

Petra DeWitt

**Searching for the Meaning of Loyalty:  
A Study of the German-American Experience  
During World War I in Osage County, Missouri<sup>1</sup>**

During the late evening hours of 7 July 1918, several young men in Chamois, Osage County, Missouri, forced Erwin Walz, the son of a German preacher, to salute and kiss the American flag. Walz received this public punishment for having made derogatory remarks about the local home guard unit and for having stated "God damn the Flag, to hell with it!" The incident soon turned into a serious brawl, as supporters for Walz appeared in the streets willing to defend his honor. The group of patriotic citizens grew as well and began to force several Walz supporters to kiss the flag. Some of the pro-Germans then ran to get guns. Richard Garstang, the captain of the local home guard unit, received frantic phone calls urging him to step in and maintain law and order. But, he could not act without the authorization of the Mayor who happened to be out of town at the time. In desperation, he gathered a few guardsmen, approached the mob in civilian clothing and convinced the crowd to disperse, thus avoiding a serious riot.<sup>2</sup>

Why did this event occur and why did this happen in Chamois and not elsewhere in Osage County? Did this message apply to anyone who did not fully support the war effort during World War I? Or was it limited to Germans to encourage them to become 100% American? And what impact, if any, did it have on the survival of the German culture in Osage County?

Historians have argued that during World War I the activities of the United States government to unite public opinion in favor of the war created a "strong wave of anti-German hysteria," in which "citizens of German origin were individually harassed and persecuted."<sup>3</sup> This "hatred . . . of German cultural manifestations" struck a "sharp and powerful blow" at the German-American community "from which it never fully recovered."<sup>4</sup> As "the majority of German-Americans complied" with the pressures to Americanize, "hundreds of vereins and scores of German-language newspapers disappeared and organized German ethnic politics ceased."<sup>5</sup> This anti-German sentiment, according to several historians, also impacted Missouri where Anglo-Americans suddenly attempted to destroy the German-American culture during World War I.<sup>6</sup>

National propaganda through the Committee of Public Information and the enforcement of the Espionage Act, and later the Sedition Act, through the American

Protective League and the Justice Department certainly played an important role in the creation of animosity toward German-Americans. But historians should not overlook the importance of local circumstances in the creation of tensions between the dominant culture and the ethnic immigrant minority. Hate crimes and hostility in Missouri during World War I were neither universal nor widespread but varied by locality.<sup>7</sup> And as this particular study of the experience of German immigrants and Americans of German descent in Osage County demonstrates, local relationships, in addition to government incited hysteria, contributed to mistrust of the foreign element and spawned animosity and super-patriotic activity in one part of the county. At the same time, local circumstances also created environments within the same county in which German-Americans were able to weather the storm and maintain their German culture despite World War I.

Settlement patterns and economic competition were important factors that contributed to the presence or absence of tensions on the eve of the Great War. German immigrants, who came to Osage County between 1830 and 1910, established tightly knit ethnic communities along the alluvial bottomlands of the Maries and Osage River in Jackson, Washington and Linn townships where they and their American-born children represented the majority of the population and controlled the local economy and politics. Old-stock Americans from Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia settled in Benton, Crawford, and Jefferson townships in northern and eastern Osage County where they outnumbered Germans. However, by the turn of the century, as the American-born children of German parents began to move into northern Osage County, particularly Benton Township, they challenged this dominance.<sup>8</sup> Here, competition over valuable river-bottom land and participation in local politics may have increased tensions prior to the war. Resentment toward German townships and German speakers may have also grown after the Rock Island Railroad arrived in southern Osage County in 1902. Chamois, located on the Missouri Pacific Railroad that ran along the Missouri River on the northern fringes of the county, had dominated the railway freight business and now had to compete with the rapidly growing German towns of Freeburg and Meta.<sup>9</sup> This may explain why animosity toward opponents of the war expressed itself in the most violent form in Benton Township and not elsewhere in the county.

The beginning of the Great War in Europe in 1914 was not a divisive issue and residents of Osage County freely expressed their opinions. For example, two English language newspapers, the *Unterrified Democrat* and the *Osage County Republican*,<sup>10</sup> as well as the German language newspaper, the *Osage County Volksblatt*, favored the German side in the conflict. All opposed Britain's anti-German propaganda, published letters from relatives in Germany and did not hesitate to critique President Woodrow Wilson's lack of true neutrality.<sup>11</sup> These three papers also argued that German-Americans had the right to support their old fatherland in this global conflict. And should the unthinkable happen, these papers were confident that the entire county, including its German-American population, would stand behind the president during the national crisis.<sup>12</sup> This public mindset expressed in the newspapers acknowledged the dual identity of being German as well as American, which many German-Americans of Osage County held at the onset of the national crisis. But the

papers did not interpret this identity as divided loyalty and thus did not contribute to a rise in anti-German sentiment during the neutrality period.<sup>13</sup>

This unity also extended toward the issue of prohibition, which in several counties and St. Louis became a hotly debated issue by 1916. The county newspapers opposed prohibition because it would curtail local options and the lack of taxation would hurt the economy.<sup>14</sup> And the almost 3:1 defeat of the Prohibition Amendment in Osage County during the 1916 election demonstrates that Prohibition was not a divisive issue in the county.<sup>15</sup>

However, the 1916 presidential election campaign revealed political division along ethnic as well as party lines that helps explain the presence of anti-German sentiment in one specific geographic area in the county.<sup>16</sup> The Republican candidate Charles Evans Hughes defeated the Democrat Woodrow Wilson in Osage County. Hughes received his primary support from election districts in Benton Township including Chamois, as well as in Crawford, Jefferson, and Linn townships, areas settled primarily by old-stock Americans.<sup>17</sup> By contrast, Wilson won in Westphalia, Rich Fountain, Freeburg, and Loose Creek, the largest German-American communities because in Osage County German-Americans had a long-standing tradition of voting for Democrats.<sup>18</sup> This political division along ethnic and party lines on the eve of World War I shows pre-existing tensions in Republican areas, such as Chamois, where Germans and their children represented an increasing threat due to their growing numbers and increase in political competition.<sup>19</sup> This is also the place where anti-German sentiment would express itself in the most violent form.

Once the United States entered World War I, people quickly learned what loyalty meant and that the war would limit their freedom of speech. The *Unterrified Democrat* on 19 April 1917 published an official government statement, which declared that German aliens living in the United States, who had not conspired against the United States, did not have to fear the Department of Justice as long as they observed the following warning: "Obey the Law; Keep your Mouth shut."<sup>20</sup> The *Democrat* was the only paper in Osage County to publish this announcement, but word of mouth probably spread this warning quickly to both Germans and Americans alike.

