, Austria, or Switzerland was "German."

⁵³ *New York Times*, August 1, 1914, 2.

⁵⁴ *New York Herald*, August 2, 1914, first section, part II, 4.

⁵⁵ During this same period of time Wilmington's *Morning News* carried an average of more than two articles per issue on the fate of American tourists trapped in Europe when war broke out.

⁵⁶ "Hülfe für Gestrandete," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, August 6, 1914, 2, and "Gestrandete Amerikaner," August 9, 1914, 7. The *Staats-Zeitung* also reported on the situations of individual German-Americans—not just New Yorkers—in articles generally carrying the heading or sub-heading of "In Sicherheit" or "Amerikaner in Sicherheit." See, for example, the *Staats-Zeitung* for August 15, 1914, 2; August 16, 1914, 3; August 18, 1914, 3; and August 22, 1914, 3.

"Stranded" seems to have been the term most frequently used to describe the Americans visiting Europe when war broke out. The *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger* used no term comparable to "war-stayed" or "*Die Gestrandete*." "War-stayed" seems to have been largely confined to the German Column of the *Star*, though Wilmington's *Every Evening* of September 29, 1914 ("News from Europe. A Number of Letters Received From Persons in the War Zone," 13) did describe those travelers as "war-stayed."

⁵⁷ For an overview of the German press and its coverage of the war, see Chickering's treatment of "The Mobilization of Morale" in *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918*, 46-50.

⁵⁸ "In der amerikanischen Botschaft," *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 6, 1914, 6: "Most of the Americans, that is those who do not understand German and must rely on the English language, now wear little flags or stickpins with the stars and stripes so as to make clear that they are American citizens."

⁵⁹ "Der Abschied der Amerikaner," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5. Another Berlin newspaper offered a more specific observation: "Much consulted by the Americans was a Berlin lady (*eine Berliner Dame*) who voluntarily served as a translator." See "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2-3.

⁶⁰ Save for Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser, who were traveling together, each of the touring parties covered in this study included at least one person born in Germany. But both young women were born to parents who were born in Germany, and the chances are that Katie and Rosa would have been exposed to the German language of their parents.

English-speakers in the Berlin area who understood no German had at least one source of information to which they could turn: *The Continental Times*. This English-language newspaper was in August 1914 published in Berlin as an "Organ für Amerikaner!" (*The Continental Times* would evolve. Its February 1, 1915 issue, for example, described itself as "A Journal for Americans in Europe" and indicated that the then thrice-weekly publication was produced in Rotterdam, Lucerne, Berlin, Geneva, Vienna, and Rome.) German newspapers would occasionally draw on material in *The Continental Times*: see, as examples, "Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 6, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 1; "England und das neutrale Amerika," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 13, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1; and "Die Heimfahrt der Amerikaner," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 16, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

⁶¹ Edward Robb Ellis, who devotes a brief chapter to "Americans Trapped in Europe," mentions that "120,000 Americans were traveling on the continent and in Great Britain. More than 10,000 were in Germany, 3,000 in Berlin itself." See Ellis's *Echoes of Distant Thunder: Life in the United States, 1914-1918* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1975 [reprint edition, Kodansha America, Inc., 1996]), 154.

⁶² "Will Cable Money for Americans," *New York Times*, August 3, 1914, 7.

⁶³ "Amerikaner in Ausland," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, August 2, 1914, 3.

⁶⁴ "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, August 16, 1914, 15.

⁶⁵ "Schutz den Amerikanern in Deutschland," *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5, and "Mehr Schutz den Amerikanern in Deutschland," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 6. In covering events at the American embassy a few days later the *Vossische Zeitung* ("Auf der amerikanischen Botschaft," August 10, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 5) attributed the estimate of 75,000 to "communications from officials."

⁶⁶ "Helft den Amerikanern!" *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, August 10, 1914, Montags-Ausgabe, 3; "Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 10, 1914, 1; "Gastfreundschaft den Amerikanern," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 10, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1; without citing the Wolff Telegraph Bureau as the originator, "Helft den in Deutschland befindlichen Amerikanern!" *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 10, 1914, Morgenblatt, 2; and, incorporated into a larger report, "Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 10, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2.

⁶⁷ "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2, and "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* ("Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," August 10, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2), which also provided the estimate of 25,000 Americans trapped in Germany in August 1914, mentioned that the American colony in Munich was taking pains to assist the 3,000 Americans traveling through the city. That same paper would later cite a report claiming that, of the 100,000 Americans in Germany in late August, only 60,000 at most would be returning to the United States. See "Verschiedenes. Die

Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 26, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2. The *Continental Times* had already reported ("Departing Americans," August 20, 1914, 1) that "A great number of Americans, however, have now made up their minds definitely to remain in Berlin where they are assured that their safety is [as] great [emphasis in the original] as if they were in their own country." And, on February 22, 1915, the *Continental Times* would report ("Munich Notes," 4) that "It may astonish you to hear that there are still over 500 Americans in Munich and I hear that several families who left at the commencement of the war contemplate returning."

⁶⁸ "Notes of Tourists Trapped in Europe," *New York Times*, August 7, 1914, 4. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* later reported ("Deutschland übertrifft sich selbst," August 21, 1914, 2) that the number of Americans stranded in Germany with no money totaled some 700 persons, most of whom were in Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt am Main.

⁶⁹ "Great Fears in Berlin," *New York Times*, August 4, 1914, 5. Ambassador James Gerard subsequently wrote that "as soon as there was a prospect of war, the Embassy was overrun with Americans . . . who literally in thousands crowded the Wilhelm Platz in front of the Embassy." See Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1917), 108.

⁷⁰ "Achtet auf Spione!" *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 5, 1914, 1.

⁷¹ "Spione und Verdächtige," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2.

⁷² "Keine auslandfeindlichen Kundgebungen!" *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 6, 1914, 1.

⁷³ "Die Jagd auf Spione und auf Ausländer," *Vorwärts*, August 5, 1914, 7.

⁷⁴ "Ausländer in Berlin," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 10, 1914, Der Montag, 3.

⁷⁵ "Seid wachsam!" *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 4, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Mitbürger" and "Hütet Euch vor Alarmanachrichten!" *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 4, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 1; and "Ein Dementi," *Vorwärts*, August 5, 1914, 2.

⁷⁶ "Nehmt Vernunft an!" *Der Tag*, August 5, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2.

⁷⁷ "Unser Freunde aus Amerika," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4; "Größtes Entgegenkommen gegen amerikanische Staatsangehörige," [Berlin] *Neue preussische Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3; "Schutz den Amerikanern," [Berlin] *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 9, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3; and "Hilfe für Amerikaner," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 9, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 2. Of these four reports, all but the *Neue preussische Zeitung's* cited the Wolff Telegraph Bureau as the originator.

⁷⁸ "Unser bester Freund," *Der Tag*, August 8, 1914, Abendausgabe, 2. As was often the case, articles appearing in one newspaper subsequently surfaced, generally with attribution, in others. In this instance, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* ("Amerika-Deutschlands Freund," August 9, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1) cited *Der Tag* in introducing its publication of Gerard's remarks. The *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* published an article ("Unser bester Freund," August 8, 1914, Abendausgabe, 2) that duplicated fully the article that appeared in *Der Tag*, including the assertion that Gerard's comments were made "to our correspondent." A few days later, in its publication of Gerard's remarks, the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* ("Deutschland und Nordamerika," August 12, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2) introduced the ambassador's comments as having been made to a correspondent for the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*.

Gerard seems to have acquitted himself reasonably well in facilitating the return of American tourists to the United States. His overall performance, however, was, according to Woodrow Wilson biographer Arthur Link, less impressive: "This former dilettante in Tammany politics was an authentic international catastrophe. At a time when circumstances demanded tact, understanding, and wisdom from the American representative in Berlin, Gerard could offer only ineptitude, ignorance, and folly." See Arthur Link, *Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914-1915* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960, 311). The author of this study was led to Link's assessment by Justus D. Doenecke, *Nothing Less Than War: A New History of*

America's Entry into World War I (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2011, 11).

In fact, President Wilson instructed his adviser Colonel Edward House "to caution" Gerard about opinions that some thought "anti-German." The president "intimated [that] in the matter became serious, he would recall Gerard." In a subsequent memorandum to Gerard, House informed him that "the President yesterday . . . asked me to say to you to please be extremely careful not to permit anyone connected with the Embassy to express any sentiment whatsoever that is not strictly neutral." See "From the Diary of Colonel House [December 4, 1914]" and "Edward Mandell House to James Watson Gerard [December 4, 1914]," in Arthur Link et al., eds., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Volume 31, September 6 - December 31, 1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 383-88.

