

*LaVern J. Rippley*

## **Wisconsin German-Americans and World War I: Wisconsin, “The German-American Homefront”**

Following the August 1914 outbreak of World War in Europe, the Germans in America propounded neutrality for the United States while vigorously supporting efforts of the German Red Cross and similar agencies in America to endorse the German Fatherland. After the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915, however, the blame seeped behind reality such that rather than the shipment of armaments, the lack of the British Admiralty to defend the vessel, and the possible insouciance of the ship's captain, the German Kaiser got the full burden.<sup>1</sup> German-Americans in Wisconsin, however, dragged their feet as pro-British sentiment surged. Several factors in Wisconsin during World War I created an anti-German backlash that did not occur in other states, particularly in the East, South and Far West of the United States. One was the presence of an overwhelming German ethnic element. The other was the holding of political office by two seemingly pro-German politicians, Robert M. La Follette and Victor L. Berger.

In the first instance, Germans by far outnumbered any other foreign group within the state. In addition, Milwaukee, the major and primary industrial center of wealth and power in the state, was by far and away the most German city in the nation. No matter what Milwaukee (or for that matter the whole state of Wisconsin) did, it had to overcome the xenophobic suppositions of its neighbors and overseers at the national level that, in the final analysis, the state would side with blood brothers in a war against the United States.

First, there was the German ancestry issue. German immigrants on the whole settled in areas that offered the greatest opportunity coexistent with the time of their arrival. This means they avoided New England because it was already occupied. They also steered clear of the South because Germans were mostly peasants and artisans by trade and thus ill-prepared to engage in the

Southern economic pattern of plantation cropping. Rather, Germans moved inland in a rectangle from New York westward to St. Paul, from there south to St. Louis, thence back to Cincinnati and eventually Baltimore. Within this parallelogram, some spoke of the Germans forming a “German Triangle,” Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee. In the upper heartland lay Milwaukee. It was a prime spot because Wisconsin gained statehood in 1848 just before the first massive wave of German immigrants began arriving (1850-55) and contemporaneous with the Revolutions of 1848 which impelled a sociological cross section of Germans from all levels of society to seek new homes in the United States. Thus, doctors, merchants, businessmen, as well as farmers and artisans arrived in large numbers just as Wisconsin became a hospitable settlement site.

The state of Wisconsin for a century, therefore, more than any other state had always had the largest proportion of Germans in its population. True, New York could claim more German residents than any other state—18 percent of the national total in 1880, 17 percent in 1920, and 22 percent still in 1970—but in New York the Germans were diluted by a large and diverse population gleaned from many ethnic areas of the globe. This was not so in Wisconsin! In 1920 (the first census following cessation of hostilities during World War I) the Germans in Wisconsin were well over three times more numerous than their share of the total national population would have suggested.<sup>2</sup> Nor were the Germans in any other state so concentrated both in rural areas and in the cities along the state’s eastern lakeshore, notably Milwaukee. In 1910, four years before the war broke out, Wisconsin exhibited a range of 15 rural counties, almost all contiguous, in the heartland of the state, where the population was at least 35 percent first- and second-generation German. In distant second place by this calculation were Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and Texas, each of which had just one county with such concentration.

So too it was Milwaukee (along with close second place St. Louis) which already in 1850 was the only American city where over 30 percent of the population was German-born. In just ten years, however, Milwaukee moved decisively into first position, which it has maintained ever since. For a hundred years between 1850 and 1950 Milwaukee was always roughly fourth in total numbers of German-born behind New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, but always first in terms of the percentages of Germans as compared to all other nativities in the city.

At the outbreak of World War I, the state of Wisconsin did present to the disinterested observer the image of a population that was decidedly foreign. So did many other states, which prompted questions whether the United States could count on its citizens to fight, particularly if the war were not fought on native soil strictly in self-defense. Given this hesitancy, Wisconsin looked the more risky when France and England sought United States sup-

port against the central powers, notably Germany. Wisconsin seemed so German that she could hardly take up the war cause without uncovering a fifth column, without at least reluctance, if not outright sabotage and the refusal of young men to serve.

Let us look at a few more statistics.<sup>3</sup> In 1910, out of a total population of 2,333,860, Wisconsin had only 763,225 persons of white native birth and native parentage in the state, less than one third of the total. Those of foreign birth or parentage totaled 1,044,761, outnumbering the natives by nearly 40%. Actually born in a foreign country were 512,569, roughly 70% of the natives. But that figure showed only the tip of the iceberg, for the war in Europe was conceived as being against Imperial Germany much more than against the central Austro-Hungarian Empire or its ally, Italy. Of the 512,569 foreign-born in 1910, 233,384 had been born in Germany, nearly half of all the “foreigners.” Making matters worse, for prospects of loyalty during the world war, one has to add in the 1910 Wisconsinites born in Austria (38,691), Hungary (10,554) [despite birthplace, many Slavs had no love lost on the Dual Monarchy], and Italy (9,273). This results in a Central Powers representation in Wisconsin in 1910 of 291,902 and brings the total Germanic-born to 57% of all the foreigners. All the other foreign elements in Wisconsin at the time were small: Norway 57,000, Russia 29,644 (a large number of whom were Germans from the Russian Volga and the Black Sea),<sup>4</sup> Sweden 25,739 and Ireland 14,049 (who, as Irishmen, were rather anti-England) and in many respects pro-German during World War I).<sup>5</sup> Living in Wisconsin in 1910, therefore, were people of German birth or parentage who composed one-half of the entire state population. Germans actually born in Germany as immigrants represented half of all the foreign-born. And if we extend the comparison further, there were in the United States as a whole 2,501,333 persons of German birth, of whom 233,384 lived in Wisconsin. If we include the Austrians in Wisconsin, we have 10% of the entire nation’s Germans living in just this one state. Obviously xenophobia was generated among the governmental and managerial groups within the state as well as at the national level, as to how this population in Wisconsin would behave if war would be declared.

The problem was complicated, as noted at the outset of this essay, by the presence in Wisconsin of two national politicians who attracted publicity, then suspicion to the state. They were Senator Robert M. La Follette and Victor Berger. The former represented what was known as the “Wisconsin idea” in politics in certain circles, and as progressivism in others. For his part, Berger was the most visible if not always the most articulate spokesman for socialism in the United States, as it was conceived and developed largely by German working classes in Wisconsin.



Robert M. La Follette, Sr., digicoll.  
[library.wisc.edu/WIReader/Images/WER1356.html](http://library.wisc.edu/WIReader/Images/WER1356.html).