Official information from the Committee of Public Information did not appear in Osage County newspapers until late fall 1917.<sup>21</sup> However, by late April 1917 the editor of the *Volksblatt* already informed his readers about the growing push to unite public opinion and to suppress opposition to the war. He warned that unless the readers wanted to be considered disloyal, they had to "heulen mit den Wölfen" (howl with the wolves), bow to hyper-patriotism and wave the flag at every opportunity. Nobody would be exempt, not even the sons of "Dollar Fürsten" (dollar princes).<sup>22</sup> He also predicted that the growing pressure to appear patriotic would surely break friendships and weaken neighborly relations.<sup>23</sup>

In May 1917, readers of the *Unterrified Democrat* learned what could happen to a person, particularly a German-American, who critiqued the war. The paper, which had not discussed Congress' passage of the Espionage Act,<sup>24</sup> explained in detail why August Heidbreder of Bland, one of the richest farmers in nearby Gasconade County, had been arrested after he had remarked that President Wilson should be stuffed into a cannon and shot out to sea.<sup>25</sup> The case received widespread coverage because he was rich and a well-known farmer and federal prosecutors may have used him as an example of what might happen to others who acted like him. Indeed, the *Democrat*

warned its readers that federal authorities would be "zealous in suppressing remarks" such as Heidbreder's even if his "utterances" were "merely a species of inconsequential raving."<sup>26</sup> The Heidbreder arrest suggested that during this war, a person should watch what he was saying or pay the consequences. It is, however, unclear whether the light punishment of a \$100 fine, rather than the possible \$10,000 fine or twenty-year imprisonment, actually deterred residents from speaking their mind.<sup>27</sup>

Maybe the *Osage County Volksblatt* should have taken this event seriously. After the United States entered the war, the *Volksblatt* continued to express anti-British thought<sup>28</sup> and did not refrain from criticizing the war effort. For example, the editor asserted that Congress was beginning to use dictatorial powers to control manufacturing as well as the sale and pricing of foodstuffs.<sup>29</sup> It is thus not surprising that the *Volksblatt* closed its doors and published its final issue on 19 July 1917. The editor, Henry Castrop,<sup>30</sup> stated in his farewell address that rising prices for paper and material and fewer paying subscribers forced him to "turn out the lights." He attributed this decline to Germans who abandoned their mother tongue and chose stimulation through pulp fiction and trashy reporting instead.<sup>31</sup> Circulation numbers indicate that the *Volksblatt* had enjoyed a steady readership with 600 subscribers in 1900, 584 in 1910, and 591 in 1915.<sup>32</sup> And the number and type of advertisements had changed very little between 1914 and 1917. Therefore, additional reasons for closure must have been present.<sup>33</sup>

The editor recognized in his final issue that the pressure to appear patriotic by speaking and reading only English may have reduced readership. The more likely reason, however, was the editor's sense of duty to stand up for and defend the German people who had been insulted, disdained and portrayed as uncivilized barbarians.<sup>34</sup> This made him, the paper and its readership appear pro-German and un-American. It is likely that the leadership of Westphalia, the place of publication as well as the largest German settlement in Osage County, pressured him into either ending his criticism or closing his paper.<sup>35</sup> One could hypothesize that the paper might have survived had it published pro-American material. However, a paper with a history of un-American expressions would have brought attention to the area.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, the absence of this particular German language newspaper made it less likely for government officials to know the attitudes of Germans in Osage County and to interpret them as un-American.

The demise of the *Volksblatt* is the only evidence for southwestern Osage County that the growing anti-German sentiment during the Great War limited the freedom of speech. German-Americans knew the punishments that awaited them should they express opposition to the war. In response they adopted a strategy for the duration of the war that assured their survival. Most were indeed loyal to the United States, but they also complied with the official definition of loyalty at the level that was absolutely necessary to avoid persecution. Knowing everybody had to look patriotic they proved their loyalty by sending men to the front, supporting the Red Cross, purchasing Liberty Bonds,<sup>37</sup> and by serving as patriotic speakers.<sup>38</sup>

June 14, or Flag Day, 1917, became the first opportunity for the German-Americans of Osage County to publicly show their loyalty. This celebration took place on the grounds of St. George's Catholic School in Linn and the "large crowd" enjoyed a program of patriotic music and speeches that demonstrated respect and affection for the flag.<sup>39</sup> These festivities acquire significance when one considers

that Father Muckermann, who initiated and directed the entire ceremony, was a German born priest who still presented sermons in German, and that students who sang patriotic tunes still learned German at the parochial school. In other words, this festivity demonstrated not only the patriotism of the entire county but of the German speaking population in particular.

This strategy of publicly demonstrating loyalty, getting rid of a possibly un-American newspaper, and the fact that German-Americans made up the majority of the population in southwest Osage County, allowed them to continue to speak German and maintain their German traditions beyond World War I.<sup>40</sup>

By contrast, in northern Osage County, loyalty took on a much more complex meaning. Here, one town demonstrated a particularly strong sense of patriotism that would raise expectations for others. The city of Chamois stood out in the county and surrounding area for its volunteer spirit through the creation of the Second Missouri Field Hospital a new and entirely volunteer National Guard company on 21 June 1917. Later renamed the 138<sup>th</sup> Field Hospital, 110<sup>th</sup> Sanitary Train, 35<sup>th</sup> Division, the unit served in France from 1 June 1918 through 5 April 1919 and was engaged as a reserve unit at the St. Mihiel Offensive and in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive in September 1918. Fifty-eight members of the unit were wounded and six were killed.<sup>41</sup> The majority of the troops came from Chamois and northern Osage County, and included seven men whose parents or grandparents had come from Germany. Their volunteerism distinguished this particular geographic area for its powerful sense of service to country.<sup>42</sup> In this climate of public spirit any disloyal remarks would have been interpreted as disrespectful to the sacrifices of these young men.

In addition to this intense patriotism, Chamois was also the only town in Osage County to organize a Home Guard unit,<sup>43</sup> Company M of the 5<sup>th</sup> Regular Missouri Home Guards.<sup>44</sup> The Home Guard, with its low physical qualification requirements offered many aged war veterans, the physically disqualified from active service, and retired guardsmen the opportunity to serve. Home Guard members also had the duty to stimulate interest in all war activities, to keep alive the spirit of patriotism and to stamp out disloyalty.<sup>45</sup> If the Adjutant General's assessment of the average attendance and holding of drills holds true for the unit in Chamois, 80 – 90 % of its members would have attended three drills per week. In Chamois, a city of 649 residents, the Home Guard through its drills and participation in parades became *the* visual representative of the war effort. Any verbal attack upon it would certainly result in some form of discipline. It is therefore no surprise that anyone, including Erwin Walz, who made derogatory statements toward the Home Guard, would raise the anger of guard members and receive punishment.

Chamois also established the first Red Cross chapter in the county and several residents of Chamois served in leadership positions for Red Cross, Liberty Loan and War Savings Stamp Campaigns.<sup>46</sup> Such activism must have raised the level of expectations for the rest of the population. And anything less was interpreted as slacking or aiding the enemy.