One author has provided a more positive assessment of the U.S. ambassador to Germany: "Gerard was faced with enormous tasks as a result of the war, and he and the embassy staff performed admirably. They were able to get just about every American who wanted to leave out of Germany. Furthermore, their efforts on behalf of the British prisoners of war certainly saved scores of lives." See Theodore Richard Barthold, *Assignment to Berlin: The Embassy of James W. Gerard, 1913-1917* (PhD diss., Temple University, 1981 [University Microfilms International/ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, accessed at the Library of Congress, February 4, 2013]), 112-14.

⁷⁹ "The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State, No 200," August 18, 1914, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1914. Supplement. The World War* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1928), 91-97. In the August 9 part of his memo, Gerard reported that "There appear to be over 3,000 Americans in Berlin itself and more than 10,000 in Germany desiring transportation to the United States."

⁸⁰ "Abzeichen für Amerikaner," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 7, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 3.

⁸¹ "Die hier lebenden Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 7, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 3.

⁸² Ein Deutsch-Russe für viele, "Lernt unterscheiden!" *Der Tag*, August 13, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2. Later in the day (Abendausgabe, 3) the newspaper saw fit to publish a shortened version of the same article.

⁸³ "Warnung!" *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 5, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 1.

At least one newspaper indicated that some Germans not only could not distinguish between Americans and Englishers and between Poles and Russians, but also between the Swiss and the French. See "Schweizer sind keine Franzosen!" *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 18, 1914, 5.

⁸⁴ "Keine Unfreundlichkeit gegen Amerikaner!" *Vossische Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3.

⁸⁵ For German coverage of this matter, see "Die Behandlung der Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 22, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1; "Die Behandlung der Amerikaner in Deutschland," [Berlin] *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 21, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3; "Gegen die Auslandslügen," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 22, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 2; "Eine Kundgebung des amerikanischen Botschafters," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 21, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 1; "Die Behandlung der Ausländer in Deutschland," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 21, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3; and "Botschafter Gerard über die Verleumdungskampagne gegen Deutschland," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 21, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 4.

⁸⁶ "Dank der Amerikaner," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 7, 1914, Drittes Morgenblatt, 1.

⁸⁷ "Amerikaner vor der Heimreise," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 19, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 2, and "Heimkehrende Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 22, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 3.

⁸⁸ "Die Stimmung in Amerika," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, September 28, 1914,

Morgen-Blatt, 3. A somewhat abbreviated version of this article appeared in other German newspapers. See, for example, "Aufklärung ins Ausland!" *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, September 28, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3, and "Die Aufklärungsarbeit in Amerika," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 28, 1914, Abendblatt, 2.

⁸⁹ "Eine Hilfsaktion des Amerikanischen Roten Kreuzes," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1. See also "Hochherzige Hilfsaktion des amerikanischen Roten Kreuzes für Deutschland," *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

⁹⁰ "Nach Schluß der Redaktion eingetroffene Depeschen," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 12, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2. This report identified its originator as the Wolff Telegraph Bureau. Other newspapers carried a similar report; some identified the W.T.B. as the originator, but others did not. *Der Tag* carried a somewhat different account of the matter. The church as lazarette was to be placed at the disposal of the Red Cross, and a special collection was to be taken up by the church community, with the proceeds donated to the Red Cross. See "Die amerikanische Kirche als Kriegslazarett," August 12, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 7.

⁹¹ "Der Generalkonsul der Vereinigten Staaten," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 12, 1914, Abendblatt, 1. German law provided that, "Upon declaration of national emergency, . . . executive power passed into the hands of the corps commander in each of the country's twenty-four military districts." These officers, or more generally their deputies, "enjoyed almost dictatorial powers in their respective districts, including censorship, transportation, and the preservation of public order in the civilian sector, as well as ensuring the recruitment, training, supply, and deployment of additional troops for combat." See Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918*, 33. In this case, the Commanding General of the XVIII. Army Corps was Dedo Heinrich Karl von Schenck.

⁹² Untitled piece with a dateline of "Würzburg, 12. Aug.," in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 12, 1914, Abendblatt, 2.

⁹³ "Amerikanerinnen im Dienste der Wohltätigkeit," *General Anzeiger der Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2.

⁹⁴ "Die amerikanischen Gäste," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 14, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 1-2.

⁹⁵ "Hochherzige Spende eines Amerikaners," *Der Tag*, August 14, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2.

⁹⁶ "Amerikanische Hilfe," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 13, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 3.

⁹⁷ "Amerikanische Hilfsaktion," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 9, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2.

⁹⁸ "Spende der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Petroleum-Gesellschaft," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 23, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2.

⁹⁹ "Deutschfreundlichkeit in Amerika," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, October 18, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, 4.

¹⁰⁰ "Ein Aufruf von Deutsch-Amerikanern," *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 16, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 1.

¹⁰¹ "Die Gesinnung der Deutsch-Amerikaner," *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 15, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

¹⁰² "Dem Münchner amerikanischen Rotkreuzhospital. . .," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, October 14, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 4. A thorough discussion of the work of the hospital itself had appeared some three weeks earlier: "Eröffnung des amerikanischen Rot-Kreuz-Hospitals," *MNN*, September 24, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 9.

¹⁰³ "Die Aufklärung des Auslandes," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 19, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 2.

¹⁰⁴ "Helft allen Amerikanern, unseren Freunden!" *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 6.

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¹⁰⁵ "An die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 21, 1914, Zweite-Morgen Ausgabe, 1.

¹⁰⁶ "In der amerikanischen Botschaft," *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 6, 1914, 6.

¹⁰⁷ "Appeal to Germany for Americans," *New York Times*, August 5, 1914, 3.

¹⁰⁸ "May Soon Quit Germany," *New York Times*, August 6, 1914, 5.

¹⁰⁹ "Ausländer dürfen Deutschland nicht verlassen," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, August 5, 1914, 10.

¹¹⁰ "Americans Free to Depart," *New York Times*, August 8, 1914, 3.

¹¹¹ For more on Germany's *White Book*, see below.

¹¹² "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 14, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2; "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2-3; "Abschied der Amerikaner. Der erste Sonderzug nach Holland," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5; "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Der Tag*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Abreise von 800 Amerikaner," *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5; and "Der Abschied der Amerikaner," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5. The author has relied on these six accounts, but other newspapers reported in a similar fashion. A day after these articles appeared, for example, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Die Abreise der Amerikaner," August 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2) carried a report that virtually duplicated the one published the day before in the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*.

The newspapers provided different estimates of the number of Americans traveling to the Dutch border. The *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* and the *Tägliche Rundschau*, and, a day later, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported that 800 Americans were making the trip; the *Berliner Tageblatt*, 700; and the *Vossische Zeitung*, 600 Americans leaving the Charlottenburg Bahnhof on two trains. According to the *New York Times* ("10,000 Refugees Still in Berlin," August 18, 1914, 3), 261 Americans left Berlin on August 13. In his August 18 memo, Ambassador Gerard mentioned that "The Embassy has already sent one special train to Holland with nearly 300 Americans. . . ." Since Gerard's August 18 memo refers to "one special train," it is probably the August 13 train. See "The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State, No. 200," 96.

Accounts in the German press often failed to distinguish between American tourists and members of the American "colonies" in Germany. The article in the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, for example, referred to the 800 departing Americans as "only a fraction of the Americans living in Berlin, whose total can probably be numbered at approximately 20,000." Most, if not all of the 800, were probably tourists who had intended to spend a month or two in the Old Fatherland. The *Berliner Tageblatt's* article, on the other hand, seemed to be distinguishing between those Americans residing in Berlin for the longer term and those American tourists caught unaware at the outbreak of war when it mentioned that "Members of Berlin's American colony hurried from car to car, offering their best wishes to their fellow Americans (*Landsleute*)."

Except for Berlin, Munich probably hosted more Americans than any other German city. On August 18, 1914, the *Continental Times* ("Departure of Americans from Munich," 1) reported that Americans left Munich for Holland by train the day before. The article noted that "It can be seen how numerous the American colony in Munich was, when it is stated that 1800 new passports have been issued by the Consul-General there during the last few days."

On that same August 18 the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* ("Abreise unserer amerikanischen Gäste," Morgen-Blatt, 3) reported that the first train serving Americans leaving Munich for the United States—with nearly 200 men and women—left that city the day before [Monday]. "In light of the military authorities' heavy use of the state railways, the special train will travel at only moderate speed and is expected to arrive in Holland on Wednesday." The *MNN* article mentioned that additional trains would be leaving Munich for Holland on

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and that "this evening" a special train for Americans is leaving Nürnberg for Holland.

An August 18 article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* ("Die Abreise der Amerikaner," Mittags-Ausgabe, 2) described the departure of some 300 Americans from Hamburg the previous evening. Those Americans would travel by train to Rotterdam: "One has the definite feeling that there are 300 *sincere friends of Germany* [emphasis in the original] who are now traveling home and will remain our friends over there."

¹¹³ "Geo. Kalmbacher schreibt," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 25, 1914, 1.

¹¹⁴ "Aus Berlin," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 1, 1914, 1; "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.

