

CENSORSHIP OF THE
GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS
DURING WORLD WAR I

by

LISA MICHELLE CHRISTENSEN

A THESIS

Presented to the School of Journalism
and the Honors College of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

June 1991

APPROVED:



Lauren Kessler

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Lisa Michelle Christensen for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the School of Journalism to be taken June 1991

Title: CENSORSHIP OF THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE
PRESS DURING WORLD WAR I

Censorship during times of war is not a new phenomenon. But the magnitude and of the censorship on the German-language press in America during World War I was devastating for these papers. Government and private censorship worked together to bring about the dramatic decline of a formerly vigorous and vital press. It is useful to compare the actions of the U.S. government and the effects toward the German-language press versus the treatment of a more non-controversial foreign-language press in America at the same time, the Danish-language press. In order to get a better understanding of the effect of government censorship, the relationship between German and Danish immigration and circulation figures for their respective foreign-language publications must be considered. This information supports the assumption that government censorship and control of the foreign-language press during the World War I era had a larger and more dramatic effect on the German-language press than the Danish-language press. Declines in immigration account for only part of these declines.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
I. THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS IN AMERICA . . .	4
Notes	19
II. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN IMMIGRATION AND THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS	22
Notes	36
III. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DANISH IMMIGRATION AND THE DANISH-LANGUAGE PRESS	39
Notes	48
IV. THE GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP OF THE FOREIGN- LANGUAGE PRESS	50
Notes	61
V. CONCLUSION	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	67

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Mother Tongue German and Danish	13
2. German Immigration: 1910-1930	22
3. Number of German-Language Publications: 1910-1930	25
4. Circulation of German Publications: 1910-1930	26
5. Danish Immigration: 1910-1930	37
6. Number of Scandinavian Publications: 1910-1930 . . .	41
7. Circulation of Scandinavian Publications: 1910-1930 . .	42
8. German Immigration & Circulation of German-Language Publications: 1910-1930	65
9. Danish Immigration & Circulation of Scandinavian Publications: 1910-1930	66

INTRODUCTION

The attempts on the part of the government of the United States to censor the foreign-language press during World War I have been well-documented. This censorship often occurred under the guise of protecting national security, at the expense of foreign-language publications' First Amendment rights. The United States government attempted to evoke feelings of nationalism and patriotism within the ranks of all American citizens at the onset of war in Europe. But in order for these attempts to succeed it was necessary to have the full support of the press.

Foreign-language publications, especially German-language papers, were often victims of suspicion and mistrust at this time. But the readers of other non-English publications such as the Danish-American press also felt their loyalty to their new homeland being challenged and their basic freedoms limited simply on account of their foreignness. These suspicions physically materialized in the form of the censorship of the foreign-language press. The Espionage Bill of 1917 allowed for official government censorship of the press and later amendments to the bill required English translations to be submitted for approval prior to publication which in essence amounted to censorship of the foreign-language press.

The short-term effect of this government intervention was the rapid decline of both Danish and German publications during and

after the war. Foreign-language publications, especially the German-language press never regained their pre-war size or influence. My study attempts to distinguish the causes of this decline and determine the role the U.S. Government censorship of the foreign-language press, particularly the German-language press, had on its decline in the period during and after World War I. I will attempt to answer this question by means of a comparison with the life cycle of the Danish-language press in America at the same time. Although the number of German immigrants and hence the number of German publications at this time period far surpassed that of Danish immigration and publications, they share several important characteristics. Germany and Denmark are culturally similar and geographically close to one another. Their peak immigration levels to the United States also occurred at the same time as well. Both immigrant groups were also considered part of the "old" immigration from northeastern Europe as opposed to the "new" immigration from eastern and southern Europe. And as such, they generally faced less opposition because of this desirable attribute. The question of censorship of the German-language papers is particularly relevant in light of the fact that for the period between 1820 and 1950, the largest total of immigrants from one country came from Germany.

There are several important differences between the German-American and Danish-American publications. First of all, at the beginning of German hostilities, German-language papers in America supported Germany and attempted to cover the German side of the

story. In contrast, the Danish-American press never supported the German cause. The German-language press was also larger and more numerous than the Danish-language press. Danish settlement patterns led to the development of predominantly rural publications, while the German-language press of the period was centered primarily in large urban areas. Danish-language publications were often sponsored by religious organizations and most German publications were secular in nature. German-Americans were viewed with a greater degree of suspicion no matter how they attempted to prove their loyalties to their new homeland. As a result of these suspicions, their publications faced a greater amount of opposition. Following the end of the war, both the German-American and the Danish-American press declined significantly. This finding suggests that other factors besides censorship contributed to their subsequent decline. I will explore these other causes in order to get a clearer picture of the overall long-term impact of government censorship on the German-language press.

CHAPTER 1

THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS IN AMERICA

The foreign language press in America has been said to fulfill two main roles in the lives of immigrants. On the one hand, it helps immigrants maintain contact with other immigrants, provides them gossip and news of their homeland, and Americanizes recent immigrants by providing them with information about their new country. On the other hand, the foreign language press has also been seen as a nationalistic force that preserves old attachments toward immigrants' former homes and creates an antipathy towards American life.¹

The immigrant press acts as both a brake and an accelerator in the assimilation process. It functions as a brake by isolating and segregating the foreign language community. Yet it also functions as an accelerator by assisting immigrants in the ways of their new country by transmitting American ideals and thereby facilitating the assimilation process.² Five historical perspectives on the role of the immigrant press have been proposed.³ They are: nationalistic-nativist, filiopietistic, progressive, scientific, and ethnocultural.

The first of these, nationalistic-nativist view, sees immigrants as the raw material necessary to create Americans. This view has also been called the "Melting Pot" theory. But even under the melting pot theory, immigrants have been victims of persecution based on

foreignness and strange ideas. These suspicions materialized in the form of immigrant press censorship during the first world war. John Higham in his book Strangers in the Land defines nativism in its broadest sense as "every type and level of antipathy towards aliens, their institutions, and their ideas."⁴ The term nativism was coined in the 1840's and there have been three basic trends of nativism: anti-Catholic, anti-radical and Anglo-Saxon. In a more narrow definition of nativism, Higham describes it as an "intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign connections."⁵ Feelings of nativism ebbed and flowed in relation to the economic and social health of the country and the perceived threat of immigrants. For the most part, German immigrants were accepted into American society, despite their rather boisterous amusements. Through an extension of the Anglo-Saxon American ideal, both Germans and Scandinavians were accepted more easily than many immigrants from southern Europe.

But when war in Europe began in 1914, German-Americans began to feel the effects of nativism. Although America's first inclination was toward pacifism and isolationism, most American sentiments sympathized with Britain.⁶ World War I was the first international conflict between the United States and the country which sent it a large portion of its immigrant population (Germany). Germans made up the largest single foreign-born nationality in the United States at

the time of the war. Prior to the war German-Americans had acquired social and economic prestige and were viewed as hardworking, loyal and patriotic.⁷ But with the advent of hostilities, public opinion shifted and German immigrants were suspected of disloyalty. German-American's sympathies toward the Fatherland and their occasional attempts to influence American foreign policy did not help sway public opinion in their favor.⁸ The nativist movement against so-called "hyphenated" Americans was led by Theodore Roosevelt and supported by Woodrow Wilson. This movement demanded loyalty of immigrants and helped contribute to the growing anti-German sentiment.

A growing nativism also helped the passage of a 1917 immigration law that restricted radical immigration and included a literacy test that excluded adult immigrants unable to read a simple passage in some language. On February 5, 1917, President Wilson's veto was overruled and the bill became law.⁹ During the war years the nativist goal of 100 % Americanism demanded universal conformity and a total national loyalty. In doing so, citizens were performing a service to the nation.¹⁰ In order to help ensure this goal of total Americanization and loyalty, volunteer organizations were formed. The American Protective League was one of the largest of these. It served as a semi-official auxiliary to the Justice Department and was comprised of 1,200 units and claimed to have 250,000 members.¹¹ This secret

society was established in order to spy on American citizens and act as a watchdog for unpatriotic thoughts and actions. According to the nativist perspective, during the war years, it could no longer be assumed that the melting pot functioned automatically. The Americanization of immigrants was no longer thought to be a natural process. Instead this goal needed additional help in order to make the immigrant truly part of American society.

A second historical perspective is the filiopietism view in which native-born historians defended the loyalty of their fellow countrymen and espoused the contributions of the ethnic culture. Historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century contributed much in the recognition of outstanding ethnic personalities. One America by Brown and Roucek lists examples of achievements of members of the various ethnic groups in America who excelled in a wide variety of occupations. The German and Danish immigrants were no exception and many Americans of German or Danish birth made remarkable achievements which were recorded by the historians of the time.