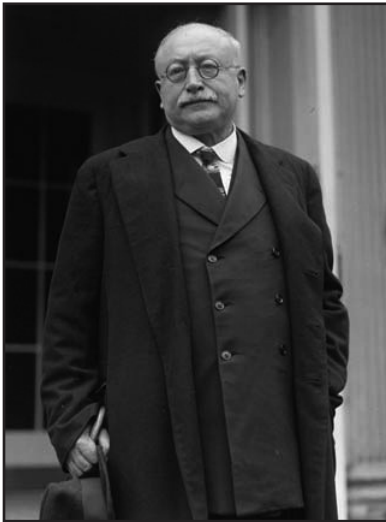
Of French Huguenot and Scots-Irish stock, Robert La Follette's family came to Primrose Township in southeastern Dane County in 1850 where the boy was born in 1855. Although his father died while Robert was still a boy, he determined to get a university education (B.A. 1879) and graduated from Law School (1880) at the University of Wisconsin.<sup>6</sup> Elected first as district attorney, then as a Republican to Congress in 1884, La Follette was defeated in the anti-Bennett Law Democratic sweep of 1890. In 1900 he came back with a grand sweep winning the governorship by over 100,000 votes, the greatest victory until then for any governor in Wisconsin. Soon La Follette's coalition split the Republicans into the old stalwarts and his new progressives. Because he spoke some Norwegian, which he

learned in southern Dane County, and through his friendship with Civil War general Nils Haugen, La Follette enjoyed great support from the Norwegians, but the Germans also were easily won over to the defender of the immigrant and the common man against the "interests." Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1905, La Follette developed his image as "the conscience of the Republican party." Throughout his years in the Senate, as well as in his 1924 campaign for the presidency on the Progressive ticket, La Follette created something of a family dynasty when, upon his death in 1925, son Robert M. Jr. was elected to fill his father's term, continuing in the Senate seat until his defeat by Joe McCarthy in 1946.<sup>7</sup> Brother Philip F. La Follette carried on with three terms as governor [1931-33 and 1935-39].

During World War I, Robert La Follette Sr. favored strict neutrality. He supported an arms embargo, restrictions on loans and credits to warring countries, excess profits taxes on war industries, and a popular referendum before any declaration of war. He opposed shipping arms to friendly nations and was one of only six senators to vote against the declaration of war against Germany when it came early in April 1917, an act, by which La Follette clearly voted the wishes of his constituents. His fellow senator from Wisconsin, Democrat Paul O. Husting, who hailed from strongly German Dodge County, however, elected to vote instead the party line with Wilson, in favor of declaration. It was not Husting but La Follette who captured the wishes of the voters of Wisconsin. La Follette's action was mirrored in the

House of Representatives where nine of the eleven Wisconsin members voted against declaration: Henry Allen Cooper of Racine; Bremen-born Edward Voigt from Sheboygan; John M. Nelson of Madison; William Joseph Cary and William H. Stafford of Milwaukee; James H. Davidson of Oshkosh; John J. Esch of La Crosse; Edward E. Browne of Waupaca and James A. Frear of Hudson. Therefore, one of the six Senate votes and nine of the 50 House votes against declaration came from Wisconsin, approaching 20 percent of the entire national legislative opposition to declaration. The Wisconsin legislators were not so much voting their consciences as their constituents. La Follette was a Republican progressive. The entire delegation in the House was Republican, either progressive or stalwart.<sup>8</sup> As evidence that the legislators were in tune with popular sentiment in Wisconsin one might cite the referendum held in Monroe, Wisconsin on April 3, 1917, the day after Wilson had asked Congress for a declaration of war. The response to the question "Under existing conditions, do you favor a declaration of war by Congress?" was a vote of 954 to 95 against declaration. In Sheboygan ballots in both English and German were distributed in the churches asking "Shall the United States enter the European War?" But Congress acted before the balloting could be completed. Nevertheless, at the point it stopped the result was 4,112 against and only 17 in favor of the question. An unofficial vote taken in Manitowoc showed 1,460 against and a mere 15 votes for war.<sup>9</sup>

Rightly or wrongly, La Follette got much of the blame. He opposed conscription, urged pay-as-you-go financing of the war, and generally spoke against the stupidity of all wars. For his speeches, often misquoted, he was denounced. President Van Hise and 418 members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin signed a resolution protesting the senator's actions. A state legislature resolution likewise denounced him; the Madison Club expelled him. A senate resolution to expel him from that body took a year to reach a decision at which time it was defeated by one vote—his own.



Victor L. Berger, [www.britannica.com/biography/Victor-Berger](http://www.britannica.com/biography/Victor-Berger).

Wisconsin during World War I became a lightning rod for the nation's criticism on account of one other elected leader in addition to La Follette. That official's name was Victor L. Berger. Berger was neither Republican nor Democrat but Socialist, with a party

known generally as the Social Democrats. For all of Wisconsin's 71 counties the ethnicity pattern was for Democratic strongholds to consist of family heads from Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Austria, Ireland, Holland, Switzerland and Italy. Not one voting unit of Wisconsin that was regularly Democratic ever had a clear majority of Scandinavians, British, Belgians or voters of American stock. But in Milwaukee beginning in 1888, a hotbed of socialism gained steam among primarily the Germans with the result that the new offshoot party was not just socialist (and in that respect quite despised by middle Americans), but it was quite distinctly German. In 1888 a forerunner group formed the Union Labor Party to nominate Hermann Kroeger for Mayor. A more persistent wing among them was led by Paul Grottkau who edited the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and called for municipal reform, abolition of child labor, strict factory safety inspections, coal for citizens at cost and the right to recall city officials.<sup>10</sup>

In 1892, however, a German-speaking immigrant from Austria took over Grottkau's *Arbeiter Zeitung*, retitling it the *Wisconsin Vorwärts*. He was Victor Berger, born in 1860 in the Nieder-Rehbach region of Austria of parents who owned and operated a village inn. He studied a year each at the University of Vienna and Budapest before immigrating with his family in 1878 to Bridgeport, Connecticut, after which Victor moved westward to Milwaukee, becoming a German teacher in the public school system. Here he felt entirely at home! In 1890 Milwaukee had been declared the most foreign of the 28 largest cities in the United States. As the 1890 census would show, an astounding 52% of the city's population of 285,315 was German by birth or parentage.<sup>11</sup> Active not only teaching but also in the south-side Milwaukee Turnverein (athletic society), Berger in 1897 married his former student, Meta Schlichting, who assisted him in politics and editing while also holding minor socialist positions on the local scene. Berger's book-lined home was used often as a center for socialist gatherings. His two daughters, Doris and Elsa, spoke only German in their younger years and in general the cultural allegiance of Berger was clearly identified with central Europe, not America. From his base in European doctrine, however, Berger always distinguished between socialism and communism. Communism, he said, would be a step backward toward a state of primitive social relationships. Socialism, on the other hand, meant common ownership of capital but not nationalization of all property. In their later lives, Berger wrote, "Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels became collectivists and Social Democrats."<sup>12</sup> From his fledgling economic base as owner of the *Vorwärts*, Berger developed the English-language weekly *Social-Democratic Herald*, which in 1913 he shifted to a daily called the *Milwaukee Leader*. He fostered the Social Democratic Party in 1898 which was renamed the socialist party in 1901. From a membership of 15,975 in 1903 the party grew to

its pinnacle year in 1912 when it counted 118,045. It held constant between 80-100,000 until 1920.