During the winter and spring of 1918, the pressure to demonstrate loyalty increased even more as propaganda from the CPI began to flood the county. And it appears that the county as a whole was not living up to expectations because the Missouri Council of Defense classified Osage County as "C" or "Medium" in activity and effectiveness in April 1918 and ordered an official investigation.<sup>47</sup> The

investigation did not find evidence of slacking or aiding the enemy and defined the county as loyal.<sup>48</sup> However, the correspondence of J. Richard Garstang, the co-organizer of the hospital unit and Captain of the Home Guard, indicates that several citizens of Chamois still did not trust some of their German neighbors who initially had supported Germany's side in the war.<sup>49</sup> For example, the Mayor, Dr. Keuper, appeared to be only a "lukewarm patriot" because he was afraid to offend the German members of the town board and the Benton Township Council of Defense seemed "cold-footed" and pro-German because members were afraid to loose business.<sup>50</sup>

The highly successful Third Liberty Loan campaign seemed to temporarily ease the tensions. Possibly inspired by Governor Gardner's warning that "There can be no half-hearted allegiance. . . . Those who are against us are pro-German,"<sup>51</sup> local newspapers reminded residents that they were behind in their purchase of War Savings Stamps, that the county "occupies a status of a slacker," and that this was "an intolerable condition."<sup>52</sup> Within this environment of heightened pressure to appear loyal, anything that would have blemished the area's reputation even further would have to be dealt with quickly.

The opportunity presented itself on 27 May 1918, when the county held a Red Cross rally at St. George's Hall in Linn. The main speaker was Clara Steichen, the wife of a U. S. Army Captain, who told about her experiences while living in France when the war began, including atrocities committed by German soldiers. While this "did not please the German sympathizers" in the county,<sup>53</sup> the meeting nevertheless resulted in "quick and generous" contributions that allowed the county to go over its quota for the second Red Cross campaign.<sup>54</sup> Newspapers reported this positive outcome, but omitted the disloyal remarks Paul Paulsmeyer, son of a German immigrant, had made at the meeting. Paulsmeyer allegedly called Mrs. Steichen a "damned old whore" because he believed that all female Red Cross volunteers were prostitutes.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, while the event occurred in Linn, the accusers as well as the accused lived in Chamois.<sup>56</sup> And, this appeared to be just the latest evidence of Paulsmeyer's suspected disloyalty. He allegedly had tried to evade the draft and had "sneeringly refused to join the Home Guard or any other institution standing out openly for Americanism." Patriots of Chamois now feared that without further action, "we are likely to have a tar & feather party" because feelings of animosity were "running pretty high."<sup>57</sup>

The Missouri Council of Defense referred the matter to the Secret Service in Kansas City for further investigation<sup>58</sup> but there is no evidence that a government agent actually came to Chamois. Instead, it appears that the matter was solved locally, quietly and to everyone's satisfaction. In order to give Paulsmeyer the opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty, the local draft board cancelled his exemption for physical disability, and on 25 June 1918, he left for Camp Pike, Arkansas, for military training.<sup>59</sup> The incident did not hurt Paulsmeyer's future because after the war he returned to Chamois and his position as the assistant cashier at the People's Bank of Chamois.<sup>60</sup>

Newspapers did not address the incident and it is unclear, to what extent the public knew about it.<sup>61</sup> However, Erwin Walz, who replaced Paulsmeyer as assistant cashier at the People's Bank, must have known that any opposition to the war effort would have serious consequences. On 3 July Walz allegedly stated, "Oh, to hell with the Home Guards!"<sup>62</sup> in front of Frank Oidtmann a private in the home guard.<sup>63</sup> On

the following day, as participants for the 4<sup>th</sup> of July parade lined up, Home Guard members realized that Erwin Walz would be the marshal of the parade on behalf of the Boy Scouts of Chamois. The Home Guard unit stepped out of the lineup and refused to march in the same parade as Walz. To avoid a Home Guard "mutiny on Main Street," 2<sup>nd</sup> LT Harry Steinmann, the officer in charge, approached Walz and requested that he not participate in the parade.<sup>64</sup> Walz initially refused believing the grievance was based on a personal matter<sup>65</sup> but left after the manager of the parade urged him to do so. Later that evening, Steinmann and Walz met again and during the heated argument regarding the events of that morning Walz allegedly stated angrily that no "self-dubbed Captain or self-dubbed Lieutenant" had any authority over him, thus again denigrating the Home Guard.<sup>66</sup> The following day Walz lost his position at the bank and faced charges under the Espionage Act.<sup>67</sup>

During the investigation of Walz's "disloyal and reprehensible conduct"<sup>68</sup> it became apparent that he had made insulting remarks about the home guard, the flag and the war effort at previous times thus indicating "an evil intention and unfriendly feeling toward American military organizations."<sup>69</sup> But no one had bothered to report him and he appeared to be not the only person to make such disloyal remarks. Officers and members of the Home Guard had been the subject of "constant and repeated insult and ridicule"<sup>70</sup> and high tensions had "been brewing for some time."<sup>71</sup> And when it became clear that Walz's remarks would not be prosecuted under the Espionage or Sedition Act, after all, patriotic citizens took the law into their own hands and forced Walz to kiss the flag.<sup>72</sup>

Several reasons or possibilities explain why Walz received this harsh punishment. Walz obviously expressed thoughts that were contrary to the definition of loyalty in Chamois. Yet it is unlikely that ethnicity by itself was the mitigating factor in bringing about such severe treatment. Erwin Walz was also an outsider. His father, Hermann Walz, was a German immigrant who had been a prominent preacher in St. Louis as well as a member of the German-American Alliance. The family had moved to northern Osage County in October 1917 to take over the German congregations in Chamois and Deer.<sup>73</sup> Not only was he an outsider, but as a person from a major city and the son of a preacher he might have also behaved and appeared arrogant and self-conceited. His becoming the assistant cashier immediately after Paulsmeyer left must have indicated to many in Chamois that he had good connections within the German community.<sup>74</sup> This "connection" within the German community may have been one reason why his alleged remarks were not punished sooner, thus leading to resentment among Americans and Germans alike.