¹¹⁵ "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, August 16, 1914, 15.

¹¹⁶ *Star*, "Very Little News From Tourists," August 23, 1914, 10, and "Mail From Germany," September 6, 1914, 14.

¹¹⁷ "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.

In "Search Census" in heritagequestonline.com (accessed October 11, 2013), NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 146, enumeration district 33, sheet 5B, John A. Lengel is listed as a sixty-year-old widower and retiree—"own income"—who came to the United States from Germany in 1881. In 1910 he headed a household that included a niece, two grandchildren, and a servant.

¹¹⁸ "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, August 16, 1914, 15.

¹¹⁹ "News From John A. Lengel," *Star*, September 13, 1914, 17. The article added that "The White Book for some days has been freely [*sic*] distributed by return[ing] passengers from Europe to this country. Its contents were published some time ago in many papers in the United States."

The *White Book* was intended to demonstrate that Germany was not responsible for the European war. 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. See, for example, "Das Weißbuch," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 4, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1, and "Das Weißbuch. Vernichtende Aktienstücke [with a Wolff Telegraph Bureau dateline of August 3]," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 4, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 1.

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. ("Das deutsche Weißbuch in englischer Sprache," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 16, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 4.) Prominent Germans were convinced that the White Book would be an effective weapon in this *Lügenkrieg*. See their proclamation (*Aufruf*) in "Nachrichten ins Ausland!" *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, September 17, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

The *White Book* that Lengel mailed to Wilmington, was perhaps the fifty-page tract issued in English by the German Foreign Office. *The German White-Book. (Only authorized translation.) With the Original Telegrams and Notes* is a combination of narrative and twenty-seven documents or "exhibits." (The exhibits were for the most part English translations of telegraphic correspondence as diplomats and heads of state dealt with the repercussions of what Austria saw as Serbia's inadequate response to its demands in the aftermath of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.) The upper right-hand corner of the pamphlet's first page carries the imprint "Foreign Office, Berlin, August 1914."

Among the several editions of the *White Book* was one carrying this revealing full title: *The German White-Book (Only authorized translation): How Russia and Her Ruler betrayed*

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Germany's confidence and thereby caused the European War (Berlin: Liebheit & Thiesen, n.d.). Page 3 identifies the author, place, and date of publication as the "Foreign Office, Berlin, August 1914."

The following year the German-American publisher of *The Fatherland* produced *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]).

If Lengel mailed his copy of the *White Book* to Wilmington, other war-stayed Americans would tote theirs home with them. The *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* ("Die Abreise der Amerikaner," August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2-3) reported that copies of the *White Book* had been given to stranded Americans before their August 13 departure from Berlin for Rotterdam. The *BNN* was convinced that the *White Book* along with other materials would enable these war-stayed tourists to share with Americans back home the truth about the origin and course of the war. The same article appeared in at least one other German newspaper: "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2.

Editions of the *White Book* are available online at the Hathi Trust Digital Library (hathitrust.org).

This author could find no indication in the city's daily press that Wilmingtonians returning from Germany availed themselves of another tool that would have aided them in telling the Old Fatherland's "truth" to the people back in Delaware. This tool, which received a good deal of attention in the German press, was a relatively small book entitled *The Truth About Germany: Facts About the War*. 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 volume provided material that could be used to explain—and justify—Germany's actions at the outbreak of war. (Although occasionally referred to in the German press as the *Yellow Book* [*Gelbbuch*], the 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 *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." (A second, enlarged edition of *The Truth about Germany* was published on September 20, 1914.)

Two sentences in the early edition of the *Truth about Germany* (Trow Press reprint, page 35) perhaps express the aspirations of the Honorary Committee and the Board of Editors responsible for the publication: "The German Federated States of Europe are defending themselves with might and main, and are counting in this struggle for existence on the goodwill of the United States of America, for whose citizens they cherish the friendliest feelings, as they have proved at all times. All Americans who have visited Germany will surely bear witness to that effect."

For a brief history of the book and a summary of its contents see "Die Amerikaner und wir," in C. H. Baer, ed., *Der Völkerring: Eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914. Große Ausgabe. Erster Band* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Julius Hoffman, 1914), 77-78.

On September 6, 1914, the *New York Times* carried a substantial article ("Brief for Germany by Noted Authors. Empire's Leading Citizens Write Book Appealing for Sympathy of Americans," 5) about *The Truth about Germany*.

And, beginning on October 31, 1914, a New York weekly, *The Vital Issue: WEEKLY Paper for TRUE INFORMATION; ready to help all who fight for PRINCIPLES, IDEALS, HONOR and JUSTICE* [sic], began publishing essays from *The Truth about Germany*. (In the weekly's first issue [August 24, 1914], which carried the title *News Examiner and Commentator*, the periodical announced its intention to address "a great mass of much distorted War news," "the absolute LACK of FAIR play," and the "complete domination of a one-sided press, strongly under BRITISH influence. . . .")

Editions of the *Truth about Germany. Facts about the War* are available online at the Hathi Trust Digital Library (hathitrust.org).

¹²⁰ "Left Rotterdam for Home," *Star*, October 18, 1914, 16.

¹²¹ "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19. The *Star* and the *Lokal-Anzeiger* were not the only Wilmington newspapers reporting on the travels of Clodi and Ploesser. See, for example, "Local Persons on the 'Gold Ship,'" *Morning News*, August 4, 1914, 3.

¹²² "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 29, 1914, 1.

¹²³ "Letters from Misses Ploesser and Clodi," *Star*, August 30, 1914, 20.

¹²⁴ "Erl. Clodi und Ploesser schreiben," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 5, 1914, 1.

¹²⁵ "Mail From Germany," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14. The *Morning News* ("Deny Stories of Atrocities," September 5, 1914, 5) provided a slightly different rendition of what the young women wrote to their parents: "[The travelers] declare that the majority of the stories which have been told concerning the atrocities and insults which tourists have undergone are without foundation. They say that the treatment accorded them everywhere they went was most courteous and kind." While German-Americans were very concerned about stories that American tourists were mistreated in Germany, and while they spoke to that issue quite often, the term "atrocities" as used in the *Morning News* story is likely to have been applied erroneously to the fate of sojourners in Germany.

¹²⁶ James W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 143.

For Clodi's and Ploesser's joint "Emergency Passport Application," Stuttgart, August 19, 1914, No. 52, see "U.S. Passport Applications," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 4, 2011), NARA, database-on-line (Katie A. Clodi).

For Clodi's "Emergency Passport Application," Berlin, September 1, 1914, No. 13365, see "U.S. Passport Applications," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 4, 2011), NARA, database-on-line (Katie Clodi).

For Ploesser's "Emergency Passport Application," Berlin, September 1, 1914, No. 13364, see "U.S. Passport Applications," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 4, 2011), NARA, database-on-line (Rosa Ploesser).

¹²⁷ *Morning News*, August 6, 1914, 8.

¹²⁸ *Evening Journal*, August 7, 1914, page 4.

¹²⁹ "Tells of Arrest as 'English Spy,'" *New York Times*, August 9, 1914, 3. (As mentioned above, Wile was one of two American correspondents named in Gerard's report to the U.S. Department of State.) Another article on the same page of that issue carried the provocative heading "Says Prussians Act Like Lunatics." The article began by noting that "The Paris Daily Mail Says. . .," then mentioned how in their treatment of the "Norwegian Minister at Paris" and a Dutch Professor "The Prussians have behaved not like savages—but would be doing savages an injustice—but like lunatics."

¹³⁰ "News From Germany," *Star*, September 27, 1914, 13. See also "A Number of Letters Received From Persons in the War Zone," *Every Evening*, September 29, 1914, 13.

¹³¹ "Left Rotterdam for Home," *Star*, October 18, 1914, 16.

¹³² Untitled item, "News Notes of the German-Americans," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19. According to a later report, the Sterns "were in Strassburg at the outbreak of hostilities and left for neutral territory at the earliest opportunity." See "Stern Family Are Now in Switzerland,"

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Wilmington Morning News, August 28, 1914, 9.

¹³³ "Germany May Have Called Mr. Stern to War," *Evening Journal*, August 13, 1914, 13.

¹³⁴ "Mr. Stern at Strassburg; May Have Gone into Army," *Evening Journal*, August 25, 1914, 2. When war broke out, several European states summoned to the lands of their birth men who still owed them military service. As early as July 30 the *Wilmington Every Evening* reported that "Austrians Here Called to Arms" (page 6). On August 3 the *New York Times* ("Nations Send Calls for Reserves Here," 5) indicated that other European states were using their consulates in the United States to do the same. Concerning Germany specifically, the *Times* had this to say: "Dr. Horst Falcke, the German Consul General, announced . . . that he had received official orders calling all German reservists to the colors. He said that the entire German land arm [*sic*] had been mobilized. All German reservists in this country are expected to get back to Germany as best they can, and in the quickest way they can. It was pointed out that these conditions are imposed in the passport of every man of military age who leaves Germany for foreign lands."