Although socialism was a European international movement, in Wisconsin it came to be seen as synonymous with Germanism. During World War I (1914-18), however, both dreaded ideologies came to be personified in Victor Berger. In 1910, when the socialists were swept into power in local Milwaukee municipal elections four years before the war's outbreak, the party handily managed to send Berger to represent the Fifth District of Wisconsin in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was the first socialist ever to occupy a seat in that body. Then, in 1916, when socialist Daniel W. Hoan came into the city's mayoral chair, the victory rightly or wrongly sent a signal to the nation that both Milwaukee and Wisconsin were not only socialist but also anti-war and pro-German.<sup>13</sup>

Until the outbreak of the war in Europe, the socialists had been considered a mere nuisance in the face of rugged American capitalism. But in Wisconsin where the progressive movement of La Follette had successfully conditioned the citizenry for a strong current of government in the affairs of business, socialism was viewed as being not far enough removed from the center of political thought.

Only two weeks after war broke out, namely on August 16, 1914, the socialists organized the International Anti-War and Peace Demonstration, which was under the general leadership of Eugene V. Debs. Debs already had a bad name among industrialists. Born of German-speaking Alsatians in 1855 and raised in both German and French radical traditions [named after Eugene Sue and Victor Hugo], Debs became a railroad labor leader. Jailed for his activity in the Pullman strike of 1894, Debs had read the socialistic works of Berlin publicist Karl Kautsky and, to make matters more suspicious was visited in jail by Victor Berger. In addition to organizing the socialists, Debs had helped to found the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, though both he and Berger had distanced themselves from the organization before World War I, when the IWW during World War I became the focus of suspicion and false allegations of interrupting the war effort. Debs ran for the presidency in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912 and 1920 (achieving a maximum 6% of the popular vote in 1912). Debs welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, was imprisoned in 1918 for espionage, but was pardoned by Warren G. Harding, after which he threw all his support to Robert La Follette in the election for president in 1924.<sup>14</sup>

Two days following the American declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, the socialists published their militant anti-war position, pledging to oppose the war through demonstrations, mass petitions and all other means within their power. Berger had voted for the platform, defended it

routinely, and only half-heartedly rejected support for it from genuinely pro-German elements in Wisconsin. Clearly Berger's and La Follette's association with Debs did nothing to better the image of Wisconsin as a pro-German state during World War I.

Victor Berger quickly became the primary target for federal government wrath. In September 1917 his paper, the *Milwaukee Leader*, was denied second-class rates although, curiously, his German-language *Vorwärts* was never denied use of the mails. The following March, Berger conducted his most exciting campaign when he ran for the senate seat vacated by the death of pro-Wilson Wisconsin Senator Paul O. Husting. In the middle of the struggle he was indicted under the Espionage Act for conspiracy for having denounced the draft law in the *Leader*. In Wisconsin, and in Milwaukee in particular, the socialists had been gaining at the polls in proportion as the Germans became disillusioned with the Wilson war effort. Already in 1916 when Charles E. Hughes opposed the Democratic Wilson as the Republican standard bearer, Wisconsin handed Hughes a victory 220,000 to 191,000. They also gave substantial victories to their homeland socialists, Mayor Hoan and Representative Berger. By the time of the senatorial race, there were already plenty of laws on the books to harass the likes of Berger. The Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, made it a crime to report inexact news, to cause military insubordination, and to obstruct conscription. The Trading-with-the-Enemy Act intensified the former, and set up the first government censorship board. Nine additional offenses were stipulated by the Sedition Act of May 16, 1918, among them obstructing the draft, publishing disloyal matter, and interference with the sale of government bonds.<sup>15</sup> The Berger indictment meant many things to different people but to pro-Germans in Wisconsin it offered the opportunity to cast a protest vote against federal government action, both in the war and in Wisconsin. The *Leader* carried front-page editorials accusing the opposition of being in collusion with the government against Berger. The answer needed from free men was "Berger must be sent to the Senate." Expectedly, Berger lost the senate race to Irvine L. Lenroot, a progressive Republican who had broken ranks with La Follette on the war issue. But Berger made a surprisingly strong showing, receiving 110,000 of the total 424,000 votes cast. One-third of his votes came from Milwaukee. He carried eleven outstate counties and got over 1,000 votes in each of twenty-eight counties.<sup>16</sup> Berger outpolled his rivals by two to one in the solid German precincts.

In the fall, Berger ran for re-election to the House of Representatives from the Wisconsin Fifth District and won by a plurality of 5,470 votes, his largest in six victories even though a mere week before the general election on November 6, 1918, he was once again indicted for conspiracy, along with four other socialist candidates for public office (Adolph Germer, J. Louis



Engdahl—editor of the party newspapers, William F. Kruse—director of the Young People's Socialist League, and Reverend Irwin St. John Tucker—head of the Literature Department of the National Office). It is worth noting that Germer was German-born and that Kruse was of German-Danish parentage, while Engdahl had Swedish roots. In January 1919 Berger was convicted as charged although he was freed on bail pending an appeal. When he appeared before the Speaker of the House in May to be sworn in, he was denied all rights as a member of the House by a resolution which passed with only one dissenting vote, fellow Wisconsin Representative, German-born Edward Voigt. When a special election was held to fill his vacant seat, Berger again ran on a pro-German, anti-prohibition, no-war platform and on December 19, 1919, won handily by 24,350-19,566. But once again the House refused to seat him, this time by a vote of 330-6. In yet another special election to fill his seat in 1920, Berger lost in a Harding landslide but when the next bien-nium rolled around in 1922, he was once again elected by voters of the Fifth District. By this time the Supreme Court had thrown out his earlier conviction and when he now appeared to take his seat he was cheerily welcomed. He won each subsequent election from the district until 1928 when he was beaten in the Hoover watershed. The very next year he died of injuries sustained in a streetcar accident, on August 7, 1929.<sup>17</sup>