Several members in the Home Guard were German-Americans and his alleged insults also outraged them, thus raising tensions between individual members of the German-American community as well.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, his remarks about the flag and Home Guard would eventually bring more attention on the German community as a whole if he were to proceed unhindered. If those whom he denigrated, including German-Americans, did not punish him then it would be possible for people to think that German-Americans were not loyal but only conformed outwardly while inwardly believing as he did. Tensions had "been brewing for some time" and could easily result in trouble because "seditious utterances go unpunished, and the people simply will not stand for such execrations upon the American flag when they have boys over there giving their lives to uphold that same flag."<sup>76</sup> In this climate, Walz's behavior

and expressions had crossed the invisible line of tolerance within the American as well as the German-American community and punishment would have to be swift and decisive to send a message to *all* to conform. Even Reverend Walz, the father of Erwin, in an open letter in the *Chamois Enterprise* recognized that the situation in Chamois had deteriorated to the point that "it might take only a spark to kindle a fire of injustice [sic] and hatred and lawlessness."<sup>77</sup>

There is no further evidence of violence or mob activity in Osage County<sup>78</sup> and it is possible that the Walz incident did defuse some of the tensions in the Chamois area. However, resentment toward non-conformists remained elevated because the event also coincided with the statewide push to banish the use of the German language in public places.<sup>79</sup> The Osage County Council of Defense followed suit and adopted a resolution during its 6 July 1918 meeting that called upon all citizens to "refrain from teaching the German language in any school or talking it over the telephone, or in any public place during the continuation of the war."<sup>80</sup>

The resolution encouraged some pastors to set aside the German language for the duration of the war. But most, including Reverend Walz, remained defiant despite being fully aware that the singling out of this one language and ethnic group would result in a "mob-spirit ... against everything what is not of American blood."<sup>81</sup> Discussion over the language issue continued for several weeks into August 1918 and since neither the county nor the Missouri Council of Defense had enforcement powers in this regard, the impact of the resolution upon the use of the German language was limited.<sup>82</sup> To make matters worse, the Benton Township Council chairman Fred Stonner gave Walz's congregation, the German Evangelical Church of Chamois, special permission to continue services in German. This outraged patriotic leaders because granting special privilege to one church further demonstrated that the council did not act in the best interest of the country but that members aimed to protect their own interests.<sup>83</sup> Thus the language resolution and enforcement problems kept tensions at an elevated level for several weeks.<sup>84</sup>

Coercive pressures through the CPI and Missouri Council of Defense to demonstrate one's patriotism cannot and should not be ignored in the discussion of the reasons for the injustice directed toward German-Americans during World War I. However, as this study demonstrates, local relationships and circumstances were often more important in creating the climate that spawned violence. While the case of Osage County is by no means unique in Missouri<sup>85</sup> it nevertheless demonstrates that the definition of patriotism at the local level shaped the treatment of opponents to the Great War. In the German townships of southwestern Osage County, the meaning of loyalty was such that keeping quiet and supporting the war at the required level were enough to keep outside pressures to Americanize at bay. Silencing opposition to the war from within during the early days of the conflict assured that the area would not receive the "slacker" or "disloyalty" label.

By contrast, in northern Osage County local circumstances had created an environment that raised tensions. Here, the meaning of loyalty was more complicated because both American and German-American volunteers had created the hospital unit and a Home Guard company, and the sense of service to country by local leaders raised the expectations for all. At the same time, the area appeared divided into an extremely loyal and a less than patriotic segment. And in such an environment of heightened tensions and suspicions any opinion other than mainstream could set

off the fuse because it would smudge the image of super-patriotism. Legal measures, such as reversal of exemptions, were preferred, but if necessary vigilante justice could be used to punish disloyal behavior.

*University of Missouri-Rolla*  
Rolla, Missouri

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Larry Gragg and Dr. Lawrence Christensen, who were both my mentors and are now colleagues, Dr. Patrick Huber, and the three anonymous reviewers for their insights because their suggestions have greatly improved this article.

<sup>2</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, Missouri Council of Defense Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia (hereinafter cited as MCDP, WHMC).

<sup>3</sup> Fredrick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 311-17.

<sup>4</sup> Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 99-100, 135, 137; John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German America* (New York: Arno Press, 1970); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860 - 1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edit., 1988), 207-09; Erik Kirschbaum, *The Eradication of German Culture in the United States, 1917-1918* (Stuttgart, Germany: Akademischer Verlag, 1986), 13-15; and Carl Wittke, *German Americans and the World War: With Special Emphasis on Ohio's German Language Press* (Columbus: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936), 3, 196. See also O. A. Hilton, "Public Opinion and Civil Liberties in Wartime, 1917-1919," *The Southern Social Science Quarterly* 28 (December 1947), 201-24.

<sup>5</sup> Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 311.

<sup>6</sup> Karen Jean De Bres, "From Germans to Americans: The Creation and Destruction of Three Ethnic Communities," (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1986), 10. For arguments that World War I extinguished German culture in St. Louis see for example David W. Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality and Assimilation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), 186.

<sup>7</sup> Petra DeWitt, "Fighting the Kaiser at Home: Anti-German Sentiment in Missouri During World War I" (Master Thesis, Truman State University, 1998); and "Searching for the Roots of Persecution and the Meaning of Loyalty: The German-American Experience in Missouri During World War I" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, forthcoming 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Gene Anderson, "Immigrants on the World System: Domestic Industry and Industrialization in Northwest Germany and the Migration to Osage County, Missouri, 1835-1900" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Texas A&M University, December 1994), 188, 193-96, 208, 212-13. Anderson concentrated on the German townships in his research. My analysis of census records for Benton Township, including the city of Chamois, revealed that the number of German immigrants who settled there grew at a steady pace, even after 1880, the peak of German immigration to the United States. The percentage of German immigrants and their American-born children as part of the total population for Benton Township had risen from 10% in 1850 to a peak of 38.5% in 1900. And the children of these immigrants contributed to the rise in the American born population beyond 1900. Manuscript Census, Population, 1850, 1860, 1880, 1900, and 1910, for Osage County, Missouri, located at State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia.

<sup>9</sup> The Missouri Pacific, which ran along the Missouri River and through Chamois, had been the only railroad in Osage County between 1855 and 1902. Westphalia and Rich Fountain had been well-established villages when the Rock Island arrived. But German communities, such as Freeburg, Meta and Argyle did not become villages until the arrival of the Rock Island. Mary Beth (Schlemper) Marquart "Americanization in Dispersed and Clustered German Settlements in Osage County, Missouri: 1860 to 1910" (Master Thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1997), 23-24, 32.

<sup>10</sup> I have been unable to find surviving issues of the *Osage County Enterprise* published in Chamois for the time period of World War I, despite advertisements in current newspapers, in the newsletter of the

Osage County Historical Society, and requests for information about the paper during a presentation at the quarterly meeting of the society. Newspapers in neighboring Cole County, such as the *Daily Capital News*, which also covered Osage County, were of no help. Thus, I have been unable to gauge public opinion during the neutrality period in this particular area.

<sup>11</sup> "Kaiser Wilhelm," *Osage County Volksblatt* (Westphalia), 7 January 1915, 1; "German Thoroughness and Patience Responsible for Success," *Unterrified Democrat* (Linn), 11 March 1915, 2; "Polite to Victims," *Osage County Republican* (Linn), 6 May 1915, 4; "Close view of War," *Osage County Republican*, 18 February 1915, 1; "Interesting Letters from Germany," *Unterrified Democrat*, 18 February 1915, 1; "From Germany," *Osage County Republican*, 30 March 1916, 1; "Und so weiter," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 27 May 1915, 1; "Nicht lange mehr," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 2 March 1916, 1, expressed confidence that the allies could not remain united for much longer and thus the war would end soon. Examples of anti-British thoughts included "Erin go bragh," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 1 June 1916, 1; and "Ridiculous Stories Circulated by Allies as to Condition in Germany," *Unterrified Democrat*, 10 June 1915, 2. Examples of critique of Wilson's one-sided neutrality include "Wer kann's fassen? Das Elend oder die Gemeinheit!" *Osage County Volksblatt*, 18 May 1916, 1; Untitled editorial, *Osage County Republican*, 11 March 1915, 2; "Zurechtweisung für Wilson," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 31 August 1916, 4.