Some residents of Wilmington reacted quickly and positively to such calls. On August 4 ("Greco Pal First City Man for War", 7) the *Evening Journal* printed this report: "Greco Pal, a farm hand, . . . is the first Wilmingtonian so far as is known to offer his services to fight for Austria-Hungary." That same afternoon the *Wilmington Every Evening* ("Great Interest in the War News," August 4, 1914, 6) informed its readers that "Albert Frey, captain of the waiters [at the Hotel du Pont] and a subject of the Kaiser, will leave shortly for the Fatherland."

The difficulties of moving the subjects of Germany and Austria-Hungary from the United States to Europe were quickly apparent, however, and a few days later the *New York Times* ("Rush of Reserves Halts," August 8, 1914, 5) reported that "at the Consulates General of Germany and Austria-Hungary the officials are now busy instructing out-of-town consular representatives and agents not to send any more men to New York since there appears to be no possible chance of getting them to either Germany or Austria-Hungary at any time in the near future."

If this development seemed to close the book on the return of German and Austro-Hungarian reservists to their native lands, coverage of war-stayed Wilmingtonians Samson Stern and William Mutschler showed that the chapter on the military obligations of the city's German-born tourists was still to be written. The military obligations of German males included three years of active duty as well as 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.

According to his passport application, cited above, Stern was in August 1914 forty-two years old. William Mutschler, whose story will be told below, had in June 1914 just turned forty-five. (See NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925*, NAMP M1490, roll 214, certificate #32567.) More information on the residual military obligations of German emigrants will be presented below, when this study discusses Mutschler's encounter with German authorities.

¹³⁵ "Local Man Returning Home From Holland," *Morning News*, September 4, 1914, 2.

Samuel Stern would appear again later in this paper. One must at least allow for the possibility that the person identified in this study as Samuel Stern was in fact his brother Samson Stern.

¹³⁶ "S. Stern May Return Tomorrow," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14. This article seems to imply that the Sterns did not reach Germany. However, Samson Stern's passport application showed that he clearly intended to visit Germany, and articles in the *Every Evening* and the *Morning News* in late August, cited above, placed Stern in Strassburg, then a part of Germany. Moreover, Stern's apostolic work in behalf of Germany's "truth" (dealt with below) seems to be that of an eyewitness—a virtual participant—in Germany's mobilization for war.

¹³⁷ "Samuel [*sic*] Stern Back from Europe," *Morning News*, September 8, 1914, 7.

¹³⁸ "Mr. Stern Sees Triumph for the German Arms," *Evening Journal*, September 8, 1914, 2. Stern would send Wilmingtonians a very different message some three and a half years later. On April 9, 1918, the *Every Evening* (page 10) carried an ad for Stern's haberdashery on Market Street, and, the following day, the *Morning News* (page 5) carried the same ad. In it Stern addressed his "Fellow Citizens of Delaware" in this way: "I . . . appeal to YOU, having been one who has served under the Prussian military rules and KNOW their dominating power toward the common people. Humanity starts only at the rank of an officer. Protect our children from monsters of their kind and to do this I PERSONALLY APPEAL to YOU to subscribe every dollar available to the Third Liberty Loan." Two days later the editorial page of the *Every Evening* applauded Stern's remarks: "This is the kind of talk we like to hear from our citizens of foreign birth or extraction. We have been amazed, since the Great War was forced upon the world by the dominating spirit of German militarism, at the attitude of far too many of our citizens of German parentage. . . . [Some persons of German ancestry]—far too many of them—are in sympathy with the Fatherland, which offered their forebears nothing, and are today in hostility to this great country of opportunity, where they have been so well served." See "One Who Knows," *Every Evening*, April 11, 1918, 4.

¹³⁹ "Herr Stern zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 12, 1914, 1. Like the *Morning News* of September 4 ("Local Man Returning Home From Holland," 2) and of September 8 ("Samuel Stern Back from Europe," 7), the *Lokal-Anzeiger* identified the traveler as *Samuel* Stern rather than his brother Samson. That it was Samson (along with his wife Bertha and their children Selma and Oscar) is confirmed by the "List of United States Citizens" for the August 29-September 7, 1914 voyage of the *Rotterdam*. See NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2367, volume 5433, page 89, line 16 (*Rotterdam*).

The *Morning News* had on September 8, 1914 ("Samuel Stern Back from Europe," 7), cited Stern in reporting that "Many persons . . . are willing to pay any amount of money to get home. Some have paid as high as \$3,000 for a single passage, while [Stern] stated that he had to pay \$1,000 for steerage quarters." Whether Stern's \$1,000 fare included his wife and two children is unclear. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("Herr Stern zurück," September 12, 1914, 1) also mentioned a fare of \$3,000. Regarding the \$3,000 fare from Rotterdam to the United States: Endy ("Travel and World Power," 567) notes that "All the while, the costs of the [transatlantic] voyage declined, from approximately \$200 for one-way cabin fare in the mid-nineteenth century to \$100 or even less by the century's end." Indeed, on the eve of World War I a person could travel to Germany for as little as \$20. Henry C. Zaro, an authorized ticket agent, advertised a fare of \$20 "by postal steamer to Bremen," while John Glueck & Son offered passage to Germany for \$22. See the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, July 31, 1914, 11.

¹⁴⁰ "Blames the Kaiser for Spoiling a Trip," *Star*, August 23, 1914, 1-2. The Grandhommes reached the United States on August 20. See the *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957* (NAMP T715, roll 2362, volume 5415 [*France* {sic}]). The *Morning News* also reported on the Grandhommes' disappointment with the Kaiser "as they say he shortened their trip, they having intended traveling farther and remaining in Europe much longer." "Angered at Kaiser for Spoiling Their Trip," *Morning News*, August 24, 1914, 5.

Were the Grandhommes aboard one of the trains mentioned in the *New York Times* article of August 6, 1914 ("No Favoritism to the Stranded: Hundreds of Women Have No Change of Clothing—Millionaires Ride on Cattle Trains to Havre," 3)? "Two cattle trains of fourteen carriages filled with Americans left here [Paris] last night for Havre, the French liner *La France* being expected to sail for New York today. Two companies of French soldiers accompanied the trains, riding on the tops of the cars, which were the size of American horse cars, with crude benches as seats."

¹⁴¹ "News Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, September 20, 1914, 9.

¹⁴² See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 15, 2013) for George Kulmbacher [sic]. Original Source: NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels*

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Arriving At New York, 1897-1957, NAMP T715, roll 2371, volume 5445, page 138, line 18 (Nieuw Amsterdam).

¹⁴³ Kalmbacher is here referring to the *Verlustlisten*, lists of casualties suffered by Germany's armed forces. The Wolff Telegraph Bureau distributed the first *Verlustliste* on August 9, and it was published in some newspapers on August 10. Since he was in Berlin, Kalmbacher might have seen such lists in the *Berliner Morgenpost*, which published the first list of casualties on August 10, 1914 (page 2), though not under the *Verlustliste* heading: "Fürs Vaterland gefallen. Tote und Verwundete aus den ersten Kämpfen." Beginning with the publication of the second list of casualties the *BM* ("Verlustliste 2," August 15, 1914, 3) used the *Verlustliste* heading. Among the entries from *Verlustliste 2*: "Ulanen - Regt. Nr. 7. Tot: Teßmar, Oberleutnant." and "Jäger Bat. Nr. 1. ... Schwer verwundet: Mehl, Otto, Vizefeldwebel (Kopfschuß) Lazarett Neidenburg." The *Berliner Morgenpost* published no less than twelve such *Verlustlisten* in August alone.

In fact, one Wilmingtonian, Martin Marcus, received copies of the *Berliner Morgenpost's Verlustlisten* in the mail: "Verlustlisten hier," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 19, 1914, 1, and "Receives Valuable Paper," *Star*, September 20, 1914, 9.

¹⁴⁴ "Unite in Praise of German Treatment," *Evening Journal*, September 24, 1914, 2. The next day the *Wilmington Morning News* carried a report that was an abbreviated rendition of the story told by the *Evening Journal*. See "Local Man Back With Praise for the Germans," *WMN*, September 25, 1914, 2.

¹⁴⁵ "Die Stimmung in Amerika. Deutschlands korrekte Haltung—Eine Lanze für die Wahrheit," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, September 28, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 3; "Die Aufklärungsarbeit in America," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 28, 1914, Abendblatt, 2; "Die Wahrheit für Amerika," *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 28, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 2; and "Für die Wahrheit," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 29, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2.

¹⁴⁶ "George Kalmbacher Returned," *Star*, September 27, 1914, 13.

¹⁴⁷ "What Mr. Kalmbacher Has to Say," *Star*, October 4, 1914, 13. In light of subsequent events, one might find Kalmbacher's remarks regarding a one-month war as little short of ludicrous. But he was not alone in his view that the war would be brief. The *New York Herald* of August 3, 1915 (page 19) prominently displayed an article entitled "European War Will Be the Shortest on Record Is the Opinion of Experts."