Both La Follette and Berger inordinately attracted the venom of the national press in condemning Wisconsin as a pro-German state during World War I. That their views following the war were also caught up with a national sweep best gathered under the name of the "Red Scare" is of little consequence here. Whether Wisconsin deserved the reputation as a 50% American state can be argued without conclusion. That the leadership, coupled with its dreaded overlay of socialism (Red Scare and other titles), compounded the problem presented by the overwhelming size of the ethnic German population of the state is undisputed. Most would agree that counter measures by Wisconsin leaders were needed and actually taken during and immediately after the war to improve on the 50% image that prevailed. During 1917-19 articles appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Century*, *Everybody's Magazine*, *Forum*, *Nation*, *New Republic*, *North American Review*, *Outlook*, *World's Work* and others including major newspapers which attacked Wisconsin frontally for the disloyalty of its citizenry. Writing during the war but with publication in 1919, Gustavus Ohlinger in *The German Conspiracy in American Education* was careful to single out Wisconsin.<sup>18</sup> He cited first the statistics that in 1910 there were 25 million people of German descent in the United States, which then had a population of only 92 million. Over three million were still native Germans and a half million were German military reservists who had received at least one year of training in the German army. German immigrants,

he claimed, resisted the process of assimilation in proportion as the power and prestige of the German empire increased in Europe and in the world. As the worst manifestation, Ohlinger cited the Bennett School Law situation of 1889.<sup>19</sup> Because the Germans in that instance were able to unite in order to dominate the outcome of elections in Wisconsin, and overturn a law requiring public and parochial schools to teach in English, Ohlinger asserted that "Since then certain of the German element in Wisconsin have frequently made the boast that their state is the most German of any state in the Union—a statement which has been fully endorsed by the action of the Pan-German League in listing Milwaukee in its roster of German Cities" (26). Ohlinger charged Wisconsin with funding a professor's chair at the University in 1911 for bringing over visiting professors from Germany (31). Wisconsin was also faulted for having a "German house" at the university (34). In 1902 Wisconsin became the first university to establish a cosmopolitan club to foster international cooperation (and pacifism, it was presumed) by hosting a national meeting of such clubs at Madison in 1907 (38). Ohlinger quoted from American history books of the time "they (the Germans) came in such numbers that they almost succeeded in making Wisconsin a German state . . . Today a large majority of the people of Wisconsin are German immigrants or their descendants" (73).

Other writers were more observant, although the Germanness of the state can be just as well confirmed by their reports as it was by the blatantly critical Ohlinger. In the *Atlantic Monthly* Charles D. Stewart wrote: "The district that has returned Berger has always gone 'over the top' in all war drives."<sup>20</sup> Stewart identified that in the Wisconsin legislature there were 17 socialists in the Assembly and four in the Senate. Washington County, Stewart's home, which had always voted Democratic, during the war years went Republican first, Socialist second, and Wilson (Democratic) a poor third. Although Stewart acknowledged that the Eastern papers were vicious in their attack on Wisconsin's loyalty, he too found the voting disquieting but not anti-American.

For several years following cessation of hostilities, commentators continued dubious about Wisconsin. John Ballard wrote in 1922 "that Robert M. La Follette received not merely a majority, but a smashing, overwhelming majority, was due to the Milwaukee Socialist organization, incomparably the best disciplined and most efficient political machine in the United States."<sup>21</sup> La Follette was further incriminated by association at least, when commentators quoted opponent Paulsen who charged that the anti-war speeches of La Follette had been printed on leaflets and distributed to German soldiers behind their lines only to be found in their pockets when taken prisoners by the allies. Not believing a word of this, voters in the Wisconsin German districts simply buried Paulsen under an avalanche of negative votes.<sup>22</sup> Ex-servicemen in Wisconsin found it impossible to get elected, unlike in most states where

veteran status was a strong asset. Newly elected Senator Irvine L. Lenroot (of Swedish descent) in June 1918 made a different plea for good will toward his state of Wisconsin.<sup>23</sup> At the outset Lenroot confessed that the “Obstinacy with which some of the German-born citizens of Wisconsin. . . have retained their inherited traditions of sympathy with Germany has been one of the humiliations of my state” (695). Lenroot felt humiliated also that socialist Berger had just received 109,000 votes in his state. He conceded that there were 240,000 German-born (the census said 233,000 in 1910 but we might add in the 38,000 Austrians) living in the state but the disloyal sentiment in the state could be isolated, Lenroot believed, to a few spots (698 ff.). First there was the evidence of the socialist vote, which increased dramatically in 1917 as against 1916. Most dramatic in the shift were the counties of Brown (Green Bay), Buffalo (Alma), Calumet (Appleton, New Holstein, Kiel), Chippewa (Chippewa Falls), Clark (Neillsville, Greenwood), Dodge (Beaver Dam), Jefferson (Watertown), Manitowoc (city by same name), Sheboygan (also the city, plus townships of Mosel, Herman, Rhine), Ozaukee (northern Milwaukee suburbs), Milwaukee and Washington (Germantown, West Bend). According to Lenroot, the quite considerable gains in the socialist vote in these ten counties represented a gain in pro-German votes amounting to one-third of the voting strength of the state. In addition to pinpointing these pockets of disloyalty as discernible by the election returns, Lenroot blamed Senator La Follette for having fanned rather than quieted the pro-German feelings (699).

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There was plenty of evidence to suggest that those countering the image of disloyalty, were motivated by returns from the German pockets to over-compensate. [Such over-compensation and the motivation for it, suggests there was some need or at least concern on the part of influential leaders.] Since the declaration of war, Lenroot pointed out, there had been no strikes in Wisconsin. No violence to property either, in spite of pro-German meetings and “outbursts of pacifism.” Wisconsin’s population was, after all, half foreign-born. Nevertheless, Wisconsin was the first to organize a State Council of Defense. Moreover, the suggestion for a National Council of Defense came from Wisconsin and was used subsequently as the model by which to implement such councils for all states in the union. Wisconsin was also the first state to pass legislation to aid soldiers’ dependents. Wisconsin was the first and only state at the time to offer the national government its state election machinery for registering men for federal military service. She also bore all draft expenses from state funds. Wisconsin was also the first state to file in Washington its completed report on registration for the draft.