A third and more commonly held perception of the foreign-language press was the view formulated by the progressive historians. Progressive historians believed the problem of ethnicity was a dilemma to be solved by means of greater assimilation and Americanization of immigrants through education. The work of Robert E. Park most clearly fits into this category. He defined

Americanization as "The union of native and foreign born in all the most fundamental relationships and activities of national life."¹² In a strange country, the immigrant's use of their native language was a strong force for assimilation and organization. The foreign-language press capitalized on this and gained popularity during their time of need. Immigrants read more because there was more to read about their new home. The immigrant press provided information on the goings on in their new home, and served an important informational function for the immigrant. This perspective also held that in the transition from one language to another a conflict of loyalties was involved and this conflict created a divided self for the immigrant.¹³

In this view, the immigrant press was seen as encouraging the nationalistic tendencies of the immigrant because it played upon their natural feelings of isolation and loneliness that occurred in this unfamiliar environment.¹⁴ In doing so, it prevented assimilation because the immigrant related more closely with the goings on in their former homeland than with those of their adopted home. The preservation of foreign language was facilitated by the foreign-language press. It also enabled them to maintain contact with other immigrants in America and with their former homeland.¹⁵

Robert E. Park was a historian of the progressive era. Park, a sociologist and former journalist, studied the foreign-language press in

depth in his book, The Foreign-Language Press in America. This work was part of a ten-volume Americanization series done by University of Chicago sociologists during the 1920's, the heyday of the progressive era.¹⁶ These Americanization theorists did not feel that a mandatory Americanization process was beneficial, but none-the-less, their overall goal was for the participation and assimilation of immigrants into all aspects of American life. To this end the foreign-language press was a useful tool for providing immigrants with information on the laws and political customs of their new country, through a medium they were familiar with, the foreign-language press.

The Americanization theory became increasingly popular during World War I. It was felt by some of this school that immigrants should let go of their heritage immediately and become standardized Americans. Their racial heritage was an impediment to be cast away, not matter how important or dear it was to them.¹⁷ Conformity with other prototypical Americans was the end goal of this theory. This differed from the nativism perspective in that its goals were not an intense drive to destroy the enemies of the American way of life. Rather it attempted to befriend immigrants and make them see the benefits of conformity. The foreign-language press was criticized by some Americanization theorists on the grounds that it actually retarded assimilation, preserved foreign languages, and continued to bind the immigrant to their former home. In doing so, immigrants

also maintained their intense nationalistic feelings rather than replace them with patriotic American loyalties.¹⁸

Some immigrant papers discouraged this Americanization process, but may have unwittingly encouraged it by urging their readers to learn the news of America they provided. Advertisements for American goods in foreign-language papers further prepared immigrants for citizenship.¹⁹ The immigrant press was a more effective way to reach non-English-speaking audiences. While the immigrants were in the process of perfecting their English speaking skills, a newspaper in their mother tongue was the most effective purveyor of information about the political and social life of America.

One final corollary of the Americanization theory was its prediction for the future of the foreign-language press. According to this theory, once groups of immigrants became assimilated, their need for foreign-language papers diminished as they relied more and more on mainstream English publications. As a result, foreign-language papers published less frequently, and eventually not at all, as their mission as an agent of assimilation was completed.

The 'scientific' approach to the foreign-language press was similar in many respects to that of the progressive historians with their emphasis on Americanization.²⁰ Research supporting the scientific approach was primarily done in the 30's and 40's and attempted to study systematically the immigrant in American history. This view

attempted to show that the foreign language press aided in assimilating immigrants and eased their culture shock upon arrival to America. Newspapers and other similar immigrant organizations helped them adjust to life in America. Practitioners of the scientific approach attempted to provide a critical, unbiased approach to the study of immigrants and their institutions, particularly the immigrant press. Newspapers aided in the assimilation and Americanization of immigrants. The foreign-language press eased the culture shock felt by newcomers and made their adjustment to American life easier by teaching them about their new country. Carl Wittke, one of the major contributors to this research, explains the role of the foreign-language press.

The foreign-language press, whatever nationality group it may happen to represent, has a double role to perform. As a matter of self-interest, as well as for deep emotional reasons, it is concerned with preserving the cultural ties of the immigrant with the land of his origin, promoting the activities of the group in its news home, and keeping the mother tongue alive as long as possible . . . It is the function of the immigrant press to initiate the immigrant into his new environment and to interpret for him, in words he can understand, the political, economic, and social pattern of America.²¹

This perspective is particularly concerned with the adjustment of first generation immigrants and ways to ease their homesickness with news from home and other immigrants. The foreign-language press

made immigrants aware of the goings on in their new home and this information was most effectively transmitted in their familiar native language.

Until World War I, there was little government regulation or restriction of the foreign-language press. Foreign-language papers, according to this perspective, found it difficult to maintain their readership past a first generation of immigrant readers. As the children of immigrants became assimilated into American life, they found little need or interest in the foreign-language press of their parents. Wittke defined this process of Americanization as the "harmonious blending of old and new."²² This process developed a uniquely American culture by blending the best of the new with the heritage of the old. The immigrant press played a large role in this slow and steady process of assimilation. The use of the mother tongue was a source of security to immigrants who could read news of home while making the adjustment. The Americanization process occurred through editorials, advertising, and news stories in foreign-language papers. These prepared immigrants for their new lives by providing them with the history, law, customs, ideals, and traditions of American life.

This perspective has its own theory about the decline and eventual demise of the foreign-language press.

Obviously, the better the immigrant press performs its

peculiar role, the sooner it signs its own death warrant. If there is no continuing immigration, the foreign-language press cannot avoid a sharp decline, for the forces of Americanization cut deeply into circulation by the time the second generation meets maturity.²³

For the German-language press, its greatest threat occurred during World War I. At this time, all things German were considered suspect and potentially treasonable. The "hundred percent Americanization" campaign threatened the existence of German language, music, literature, and the press.²⁴ According to the scientific approach on immigration, World War I forced Americans to discover their population was not as assimilated and homogeneous as previously thought. Anti-German sentiment and campaigns against "hyphenated Americans" challenged theorists who believed the melting pot theory was a natural process that occurred in an orderly, predictable way.

The final perspective on immigrants in America, Ethnocultural analysis, focused on immigrants as a subculture with persistent old world traits. One of the traits this perspective describes was the phenomenon of language loyalty. Two contradictory processes were at work in the immigrant culture. On the one hand, there was a strong pressure towards Americanization, yet, on the other hand, there remained a strong trend toward cultural-linguistic self maintenance among immigrant groups. But, most attention was focused on the Americanization aspect of the lives of immigrants. The ethnocultural

analysis attempted to look at cultural and language maintenance efforts in the United States. The cultural and linguistic maintenance efforts of American minority groups remained virtually unknown to most Americans. Most attention was focused on the "disappearance phenomena" of Americanization and assimilation, but little attention was turned toward the "maintenance phenomena" of minority groups trying to retain and develop their heritages.²⁵

Language loyalty occurred since the beginnings of this country for a variety of reasons. The non-English languages of America were divided into roughly three groups: indigenous or native languages, colonial languages, and immigrant languages.²⁶ The colonial and immigrant languages were of particular interest to the German-American press. German was considered both a colonial and immigrant language because while it was one of the languages of the original colonists along with English, Spanish, French, Russian, Swedish, and Dutch; it was not a large-scale colonial language.²⁷ The majority of German-speakers arrived during periods of mass immigration to the United States, 1880-1920. German and Danish were considered immigrant languages as illustrated by table one.

TABLE 1

MOTHER TONGUE GERMAN

1st Generation	2nd Generation	1st & 2nd Total
----------------	----------------	-----------------

1910	2,501,333	6,058, 239	8,559,572
1920	1,686, 108	5,896,983	7,583,091

MOTHER TONGUE DANISH

	1st Generation	2nd Generation	1st & 2nd Total
1910	181,649	257,524	439,173
1920	189,154	274,150	463,304

Languages and traditions of immigrants were established in the United States because they were valued and because they provided an escape from homesickness. When forced with the novel situation of assimilation, immigrants found their old ways of life, including their language, disappearing. As a response to this, ways of protecting the language and culture of the "old" country developed. Some of these responses included institutions and organizations, schools, newspapers, ethnic foods, celebrations and costumes.²⁸ At a time of great social change for first generation immigrants there was a need for some sense of continuity in their lives and language loyalty and maintenance provided this stability. The Americanization and naturalization processes became a part of American national identity and the need for de-ethnization of immigrants was an unquestioned process in most peoples' minds. The ease of which this de-

ethnization occurred was a remarkable achievement. This phenomenon was explained by several factors including, the attractiveness of American mass culture, the destruction of immigrant folkways because of rapid industrialization and urbanization, the openness of the American reward system in the form of public education and social mobility, the geographic mobility of a diverse population, the emphasis on a youth culture, and old world weariness.²⁹ The American society placed high value on the non-ethnic qualities of freedom, morality, and opportunity and by accepting these American goals and values, the immigrants also accepted the lifestyles, customs and language of America. Anti-foreign and anti-immigration movements in the U.S. usually occurred during times of social or economic dislocation. World War I was a direct blow to adherents of the German culture and language, but this direct opposition was the exception, not the rule in American history.

The persistence of ethnic groups and ethnicity is an anomaly in a culture that prides itself on being the great melting pot of peoples, cultures and languages. Language loyalty and maintenance still exist in America and many groups retain their unique ethnicity even after the passage of three or four generations. It is of interest to note that third and subsequent generations of foreign immigrants still think of themselves in ethnic terms complete with positive attitudes and interest in their heritage.³⁰ The lack of a core American culture may

help explain why the melting pot idea has not been completely successful. Ethnicity is still a strong force in American life, but it is often not recognized as such.