¹⁴⁸ "Mr. Kalmbacher Defends Kaiser," *Star*, October 11, 1914, 10.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ "Four Liners Bring 4,498 Refugees," *New York Times*, September 22, 1914, 4.

¹⁵¹ "Kleine Stadtneugigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, October 11, 1914, 1.

¹⁵² "Discussion about War at Zion's Men's Society," *Evening Journal*, October 7, 1914, 9, and "Progress of Army. Veterans of Franco-Prussian War Hear of Strides Made by Germans," *Every Evening*, October 7, 1914, 6.

¹⁵³ "Das klingt anders. Adresse der heimkehrender Amerikaner an den Präsidenten," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, September 22, 1914, 9.

For a full account of these matters see John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). Chapter 3 discusses "The German army and the myth of the francs-tireurs, 1914." The authors have shown that the German army's concern with civilian resistance was not confined to males (page 109): "Women and children, accused of barbaric conduct from the outset, were killed in several incidents at Liège, including the collective execution carried out by [Infantry Regiment] 165 at Melen on 6. August." These same authors address the tales of "severed hands" (page 204): "The emotive charge and metaphoric relevance for all the categories of people caught up in the invasion—women and men, civilians and soldiers—made children's 'severed hands' the key Allied myth of 1914." Finally, Cologne, the site of Richards's visit, was located not far from the German-Belgian border. It was through Cologne that many German soldiers returned from the western battlefields to Germany, and it was in Cologne that newspapers were especially

active in publicizing allegations of atrocities on the western front. See Horner and Kramer, 134.

A recent study of the Belgian experience during World War I includes careful attention to the behavior of the German army in Belgium during August 1914. See especially chapters 2 and 3 of Larry Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

¹⁵⁴ See Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914* (page 195), which discusses Belgian and French charges that German soldiers were using dum-dum bullets. For the Hague "Declaration (IV, 3) Concerning Expanding Bullets. Signed at The Hague, July 29, 1899," see Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*, second edition, edited by James Brown Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1915), 227-228. See also Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff, editors, *Documents on the Laws of War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 64-66. The Declaration is available electronically at <avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/dec99-03.asp>.

¹⁵⁵ As early as August 6, 1914, the *Morning News* (page 1) carried an article on "Slaughter in France. Germans Shoot All Persons Friendly to France."

¹⁵⁶ *Morning News*, September 23, 1914, 10.

¹⁵⁷ "Allies Deny Use of Dum-dum Bullets," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 13. This article, which was not part of the *Star's* German Column, noted that the British embassy in Washington denied the charge.

¹⁵⁸ "Unite in Praise of German Treatment," *Evening Journal*, September 24, 1914, 2, and "Das klingt anders," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, September 22, 1914, 9.

¹⁵⁹ "Arrive Home from Germany: Miss Catherine Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser Reached This City Last Night," *Morning News*, October 26, 1914, 6.

¹⁶⁰ Clodi and Ploesser departed Rotterdam aboard the *Rotterdam* on October 15, and they reached New York on October 25. *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957* (NAMP T715, roll 2379, volume 5471 [*Rotterdam*]).

¹⁶¹ "Return from Centre of World's War," *Every Evening*, October 26, 1914, 3. The *Evening Journal* ("Wilmington Girls Out of War Zone," *Evening Journal*, October 26, 1914, 6) also reported on the return of Clodi and Ploesser, though it had little to say about the experiences of the women in Germany itself.

¹⁶² "Frl. Clodi und Frl. Ploesser heim," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, October 31, 1914, 1. Sedan Day commemorated the German victory over France on September 1-2, 1871. That triumph, which sealed the defeat of Napoleon III and the demise of the Second French Empire, concluded the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and paved the way for the birth of the German Empire.

¹⁶³ "Safe and Sound at Home," *Star*, November 1, 1914, 9.

¹⁶⁴ "Word From Mr. von Bosse," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* of August 15, 1914 (untitled item, 1) carried a report, quite erroneous, as it turns out, that Georg von Bosse and his daughter Hildegard had left London the previous Monday aboard the steamer *Virginia*, bound for Montreal. According to that *Lokal-Anzeiger* article, the departure of Georg and Hildegard von Bosse was made possible by the efforts of American ambassador to Germany James Gerard. As indicated above, Georg von Bosse would sail from Rotterdam to the United States aboard the *Rotterdam*. He would reach New York on October 25. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Georg Bosse [*sic*], NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2379, volume 5471 (*Rotterdam*).

Although she too would return to the United States aboard the *Rotterdam*, Hildegard von Bosse would not leave Europe until November 14, and she would not arrive in the United States until November 24. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Hildegard Bosse [*sic*]. Original Source: NARA, *Passenger and*

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Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957, NAMP T715, roll 2386, volume 5490 (Rotterdam).

¹⁶⁵ "Ein Schreiben von Pastor Geo. von Bosse," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 21, 1914, 1. The remarks of Georg Kalmbacher, Katie Clodi, and Georg von Bosse notwithstanding, scholars have recently challenged the notion that Germans of all stripes set aside their religious, political, social, and economic differences and universally and enthusiastically hailed their government's decision to go to war. See, for example, Wolfgang G. Natter, *Literature at War, 1914-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), and Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Two months before Georg von Bosse carried Germany's story back to the United States, evidence strongly suggests that he had conveyed the state of German-America to the readers of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The *NAZ* of August 21 carried an article ("America. Ein amerikanischer Geistlicher über die englische Brunnenvergiftung," August 21, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1) containing remarks by "a German-American, who for twenty-five years has served as pastor of the German Church in Philadelphia," who was staying in Dresden, and who was surprised by the outbreak of war. This description points to Georg von Bosse as the unnamed pastor. He had been ordained in 1889, was in 1914 a Philadelphia pastor, and, as mentioned earlier, was "in Saxony." In fact, his daughter Hildegard, who was listed on Georg von Bosse's passport when the two left the United States for Germany, went to the American Consul General in Dresden (in Saxony) to acquire a passport that would facilitate her return to the United States. See "Emergency Passport Application," Dresden, August 10, 1914, No. 286, "U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 30, 2013), NARA, database-on-line, for Miss Hildegard Von Bosse [sic].

Georg von Bosse's remarks, as printed in the *NAZ*, indicated that he had gathered material to use in influencing the American public mood when he returned to the U.S. He maintained that German-Americans were well aware of England's perfidy, and he thanked the Kaiser whose efforts had foiled England's attempts to damage relations between Germany and the United States. Finally, he offered this reassurance: "It is not true, as is often assumed, that German-Americans have been lost to the Old Fatherland. Oh no! We remain connected to it out of affection and respect. Its pain is our pain, its joy is our joy. Things are now already stirring among [the German-Americans], and abundant donations will be coming [to Germany]."

¹⁶⁶ "Massen-Versammlung des Deutschtums," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 21, 1914, 1.

¹⁶⁷ "German Mass Meeting at Zion Church Monday," *Evening Journal*, November 20, 1914, 17.

¹⁶⁸ "German-Americans Meet," *Morning News*, November 23, 1914, 7. The general mentioned in the article is probably the person identified by the German Column as General Rudolph von Bosse who in the spring of 1915 was serving with "the troops of Saxony at Verdun." See "Letter from a General's Wife," *Star*, May 16, 1915, 11. The General is elsewhere ("Father and Son Decorated," *Star*, March 7, 1915, 13) identified as *Ludolph* von Bosse by the German Column.

¹⁶⁹ "Sees Triumph for Kaiser in Great Struggle," *Evening Journal*, November 24, 1914, 1.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ See "Discuss the War," *Wilmington Morning News*, November 24, 1914, 7, and "Told of War," *Every Evening*, November 24, 1914, 10. According to the account in the *WMN*, "The Rev. von Bosse, Jr., delivered an interesting address, reading several extracts from foreign papers to illustrate his points."

¹⁷² "Fürs Vaterland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 28, 1914, 1, and "Second Mass Meeting" and "Rev. von Bosse's Address," *Star*, November 29, 1914, 16.

¹⁷³ "Fürs Vaterland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 28, 1914, 1.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Von Bosse's observations were not at all out of line with a recent assessment

of events: "The response of many on mobilization was to turn to religion for guidance and comfort. In Hamburg church attendance rose 125 per cent in August." Strachan, *The First World War*, 1116.