Furthermore, Wisconsin's percentage of men of military age failing to respond to the draft was less than 2% whereas for the United States as a whole the non-response rate was 8.2%. Wisconsin readily filled its National Guard ranks to full war strength of 19,217 men and in addition sent the Guard to Camp McArthur fully equipped at state expense. [Each man had a full state-supplied wardrobe plus rifle, field equipment and tents.] On the roster of enlistments, Wisconsin surpassed all neighboring states with 54% of the men serving compared to Iowa 49%, Ohio 41%, Indiana 41%, Illinois 34%, Minnesota 31% and on down to Oklahoma 21%. When the *Chicago Tribune* accused Wisconsin of failing to fill its quota for the regular army, it neglected to credit the state for its overly generous contribution to the National Guard, Marine Corps and other units, which had cut into the available pool of men. Lenroot pointed out that the percentage of volunteers nationally stood at 40% while Wisconsin's was 54%. He went on to claim that Wisconsin had more men on the fighting front in France than any other state, one out of every 20 in the field. In the Chicago district, Wisconsin also was the highest in liberty loan purchases meeting its target by 155% followed by Illinois 152%, Michigan 142%, Indiana 122% and Iowa only 11%. Kenosha County, which in 1910 had 32,000 people [3,069 actually born in Germany and an additional 4,831 for whom both parents were born in Germany: i.e., nearly 25%] oversubscribed the first liberty loan with 222.8%. Heavily German Milwaukee County subscribed its quota with 131%.

At the hand of a statistical picture, and of two maverick political leaders in Wisconsin, we have already seen why the immediately preceding claims by Wisconsin's pro-war U.S. Senator were necessary. There were many more local, often disassociated, but nevertheless accumulative factors that also helped give Wisconsin a bad name. Several votes in Wisconsin communities against entry into the war before it had been declared were ridiculously lopsided.

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Writing in late 1917, Samuel Hopkins Adams made further extraordinary allegations about the situation in Wisconsin.<sup>24</sup> "The Germans of birth, marriage, training, or sympathy, and their allies in politics, openly when they are, by subterfuge when they dare not openly, serve the cause of their nation's foe. . . . More than any other commonwealth in the United States, the Badger State is today a battleground" (28). Besides anti-war votes in certain communities Adams knew of schools where the German national anthem was commonly sung "*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*" on the other hand pupils did not even know what the American anthem was. At the University of Wisconsin there were 27 instructors in the department of German and only 26 for all

other modern languages combined. Until the declaration of war, he affirmed, German had been required for graduation from the University. The chemistry department under Dr. Louis Kohlenberg was accused of having a German taint. The Lutheran schools came in for special criticism: "The Lutheran Common schools some of which rival the public schools in size, are under the control of the church, and maintain the same Kultur. English is taught, but is not employed outside of its own special classroom" (33). Sheboygan was singled out for explicit condemnation. "This place is overwhelmingly German, in business, politics, finance, church life, social life, clubs, school system, everything." When the Loyalty Legion mandated that a certain businessman fly the flag, the owner responded, "That will cost me a steady loss of trade . . . . My church people! They'll go down there," he said as he pointed to a rival shop with no colors flying (33). One redeeming person in Sheboygan was Walter Kohler whose factory provided company automobiles and paid-time for foreigners to frequent the naturalization court. Most galling of all in Wisconsin were the small towns where occasionally one found the sign that characterized big modern cities in Germany: "English spoken here." All activities by local people in these areas were carried out in German. The few un-German names Adams found in East-central Wisconsin turned out to be socialists, "all hostile to the United States." Although Sheboygan was reputed to have some of the richest soil in the world, the farmers' favorite response to the liberty bond salesmen was "*Kein Geld!*" According to Adams, "The whole community, German to the core, reading nothing but German, speaking nothing but German, thinking nothing but German, having none but German associations, singing in German, praying in German, was secretly but immovably in sympathy with Germany and against the United States." From that district there came into court as a witness a bright-eyed, well-dressed native-born youth of twenty-one. "He had to have an interpreter" (33).

Wisconsin had the usual State Council of Defense (for which it had supplied the national model) but it also had the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, which was founded in Milwaukee on March 22, 1918. Its predecessor was the Wisconsin Defense League but the Loyalty Legion was the most active. It sent mailings regularly to schools, banks, hotels and various public agencies throughout the state.<sup>25</sup> Other citizen groups also operated, for instance there were chapters of the New York-based National Security League, although its membership seems not to have topped 3,000 by 1918.<sup>26</sup> From a variety of instigators came a flood of liberty bond propaganda and campaigns claiming that food would win the war, resulting in hated meatless Tuesdays and wheatless Wednesdays.

Shadowing some of the activity was Governor Emanuel L. Philipp, whose parents had immigrated from the German-speaking canton of Graubünden

in Switzerland in 1848 and settled among the Swiss farmers in Sauk County. Sometimes Philipp seemed to be in sympathy with the Germans whose language he spoke. At other times Philipp bent over backwards to demonstrate his own loyalty.<sup>27</sup> The Wisconsin Defense League was formally organized on March 24, 1917, to promote rallies across the state, educate the neutrality crowd, and to convert dissenters. Among other things, it produced the widely publicized movie, *The Slacker*, under the direction of Joseph Moriarity, a Milwaukee public relations man.<sup>28</sup> Within a month the League had branches in all 71 counties. It was Philipp's decision to create the State Council of Defense, which lent official approval to the activities but by that token dampened the explosive expansion of the citizen-based League. Because many Wisconsinites felt that the League's mere existence more or less solved the problems, they did not actively participate in it. By July 1917, therefore, the League was rapidly declining. Worried by the national image of Wisconsin as "the traitor state," and by a feeling that Philipp had established the more deliberative State Council of Defense as a clever device to hide Wisconsin's real treason in the face of war against Germany, steps were taken to found yet another watchdog organization, the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion in September, 1917. Its instigators were careful to avoid the confusion of two organizations, one state and one citizen sponsored, because the word 'Defense' appeared in both.<sup>29</sup>

Often the Loyalty Legion got at least tacit endorsement from the State Council of Defense for its activities. Through the offices of Senator Paul Husting, the Legion was able to disseminate much material from the federally sponsored Committee on Public Information. Thus, the Legion had a literature bureau, headed by Algie Simons and a speakers' bureau, which drew on lawyers, priests, college faculties, reporters and physicians. Membership in the Legion reached 70,000 at one point, although the mere numbers (with dues at 25 cents) leads one to doubt the significance of membership size by itself. Naturally, there were no German-Americans in the legion's leadership and statistics from the German areas of the state indicate that chapters were never established in the German counties. When the organization spearheaded a drive to end the teaching of German in public schools, and especially when it tried to sway elections involving Victor Berger, its influence waned. The Legion's opposition to Governor Philipp reduced his plurality in 1918 but he won anyway by a slim 540 votes. Once the armistice was signed, the Legion's vitality plummeted.