<sup>12</sup> "German American Loyalty," *Unterrified Democrat*, 20 May 1915, 2; Untitled editorial, *Osage County Republican*, 2 September 1915, 2; "Knock out the Hyphen," *Osage County Republican*, 27 January 1916, 2; Untitled editorial, *Osage County Republican*, 29 March 1917, 2.

<sup>13</sup> This is contrary to John Higham's assertion that charges of disloyalty against German-Americans began to appear in earnest in 1915. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 196.

<sup>14</sup> "State-wide Prohibition in MO," *Unterrified Democrat*, 12 October 1916, 2; "Prohibitions Paragraphen," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 26 October 1916, 1; "Statewide Prohibition Means State Wide Ruin," *Osage County Republican*, 2 November 1916, 4;

<sup>15</sup> The county overwhelmingly defeated prohibition by 814 to 2,260 votes. Only four districts supported it, and one district was tied on the issue. While German-American communities opposed the prohibition amendment by overwhelming majorities, Bonnots Mill, Chamois, and Gasburg defeated the amendment by huge margins as well. *Official Manual of State of Missouri*, 1917-18 (Jefferson City: The Hugh Stephens Co., 1918), 485; and "Official Election Returns for Osage County," *Unterrified Democrat*, 7 November 1916, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Other parts of the country began to discuss the issue of loyalty during the election campaign. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 199. However, there is no evidence that this also occurred in Osage County. The two English language newspapers supported the candidate of the party with which they affiliated. The *Osage County Volksblatt* argued that German-Americans had lost confidence in Wilson in regard to foreign politics and thus should vote for Hughes. Hughes might associate with nativists such as Theodore Roosevelt but Wilson supported England and opposed Catholicism. "Why Wilson Should Win," *Unterrified Democrat*, 22 June 1916, 2; "Republican Thrift is Squandered under Wilson," *Osage County Republican*, 14 September 1916, 2; "Die richtige Ansicht," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 19 October 1916, 1.

<sup>17</sup> "Official Election Returns for Osage County," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 November, 1916, 1.

	West-phalia	Free-burg	Rich Foun-tain	Loose Creek	Linn	Byron	Hope	Cham-ois	Bon-nots Mill	Total
Wilson	66 %	80 %	66 %	65 %	55 %	13 %	16 %	29 %	40 %	1383
Hughes	34 %	20 %	34 %	34 %	45 %	85 %	80 %	69 %	60 %	1769
Total	147	167	177	155	328	161	122	386	171	

<sup>18</sup> Analysis of election results between 1890 and 1920 indicates that German-American communities in Osage County usually voted for Democratic presidential, gubernatorial and congressional candidates, with the exception of Westphalia in 1918 when Folk ran for the U. S. Senate. They voted against him because as governor, Folk had zealously enforced the Sunday closings of liquor establishments. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri*, 1891-92, 23, 27; 1901-1902, 48; 1905-06, 480; 1909-10, 710; 1913-14, 785, 835; 1917-18, 447-48, 539-40; 1921-22, 359-60, 288; "Official Election Returns for Osage County, November 7, 1916," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 November 1916, 1. Steven L. Piott, *Joseph W. Folk and the Missouri Idea* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 144.

<sup>19</sup> These political tensions would on occasion come to the forefront. For example, one of the most hotly debated issues during the early days of the war, was the location of a bridge and new state highway

(today's Highway 50) through Osage County to Jefferson City. The *Volksblatt* supported a bridge near Kliethermes Ford on the Maries River because that would have tremendously improved Westphalia's economy and the German region. The County Court's decision to place the bridge near Holtermann Ford on the Osage River benefited the northern, more American region of the county. While there is no evidence of physical altercations, such hotly debated political issues added to pre-existing tensions. "Bridge to be Built at Holtermann Ford," *Unterrified Democrat*, 5 February 1915, 1; "Die Bürger Westphalia's protestieren," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 28 January 1915, 1; "Die Brücke bei Holtermann's Ford wird gebaut werden," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 4 February 1915, 1; "Reasons Why," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 24 June 1915, 1; and "Pro and Con," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 29 July 1915, 1.

<sup>20</sup> "Statement," *Unterrified Democrat*, 19 April 1917, 2.

<sup>21</sup> President Wilson established the Committee on Public Information by executive order on 14 April 1917. Its purpose was to unite public opinion in support of the war, explain the reasons for America's entry into the military conflict, and to spread the message of America's selfless and higher war aims across the continent. Under the capable leadership of George Creel, a newspaperman from Missouri, the CPI became the government's official public relations agency by using every available form of communication to inform the people. George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920, reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1927), 3-5; James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939, Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 5-6; Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 4-5, 141; Stewart Halsey Ross, *Propaganda for War: How the United States was Conditioned to Fight the Great War of 1914-1918* (Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland & Company, 1996), 1.

<sup>22</sup> "Heraus mit dem Banner," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 26 April 1916, 4.

<sup>23</sup> "Ein Privatissmus über Patriotismus," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 17 May 1917, 4.

<sup>24</sup> The Espionage Act, passed by Congress on 15 June 1917, intended to protect government and military forces from German sabotage and espionage, but the interpretation of its meaning by judges and juries often suppressed the freedom of speech. Peterson, *Opponents of War*, 15-17. "Public Law 64-24: An Act to Punish Acts of Interference with the Foreign Relation, the Neutrality, and the Foreign Commerce of the United States, to Punish Espionage, and Better Enforce the Criminal Laws of the United States," 40 Stat. 217; Date: 06/15/17, Text from: United States Public Laws, Available from: *LexisNexis™ Congressional* (Online Service) (Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service).

<sup>25</sup> "A Bland Man Nabbed," *Unterrified Democrat*, 31 May 1917, 1. "Soll Drohung Gegen den Präsidenten Ausgesprochen Haben," *Hermanner Volksblatt*, 1 June 1917, 1. Heidbreder's indictment accuses him of saying: "Woodrow Wilson ought to be killed, and I would like to kill him. If I had him in a cannon now I would gladly shoot it off. He is all for England, and for this reason ought to be shot, and I would like to do it." Docket Case 6418, Records of the United States District Court, Eastern District of Missouri, Criminal Cases, 1865-1966, Record Group 21, National Archives and Records Administration, Central Plainses Region, Kansas City, Missouri.