These five perspectives on the role of the foreign-language press in America have been met with varying degrees of support and numbers of adherents at different times in history. The overall mood or atmosphere in the United States was a strong force in dictating which of these perspectives was currently in vogue. But all of these perspectives added understanding about the place of the immigrant or foreign-language press in American history. All of these perspectives had legitimate merit despite the different forces which brought them into being. There existed considerable overlap between these theories, and therefore, these five distinctions were considered slightly artificial ones, but they were useful to understanding and appreciating the perceived role of foreign-language publications in America at the time of World War I.

For example, the nationalistic-nativist view strongly encouraged the processes of Americanization and assimilation as did the progressive historians. But the nativist perspective was a more severe, hysterical response to the perceived threat of foreign-language institutions like foreign-language publications. Following the hysteria and division that arose during World War I, believers in the nativist school of thought came to realize that Americanization was by no

means a fully automatic, naturally occurring process. Instead it must be carefully guided in order to ensure that recent immigrants become truly Americanized. The progressive historians largely believed that Americanization was a natural process given the immigrants immersion in the American way of life. The foreign-language press was an important purveyor of the information necessary for the assimilation of immigrants. The scientific approach also shared the progressive historians emphasis on the Americanization process. But the scientific view differed in that it attempted to study this phenomenon in a more orderly and objective fashion. The progressive and scientific views also shared the same predictions for the future of the foreign language press in America. Both agreed that once the press served its assimilation function, the demand for its services would subsequently decline and it would eventually cease to exist. The ethnocultural perspective agreed with the other perspectives in many respects, but differed on one important point, the future of the foreign-language press in America. This perspective instead focused on the cultural-linguistic self maintenance phenomena among immigrant and ethnic groups. The persistence of language loyalty and the foreign-language press pointed to the larger issue of the force of ethnicity in American life and the foreign-language press as a natural extension of this ethnicity.

Not to be overlooked are the accomplishments and special

adjustments faced by second and third generation Americans. Most attention has been focused on the challenges facing first generation immigrants, but second and third generations have their own unique position and challenges. At the time of World War I second and third generations could not be considered completely assimilated. It is debatable whether or not complete assimilation and accommodation are even desirable at any period in American history, contrary to the opinion of the progressive and scientific perspectives. The melting pot theory is appealing because of its simplicity, but it is not an accurate representation of the actual situation. Ethnicity remains in altered forms even among second and third generations. The theory that there is such a thing as a standardized American is also a highly questionable one. The cultural diversity that exists in America makes it difficult to even define what the characteristics of a typical American should be. A more accurate depiction of America would be a composite of peoples and cultures. Out of this diversity a few shared themes can be discerned though. These include the use of English in political and legal areas, technology, industrialism, urbanism, individualism, and protestantism.³¹ At times the culture and traditions brought by immigrant groups were at odds with the dominant American culture and concessions had to be made in an attempt to preserve some degree of heritage among immigrants. This placed conflicting demands on second generations and many found

they could not fit in either world. Even though the immigrant language may not have lasted beyond the first generation this does not mean that future generations could be considered completely assimilated.

NOTES
CHAPTER 1

1. Joseph S. Roucek, "The Foreign-Language Press and Radio," One America, ed. Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, 3d ed. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), 394-5.
2. Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 86-7.
3. Marian Tuttle Marzolf, The Danish-Language Press in America (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 4, citing Robert P. Swierenga, "Ethnocultural Political Analysis: A New Approach to American Ethnic Studies," Vol. 5, No. 1 (1971), American Studies, pp.59-79.
4. John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, 2d ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 3.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 194.
7. Ibid., 196.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 202-3.
10. Ibid., 205.
11. Ibid., 211.
12. Park, Immigrant Press, v.
13. Ibid., 43.
14. Ibid., 49-51.
15. Ibid., 55.
16. Marzolf, Danish Press, 6.
17. William Carlson Smith, Americans in the Making (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1939), 115.
18. Ibid., 188-9.

19. Ibid., 190.
20. Marzolf, Danish Press, 10.
21. Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America (University of Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 2.
22. Ibid., 3.
23. Ibid., 7.
24. Ibid., 236.
25. Joshua A. Fishman, Language Loyalty in the United States (The Netherlands: Mouton & Co., 1966), 21.
26. Ibid., 22.
27. Ibid., 23.
28. Ibid., 27.
29. Ibid., 29.
30. Ibid., 31.
31. Samuel Koenig, "Second and Third Generation Americans," One America, ed. Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, 3d ed (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), 508.

CHAPTER 2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN IMMIGRATION AND THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS

The German-language press shares the same characteristics that other foreign-language publications in America have been noted for over the years. With German immigration to America came the immigrants' simultaneous desire to maintain contact with other foreign born, exchange gossip and news from Germany, and learn the news, customs and traditions of America through a forum they could readily understand. Germans tried to preserve their old world heritage, both cultural and social, through their native language and used the German-language press to bridge the gap between their German past and their American present. For these reasons, the development of a German-language press in America was a natural progression and an inevitable occurrence.

The number of German papers in this country grew steadily as the number of German-speaking immigrants increased. But these publications faced a rapid and dramatic decline during World War I and the period following the war. In order to more fully understand the importance of this phenomenon it is first necessary to observe the patterns of German immigration to the United States and the relationship of the German-language press to these immigrants. German immigrants are considered to be part of the "old" immigration to the United States. The term "old" is used to describe

the first period of a great influx of immigration to America.¹ This immigration occurred primarily from northern Europe and included such countries as Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, The Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland.

The first mass German migration started in 1710 and lasted until the Revolutionary War, and was prompted by economic, political and religious pressures.² Immigrants from this period settled primarily in the New York area and in other Atlantic states. A second mass migration occurred following the Napoleonic Wars in 1815.³ Most of these immigrants tended to settle in the Midwest and their immigration was prompted by a variety of reasons. The third and largest wave of German immigration occurred during the last third of the 19th century and peaked in 1882. These immigrants spread over the whole country in both rural and urban areas.⁴ The one hundred year period from 1830-1930 was the time of the greatest mass migration from Europe to the United States, and German immigrants were the largest percentage of this influx. For this period, six million Germans came to the United States, and five million of these arrived prior to 1900.⁵ See table two for a description of immigration patterns.

TABLE 2⁶

GERMAN IMMIGRATION: 1910-1930

Immigration from Germany (for the decade preceding)	German-born in U.S.
--	---------------------

1910	341,498	2,311,085
1920	143,945	1,686,102
1930	412,202	1,608,814

Along with this immigration came the desire for German-language publications to preserve the old language and culture. Benjamin Franklin's German-language publication "Die Philadelphische Zietung" appeared in 1732 and has been credited as the first non-English publication in America.⁷ The number of German-language papers increased steadily through the 19th century in response to the influx of German immigration. The climax of the German language press, in terms of number of papers in publication, occurred in 1893-4 when almost 800 German-language publications were in circulation.⁸ Most of the large, successful German-language dailies were founded before 1870 and as these papers grew, they changed from specialized papers to broader based publications serving a wider range of readers.⁹

As with all other foreign-language publications, the German-language press was more popular with the first generation of German immigrants than with their children. These immigrants often knew little or no English when they arrived in America and while they were in the process of learning English, it was important to have an understandable source of news about their mother country and their new home. The German-language press was, for the most part, much like the American press except it was published in German.¹⁰ The point of view of these papers toward events in Europe and Germany reflected the opinions of their American readers, and their successful

commercial methods of production closely resembled that of the English-language, American dailies of the time. These strategies were adopted by German-language papers in order to survive and grow in America.

The assimilation and Americanization functions of the German-language press were also more relevant for first generation immigrants who needed information and news about American history, government, economics and social structure. The German-language press also enabled immigrants to preserve their unique cultural heritage by maintaining contact with other German-Americans and reaffirming the value of the German language and German ethnic contributions to America. But like other foreign-language publications, the German-language press was not immune to declining circulation and fewer publications in existence because of a lack of interest in the German language and press among the more Americanized second generation of German-Americans. However, the German press did outlast German immigration more successfully than the press of other foreign-speaking immigrants persisted after their peaks in immigration passed.¹¹ One possible explanation for this is that the German papers were better written and edited than other foreign-language publications of the time.

With the decline in German immigration after 1900 also came a gradual decline in the German-language press, but in 1914 prior to the start of World War I, German-language papers still made up almost half (46%) of the foreign-language press in America. Within

six years this percentage had declined to a little more than a quarter (26%).¹² After two and a half centuries of existence, the German-language press in America had experienced many changes and crises, but none was more far-reaching in its effects than that which occurred as a result of the changes brought on by World War I. The dramatic decline in the German-language press can only be partially attributed to declining immigration and the Americanization of their readership. The total number of German mother tongue publications was 554 in 1910, 234 in 1920, and 146 in 1930. This represents a 74% decrease over a 30 year span.¹³ This represents a greater and more rapid decline than any other foreign-language publication at the time. The circulation of German mother tongue publications also faced a similar decline of 60% for the same 30 year period.¹⁴ These rapid declines mark a departure from the gradual downward trend German-language publications were experiencing. Tables three and four offer a more detailed look at this phenomenon.

TABLE 3¹⁵

NUMBER OF GERMAN-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS: 1910-1930

<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Increase or</u>
<u>Decrease</u>			
Total Number of German-Language Publications			
554	234	146	-74%
Number of German-language Dailies			
70	29	22	-68%
Number of German-Language Weeklies			
433	172	106	-76%
Number of German-Language Monthlies			

49	31	17	-65%
Number of Mixed German-English Publications			
29	22	22	-24%
Number of English Publications Directed at German Ethnic			
91	92	78	-14%

Circulation figures for the German press show similar declines as shown in table four.