But if the Legion did not succeed in tormenting the Germans, sedition laws of various stripes did.<sup>30</sup> Federal law had never spoken very distinctly about how free speech and treasonous utterances could be reconciled. A law of 1861, for example, and another from 1862 failed to be concerned about individual remarks. But in 1917 others were added beginning with the

“Threats Against the President Act” of 1917 under which at least 70 people in Wisconsin were indicted. But these seem not to have been particularly of German origin. A policeman allegedly said he would shoot the president, two young men about to be drafted said they would shoot the president if inducted, a few wanted to kill Wilson before going off to kill the Kaiser. A German in Marathon County was sentenced for having said, “I am a socialist. President Wilson is a son of a bitch, and I would hang him if I had my way.” Others threatened Wilson if the country would go dry, but most posed little real danger to the sitting president.

The “Selective Service Act” of 1917 prohibited individuals from discouraging conscription, and perhaps 10,000 actions were brought in the nation under its authority. In the Wisconsin cases, the focus once again is not easily discovered to be specifically against Germans who did not want to serve. Among the most controversial was the statement by a Grant County farmer that “The Germans killed no Belgian citizens, and there are no orphans in Belgium or France that were caused by the war. The Germans have done no worse than Americans have done to Germans.” A Wood County farmer said in Polish that “The Kaiser will fare along better than ever because he has made peace terms with Ukania, but the Kaiser will pay no attention to the papers that were signed. It is coming to it that President Wilson will have to crawl on his knees to kiss the Kaiser’s boots.” The best-known case of anti-draft action was against Congressman John Mandt Nelson (1870-1955) of Madison and his son Byron. Nelson had been in Congress since 1906, supported La Follette (and managed his presidential campaign in 1924), and voted against a declaration of war in 1917. His son had gone to Canada to manage the family farm before the draft act had been passed. Both men were indicted under the act though their case was subsequently dismissed in January following the war.

The Espionage Act as passed in 1917 resulted in 92 indictments in Wisconsin of which 36 concerned comments praising Germany, the Kaiser, or claiming Germany would win the war. Two Wood County men were convicted, a 44-year-old Prussian for saying “I wish the war would end and the Kaiser would win. . . . We will never have good times until the Kaiser wins.” The other was Polish and told the court through an interpreter that the Kaiser was sure to win the war and sink all American troop ships, an interesting viewpoint since Poland stood to benefit from a German defeat. A German-American druggist in Madison was convicted for similar remarks. Over 30 indictments were for criticisms of America’s conduct of the war. A socialist attorney in Milwaukee was indicted for telling young men that the United States had no business in the war. Other actions concerned verbal attacks on the flag, anti-England remarks, such as that the liberty bonds were just to help England defeat Germany. Judge John M. Becker of Monroe was indicted

for hinting that he would run for governor on an anti-war platform and for claiming that there was no shortage of food. He was removed from office and sentenced to the penitentiary for one year, though freed on bond for an appeal. Louis Bernard Nagler of Madison was indicted for publishing a letter in a Madison paper defending Senator La Follette's anti-war stand. Specifically Nagler was charged for saying that "not over 10-14 percent of the money collected goes to the soldiers." In 1921 when a new trial was ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court his indictment was dropped. A Port Huron man went to jail for praising the effectiveness of German submarines, another for saying he hoped the Germans would sink all allied ships. A Marathon County (heavily German) man by the name of Schilling was convicted for having dissuaded 70 men in Cassel Township to forget about enlisting.

The Trading Act of 1917 contained a provision in a subheading added to the espionage act about expression, particularly as it pertained to foreign language publications. Senator William H. King tried to amend the provision to mandate the publication in English translation of all articles appearing in German but this was expanded to cover all foreign language items. However, instead of having to publish them, they only had to file translations of them in advance of publication, with the local postmaster. The ban only covered material pertaining to the war. Because these filings cost so much in time and effort, many papers simply shut down. Others, like Victor Berger, fought the provision in the courts. Jacob J. Auer, the editor and publisher of the *Eau Claire Herald*, published an article on December 6, 1917, which was headed by the line "Uncle Sam's Army Threatened by Slow Destruction." That his fear was of the smallpox vaccinations all American recruits received in boot camp, and not the Kaiser's army, was a distinction much too subtle for the Council of Defense. When he published further articles, one suggesting that opponents of the German army were about to collapse, and likewise failed to file a translation, he was first suggested to receive a warning but shortly was arrested by a federal marshal. In June 1918 he was formally indicted in Madison for violating the Espionage and Trading Acts. Though advanced in age and already senile, Auer got a year in Leavenworth. Under the Sabotage Act one man was indicted but his case was subsequently dismissed.

As a rule, these wartime laws were enforced more stringently in the more heavily German eastern half of Wisconsin than elsewhere. Strangely, in Massachusetts with its large anti-English, Irish population there were no indictments at all. In Wisconsin a total of 107 actions were brought for violation of war statutes, of whom 38 pled guilty, 22 were convicted, 6 were acquitted and 39 were dismissed. German-Americans were among them but ethnicity did not seem to be by itself the deciding factor when indictment or conviction occurred.



As the war progressed, of course, incidents of anti-German harassment transpired with greater frequency across the entire state. Many were ridiculous. In light of today's tradition of protest in Wisconsin many look silly. The university revoked an honorary degree it had granted in 1910 to Count von Bernstorff, Germany's ambassador to the United States. German societies disbanded, usually on their own volition, and the United States Congress revoked the charter of the German-American Alliance.<sup>31</sup> The Deutscher Club of Milwaukee quickly switched its name to the Wisconsin Club. Most German-American banks switched names to include in their titles American or Security or for example in Milwaukee, the Germania Bank became the National Bank of Commerce.<sup>32</sup> Guidebooks referring to Milwaukee as the "German Athens of America" were purged from bookstores by decree of the Loyalty Legion while statues of Goethe and Schiller were veiled.<sup>33</sup>

As early as 1914 when the war broke out in Europe, German-born residents of Wisconsin who had not yet taken out citizenship received letters from the German consul in Chicago asking them to return to Germany at once and bear arms for the Kaiser.<sup>34</sup> None is known to have responded, but neither did such individuals rush to acquire citizenship or otherwise demonstrate allegiance. Once the U.S. declared war in 1917, events happened staccato to demonstrate loyalty. The German-American Bank of Madison became the American Exchange Bank. The citizens of Madison petitioned 1500 strong for the resignation of German-born school board member, George Kroncke. Though he refused to resign he was defeated at the polls the following April. On the premise that the "foe tongue" of German teaching in schools promoted a love for Germany, the language was removed from most elementary classrooms, drastically cut in the high schools, and lost enrollment at the University of Wisconsin such that the German department faculty was reduced from 27 to eight in just six months.<sup>35</sup>