<sup>26</sup> "A Bland Man Nabbed," *Unterrified Democrat*, 31 May 1917, 1. The *Gasconade County Republican* suspected that this arrest aimed to stop "treasonable utterances." *Gasconade County Republican*, 1 June 1917, 1. August L. Heidbreder, was 64 in 1917. Born in Germany in 1853, he came to the United States in 1865. The 1920 census indicates that he was a naturalized citizen and a farmer. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Census, Population, Missouri, Gasconade County, Clay Township, Enumeration District 88, 1 B, Household 16, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>27</sup> Judge Dyer fined Heidbreder \$100 for his "outspokenness." "Local and Personal," *Unterrified Democrat*, 5 July 1917, 3. "Heidbreder um \$100 Bestraft," *Hermanner Volksblatt*, 29 June 1917, 1. Analysis of court cases brought under the Espionage Act before Judge Dyer at the Eastern District Court indicates that he in general handed out such lenient fines. The incident did not appear to harm the family's reputation because his son, County Assessor Henry Heidbreder served on the Third Creek Township Council of Defense. Missouri Council of Defense Directory, 51-52, folder 494, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>28</sup> For example in early June, the editor, Henry Castrop, argued that Wilson should live up to his rhetoric of self-determination, urged his readers to sign and send a petition to the President and Congress to call for Irish Independence. Untitled editorial, and "Petition to the President and Congress for the Independence of Ireland," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 14 June 1917, 1, 4.

<sup>29</sup> "Wer den Bogen überspannt," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 28 June 1917, 4. Another example is a front-page editorial in which Castrop offered the perfect explanation for why the nation had to resort to the draft to man the military. He explained that the numbers of volunteers were so low because few honorable men, who under normal circumstances would gladly support their country, would want to dethrone a

Kaiser who had never hurt them, nor sacrifice limb and life for England or millionaires. Untitled editorial, *Osage County Volksblatt*, 24 May 1917, 1.

<sup>30</sup> According to Arndt, Henry Castrop was the editor and publisher for the *Osage County Volksblatt* from 1902 to 1917. The 1910 Census, however, notes Castrop's profession as steamboating. Karl J. R. Arndt and Mary E. Olson, *German American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg, Germany: Quelle & Meyer Verlag, 1961; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965), 280. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Washington Township, Enumeration District 127, 1 A, Household 8, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>31</sup> "Zum Abschied," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 19 July 1917, 1.

<sup>32</sup> The circulation numbers for 1916 and 1917 are not available and could have certainly declined dramatically as the war approached. Arndt, *German American Newspapers*, 280.

<sup>33</sup> One explanation could have been Castrop's recent increase in work because he had been appointed as State Senator Sam B. Cook's clerk. He had already warned his readers that during the legislative session he might not always be able to print the weekly paper. "An die Leser," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 1 February 1917, 1.

<sup>34</sup> "Zum Abschied," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 19 July 1917, 1.

<sup>35</sup> While the reasons are unclear, it appears from the 1920 census that both Henry Castrop and his brother Joseph Castrop as well as their families left Osage County to resettle in Cambridge Township in northeastern Saline County. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Missouri, Saline County, Cambridge Township, Enumeration District 184, 12 A, Households 251 and 252, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>36</sup> The Missouri Council of Defense relied primarily on newspapers to measure the patriotism of specific areas. For example, the *Missouri on Guard*, the official publication of the state council of defense, asked that county council secretaries send clippings from newspapers that demonstrated the loyalty and pro-war activities of county and township councils to Jefferson City. "Send in Clippings," *Missouri on Guard*, 1, No. 6 (March 1918): 7.

<sup>37</sup> Numbers for the First and Second Liberty Loan are not available. For the Third Liberty Loan, the German school districts all surpassed their quota and Rich Fountain had the highest average (\$319.23) per purchaser in the entire county. "Liberty Loan Report," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 May 1918, 4; and "Liberty Loan Report," *Osage County Republican*, 16 May 1918, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Several highly respected members from the German communities in Osage County, including W. A. Willibrand from Freeburg and Father Muckermann from Linn, offered their services as public speakers throughout the German communities. "An Able Address," *Unterrified Democrat*, 2 August 1917, 1; and "Korrespondenzen: Westphalia," *Missouri Volksfreund* (Jefferson City), 3 October 1918, 4.

<sup>39</sup> "Flag Day in Linn," *Unterrified Democrat*, 21 June 1917, 1.

<sup>40</sup> During my interview with Martin Schulte, I asked him whether anyone in Freeburg told him during World War I to stop speaking German. His answer was "Hell No! This is a free country." Martin Schulte, interviewed by Petra DeWitt and John Viessman, tape recording, 2 July 2003, Victory Gardens, Vienna, Missouri, located at Capitol Museum, Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City, Missouri. The Notre Dame Sisters stopped teaching German in the parochial school in Westphalia in 1928 and St. Nicholas "still comes every December 6<sup>th</sup> without fail." Martina Holterman, to Petra DeWitt, 29 September 2003, letter in possession of author.

<sup>41</sup> The unit was inducted into federal service at the state mobilization camp near Nevada, Missouri, on 5 August 1917. From Nevada the unit moved to Camp Doniphan at Fort Sill, Oklahoma where it was renamed 138<sup>th</sup> Field Hospital and became part of the 110<sup>th</sup> Sanitary Train, 35<sup>th</sup> Division. Sergeant Ben Meyer, former staff member of the *Unterrified Democrat*, sent regular updates to the newspaper and kept the readers informed about training, promotions and sickness. For example, five men were sent home from Camp Clark after physical examination due to disabilities. They were H. E. Beckman, B. C. Francis, F. W. Kiesker, Adriel Langendoerfer, and O. E. Fulbright. "Field Hospital No. 2 Notes," *Unterrified Democrat*, 6 September 1917, 1, and 20 September 1917, 1. Report of the Adjutant General of Missouri, Jan 1, 1917 - December 31, 1920, 98.

<sup>42</sup> The hospital company's officers included Major W. W. Gilbert, MD, from St. Louis, First Lieutenant Hans Schaerrer, MD, from Chamois, First Lieutenant Isaac G. Cook, MD, from Morrison, Gasconade County, and First Lieutenant Henry Rothman, MD, from Washington, Franklin County. The majority, fifty of seventy-five enlisted men hailed from Osage County, and of those, nineteen came from Chamois and sixteen from Linn. Search of the 1920 census resulted in five men from Chamois and two from elsewhere in the county having one German parent or grandparents. "Field Hospital No. 2, N. G.