TABLE 4¹⁶

CIRCULATIONS OF GERMAN PUBLICATIONS: 1910-1930

<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Increase or</u>
<u>Decrease</u>			
Circulation of Mother-Tongue Publications			
(488)	(152)	(100)	
3,391,000	1,311,000	1,354,000	-60%
Circulation of German-Language Dailies			
(64)	(14)	(20)	
935,000	239,000	354,000	-62%
Circulation of German-Language Weeklies			
(383)	(119)	(72)	
2,092,000	831,000	832,000	-60%
Circulation of German-Language Monthlies			
(40)	(19)	(8)	
361,000	240,000	168,000	-53%
Circulation of German-English Publications			
(21)	(14)	(12)	
206,000	101,000	65,000	-68%
Circulation of English Publications directed at German Ethnic			
(72)	(68)	(42)	
701,000	847,000	598,000	-----

From 1910 to 1920 the number of first and second generations claiming German as their mother tongue declined from

approximately eight and a half million to seven and a half million. When these figures on mother tongue are broken down into first and second generations, the number of second generation speakers is greater in proportion to the number of first generation speakers for 1920.¹⁷ However, the fact remains that these rather modest declines could not have by themselves predicted the rapid downward spiral of the German-language press.

World War I marked the first time the United States government made an effort to restrict and regulate the foreign-language press. The war years from 1914 to 1918 were a difficult period in the history of the German-American immigrant. All things German were suspect, misunderstood, slandered and considered potentially treasonable.¹⁸ In the first three years of hostilities there was a slight upswing in the readership of German-American papers because German-Americans had no where else to turn for German news and information.¹⁹ At the time of the war, German-Americans were the largest single foreign-speaking immigrant group in the United States. It was widely suspected that German agents of propaganda were using the German-language press to undermine American goals. The four purported goals of this German propaganda were first, to prevent shipments of munitions to the Allies; second, to spread pacifism; third, to convert the American point of view over to the German side; and fourth, to promote dissension among elements in the population.²⁰ Most German-language papers supported Germany's cause prior to America's involvement in the war. These

papers felt it was their duty to provide their readership with the other side of the story. This natural sympathy toward their homeland, its institutions, and its people was seen as propaganda by some.²¹ When the United States entered the war German-language papers gradually reversed this position and adopted a pro-American stance.

In the beginning of the war with Europe, the United States declared its neutral position which was quite in line with its isolationist philosophy at the time. But editors of some German-language papers questioned the United States' so-called neutrality since the U.S. still supplied war materials to the Allies. Although the German-language papers remained loyal to the U.S. they felt the war was not supported by the majority of Americans. But the majority of Americans did not side with Germany's position. Their sympathies lay instead with the position of the Allies even prior to U.S. involvement.²² Since most of the direct lines of information and communication with Germany were broken at the beginning of the war, the German-American press felt it had a duty to educate the Americans about the German position.²³

When the United States declared war on Germany in April of 1917, partially in response to Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, German-language papers in the United States underwent a gradual shift in their editorial policies and most papers made the re-adjustment to a supportive position. German-Americans felt it was their duty as United States citizens to support

the war. The World War I era was a difficult time for the editors of these papers. As old memories and loyalties toward Germany surfaced, it created a divided loyalty among readers. Historically, anti-foreign and anti-immigration movements in the United States occurred during times of social and economic dislocation, and World War I was no exception to this unfortunate trend.²⁴ German-Americans were pressured to give up their separatist attitudes and conform to an ideal conception of model American citizens. This nativist trend surfaced again with the beginning of World War I and two outward manifestations of it were the drives against "hyphenated Americans" and for "100 per cent Americanism." The drive for Americanization also appeared in official government censorship of the foreign-language press through the threatened loss of second class mailing privileges and through quasi-official movements which fed on the anti-German wave of hysteria that swept the United States. This led in some cases to unstable editorial policies at German-language papers as they attempted to satisfy their readers and conform to the government's censorship.

At this time there were a variety of German-language publications, but all faced severe declines. The number of German-language dailies and the circulation of these dailies declined dramatically during and after World War I. In 1910 over half (54%) of all foreign-language dailies were German, but by 1960, they made up only 7% of the foreign-language dailies in the United States.²⁵ This decline can be partially attributed to the widespread anti-

German sentiment present both during and after World War I. German-language daily newspapers never regained their pre-war size or stature, although they made slight gains in circulation in the decade following.²⁶ German weekly papers also followed this same downward trend. All foreign-language weekly publications faced declining numbers and circulations at this time, partially because the position of weekly papers was more tenuous than that of daily papers. But once again, the decline in German-language publications was more acute than for other foreign-language publications. In 1910, German weeklies made up 56% of all foreign-language weeklies and this had dropped to 15% by 1960.²⁷ Monthly German-language publications faced similar declines in this period as well.

One response to declining immigration and greater Americanization pressures on German-Americans was the development of the mixed, German and English, publication. This was an attempt to maintain American born children of immigrants as readers. In this was they attempted to bridge the linguistic gap between immigrants and their children. There was a broader base of readership for such publications among German speaking immigrants and their anglicized children. But these publications usually served a transitional role as the English portions pushed out the foreign-language ones. The second generation readers of the mixed German and English language papers were less faithful readers than the first generation subscribers. In 1910, these mixed publications were limited to German-American and Scandinavian-American ones.²⁸

These immigrant groups were some of the earliest non-English speaking groups and were farthest along in their assimilation. They created a demand for this sort of press. The Americanization of German immigrants was at a point where the demand for non-English publications could be supplemented by a mixed German-English press. In 1910, the German and Scandinavian publications made up over half (52%) of the mixed publications in America.²⁹

One final type of publication directed at German-Americans and other ethnic groups were English-language publications which were specifically directed at German ethnic groups. The English-language press for ethnic groups was a third way station in the process of immigrant assimilation and accommodation to American life. Three ethnic groups have historically shown an affinity for the English-language ethnic press. They are Germans, Jews, and Scandinavians and together these three groups made up 94% of all the English language publications for ethnic groups in 1910.³⁰ Also in 1910, 99% of the total English-Ethnic publication circulation could be attributed to these three groups.³¹ An extensive English-language press directed at ethnic groups tends to develop among groups that possess educational advantages and other reinforcements to ethnicity like an early and concentrated settlement of immigrants and religious homogeneity.³² The English-language press directed at ethnic groups like German immigrants was a logical extension of the German-language press that existed at the time. These ethnically oriented English publications attempted to reach a wider and more

assimilated audience by publishing articles directed at English speaking ethnic groups. In 1910, 91 German ethnic publications existed in English and in 1920 there were 92 of these such publications.³³ The circulation of these types of publications directed at German-Americans actually increased in the ten year period from 1910-1920 from 701,000 to 847,000. This indicates that these publications faced less resistance by the government and American citizens because they were printed in English.

Because these papers were published in English, there could be no confusion about their content as there was in papers published in German. The government did not need to require translations in order to discover what their coverage of war news contained. Also, since these papers were directed at a more anglicized audience, their views were more in line with mainstream American thought and their sympathies were not as pro-German. Although it can be argued that English language papers for the German ethnic fulfilled a vital role in the assimilation process of immigrants, it is doubtful whether these publications faced the same forces of censorship that the German language and mixed German and English language papers faced during World War I.

In response to the pressures of government censorship and the demands it placed on German language papers, the numbers and circulations of German-language papers declined dramatically during World War I. German-language papers had been facing a gradual decline in numbers and circulation prior to the war due in part the

the decline in German immigrants to generate a demand for such publications. German-language papers also faced a chronic problem encountered by other foreign-language publications, how to retain and attract second generation, Americanized children of immigrants to their readership. In order to do so, German-language papers were some of the first foreign-language papers in America to resort to mixed publications and English-language papers directed at members of ethnic groups. But with the advent of World War I and anti-German hysteria in among the American people and official censorship by the American government, the decline of German-language papers rapidly escalated. This dramatic decline in German-language papers must in large part be attributed to the massive official and unofficial opposition they faced during the war years and the hard feelings that remained when the war was over.

German-language papers tried various strategies to survive this onslaught including, adopting a very patriotic, pro-American stance with regards to the war, changing from dailies to weeklies in hopes of saving money and readership, and printing more of their material in English to avoid suspicion of their patriotism or motives. But despite these extreme measures, the German-language press could not withstand this attack without facing severe and unrecoverable losses both in circulation and the number of papers in existence. Also, the papers that remained after World War I were less substantial with regards to their editorial and political comment, and

tended to veer away from controversial issues in favor of articles about German-American life and culture.³⁴

Other problems facing the editors of foreign-language papers in the period following World War I also contributed to the decline of foreign-language publications for several immigrant groups. Reasons included declining immigration, Americanization of the audience, rising production costs and increased competition from new forms of communication such as radio and television.³⁵ The trend toward a gradual decline in foreign publications was mirrored in the Danish-American press at the time. These papers were similar to German-language papers because their immigrant readers arrived in America at approximately the same times and began to decline at similar rates. However, when the war began, Danish-American papers maintained their previous course of gradual decline in circulation and numbers of papers, but the German-language press declined at a much more rapid rate in the face of government censorship and widespread anti-German sentiment.