In Rhinelander a returned soldier led a raid on a pro-German farmer to seize a picture of the Kaiser, which was burned in the town square that evening. In October 1918 an Appleton farmer was aroused by a mob and threatened with hanging until he agreed to subscribe to \$500 worth of bonds. Yellow paint was dashed about with abandon to symbolize cowardice and sympathy with the enemy. A Janesville banker was stripped to the waist and decorated with a yellow German cross. At Medford the meat market was painted yellow. Then, after being sold, it was painted by the new owner red, white and blue. An honor-roll girl at Wauwatosa High was forced to apologize to a student assembly for writing under a bulletin board poster of Wilson calling the President "The Living English Jackass." Outcries against the offering of German, generally when a certain number of parents petitioned, particularly in Milwaukee where Leo Stern was the assistant superintendent for Ger-



Germania Building, [urbanmilwaukee.com/2013/08/13/the-mystery-of-the-germania-statue/](http://urbanmilwaukee.com/2013/08/13/the-mystery-of-the-germania-statue/).

man instruction, often took the form of objecting to using tax money to further the enemy cause.<sup>36</sup> After some German statues had been toppled in Green Bay, the huge figure of Germania on top of the Milwaukee Germania Building was attacked until its owner, William Brumder, removed it and changed the name of the structure to Brumder Building. The campaign against him was voiced in the *Milwaukee Journal*, as “We want no Germania Buildings. We want no Britannia Buildings. Columbia is our goddess—the goddess of Liberty. Americans are her disciples.”<sup>37</sup>

When arguments arose against the use of “Prosit” for toasting while drinking beer, it was allowed to remain after supporters pointed out that the words were Latin and not German.<sup>38</sup>

Silly as some of the action seems in today’s calmer light, we must recall that the state of Wisconsin did constitute a region in the United States where the statistical picture, the political representatives, and the socialist-German tradition did present the impression of a pro-German stance, not just among the populace, but also among governmental units. In analyzing the composite record of anti-German action in the state, a rather systematic picture emerges. In four of the six most German counties in the state (defined as over 40 percent of the population having German birth or parents), no extralegal activities were recorded at all. Seemingly, where Germans were numerically dominant, problems did not arise. Where the Germans in fifteen counties amounted to from 15 to 19 percent of the total population, there were 27 incidents. In none of the counties, however, was there any correlation between the untoward actions and the strength of the socialists.<sup>39</sup>

In those counties where a total of about 100 extralegal actions occurred, they could be traced to phobias that got their start from the beginning of the war until U.S. entry into the war, and in no way from behavior on the part of the Wisconsin Germans that could have been interpreted as disloyal following April 1917. During the months of 1914-15, thousands of Wisconsin Germans had pleaded for neutrality. They emotionally sided with the

Fatherland, and they did participate vigorously in German Red Cross drives. German war bonds also sold well and German newspaper editors tried to bend public opinion away from blind allegiance to "British perfidy." They mentioned the real dangers to be what they called the "yellow peril."<sup>40</sup>

Letters arriving in Wisconsin from relatives in Germany also illustrate the ideological righteousness felt by the Germans for their cause. That is, they believed the war had been forced upon Germany by jealous neighbors, France, Russia and England who sought to dampen the German industrial giant. George Wagner wrote from Germany to his cousins in Wisconsin, "The English are a domineering race, without honor, brutal, rough, reckless, and of low intelligence. In many ways also simple and dull; in the common ranks they are uncultivated. With this sort of people, we must be alert, and, by degrees, must gain the ascendancy. Germany and America should form a friendly alliance; then they could dictate peace to the world and lay a hand upon this malicious and insolent yellow race, before it is too late."<sup>41</sup>

Wisconsin also by the outbreak of the world war, had fielded an active chapter of the German-American Alliance. State membership was 37,000 while nationally it stood at about two million.<sup>42</sup> That German-born Leo Stern, the Milwaukee assistant superintendent for German instruction in Milwaukee served as president of the chapter in 1914, raised suspicions of disloyal intent once the war broke out. In both Milwaukee and Madison crowds were always glad to gather for Dr. Eugene Kühnemann, visiting professor from Breslau to Harvard and Wisconsin, speaking on behalf of the German cause. Perhaps the most visible public gathering occurred in June 1915 when veterans of the German and Austro-Hungarian armies numbering some 10,000 gathered in Pabst Park in Milwaukee to hear speeches about the defense of Germany and the pride of German-Americans.<sup>43</sup> In October 1916 Leo Stern addressed an audience assembled to hear the German Sea Battalion Band en route home from China, which had been interned in the United States until the war might end. Festooned as a beer garden, the Milwaukee auditorium resounded with German songs and music after which Leo Stern proclaimed that the German Army would soon enter Paris, to the loud cheers of the audience.<sup>44</sup> In March 1916 the Milwaukee Germans organized a bazaar to raise money for German and Austrian war victims, also in the Milwaukee Auditorium. With over 25,000 present each day, attendance rocketed to 173,000 with receipts of over \$150,000 before the event concluded. Even Archbishop Sebastian G. Messmer supported the efforts and personally contributed.<sup>45</sup>

Before the U.S. declaration in 1917, there had already been loyalty parades. Some editors in German communities grouched about their value, for example, in Manitowoc where the writer called preparedness parades a "good thing for the shoe and clothing men and makers of flags."<sup>46</sup> When draft quo-

tas were announced, German editors often took a different view because quotas were based on total population and if an immigrant had not yet taken out first papers, he counted against the others because as a legal alien he could not serve in the armed forces. Thus in some areas the actual draft confused and deepened hostilities, if somewhat selfishly. Often, it appears, the worst incidents of abridging civil rights occurred in areas where the German element was in competition with other ethnic groups or older Yankee groups.

The Germans in Wisconsin did have a problem and in the course of the war did suffer the suspicious reactions of their neighbors, both as individuals and as a civic group targeted by neighboring state governments and media. For the most part, however, they did not defend themselves against the charges, preferring instead to seek refuge in anonymity and in political isolation. When they did enjoy the opportunity to take a swipe at an issue or a political candidate at the polls, however, they seem to have sternly rejected the Wilsonian line. Following the war they kept up their anti-Wilson, anti-British stance with pro-La Follette and pro-Berger votes. To the census takers, however, they underreported their identities considerably as exemplified by the inexplicably large decline of German reported ancestry for 1920 as compared to 1910.<sup>47</sup> On a broad and comparative basis what is stated in brief here about declines in ancestry reporting for the 1910 and 1920 Census speaks of the national scene. On the other hand, Germans sent large amounts of aid in the form of goods, cattle and money to their ethnic brothers following the cessation of hostilities.<sup>48</sup> But that is the story of the post-war period.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Frank Trommler, "The Lusitania Effect: America's Mobilization against Germany in World War I," *German Studies Review* 32 (May, 2009): 241-66.