¹⁷⁵ "Rev. von Bosse's Address," *Star*, November 29, 1914, 16. Von Bosse's use of the phrase "world war" at this rather early stage of the conflict might seem a bit premature. Nevertheless, although the United States would not enter the war until April 1917, some German newspapers used the term (*Weltkrieg*) in the very first days of hostilities. See, for example, "Vor dem Weltkrieg. Ein befristete Note an Rußland.—Deutschland im Kriegszustand," *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 1, 1914, 1; "Dem Weltkriege entgegen," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 3, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 1; and "Der beginnende Weltkrieg," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 6, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 1. One scholar has placed the beginning of the *World War* at August 4: "There was no holding back now, and the course of events between the official beginnings of continental war on 1 August and of world war on 4 August may be likened to a chain reaction which can no longer be halted." See Imanuel Geiss, ed., *July 1914. The Outbreak of the First World War: Selected Documents* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), 336.

¹⁷⁶ "Fürs Vaterland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 28, 1914, 1, and "Second Mass Meeting" and "Rev. von Bosse's Address," *Star*, November 29, 1914, 16.

¹⁷⁷ "John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17.

¹⁷⁸ "Thinks Two Mines Damaged Noordam," *New York Times*, November 4, 1914, 6.

¹⁷⁹ "Durch Sturm behindert," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, November 4, 1914, 9.

¹⁸⁰ "John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Christian Koehler, according to his June 11, 1914 passport application, was born at Gellershausen, Germany, April 6, 1867. He emigrated to the United States in September 1883, and on October 20, 1888 he became a naturalized U.S. citizen. "Kohler" [*sic*] identified himself on his passport application as a "morocco worker." See NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 216, certificate #34406). According to the "1910 United States Federal Census" in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Christian Koehler (Original Source NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 147, enumeration district 68, sheet 7B), Koehler and Anna, his wife of 18 years, were born in Germany. The household included a son, William, born in Delaware, and an "adopted daughter, Katherine Fox [*sic*]," age four months, born in Virginia of parents born in Germany.

¹⁸³ Koehler's departure, initially planned for August 2, occurred when the *Potsdam* sailed from Rotterdam on October 22. The ship arrived in New York on November 3. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Christian Kohler [Köhler]. Original Source NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2382, volume 5470, page 151, line 3 (*Potsdam*).

¹⁸⁴ "C. Koehler Speaks of War," *Star*, November 15, 1914, 6.

¹⁸⁵ According to his passport application of June 1, 1914, Mutschler, a naturalized U.S. citizen and a "hotel keeper," was born in "Baden, Germany" on June 27, 1869, and he emigrated to the United States in August 1892. See *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 214, certificate #32567). In "Search Census" in heritagequestonline.com (accessed October 11, 2013), Original Source NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 146, enumeration district 23, sheet 13B, Mutschler is identified as the proprietor of a saloon.

¹⁸⁶ "Wilmington Man Has War Relics," *Morning News*, November 4, 1914, 4. "Littisch" was probably Lüttich (Liège).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* This same article in the *Morning News* indicated that the German authorities had not limited their interest to William Mutschler, Sr.: "Inquiries were also made of Mr. Mutschler for his son William who had been born in Germany and had left there with his

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parents when he was only 18 months old. The records are being searched and every obtainable citizen is being mustered into the service."

¹⁸⁸ The *Wilmington Morning News* had raised the possibility that another Wilmington traveler, George Kalmbacher, was conscripted for German military service: "The prevailing sentiment of some of [Kalmbacher's] friends was that he had been drafted into the German army. This, however, seems absurd, as it is stated that the treatment of the Germans to citizens of the United States, whether they were born [*sic*] or naturalized, was good." See "Back from Germany. George T. Kalmbacher Arrives in New York City," September 23, 1914, 4.

¹⁸⁹ "Mutschler reist nach Deutschland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 6, 1914, 1.

¹⁹⁰ "Mr. Mutscheler [*sic*] Goes Abroad," *Star*, June 7, 1914, 10.

¹⁹¹ Edward W. S. Tingle, *Germany's Claims upon German-Americans in Germany: A Discussion of German Military and Other Laws Which May Affect German-Americans Temporarily in Germany Together with Some Comment upon Existing Treaties* (Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson & Co., 1903), 15, 38. The author of this study is grateful to Laraine Ferguson of the German Genealogical Society, who steered him to Tingle's volume.

Tingle (page 19) mentions that German males "between the ages of 17 and 45" were "liable for military duty," though that obligation did not include a person's 45th year. See also Steven D. Fisher, "Germany, Army."

¹⁹² In addition to the *Evening Journal* and *Morning News* articles cited above, see "Was Mustered into German Army," *Every Evening*, November 4, 1914, 13.

¹⁹³ "Lengel, Mutschler und Koehler zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 7, 1914, 1; "John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17; and "Sängerbund besucht Mutschler," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 14, 1914, 1.

The failure of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column to challenge or deny the reports appearing in the *Evening Journal*, the *Every Evening*, and the *Morning News* suggests that Mutschler's experience was reported accurately by the three dailies.

¹⁹⁴ "Wilmington Man Has War Relics," *Morning News*, November 4, 1914, 4. For Mutschler's work in the harvest, see also "Wilmingtonian Serves in the Kaiser's Army," *Evening Journal*, November 5, 1914, 6.

The need to protect Germany's food supply was evident to the government at the very beginning of hostilities. On August 3 Berlin's *Der Tag* ("Erntearbeiter dringend gesucht," Montags-Ausgabe, 3) reported that the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture was urging women, older students, and pathfinders to help with the harvest. The article also included an appeal by Police President Becherer in Neukölln: "Everyone, man or woman, young or old, who cannot help the Fatherland by carrying weapons or providing medical care, can still perform invaluable service. To those who are willing to save unharvested crops from ruin and thereby make a great contribution to the Fatherland, I call upon them to register immediately with Police Headquarters in Neukölln."

At the very beginning of hostilities the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Einbringung der Ernte," August 4, 1914, 4) published a decree issued by Minister of Agriculture Freiherr von Schorlemer, who called upon Germany's youth to rescue the harvest. "Only by securing the food supply for the army and the people (*Volk*) will the defense of the Fatherland be fully guaranteed." Five days later the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* ("Auf an die Landwirte," August 9, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3) reported on the Minister of Agriculture's insisting that "The harvesting of crops is at the moment the most important task of Germans who are not now facing the enemy."

Mutschler was not the only American to help in the fields: "American students are showing in the most magnanimous way how they stand with regard to our people. Twelve Americans are indefatigably helping with the *harvest* in villages near Brunswick [emphasis in the original]." See "Sympathiekundgebungen für Deutschland," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

- ¹⁹⁵ "Wilmington Man Has War Relics," *Morning News*, November 4, 1914, 4.
- ¹⁹⁶ "Lengel, Mutschler und Koehler zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 7, 1914, 1. In fact, the very next day the *Star* ("John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," November 8, 1914, 17) carried a report in which Lengel recounted his experiences in Germany as well as his understanding of the issues that precipitated war in 1914.
- ¹⁹⁷ "After War News," *Star*, December 6, 1914, 9.
- ¹⁹⁸ See, NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 216, certificate #35150).
- ¹⁹⁹ "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.
- ²⁰⁰ "Mail From Germany," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14.
- ²⁰¹ "News From Germany," *Star*, September 27, 1914, 13.
- ²⁰² "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, October 17, 1914, 1.
- ²⁰³ "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, October 18, 1914, 16.
- ²⁰⁴ "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 7, 1914, 1.
- ²⁰⁵ "Word From Dr. Kleinstueber," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17.
- ²⁰⁶ "German Newspaper Clippings" and "News from Battlefields," *Star*, November 15, 1914, 6.
- ²⁰⁷ Untitled item, "News Notes of the German-Americans," *Star*, March 14, 1915, 13.
- ²⁰⁸ "Personal Notes of German-Americans," *Star*, March 28, 1915, 13.
- ²⁰⁹ "Dr. Kleinstueber Writes," *Star*, April 18, 1915, 19.
- ²¹⁰ "German-American Society," *Star*, April 18, 1915, 19.
- ²¹¹ "Dr. Kleinstueber zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 5, 1915, 1.
- ²¹² "Personals," *Star*, June 6, 1915, 19.
- ²¹³ "Anti-American Feeling In Germany Leads Wilmingtonians [*sic*] To Return," *Star*, June 13, 1915, 13.
- ²¹⁴ They arrived in New York on May 28. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for William Kleinstueber. Original Source NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2414, volume 5569, page 93, line 21 (*Rotterdam*).
- ²¹⁵ "Anti-American Feeling In Germany Leads Wilmingtonians [*sic*] To Return." *Star*, June 13, 1915, 13.
- On September 17, 1910, William and Ida Kleinstueber had sailed from Liverpool, England, aboard the *Lusitania*. They reached New York on September 22. See "Passenger Search" in ellislandrecords.org (accessed July 2, 2001) for William G. Kleinstueber. Original Source NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 1560, volume 3439, page 24, line 25 (*Lusitania*).
- The *Every Evening* ("Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse Sunk by the British off Africa," August 27, 1914, 1) carried an August 27 announcement by Winston Spencer Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, that "the German armored merchant cruiser Kaiser Wilhelm Der Grosse . . . has been sunk by the H.M.S. High Flyer off the coast of Africa." The German ship "was one of the palatial steamers of the North German Lloyd Line [that at] the outbreak of the war [had been] converted into an armed cruiser and since had been reported active in searching for British merchantmen." The *Evening Journal* ("Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse Sunk Three Ships Before Going Down," August 29, 1914, 1) carried a United Press report indicating that the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse had sunk three British steamers before "being sent to the bottom off the African coast by the British light cruiser Highflyer."
- ²¹⁶ "Allies Suffer Great Reverse," August 25, 1914, 4.
- ²¹⁷ Untitled editorial, August 18, 1914, 4.
- ²¹⁸ "Keep Out of It," August 26, 1914, 4. The *Evening Journal* had already addressed the issue of "American citizens, native-born or naturalized" in an editorial recognizing that "Every nation in the world is represented in the population of the United States. Those European nations which are participating in the war across the Atlantic are particularly strong in that