NOTES
CHAPTER 2

1. Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, eds., One America, 3d ed. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), xi-xii.
2. Ibid., 105.
3. Ibid., 108.
4. Ibid., 110.
5. Ibid., 111.
6. U.S. Census Report (1926), Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 89 & Historical Statistics of the U.S., Colonial Times to 1957: A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1957, 99.
7. Joshua A. Fishman, Language Loyalty in the United States (The Netherlands: Mouton and Co., 1966), 51.
8. Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922), 320.
9. Ibid., 251.
10. Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America (University of Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 6.
11. Park, Immigrant Press, 320.
12. Ibid., 312.
13. Fishman, Language Loyalty, 59, citing N.W. Ayer and Sons, American Newspaper Annual and Directory (1883-1960) Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer and Sons.
14. Ibid., 59.
15. Ibid., 52-65.
16. Ibid., 53-66.
17. Fishman, Language Loyalty, 38 and U.S. Census reports (1910-1940).

18. Wittke, German-Language Press, 235.
19. Ibid., 242.
20. Park., Immigrant Press, 422-3.
21. Wittke, German-Language Press, 238.
22. Ibid., 239.
23. Ibid., 239-40.
24. Fishman, Language Loyalty, 30.
25. Ibid., 52.
26. Ibid., 54.
27. Ibid., 54-5.
28. Ibid., 62.
29. Ibid., 63.
30. Ibid., 65.
31. Ibid., 67.
32. Ibid., 68.
33. Ibid., 65.
34. Wittke, German-Language Press, 281.
35. Marion Tuttle Marzolf, The Danish-Language Press in America (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 19.

CHAPTER 3

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DANISH IMMIGRATION AND THE DANISH-LANGUAGE PRESS

The Danish-American press has a long history in this country. The first Danish weekly publication was founded in 1872 and Danish Americans have founded over 200 publications in America.¹ Danes have one of the highest rates of naturalization among immigrant groups and they were among the first to drop their native language and frequently intermarried with native-born Americans.² Although Danes were one of the most easily assimilated groups, they did not lose their ethnic identity completely. Through continuing ethnic organizations like foreign-language newspapers, Danes maintained their ethnic heritage in the process of Americanization.³

The Danes, like the Germans, are considered to be part of the "old" immigration. The major Danish immigration movement occurred between 1880 and 1910 and was prompted by several reasons. At this time, Denmark experienced a rapid increase in population and this forced a larger amount of rural residents to a marginal economic position in Denmark. This forced many to look elsewhere to make their living. Also, Danes in the old country heard glowing reports from friends and relatives living in the United States.⁴

These immigrants began arriving predominantly on the east coast and then gradually moved westward. Danes rapidly assimilated to the American culture. There are several reasons for this assimilation, including the tendency of Danes to spread out thinly, so they made greater contact

with other groups. Because Danes did not settle in large groups, they found it difficult to maintain and establish Danish-type institutions. Danes typically placed a high value on education and with greater education came greater assimilation and Americanization, and finally, the basic similarity between Danish and English made it easy for them to learn the language and reduced their dependency on a foreign language press.⁵ The Danish press that did develop was predominantly rural and religious in nature.

According to the U.S. Census, the immigration from Denmark dropped but the number of Danish-born in the United States increased for a time as shown in table five.

TABLE 5⁶

DANISH IMMIGRATION: 1910-1930

Immigration from Denmark		Danish-Born in the U.S.
1910	65,285	181,649
1920	41,983	189,154
1930	32,430	179,474

These figures for Danish-born immigrants are for the first generation of Danes in the United States. When the second generation children of these first generation Danish immigrants are included in the figures, the total number of first and second generation Danes in America in 1910 was 439, 173 and 463,304 in 1920.⁷ Although the

number of Danish immigrants who considered Danish to be their mother tongue was small in comparison to German immigration, it is still significant.

The number of Danish immigrants was relatively small and they assimilated with reasonable ease into American society. However, they did not completely let go of their ethnic heritage and connections to Denmark. One of the most obvious examples of this is the presence of the Danish-language press in America. Like other types of foreign-language publications it performed the dual role of preserving Danish culture by maintaining contact with other Danes in America and assimilating recent Danish immigrants with the news and information about the structure of government and their responsibilities and rights as American citizens.

Both German and Scandinavian immigration to the United States reached their peaks in the United States in 1882.⁸ In response to these increases in immigration came a subsequent increase in the number and circulation of Danish-language publications to serve the growing need felt by Danish immigrants. Half of the Danish-American newspapers were founded in the period following the mass Danish immigrations to America from 1872 to 1899. And all of the papers that reached circulations over 5,000 and lasted over 40 years began in this period.⁹ These publications taught immigrants about their new home, kept them in touch with Denmark and preserved cultural

traditions. The Danish-American press had its highest levels of circulation during World War I and then declined after the war. Like the German-American papers, Danish-language papers felt the effects of an upswing in nativism in America and found themselves forced to defend the contributions of Danish-Americans against the anti-foreign sentiment of the time.¹⁰

Danish-American publications went through four stages in their development. The first was a cooperative arrangement with the Norwegian press in America from 1840 to 1869. These papers tended to cater to an elite audience of highly educated Danish immigrants. The next stage was the emergence of a Danish-language press which existed without the help of another Scandinavian group. This occurred from 1870 to 1899. The papers in this second stage of development appealed to a wider range of immigrants and taught them useful news like information and commentary about American politics. These papers also provided political news from Denmark and transmitted Danish culture and traditions to the second generation of immigrants. But despite their efforts to preserve Danish culture, the subtle forces of Americanization appeared in advertisements for American products in these papers. American phrases also worked their way into the Danish-language papers as well, further assimilating the readers of these papers.

The third stage of Danish publications came with the rising

circulation between 1900-1919. The most successful papers at this time were ones which already had an established readership base and were not new ventures. The largest of these papers, The Danish Pioneer, recorded its peak circulation in 1914 with 39,913 subscribers.¹¹ Most Danish-American weeklies in this period emphasized Danish-American affairs rather than national events. World War I was an exception to this and national news increased as America moved closer to war while news from Denmark decreased.¹² Danish-language papers in America were not pro-German in their coverage and were distrustful of the Kaiser and German militarism. With the war in Europe came the disruption of communication lines to Denmark and a shortage of news from Denmark.¹³ The war was of special concern to the Danish-Americans who had relatives in the disputed area of southern Denmark, and the readership of Danish-American papers was up at this time.

Another concern for Danish-Americans at this time was the rising tide of nativism and suspicion directed at the loyalty of all foreigners. The anti-German hysteria manifested itself in some states in a ban on speaking foreign languages in public. These laws were directed at German-Americans, but Danish speakers could also be considered suspect. Danish papers were not immune to government attempts to censor the foreign-language press. Like the German papers, they were required to submit translations of their war related material in order

to receive a permit to publish. Although Danish papers complied, they complained about this attempt to restrict their freedom of speech. All of the anxieties that the war years prompted about the need for Americanization speeded the assimilation of Danish-Americans and reduced the size and scope of Danish-language publications. Some of the other reasons for the decline of the Danish press after the war included decreased Danish immigration and fewer Danish-Americans willing to speak Danish out of fear of appearing unpatriotic.¹⁴

With the decline of circulation in the Danish press after the war came the development of a growing community oriented press from 1920-1969.¹⁵ The more Americanized readers of this last period wanted news concerning the affairs of their own ethnic community and less news of American or Danish politics. This fourth stage of the Danish-language press from 1920 and beyond, marked a critical period for the Danish press in America. Growing assimilation forces led to reduced readership and lack of interest in Danish publications. Fewer new Danish immigrants at this time was another contributing factor to the decline in readership. For the period between 1900-1910 the United States Census reports 65,285 immigrants from Denmark. This number dropped to 41,983 from 1910 to 1920 and was down to 32,430 from 1920-1930.¹⁶ Also at this time all other Scandinavian publications in America faced declines in the their number of publications as shown in table six. Scandinavian countries

included Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland. Although the declines were dramatic as shown in table six, they still were not as large as the declines experienced by the German-language press.

TABLE 6¹⁷

NUMBER OF SCANDINAVIAN PUBLICATIONS: 1910-1930

<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Increase or Decrease</u>
Total Number of Scandinavian Publications			
123	96	62	-50%
Number of Scandinavian Dailies			
2	2	2	0
Number of Scandinavian Weeklies			
94	73	51	-46%
Number of Scandinavian Monthlies			
27	20	9	-67%
Number of Mixed English-Scandinavian Publications			
13	17	17	+31%
Number of English Publications directed at Scandinavian Ethnics			
7	11	19	+22%

The declines experienced by mother tongue Scandinavian publications occurred in all types of mother tongue publications, including dailies, weeklies, and monthlies. There remained the same number of Scandinavian daily papers from the period of 1910 to 1930.¹⁸ But the circulation of these papers decreased. This same downward trend was also seen in the Scandinavian weeklies and monthlies. All types of mother-tongue Scandinavian publications were in a state of decline between the period of 1910 and 1930 as shown in table seven.