<sup>2</sup> See in general U.S. Census Reports, 1850-1970 and in particular Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980), 405-25, esp. 412.

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Thirteenth Census, 1910 Population, Chapter 2 "Composition and Characteristics of the Population," 1073 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States* (Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), 41, 55, 61, 67, 85. Several thousand Germans from Russia lived at Sheboygan, about 1,500 in Racine, many in Oshkosh and Milwaukee.

<sup>5</sup> See in general Dean R. Esslinger, "American German and Irish Attitudes Toward Neutrality, 1914-1917: A Study of Catholic Minorities," *Catholic Historical Review* 53 (1967): 194-216. As Carl Wittke put it, "Not instinctive love for Germany, but an all-consuming Anglophobia accounted for the 'pro-German' attitude of the Irish-American press and many

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prominent Irish-Americans." *The Irish in America* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1956), 273.

<sup>6</sup> Robert M. La Follette, *La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experience*, first published 1913 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960).

<sup>7</sup> LaVern J. Rippley, *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin* (Boston: Twayne, 1985), 142.

<sup>8</sup> David A. Shannon, "The World, the War, and Wisconsin 1914-1918," *Milwaukee County Historical Society Messenger* 22 (March, 1966): 47.

<sup>9</sup> Karen Falk, "Public Opinion in Wisconsin During World War I," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 25 (June, 1942): 395.

<sup>10</sup> Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee. The History of a City* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), 285.

<sup>11</sup> The most comprehensive study of Victor Berger is by Sally M. Miller, *Victor Berger and the Promise of Constructive Socialism, 1910-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), here 17 ff. See also Edward J. Muzik, "Victor L. Berger: Congress and the Red Scare," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 47 (Summer, 1964): 309-18; Roderick Nash, "Victor L. Berger: Making Marx Respectable," *ibid.*, 301-8, and Frederick I. Olson, "Victor Berger: Socialist Congressman," *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 58 (1970): 27-38.

<sup>12</sup> *Social-Democratic Herald*, December, 1907, quoted in Sally Miller, 27.

<sup>13</sup> Robert G. Reinders, "Daniel W. Hoan and the Milwaukee Socialist Party during the First World War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 36 (Autumn, 1952): 48-55.

<sup>14</sup> Harold W. Curne, *Eugene V. Debs* (1976).

<sup>15</sup> H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War 1917-1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 208-34.

<sup>16</sup> Miller, *Victor Berger*, 205.

<sup>17</sup> Rippley, *Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin*, 102. Miller, *Berger*, 209-19.

<sup>18</sup> Gustavus Ohlinger, *The German Conspiracy in American Education* (New York: Doran, 1919), 24 ff.

<sup>19</sup> The Bennett Law controversy is summarized in Rippley, Chapter Four, *Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin*, 44 ff.

<sup>20</sup> The article was reprinted in *La Follette's Magazine* (January, 1919): 6-8.

<sup>21</sup> John Ballard, "On the Eve of Election Day: The Revolt Against the Yankee. Special Correspondence from Wisconsin," *New Outlook* 132 (November, 1922): 366-67.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>23</sup> Irvine L. Lenroot, "The War Loyalty of Wisconsin," *The Forum* 59 (June 1918): 695-702.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Hopkins Adams, "Invaded America: Wisconsin Joins the War," *Everybody's Magazine* 38 (January, 1918): 28-33, 82-83.

<sup>25</sup> Karen Falk, "Public Opinion in Wisconsin During World War I," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 25 (June, 1942): 389-407, esp. 404. See also the *Wisconsin Blue Book* (1919), 415-46.

<sup>26</sup> John P. Finnegan, "The Preparedness Movement in Wisconsin, 1914-1917," MA Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1961.

<sup>27</sup> Robert S. Maxwell, *Emanuel L. Philipp: Wisconsin Stalwart* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1959).

<sup>28</sup> See Lorin Lee Cary, "The Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, 1917-1918," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 53 (Autumn, 1969): 30-50, esp. 36.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 38. See also: [http://host.madison.com/news/local/odd-wisconsin-wisconsin-denounced-as-traitor-state-in/article\\_39d787e6-55be-5c87-9732-715d0d2e944f.html](http://host.madison.com/news/local/odd-wisconsin-wisconsin-denounced-as-traitor-state-in/article_39d787e6-55be-5c87-9732-715d0d2e944f.html)  
[http://www.newspapers.com/clip/485068/the\\_slacker\\_usa\\_propaganda\\_film/](http://www.newspapers.com/clip/485068/the_slacker_usa_propaganda_film/)

<sup>30</sup> John D. Stevens "When Sedition Laws were Enforced: Wisconsin in World War I," *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 58 (1970): 39-60. For the national scale, see

H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917-1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957).

<sup>31</sup> Clifton Child, *The German-Americans in Politics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939), 173.

<sup>32</sup> Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 271.

<sup>33</sup> Jean L. Berres, "Local Aspects of the Campaign for Americanism: *The Milwaukee Journal* in World War I," Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1977, 211-14.

<sup>34</sup> David V. Mollenhoff, *Madison: A History of the Formative Years* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1982), 411.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 416-17.

<sup>36</sup> Berres, 140-46.

<sup>37</sup> *Milwaukee Journal*, May 17, 1918, p.16. See also *Newsletter of the Society of German-American Studies* 5 (1984): 4.

<sup>38</sup> Berres, 223.

<sup>39</sup> John Dean Stevens, "Suppression of Expression in Wisconsin during World War I," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1967, 179-90.

<sup>40</sup> Luebke, *Bonds*, 83-111.

<sup>41</sup> George Wagner, "A Voice from Germany," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 2 (December, 1918): 149-57, esp. 156.

<sup>42</sup> Max Heinrici, ed., *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia: Walther's Buchdruckerei), 191-99).

<sup>43</sup> *Milwaukee Journal*, June 4, 1915, p. 10; June 28, 1915, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Milwaukee Journal*, October 16, 1916, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> *Milwaukee Journal*, March 8, 1916, p. 14.

<sup>46</sup> *Manitowoc Daily Herald*, July 17, 1916.

<sup>47</sup> La Vern J. Rippley, "Ameliorated Assimilation: The Effect of World War I on German-Americans in the 1920s," Chapter 15 in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, ed., Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 217-32.

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. LaVern J. Rippley "Gift Cows for Germany," *North Dakota History* 40 (Summer, 1973): 4-16.