representation." The *Evening Journal* ("Charity in Thought; Moderation in Speech," August 20, 1914, 4) found it "only natural" that the war "should arouse the sympathies" of many Americans. "There is, however, a reasonable limit for [expressing those sympathies], and every foreign-born citizen of our country should bear that fact in mind. It would be unwise for the quarrels of those foreign nations to be reflected too acutely in the relations of the human units [sic] which, gathered from the four corners of the earth, are in the great American melting-pot."

²¹⁹ "The World's Greatest War," August 7, 1914, 4.

²²⁰ *Evening Journal*: August 8, 1914, 4; September 24, 1914, 4; September 25, 1914, 4; September 29, 1914, 4; October 21, 1914, 4.

²²¹ The following articles by Karl H. von Wiegand as they appeared in the *Evening Journal*: "Kaiser Ready to Fight World in Defense of German Honor; Expects England to Give Battle," August 4, 1914, 7; "Want Americans Out of War Zone," August 4, 1914, 23; and "No Socialists Shot in Berlin; Americans Wear Flags, Are Well-Treated," August 17, 1914, 1.

²²² This from an untitled September 19 editorial (page 4) that appeared after the German offense failed to destroy the French and British armies and the German army had assumed a defensive posture: "In both [offense and defense the Germans] have acquitted themselves in a manner that, apart from the excesses committed in Louvain and elsewhere, has won the admiration of the world." See also "Self-Sacrificing German Valor," October 29, 1914, 4: "Even the most pronounced sympathizer with the allies in the European war must admit that, when it comes to a spirit of bravery and self-sacrifice for the glory of the nation, the German soldiers now fighting in France and Belgium cannot be excelled anywhere."

²²³ "Letter Brings News from Firing Line. Delaware City Resident Hears From Nephew Whose Kin Fight For Kaiser," November 5, 1914, 3.

²²⁴ Untitled editorial, November 5, 1914, 4.

²²⁵ "Mr. Stern Sees Triumph for the German Arms," September 8, 1914, 2; "Unite in Praise of German Treatment. George J. Kalmbach [sic], Back from Fatherland, Gives Statement of Tourists," September 24, 1914, 2; "Predicts Victory for the Germans. Miss Clodi, Fresh From War Theatre, Says Kaiser's Armies Cannot Lose," October 26, 1914, 7; and "[Georg von Bosse] Sees Triumph for Kaiser in Great Struggle," November 24, 1914, 1.

²²⁶ "Our Neutrality," August 10, 1914, 4.

²²⁷ "The President's Address," August 19, 1914, 6, and "At Peace with All," August 25, 1914, 4.

²²⁸ "The Clash of Arms in Europe," *Wilmington Morning News*, August 3, 1914, 4.

²²⁹ "The Kaiser's Plunge," *Wilmington Morning News*, August 6, 1914, 4.

²³⁰ See for example articles such as "Germans Brutal to Fugitives. New York Writer Tells of Many Indignities Suffered By Americans in Empire," August 6, 1914, 8; "Hang French Snipers. Germans Burn Villages to Teach Civilians Lesson," August 25, 1914, 1; "Germans Burn Louvain to Cover Their Error. Beautiful Belgian City Delivered to Flames—Minister to U.S. Protests," August 29, 1914, 1; "Belgian Refugees Prove Cruelties. Boys Had Hands Cut Off So They Couldn't Carry Guns," September 3, 1914, 3; and "Calls Germans 'Baby Killers.' Churchill Says British Navy Waits Chance to Avenge Scarborough," December 21, 1914, 1.

In an August 28 editorial ("Savagery of Airship War," August 28, 1914, 4) the paper described "a new and most savage development of 'civilized war' that illustrated the warring powers' willingness to 'go the limit. Germany certainly intends to do so if the dropping of bombs upon Antwerp from a big airship can be accepted as an example of the new tactics of modern warfare."

²³¹ "Germans Capture Many Prisoners. According to Letter Received by Mrs. John Netch [from her nephew, a clerk in a department store in Stuttgart], 250,000 Have Been Taken," November 5, 1914, 14, and "Letter from [F. Kleinberger, a cousin of Mrs. Alexander Hirschman in Nurweid {probably Neuwied}-on-the Rhine,] Germany. Reports of Heavy Losses by Kaiser Reported Untrue," October 3, 1914, 20.

²³² "German Woman Appeals to U.S. Urges Americans to be Fair in Their Judgment of the War in Europe," October 24, 1914, 10.

²³³ "[Wilmington] Germans Plan to Aid Kaiser," August 18, 1914, 1; "Bernstorff Denies German Cruelties. Ambassador Will Probe U.S. Censorship Over Empire's Wireless Station," August 26, 1914, 1-2; "Germans Protect Tourists Abroad. Americans in Empire During War Were Not Molested, Say Travelers," September 2, 1914, 14; "Deny Cruelty by the Germans. Home Coming Passengers Say Reports of Ill Treatment are False," September 8, 1914, 1; "German Outlook Good, Says Berlin. Wireless Dispatch to Sayville Station Denies Stories of Marne Victory," September 17, 1914, 1-2; "Dum Dum Bullets Used by British. Red Cross Chief Finds Proof in Wounds of German Soldiers," September 22, 1914, 12; "Berlin Swept by Patriotic Wave. Less Depression in German Capital Due to War Than in London," October 26, 1914, 8; and "Officers and Men Are Just Alike. Spirit of Caste Has Rapidly Disappeared in the German Army," December 1, 1914, 8.

²³⁴ One such letter was written by *Samuel Stern*, brother of *Samson Stern* who was one of the Wilmingtonians visiting Germany when war broke out. See "Letter to the Editor. Mr. Samuel Stern Has Something to Say About England," October 1, 1914, 4. The following day the *Morning News* printed a very critical response that assumed the earlier letter was written by *Samson Stern* rather than his brother *Samuel*. See "Letter to the Editor. Reply to Mr. Stern. John S. Hamilton Comments on His 'Undeniable Facts' in Letter," October 2, 1914, 4. Hamilton's piece in turn elicited two more anti-British letters to the editor: "Reply to Mr. Hamilton. Mr. Andrews Says English-Russian Alliance to Free Europe is a 'Grim Joke,'" and "Mr. Rothschild on the War. Recalls How the Nations of Europe Have Been Seizing Land," October 5, 1914, 4. The Stern letter could actually have been written by *Samson* rather than *Samuel*. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the *Morning News* had difficulty distinguishing between the two brothers.

²³⁵ On August 13, 1914 the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* (p. 1) announced to its readers ("An unsere Leser!") that it would carry information on the war, in English, to those who, because they were not sufficiently competent in the German language, were otherwise compelled to rely "exclusively on the erroneous reports and explanations as they have been presented in the English-language press." This information, over the name of *Herman Ridder*, appeared in a column entitled "The War Situation from Day to Day." The *Morning News* ("German Editor Defends Kaiser. Declares Emperor Went Far to Preserve Peace with the Czar," August 19, 1914, 10) published an edited version of *Ridder's* first column, which appeared on page 1 of the *NYSZ* on August 14. *Ridder* introduced that column by noting that "So much has been written regarding the attitude of Germany which is based upon sheer ignorance of the conditions abroad, and so much has been written in sympathy with the enemies of Germany, that I intend to state as frankly and clearly as I can the German point of view." On September 12 (page 8) the *Morning News* also published *Ridder's* column of September 8 (pages 1-2) as "[H.G.] Wells Criticized by Herman Ridder."

²³⁶ "German Soldier Writes to His Mother. Officer's Letter Throws Light on Subsistence Conditions of Kaiser's Forces," October 14, 1914, 8, and "German Cruelty Tales Discredited. Correspondent on Firing Line Gives Different Versions of War Horrors," September 22, 1914, 12.