TABLE 7¹⁹

CIRCULATION OF SCANDINAVIAN PUBLICATIONS: 1910-1930

1910	1920	1930	% Increase or Decrease
Circulation of all Scandinavian Publications			
(96)	(75)	(42)	
922,000	925,000	580,000	-37%
Circulation of Scandinavian Dailies			
(2)	(2)	(1)	
28,000	31,000	12,000	-57%
Circulation of Scandinavian Weeklies			
(78)	(58)	(35)	
795,000	758,000	532,000	-33%
Circulation of Scandinavian Monthlies			
(16)	(14)	(6)	
99,000	134,000	36,000	-64%
Circulation of Mixed Scandinavian-English Publications			
(11)	(11)	(11)	
58,000	58,000	82,000	+24%
Circulation of English-Language Publications for Scandinavian			
Ethnics			
(7)	(10)	(3)	
25,000	39,000	21,000	-16%

The circulation of mother-tongue Scandinavian dailies and monthlies did experience slight gains in 1920, probably in response to the increased interest in the events in Europe, but this was a temporary trend.²⁰

But over the long run the Scandinavian and German mixed-language press show important differences. Unlike the German-mixed language press, which was on the decline at the time, the Scandinavian mixed language press showed increases at this time.

These two groups of immigrants were the earliest to formulate a mixed language press in America, beginning about 1910.²¹ The mixed language press was a temporary solution to try and retain old world immigrants as well as their Americanized children. The circulation size and number of mixed Scandinavian press both increased at this time as seen in tables six and seven.

The differences between the Scandinavian and German directed publications in America was even more extreme for the English-language publications directed at Germans and Scandinavian groups. From 1910 to 1930 the rate of increase for these publications among all ethnic groups was 33 percent.²² A substantial amount of interest was generated by these types of publications and this was especially true for Germans and Scandinavians. The English-language ethnic press attempted to preserve and promote the unique cultural contributions of an ethnic group by the use of a familiar medium. These publications were easily accessible even to second and third generations who, for the most part, could not read foreign-language publications of their ethnic group due to the forces of Americanization. The number of Scandinavian ethnic English publications was seven in 1910 and it increased by 171 percent to 19 in 1930.²³ The circulation data for these publications are incomplete for this period. But with the upsurge in the number of publications, it can be assumed that circulation size increased as well.

Danish immigrants tended to spread out thinly rather than in large communities like other Scandinavians tended to do. As a result of these settlement patterns, the Danish-American press was a predominantly rural press in both its location and its outlook. Urban Danish-language publications did exist in larger cities with sufficient Danish-American populations to support them. The three main centers of the Danish-American urban press were New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.²⁴ But most Danish publications were located in rural areas in the Midwest where Danes in this period tended to make their homes. The German-language press was much larger than the Danish-language press due to the greater number of German immigrants. Like the Danish-American press it also consisted of both urban and rural papers, and the larger papers with significant circulations were found in cities which had high concentrations of German immigrants. German immigration of the nineteenth century tended to go to small towns and rural areas rather than large population centers, much like the rural Danish immigration trends.

The most important function of the Danish-American press in the World War I era and into the 1920's was that of mediating between two cultures, Danish and American, and attempting to interpret the immigrants' role during these troubled times. This period of crisis consisted of a breakdown in understanding between immigrant groups and other Americans. One effect of this breakdown was questions of

the loyalty of immigrants whether they be German or even Danish. These suspicions were reflected in the United States Government's official acts of censorship directed at the German and other foreign language press.

NOTES
CHAPTER 3

1. Marian Tuttle Marzolf, The Danish-Language Press in America (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 1-2.
2. Ibid. , 1.
3. Ibid.
4. Paul M. Gustafson, "Danish Americans," One America, Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, eds., 3d ed. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), 79.
5. Ibid. , 81-2.
6. Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957. (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1957), 99 & U.S. Census, 1926, 89.
7. Joshua A. Fishman, Language Loyalty in the United States (The Netherlands: Mouton & Co., 1966), 38.
8. Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 320.
9. Marzolf, Danish Press, 28-9.
10. Ibid. , 29.
11. Ibid. , 118.
12. Ibid. , 124.
13. Ibid. , 142.
14. Ibid. , 150.
15. Ibid. , 24.
16. U. S. Census Report (1926). Washington: U. S. Department of Commerce, 89.
17. Fishman, Language Loyalty, 52-65.

18. Ibid., 52.
19. Ibid., 53-66.
20. Ibid. , 53 & 58.
21. Ibid. , 62.
22. Ibid. , 65.
23. Ibid.
24. Marzolf, Danish Press, 214.

CHAPTER 4

THE GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS

The entrance of America into World War I in April of 1917 announced the beginning of government censorship of the foreign-language press which took several forms during the war years in the United States. The growing climate of nativism promoted suspicion of the foreign element in America which was perceived as unwilling to conform. Acts of censorship were specifically intended for the German-language press, but the difficulties in compliance reached other foreign-language publications as well.¹ Government attempts at censorship often came cloaked in the guise of protecting national security. In order to ensure the American public supported the war, the government attempted to tap the wellsprings of nationalism and patriotism. But for these attempts to be successful and meet with little resistance, it was necessary to have the full cooperation and support of the mainstream press in America. Censorship of the foreign-language press occurred in two primary ways. One was through official government acts and organizations. The other was through semi-official citizen or voluntary organizations which acted with the tacit approval and support of the United States government.

For the most part, the mainstream English language press adopted a strongly nationalistic stance and transmitted the news the Committee on Public Information provided them without any serious complaints.²

In order to shape support of the U. S. war effort, the Committee on Public Information (C. P. I.) was formed. The C. P. I. was created by President Woodrow Wilson one week after the U.S. declaration of war on Germany.³ Its purpose was to coordinate government propaganda efforts and act as a go-between for the government and newspapers and to mobilize the foreign language papers in support of U.S. actions.⁴ The C. P. I. provided a regular press service to the newspapers of the major foreign-language groups in America at this time.⁵ The C. P. I. also provided advertisements for patriotic ventures such as the Liberty Loan drive to foreign-language publications to be printed in their papers.⁶ The Committee's news service contained over 50 inspirational news stories, distributed to 3,360 papers about the work of the foreign-born and their press in aid of the American cause.⁷ The C. P. I. headed by former journalist George Creel. Creel wrote in a letter to President Wilson in November of 1917 that "I have been surprised and gratified at the results I have been able to achieve. Our matter goes into papers by thousands of columns, and aside from the personal attacks of a few New York papers, like the World, feeling has

grown very friendly."⁸

"How the War Came to America" was one of the first pamphlets issued by the C. P. I. in 1917 to mobilize public opinion in support of the war.⁹ German-Americans remained unconvinced that the U. S. was really fighting out of humanitarian reasons to free the German people. Some German-Americans remained suspicious of the United States' previous stance of so-called neutrality that allowed shipments of munitions to England. But some German-language papers did reproduce the official German translations of this pamphlet for their readers and printed other C. P. I. publications as well.¹⁰ The German-language press found itself in a difficult position at the beginning of the U. S. involvement in the war. Prior to the United States entry, these papers adopted a highly pro-German stance that was slowly transformed to professions of American loyalty when the U. S. entered the war in Europe.¹¹ German-language publications believed that patriotism and support of U. S. involvement could allay fears of their loyalty and questions regarding their commitment to America.

The C. P. I. established the Division of Work Among the Foreign Born, under the direction of a social worker named Josephine Roche, to help mobilize the foreign-language press to serve the United States during the war.¹² This division established direct relations with 14

foreign racial groups, including German and Danish as well as Italian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Russian, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Polish, Ukrainian, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Dutch.¹³ Each of these foreign language groups had a separate bureau staffed by a director and translators. Of the 865 foreign-language newspapers of the time, 745 received the Committee on Public Information's regular news service.¹⁴ These bureaus provided a press service to foreign language publications because it was an effective way of disseminating the government's viewpoint on the events of the war. The Committee on Public Information avowed it performed a dual service. On the one hand, it educated the immigrant about America through its press services. And on the other hand, it educated Americans about their immigrants and the activities of these new citizens, ostensibly in order to promote understanding.¹⁵ The titles of some of the C. P. I.'s news stories released to foreign-language papers give some indication of their content, for example "Ukrainian in America Eager of Education", and "Lithuanians Support Fourth Liberty Loan."¹⁶

The C. P. I.'s propaganda was not its only activity during wartime. The C. P. I. also urged readers to report cases of sedition and treason.¹⁷ The mainstream newspapers' reliance on the Committee on Public Information's news releases for information about the war

both abroad and at home led to a severe lack of press criticism of the government and the dissemination of much propaganda directed at the foreign language press.¹⁸ The C. P. I. also selectively controlled and limited the information it produced for newspapers. For example, it avoided mention of the censorship of the press.¹⁹ The C. P. I. was able to elicit a great deal of voluntary censorship on the part of newspapers.²⁰ For example, in May of 1917 Creel asked the press, both mainstream and foreign-language, to avoid speculations of a possible peace and editors when in doubt about what material they could publish consulted the C. P. I.²¹ For those in government who felt that the Committee on Public Information's attempts at propaganda and control did not go far enough, other official forms of censorship were soon to follow.