M." *Unterrified Democrat*, 28 June 1917, 1; and "Hospital Co. No. 2," *Unterrified Democrat*, 23 August 1917, 1. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>43</sup> The Missouri National Guard was inducted into federal service on 5 August 1917. According to the Missouri Constitution, the governor had the power to authorize by executive order the organization of a temporary military force that would serve in the absence of the National Guard and fulfill its home defense functions. Governor Frederick D. Gardner on 17 July 1917 called for the organization of Home Guard units in every county. Report of the Adjutant General of Missouri, January 1, 1917-December 31, 1920, 37-38; and "Proclamation," folder 239, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>44</sup> The guard unit was fully established by 11 August 1917, and members had elected their officers. J. Richard Garstang (city attorney and co-founder of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Hospital) served as Captain, D. A. Gibbs as First Lieutenant, and Joseph Miller as Second Lieutenant. J. R. Garstang, to Wm. F. Saunders, 11 August 1917, folder 1042, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>45</sup> Report of the Adjutant General of Missouri, Jan 1, 1917 - December 31, 1920, 37-38.

<sup>46</sup> "Brief Items of Passing Interest," *Osage County Republican*, 19 April 1917, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Wm. F. Saunders, to Mumford, 8 April 1918, folder 154, MCDP, WHMC. It is unclear just what caused this order. There is no evidence of reports regarding slacking or outright disloyal behavior or remarks in the correspondence with the Missouri Council of Defense prior to March 1918. There certainly is no evidence of draft dodging in Osage County. Analysis of selective service registration cards indicates that fewer than 40% of registered men requested exemptions. That is much lower than the state's 60% average. Records of World War I Selective Service Registration Cards for Missouri, 1917-1918, Microfilm, M1509, Osage County, Roll 1751 and 1752, located at National Archives and Records Administration, Central Plains Region, Kansas City, Missouri. Christopher C. Gibbs, *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri's Resistance to World War I* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 103. The First Liberty Loan received scant coverage in local papers and it is unclear whether the county met its quota. The Second Liberty Loan received more coverage and a well-organized telephone campaign indicates a growing push to get every citizen involved. But, again, no numbers were published. "Telephone Campaign is Proving Big Success," *Osage County Republican*, 25 October 1917, 3.

<sup>48</sup> Robert A. Glenn, to Wm. F. Saunders, 14 May 1918, folder 880, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>49</sup> J. Richard Garstang, former prosecuting attorney for Osage County, as the president of the Epsworth League of the Methodist Church was instrumental in setting up a letter writing campaign that sent 10,600 letters to American soldiers stationed overseas. And as an attorney he provided free legal service to soldiers and their families. Biography of John Richard Garstang, attachment to letter, Phyllis Garstang, to Petra DeWitt, 15 January 2004, letter and biography in possession of author.

<sup>50</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. Dr. Otto Keuper, according to the 1920 census, was the son of German parents and a dentist. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 133, 7A, Household 145. Only two members of the Benton Township Council of Defense, Chairman Fred Stonner and Walter Langeman, had parents born in Germany. Interestingly, Garstang's wife had German-born parents. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 133, 4A, Household 84.

<sup>51</sup> Gardner threatened to declare martial law in Missouri if "at any time I become convinced that there is in any community in this state an organized movement of these traitorous wretches." If found and convicted, these enemies of the nation should "face a firing squad and thus suffer that fate which traitors so richly deserve." "Pro-Germans Classed as Spies by Gardner, Warned to Keep out of Missouri," reprinted from the *St. Louis Republic*, 8 April 1918, by the Missouri Council of Defense, located in folder 1702, Collection 1041, E. Y. Mitchell, Jr., Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia. The *Kansas City Times* paraphrased Gardner as stating that pro-Germans should be lined up along a brick wall and "shot at sunrise." "A Pro-German is a Spy," *Kansas City Times*, 8 April 1918, 1.

<sup>52</sup> "The Next Campaign," *Unterrified Democrat*, 25 April 1918, 3.

<sup>53</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC

<sup>54</sup> The quota for Osage County was \$5,940 and after the meeting the county had raised \$6,360. "Red Cross Campaign," *Unterrified Democrat*, 30 May 1918, 1; and "Local and Personal," *Unterrified Democrat*, 30 May 1918, 3.

<sup>55</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC; and J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. It is possible that Paulsmeyer

heard the rumor that female Red Cross workers were prostitutes, however, evidence demonstrates that Mrs. Steichen was a respected lady. "Local and Personal," *Unterrified Democrat*, 30 May 1918, 3; and J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC. This persistent rumor resulted in a fight in Monett, Barry County, Missouri, during the December 1917 Red Cross membership campaign. Henry Fletcher of Caddo County, Oklahoma, was awaiting a southbound train at the Monett depot. A Red Cross worker approached him and inquired whether he would like to join. Fletcher allegedly replied that he would not because the President was sending teen-age Red Cross workers to France as prostitutes. In the subsequent argument an Army sergeant knocked Fletcher down and started to kick him out the door of the depot while onlookers yelled "Kill him! Kill him!" Police arrested Fletcher and he paid a \$100 fine for disturbing the peace. J. F. Mermoud, to W. F. Saunders, no date (response dated 5 Jan 1918), folder 751, MCDP, WHMC. "Taken Before Federal Authorities," *The Monett Times*, 28 December 1917, 3; "Severely Dealt With for Disparaging Talk Made About Red Cross," *Springfield Daily Leader*, 21 December 1917, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Both witnesses, Hugo Lecuru and Joseph Miller, lived in Chamois. Lecuru appears as the bugler for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Hospital in 1917. "Hospital Co. No. 2," *Unterrified Democrat*, 23 August 1917, 1. Miller served as Second Lieutenant of the Chamois Home Guard Unit from August 1917 through May 1918. J. Richard Garstang, to Wm. F. Saunders, 11 August 1917, folder 1042, MCDP, WHMC. Paulsmeyer, whose father was born in Germany, was the assistant cashier of the Peoples Bank of Chamois. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Enumeration District 133, 4 A, Household 76, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia. And Richard Garstang who reported the incident to the State Council of Defense was a leading member of the community.

<sup>57</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>58</sup> F. B. Mumford, to J. Richard Garstang, 7 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>59</sup> Paulsmeyer was called to military service and physical examination on 17 August 1917. "Notice of Call and to Appear for Physical Examination," *Osage County Republican*, 2 August 1917, 1. Paulsmeyer was one of forty-one men exempted by the local board "on grounds of physical disability." "Proceedings of Exemption Board," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 August 1917. Without further explanation Paulsmeyer appears in the 27 June 1918 newspaper list of draftees who had been sent to Camp Pike, Arkansas, on 25 June 1918. "Soldiers and Sailor Boys," *Unterrified Democrat*, 27 June 1918, 2. Paulsmeyer remained a private during his service at a medical infirmary and was honorably discharged at demobilization. Paulsmeyer, Paul J., World War I Military Service Records, State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

<sup>60</sup> Paulsmeyer worked as the assistant cashier until 1935 when the bank closed. George Kishmar, *History of Chamois, Missouri* (Jefferson City: Jeff-City Printing, Inc., 1975), 114.

<sup>61</sup> With possibly the exception of the *Osage County Enterprise* for which I have been unable to find copies. Yet the absence of the publication of this incident speaks volumes in itself. Local leaders may have thought that evidence of such disloyalty would smudge the image of Chamois as a super-patriotic and loyal town.