²³⁷ "American Writers Deny German Cruelty. They Declare 'Numerous Investigated Rumors' of Atrocities Proved Groundless," September 7, 1914, 1. The five journalists were *Robert Lewis*, *Associated Press*; *Irvin S. Cobb*, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Philadelphia Public Ledger*; *Harry Hanse*, *Chicago Daily News*; *James O'Donnell Bennett* and *John T. McCutcheon*, *Chicago Tribune*. In an untitled editorial on September 19 (page 6), the *Morning News* mentioned that report in commenting upon a meeting between Belgian commissioners and President *Wilson*. The commissioners are "of course reputable men," and in the newspaper world "every one of the [five] American correspondents who signed the round robin ranks

very high." "Thus, we have conflicting evidence" regarding charges of German atrocities in Belgium.

Wilmington's *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("Ein Kuss war die schlimmste Greuelthat der Deutschen in Belgien," October 10, 1914, Beilage, 3) gave a good deal of attention to the work of the five journalists. Four weeks later the *Lokal-Anzeiger* published in English a letter from O'Donnell Bennett, identified as the War Correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*. His remarks included these observations: "Certainly the Germans are getting a rotten deal from the rest of the world in the press reports of this war. . . . To us the German ascendancy seems as inevitable as sunrise tomorrow. God save us, but the system and the power behind the system are just incredible, and the spirit of the people is overpowering." See "The True Situation. Remarkable Letter of an American Correspondent from Germany," November 7, 1914, 6.

²³⁸ See, for examples, "Das Zeugnis amerikanischer Pressevertreter [with this report attributed to the Wolff Telegraph Bureau]," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 11, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1; "Amerikanisches Zeugnis für deutsche Manneszucht," *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, September 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Amerikanisches Zeugnis für die deutschen Truppen," *Der Tag*, September 11, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 5 (of the Nachrichtenteil); "Ein amerikanisches Zeugnis für die deutschen Truppen," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 11, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 2; and "Ein amerikanisches Zeugnis für deutsche Kriegführung," *Vossische Zeitung*, September 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

²³⁹ "Asks Fair Play for the Kaiser. Prof. Munsterberg, of Harvard, Analyses [sic] Causes of European Conflict," August 11, 1914, 11, and "Declares German Cruelties Myth. American Correspondent Tells of His Experiences at Seat of War," September 17, 1914, 1 and 11; and "Gives Lecture on Unity of Germany. Some Interesting Facts Set Forth in Speech By a Professor of Munich (December 14, 1914, 9 and 11). This last piece originally appeared in an issue of the *Strassburger Post* that was sent to Samuel Stern, brother of one of the tourists treated in this paper. The Rev. Siegmund von Bosse translated the professor's speech into English.

²⁴⁰ "Deny Stories of Atrocities. Parents of Miss Ploesser and Miss Clodi, Who Are in Stuttgart, Get Letters," September 5, 1914, 5.

²⁴¹ "Aid for the Widows and Orphans," August 19, 1914, 6.

²⁴² The *Morning News* did have a link to Wilmington's German element, reporter and militiaman Louis F. Wagner. Before his freakish death—at age 30, on July 30, 1915, struck by lightning while on maneuvers with Company C of the First Infantry, Organized Militia of Delaware—, Wagner was a member of the Executive Board of the German-American Society of Delaware and of Zion's Men's Lutheran Society of Delaware. The *Star's* German Column ("Kind Words of War-books," August 22, 1915, 16) reported on a comment made by the editor of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*: "We can proudly say that the deceased was one of us and that he sympathized with German affairs and their cause." This article mentioned Wagner's "Being of German birth. . . ." In fact, NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census* for Wilmington (Series T624, roll 147, enumeration district 40, page 13B, in "Search Census" in heritagequestonline.com, accessed October 10, 2013) shows Lewis [sic] F. Wagner to have been born in Pennsylvania of parents born in Germany.

See also "Many Pay Final Tribute to Louis F. Wagner," *Morning News*, August 3, 1915, 1 and 11, and "Versammlung der German-American Society," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 14, 1915, 8.

Although unlikely to have affected its coverage of German-Americans in 1914, in 1904 and early 1905 the *Wilmington Morning News* carried an English-language column for its German-American readers. The feature appeared under various headings, among them the "German-American News Column." As mentioned above, the *Sunday Morning Star* began its English-language "News Notes of the German-Americans" in 1905, shortly after the *Morning News* discontinued its English-language German column.

²⁴³ "The Blessings of Peace," August 10, 1914, 4.

²⁴⁴ "Prayers and War," September 10, 1914, 4.

²⁴⁵ "Why Men Are Slow to Go to War," September 10, 1914, 4.

²⁴⁶ "Those Who 'Cry Peace!'," September 9, 1914, 4; "Estimating Our War Strength," December 11, 1914, 4; and "Why War?," December 15, 1914, 4.

²⁴⁷ Untitled editorial, August 17, 1914, 4.

²⁴⁸ "The Reason for the Sentiment," October 13, 1914, 4.

²⁴⁹ Among the former, "Germans Wiping Out Many Towns. Belgian Peasants Declare the Invaders Are Waging a War of Extermination," and "German Soldiers Suffer Repulse. A Large Body of Troops is [sic] Checked in an Attack on Eydtkuhnen," August 13, 1914, 1; "Germans Burn Town of Vise. What Was Left After the Previous Fire Was Wiped Out Last Saturday," August 18, 1914, 1; and "Germans Are Near the Breaking Point. Allies Are Vigorously Meeting the Offensive in Belgium and France," November 2, 1914, 1.

²⁵⁰ "Germans Stand by Fatherland. While Abating Not Their Loyalty to Country of Their Adoption," August 18, 1914, 2; "News of the War From Germany. Dover Woman Receives Two Letters Written From German Viewpoint," September 11, 1914, 3; and "Spent a Week with Germans. What a Correspondent Saw on a Visit to the Battlefields of France," December 11, 1914, 5.

²⁵¹ This article was mentioned above in note 46: "War Opinions of Man from Austria. Aaron Keil of This City, Just Back from Europe, Gives His Views," August 15, 1914, 3.

²⁵² "Newspapers and War News," September 7, 1914, 4. A month later the *Every Evening* ("The Reason for the Sentiment," October 13, 1914, 4) was still willing to admit that news about the war might be distorted: "Of course, in the fire and return fire of appeals and arguments for and against Germany, and in the news dispatches from the scenes of [the] war's operations, there have been falsification and gross perversions of the real situation, especially to the detriment of Germany. But this feature of the situation does not affect the direct case against that country."

²⁵³ "Our 'Obligations' to Germany," December 8, 1914, 4.

²⁵⁴ "What the People Say. A German Protest," *Every Evening*, December 12, 1914, 4. The letter appeared over the names of Gustav Ripka, president of the local branch of the NGAA, and Sigmund von Bosse, elsewhere identified as the pastor of Wilmington's Zion Lutheran Church and the son of traveler Georg von Bosse.

²⁵⁵ "An Illogical Protest" and "Not Unfriendly to German People," *Every Evening*, December 12, 1914, 4.

²⁵⁶ "Staatsverband-Versammlung," December 12, 1914, 1.

²⁵⁷ "Every Evening Censured," December 13, 1914, 16.

²⁵⁸ W. [Wilhelm Woernle], "Schütz Deutsch-Amerikanische Mitbürger. Ein berechtigter Notruf," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, December 19, 1914, 1.

²⁵⁹ Once the city's German-American tourists had completed their return to the United States, letters from the Old Fatherland to the New—epistles, as it were—would serve to sustain the faith of their recipients. As with the gospel that was carried back from Germany by the city's tourists, the effect of some of these messages would be multiplied by publication in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column.

²⁶⁰ "\$2,160.46 in the Red Cross Fund," *Every Evening*, October 24, 1914, 2.

Wilmington's German-Americans were probably not well represented among the donors at the Hotel du Pont. The area's German-Americans, especially those intending that their donations benefit relief efforts in the Old Fatherland, had other opportunities to do so. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* regularly reported on such donations, generally for the benefit of widows and orphans. See, for example, "Für edle Zwecke," September 5, 1914, 1. Such reports named the donors and specified the amount of their donations. Both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("\$1084 sind bis jetzt kollektiert.—Weitere Beiträge erwünscht," October 10, 1914, 1) and the *Star's* German Column ("Sent \$1000 to Germany," October 11, 1914, 10) provided a summary of

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funds collected for the widows and orphans fund. Of the total collected to that point, \$1,000 was sent to F. Tirak, National Treasurer of the German-American Alliance and a resident of Baltimore. The committee was instructed that two-thirds of the money benefit Germans and one-third "Austrians."

²⁶¹ For this information about the postwar travels of persons treated in this study the author has relied on Ancestry.com. *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [data base online].

²⁶² The classic treatment of the rise and fall of the German-language press in the United States is Carl Wittke's *The German-Language Press in America* ([Lexington]: University of Kentucky Press, 1957). Citing Ayer's *Newspaper Annual*, Wittke (pages 243 and 273) reported that there were 53 daily German-language newspapers in the United States in 1914, only 26 by 1920.