On June 15, 1917, the Espionage bill was approved by President Wilson and was to become an effective tool of censorship. The United States government officially approved of the censorship of the press and the infringements on its citizens' first amendment rights. This was a response to and a catalyst for the anti-German hysteria and paranoia running rampant in America at the time of the war. Part of the American public's suspicions were rooted in the initial German-American support of the Fatherland and its military ambitions prior to

American involvement which gradually changed as the United States was drawn into war with Germany. German-Americans who previously supported the goals of the Fatherland were seen as subservient to a foreign power and therefore unpatriotic. Atrocity tales of Germany's wartime activities were printed in the mainstream American papers and contributed to the paranoid distrust of Germany and German-Americans.²² Although a specific censorship provision included in the original drafts of the bill was defeated, the wording of the bill still left ample room for censorship. Title I, Section 3 of the Espionage bill read:

Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies, and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both.²³

The wording of this section is slightly ambiguous and although it appears to refer to dangerous acts against the government, it could also be interpreted as opposition to the United States government or

to the war. The wording did indeed allow for censorship of the anti-war and foreign-language press and the imprisonment of vocal anti-war editors. But even more dangerous than this vaguely worded section was another section of the bill pertaining to mailing rights for publications. Under Title XII, Section 1, regarding the use of the mails the bill stated:

Every letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other publication, matter, or thing, of any kind, in violation of any of the provisions of the Act, is hereby declared unmailable matter and shall not be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post office or by any letter carrier: provided, that nothing in this Act shall be so constructed as to authorize any person other than an employee of the Dead Letter Office, duly authorized thereto, or other person upon a search warrant authorized by law, to open any letter not addressed to himself.²⁴

This section of the act enabled Postmaster General Albert Sidney Burleson the authority to withhold mailing privileges to newspapers, periodicals and other publications deemed unmailable because they violated the Espionage Act. Section two of the mails portion of this bill made treasonable material or material advocating resistance to the United States law also unmailable. Section three stated that violators of this bill could be fined up to \$5,000 or imprisoned for five years or both. Foreign-language newspapers were often victims of this act.

Because papers were printed in German it was assumed that they were transmitting German propaganda to their readers. By the fall of 1918 close to 80 publications had lost their mailing privileges under this act and some of these were German-language publications.²⁵

Section 19 of the Trading with the Enemy Act proposed by Representative King of Utah on September 12, 1917 required any paper published in a foreign language file a translation of all its news items and editorial content related to the U. S. government or the war in Europe.²⁶ This bill was passed by the federal government on October 15, 1917. It allowed the Post Office the authority to demand translations of all material from foreign-language publications. The Post Office's censorship allowed for the successful control of the foreign-language press in America. But in order to control the press, it was necessary to know what these papers were actually saying to their readers. To accomplish this goal, copies of all such newspapers were kept on file in Washington. The next step was employing a team of forty translators, readers and assistants in Washington and New York to read and report on these papers. The Post Office was granted access to Department of Justice reports and the C. P. I.'s foreign-language division. In addition to these measures a group of volunteer readers from colleges and universities with special language

knowledge and an awareness of the local climate of these papers was also employed.²⁷

Private citizens could issue complaints to the Post Office at Washington from around the country about the content of the foreign-language press and an investigation was duly undertaken by the Post Office of the paper in question. Readers protested what they viewed as disloyalty in the press, but the bulk of protests were from publishers who had papers held up by local postal authorities out of failure to file translations of their news items and editorials referring to the U. S. government or the conduct of the war.²⁸ If this investigation of several months of the publication's back issues convinced the Post Office of their loyalty, the paper would be granted a license to print. If not, these papers were declared "unmailable" under the provisions of the Espionage Act and were denied second class mailing privileges.²⁹ The government's censorship was a response to and an impetus for the patriotic fervor and tide of anti-German hysteria. Official acts of censorship did not go as far as some super-patriots would have them, but they did sanction a climate of fear and distrust. This national spirit was aided in part by official government actions limiting the freedom of speech for the foreign-language press in the name of national security.

The requirement of foreign-language translations was directed at the German-language press, but all other foreign-language publications were forced to comply as well. This was done in order to monitor the news and editorial content being transmitted to readers of all foreign-language papers in America to ensure they were loyal to the government.³⁰ This act placed a very real financial burden on these publications and caused many delays. Many German-language papers received permits quickly, but some had still not received permits by the end of the war.³¹ If a German-language paper expected to stay in business, it was in its best interest to support the government and the war. This effectively reduced the amount of space dedicated to war news and editorials. In 1914 there were about 1,300 foreign-language publications in the U. S. and the German-language press consisted of 40 percent or 537 publications of this total, but this figure declined by 1917 to 489 German-language publications.³² In the period from October 5, 1917, to January 4, 1919 foreign-language publications were issued 650 permits to publish without translation, and of this total there were 74 German-language papers.³³ Most Danish-language papers complied with the terms of the Espionage Act and filed translations in order to receive permits to publish.³⁴

On May 16, 1918 the vague wording of the Espionage Act of 1917

was considerably sharpened and its powers expanded with the passage of the Sedition Amendment to the Espionage Act. This law increased the penalties for expression of anti-war opinion. These dissenting opinions were seen by government as harmful to the war effort. The makers of this law felt the current legislation was not strong or broad enough to deal with possible cases of treason and sedition. Extreme nationalists of the time urged for legislation to punish those who did not heartily support the United States or opposed its actions in the war. Proponents claimed that stronger federal legislation would make the government more responsible for punishing disloyalty among its citizens.

Sedition was defined as attempts to excite discontent against the government or to disturb public tranquility through inflammatory language. With this broad definition, anti-sedition legislation was an effective way of suppressing freedom of speech. The main thrust of this legislation was to restrict traitorous speech and ideas. The bill made it illegal to make false statements that might hinder the successful operation of the military. It was also now against the law to make false statements to obstruct the sale of war bonds, to incite disloyalty, or to obstruct military enlistment. For proponents of freedom of speech the most damaging aspect of this bill was the portion which made it illegal for anyone in wartime to "willfully utter,

print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States, or the flag of the United States, or the uniform of the Army or Navy."³⁵

This bill also expanded the authority of the Postmaster General and allowed him to return mail to sender if it was thought to be in violation of this bill. The unspoken goal of this legislation was to restrict the radical voice in America at this time. Left-wing publications were especially targeted by the Sedition Act, and other provisions of the bill were very damaging to the I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World). The Sedition Amendment contained heavier punishments than the Espionage Act. The maximum sentence was 20 years in prison and a \$20,000 fine if found in violation of its provisions.³⁶ The broad scope of the Sedition Amendment made any disloyal or unpatriotic opinion subject for prosecution. Enforcing such an act was beyond the capability of the legal system and the Justice Department was flooded with complaints and accusations demanding that suspects be prosecuted to the full extent of the new law.³⁷ Those of foreign birth were especially suspect.

Two staff members of the German-language Philadelphia

paper *Tageblatt* were convicted of violating the Espionage Act and two former editors of the German-language paper *Wachter and Anzeiger* were interned as alien enemies and the new editor was charged with violation of the Espionage Act.³⁸ Also, the newspaper offices of the German-language Cincinnati *Volksblatt* and the Peoria *Sonne* were searched by federal officers without results.³⁹ These actions of the federal government encouraged and legitimized the anti-German hysteria of the time and sanctioned the restrictive actions of individual states and private citizen organizations.

Several states enacted even more serious restrictions in response to the growing paranoia about all things German. For example, The state of South Dakota ordered the elimination of the teaching of the German language from all public schools.⁴⁰ The states of Iowa and Nebraska talked of prohibiting the speaking of all foreign languages in all public places including church. Censorship of German books from public libraries was also undertaken in some communities. German music and musical organizations were also outlawed in some communities. Anti-German hysteria also led to the nationwide drive to eliminate German sounding city and street names. For example, Berlin, Iowa became Lincoln, Iowa; and Kaiser Street became Marne Way. Many German sounding family names were also Americanized by

court actions for example Ochs became Oakes and Schmitt became Smith. German food was also rechristened with more Americanized names for example sauerkraut was now instead called "Liberty Cabbage". Actions such as these had a chilling effect on German-language papers and advertising in such papers declined because of advertisers' fears of being associated with them.⁴¹

Semi-official regulatory organizations were spawned as an outgrowth of the anti-German hysteria of the times. The largest of these, the American Protective League (A. P. L.), acted as a semi-official auxiliary to the Justice Department.⁴² This secret society was founded by advertising executive A.M. Briggs in March of 1917.⁴³ It consisted of more than 1,200 units and had a membership of a quarter of a million members all over the country. Armed with the tacit approval and support of the United States government its members searched for examples of seditious speech and examples of disloyalty among American citizens. When examples were found they were reported to the proper authorities for prosecution. The A. P. L. also lobbied to eliminate speaking German in public, hunted down draft dodgers, encouraged investment in war savings bonds, ferreted out those who failed to display what they considered loyalty to America.

NOTES
CHAPTER 4

1. Marion Marzolf, The Danish-Language Press in America (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 144-45.
2. H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War: 1917-1918 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 94.
3. Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984), 100.
4. Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 444.
5. Ibid. , 445.
6. Ibid. , 446.
7. Ibid.
8. H. C. Peterson and Gilbert Fite, Opponents of War: 1917-1918 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 94, quoted in the New York Times, July 9, 1917.
9. Carl Wittke, German-Americans and the World War (Columbus: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936), 131.
10. Ibid. , 138.
11. Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America (University of Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 262-3.
12. Park, Immigrant Press, 444.
13. Ibid. , 445.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid. , 446.
16. Ibid.
17. Peterson and Fite, Opponents of War, 20.