<sup>62</sup> Affidavit of Private Frank Oidtmann, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>63</sup> Oidtmann met Walz at the local barbershop and asked him whether he knew why his supervisor, cashier Joseph Kuster, had not reported for drill duty. "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. Walz subsequently explained that he had been tired when he made this "foolish" remark. Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. It is also probable that many of the home guard members had bragged so much about their unit and preparations for the upcoming Fourth of July parade that Walz had heard enough. Furthermore, Walz, the son of a local minister who had been well known in St. Louis before their move to Osage County in 1917, might have believed himself beyond reproach. "Schwaben ehren Landesmann," *Westliche Post*, 19 October 1917, 7.

<sup>64</sup> Report of H. E. Steinman, to CPT J. Richard Garstang, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>65</sup> Walz in his defense asserted that he and Steinmann did not like each other. He knew that Steinmann had borrowed money from friends and never made attempts to pay any interest on these loans. Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>66</sup> Report of H. E. Steinman, to CPT J. Richard Garstang, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. Walz later stated that he at no time slandered the United States nor the Home Guard but had said "personal things that might have been misunderstood." Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. He believed that pre-existing personal relationships and his being an assistant cashier privy to sensitive financial information of clients may have played an important role in

the Fourth of July incident. Indeed, Walz was concerned that sensitive information about this "personal matter" would become public knowledge and thus subject to a libel suit because his statement was to be published in local newspapers. E. Walz, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>67</sup> Walz had made the remark "to hell with the flag" before the passage of the Sedition Act. President Wilson signed the Sedition Act into law on 16 May 1918. It made it a crime to "willfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the United States government, Constitution flag, or armed forces. Why he was not charged for his remarks against the Home Guard is unclear. J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. Sedition Act was an amendment to the Espionage Act that outlawed seditious language. Public Law 65-150, "An Act to Amend Section Three, Title One, on an Act entitled 'An Act to Punish....'" 40 Stat. 553, Date: 05/16/18, Text from: United States Public Laws, available from *LexisNexis™ Congressional* (Online Service) (Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service).

<sup>68</sup> Adjutant General Harvey C. Clark, to J. R. Garstang, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>69</sup> For example, Walz on several occasions allegedly refused to salute the American flag and allegedly said "to hell with the flag." "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. Walz subsequently explained that when called upon to salute the American flag, he had been startled and had reacted too quickly. Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>70</sup> "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>71</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, f 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>72</sup> Upon further investigation it became clear that Walz's initial expression "To Hell with the Flag" did not violated the Espionage Act and that he had made the remark before the passage of the Sedition Act, in May 1918, an amendment to the Espionage that outlawed seditious language. W. F. Saunders, to Harvey C. Clark, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>73</sup> Reverend Hermann Walz was a member of the Swabian Singing Society, Swabian Mutual Aid Society, and St. Louis Chapter of the National German-American Alliance. "Schwaben ehren Landesmann," *Westliche Post*, 19 October 1917, 7; "Kersting is Expelled by Alliance," *The St. Louis Republic*, 26 May 1917, 3.

<sup>74</sup> No only did Erwin Walz replace Paulsmeyer at the bank, but his father, Reverend Walz also officiated at the wedding between Paul Paulsmeyer and Vanena Robinson on June 20, 1918, just days before Paulsmeyer left to serve his country. "Paulsmeyer-Robinson," *Osage County Republican*, June 27, 1918, 1.

<sup>75</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> LT Harry Edward Steinmann was the grandson of German immigrants on his father's side. His mother would be considered old-stock American. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Census, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 133, 7 A, Household 137, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia. Frank Oidtman's grandparents were born in Germany. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manuscript Census, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 119, 6 A, Household 87, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>76</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>77</sup> "From Rev. Walz," newspaper clipping, date unknown, attached to J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 12 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>78</sup> Possibly inspired by the events, on Sunday, 14 July 1918, a group of eleven men from northern Osage County drove to Potsdam in neighboring Gasconade County and nailed an American flag to the porch of the post office. The following day this rather old and worn flag disappeared "and two new ones had taken its place." It was a surprise to many "why this building should have been the object of the visit" because the post office had always displayed the flag in a prominent place. "Potsdam News," *The Advertiser-Courier* (Hermann), 24 July 1918, 7.

<sup>79</sup> The Missouri Council of Defense decided in its meeting at Cape Girardeau in July 1918 to officially oppose the use of German "in schools, churches, lodges, and in public meetings of every character." Minutes of Meeting, Cape Girardeau, 12 July 1918, folder 409 and 502, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>80</sup> Emphasis the author's. "Speak United States," *Osage County Republican*, 11 July 1918, 1; same title, *Unterrified Democrat*, 11 July 1918, 2; and "German Talk Must Cease," *Osage County Enterprise* (Chamois), date unknown, newspaper clipping attached to letter, J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 12 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>81</sup> Dr. L. E. Souders, to W. F. Saunders, 2 August 1918, folder 373d, MCDP, WHMC; Walz argued that members of his congregation could only understand "the law and gospel in German." H. Walz, to

Wm. F. Saunders, 25 July 1918, folder 295, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>82</sup> Garstang, for example, lamented that the county council could only request the discouragement of the use of the language but could not prohibit it. J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 15 July 1918, folder 294, MCDP, WHMC. William Saunders also realized that the state council of defense had no enforcement powers but hoped that the general assembly, to meet in January 1919, would surely pass legislation in the matter. W. F. Saunders, to J. O. Barkley, 2 August 1918, folder 373d, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>83</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 15 July 1918, folder 294, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>84</sup> Reports of disloyal behavior and speech continued to arrive at Secretary Saunder's desk. For example, M. J. Murphy, a well-known speaker and member of the District Draft Board in Jefferson City, allegedly criticized the Missouri Council of Defense and made pro-German expressions during his speech at the dedication of a Service Flag in Linn on 28 July 1918. Wm. F. Saunders, to R. H. Bryan, 2 August 1918, and William Saunders to Father Muckermann, 3 August 1918, both in folder 1046, MCDP, WHMC. Since evidence of disloyal behavior continued to arrive in Jefferson City, Robert Glenn suggested an investigation through the American Protective League in October. There is no evidence that such an investigation actually took place. R. A. Glenn, to Chairman Mumford, 14 October 1918, folder 110, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>85</sup> My forthcoming study of Gasconade County and St. Louis demonstrates as well that local relationships and circumstances shaped the treatment of German-Americans during World War I. In Gasconade County, middle and upper class German-Americans urged and persuaded their fellow German speakers to demonstrate their loyalty on a daily basis in order to repudiate charges of slacking and disloyalty. In St. Louis, by contrast, pressures to appear loyal came from various sources, including the German community and other ethnic groups. Furthermore St. Louis had closer ties to major eastern metropolitan areas and thus was more likely to receive and publish information from the CPI.