18. Ibid. , 94.
19. Ibid. , 95.
20. Ibid.
21. H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War: 1917-1918 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 95, citing United States V. Schenck et al., 253 Fed. 212 (1918).
22. Wittke, German-Americans and the World War, 139.
23. Park, Immigrant Press, 434-5.
24. Ibid. , 435.
25. Kessler, Dissident Press, 100.
26. Park, Immigrant Press, 439-40.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. , 440.
30. Marzolf, Danish-Language Press, 144.
31. Wittke, German-Americans, 174.
32. Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America, 243-44.
33. Ibid. , 264-65.
34. Marzolf, Danish-Language Press, 145.
35. Petersen and Fite, Opponents of War, 215.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid. , 223.
38. Wittke, German-Language Press, 272.
39. Ibid.

40. Wittke, German Americans and World War, 179.

41. Ibid. , 175.

42. John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, 2d ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 211.

43. Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The declines experienced by the German and Danish language press in America in the period during and in the decades following the first world war are significant and useful to compare. The German and Danish language press experienced declines both in the number of publications and the circulations of these remaining publications. Both German and Danish immigration to the United States was on the decline at this time, and research has shown that as immigration declines and the remaining immigrants and their children become more Americanized, the need for a foreign-language press also diminishes. But particularly in the case of the German-language press other more powerful forces were at work which hastened its inevitable dramatic decline.

These forces were the methods of censorship employed by the United States government to control the German-language press during wartime. To a limited extent the government's censorship also impacted the Danish-language press of the time. But the decline of the German-language press was far more serious, both in terms of numbers of all different types of publications and the circulations of these publications. These declines ranged from fifty to seventy-five per cent decreases over the thirty year period of 1910 to 1930 as shown earlier in tables three and four. The contrasting decline of Danish-language publications and circulations, although significant in their own right, was not as dramatic. They ranged from thirty to almost seventy per cent for the same period as shown earlier in tables

six and seven. Prior to the censorship and subsequent decline of the German-language press it was the largest of the American foreign language press and exerted considerable control and influence. Tables eight and nine chart the German and Danish immigration in relation to the circulation of German and Scandinavian publications. These figures are based on information from U.S. Census Reports and Fishman's work on Language Loyalty in the United States.

Table 8

German Immigration & Circulation of German Language Papers

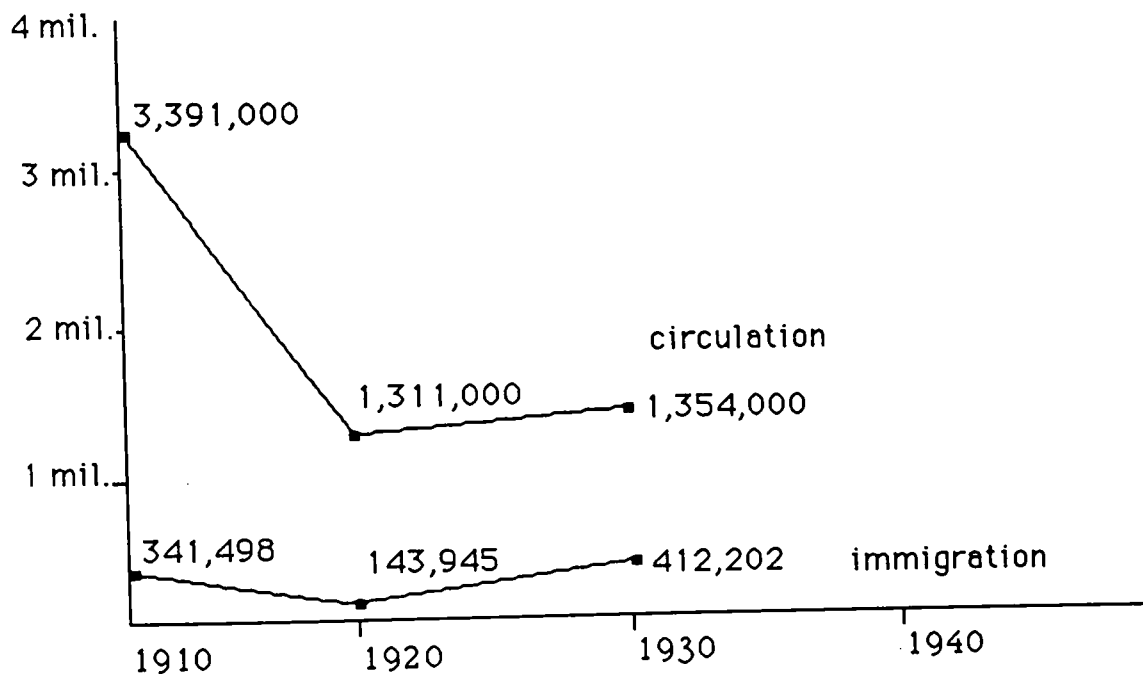
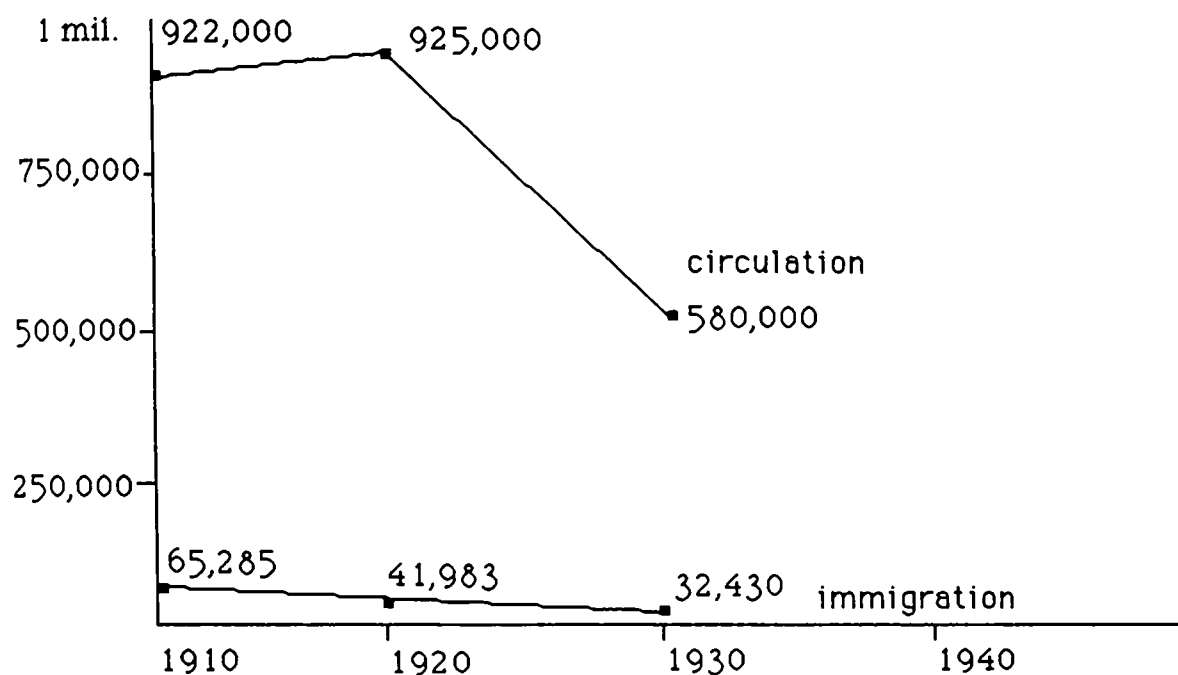


Table 9
Danish Immigration & Circulation of Scandanavian Publications



The foreign-language press in American historically played a vital role in the lives of immigrants both in their assimilation and also the preservation of important traditions and language. The German-language press was no exception. But the censorship of the German-language press speeded up its inevitable decline and denied some immigrants the benefits of this useful institution. Government censorship of war material and dissenting opinions in the foreign-language press was a response to and an impetus for the anti-German, and anti-foreign, sentiment present during the war years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brock, Peter. Twentieth-Century Pacifism. New York: Litton Educational Publishing, Inc., 1970.
- Brown, Francis J. and Joseph S. Roucek, eds. One America. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952.
- Congressional Record. Senate. 65 Congress.
- Fishman, Joshua A. Language Loyalty in the United States. The Netherlands: Mouton and Co., 1966.
- Handlin, Oscar. The Uprooted. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1951.
- Higham, John. Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988.
- Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957: A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1957).
- Hunter, Edward. In Many Voices. Norman Park: Norman College, 1960.
- Kessler, Lauren. The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1984.
- Knightly, Phillip. The First Casualty. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1975.
- Marzolf, Marion Tuttle. The Danish-Language Press in America. New York: Arno Press, 1979.
- N. W. Ayer and Son. American Newspaper Annual and Directory. (1900-1930) Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son.
- Park, Robert E. The Immigrant Press and Its Control. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922.
- Peterson, H. C. and Gilbert C. Fite. Opponents of War: 1917-1918. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1957.

Smith, William Carlson. Americans in the Making. New York: D. Appleton- Century Company, Inc., 1939.

Statistical Abstract of the U. S. : 1917-1937 (Washington, D. C. : U. S. Department of Commerce, 1917-1937).

Turabian, Kate L. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

U. S. Census Reports (1900-1930). Washington: U. S. Department of Commerce.

Wittke, Carl. German-Americans and the World War. Columbus: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936.

Wittke, Carl. The German-Language Press in America. University of Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1957.