

“BEAT GERMANY”: ALLIED PROPAGANDA AND IMMIGRATION IN THE
UNITED STATES DURING WORLD WAR I

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SELCAN ŞANTAY ÖZYÜNCÜ

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Bahar Gürsel
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Bahar Gürsel
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur (METU, HIST) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Bahar Gürsel (METU, HIST) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Kenneth Weisbrode (Bilkent Uni., HIST) _____

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Name, Last name : Selcan Şantay Özyüncü

Signature :

ABSTRACT

“BEAT GERMANY”: ALLIED PROPAGANDA AND IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES DURING WORLD WAR I

Şantay Özyüncü, Selcan

M.S., Department of Latin and North American Studies

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Bahar Gürsel

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The United States, from its colonial time to its present days, has been one of the most popular countries attracting new comers throughout the world who seek new job opportunities and better economic conditions, freedom of thinking and belief. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States became a melting pot of different ethnic groups resided. Propaganda as an instrument of state policy has been used effectively in the United States’ domestic and international politics, by the country itself or from the outside, especially during the times of war. This thesis will focus on the aspects of the propaganda that was carried out during World War I mainly towards the German immigrants. War time “anti-German” propaganda in the form of ephemeral sources such as posters, postcards, pamphlets, illustrations and newspapers will constitute the main sources for the research of this thesis.

Key words: immigration propaganda, World War I, anti-German propaganda, allied propaganda, ephemera

ÖZ

“ALMANYA'YI YENİN”: BİRİNCİ DÜNYA SAVAŞI SIRASINDA BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLER'DEKİ MÜTTEFİK PROPAGANDASI VE GÖÇ

Şantay Özyüncü, Selcan

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Birleşik Devletler, koloni döneminden günümüze, yeni iş imkânı, daha iyi ekonomik koşullar, düşünce ve inanç özgürlüğü umuduyla dünyanın her yanından gelen insanlar için en popüler ülkelerden birisi olmuştur. Toplu göçlerin sonucunda, 19. yüzyılın sonlarında ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında Birleşik Devletler göçmenler karışımına dönüşmüştür. Propaganda, bir devlet politikası aracı olarak, Birleşik Devletler tarafından özellikle savaş zamanlarında iç ve dış politikada etkin bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Bu tez, Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Birleşik Devletler tarafından özellikle Alman göçmenlere karşı yürütülen propagandaya odaklanacaktır. Savaş zamanında “Alman karşıtı” propaganda örneklerinden posterler, kartpostallar, broşürler, resimler, illüstrasyonlar, gazeteler ve politikacıların konuşmacıları gibi efemera bu tezin araştırmalarının ana kaynağını oluşturacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: göçmen propagandası, Birinci Dünya Savaşı, İtilaf propagandası, Alman karşıtı propaganda, efemera

To My Family

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER.....	1
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Propaganda.....	2
1.2. Ephemera	5
1.3. The Context and Aim.....	7
1.4. Literature Review	11
2. AN OUTLOOK ON THE BRITISH AND GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE WORLD WAR I.....	15
2.1. British Immigrants: Immigration to the United States and the British Population in American Daily Life.....	15
2.2. German Immigrants: Immigration to the United States and the German Population in American Daily Life.....	17
2.3. Why Immigrants Matter?.....	20
3. WORLD WAR I AND THE USAGE OF PROPAGANDA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF STATE POLICY TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS.....	22
3.1. Pro-British Propaganda.....	23
3.1.1. Within the US: British “Natural” Advantages of Linguistic and Cultural Closeness	30
3.1.2. Pro-British Influence Arriving from Outside the US	34
3.1.2.1. British War Propaganda Bureau “Wellington House”	36
3.1.2.2. Controlling and modifying news from Europe to the US.....	39

3.2. Anti-German Propaganda	40
3.2.1. Within the US: “Hate Everything German”	44
3.2.1.1. The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918....	46
3.2.1.2. Prohibition on language and culture.....	47
3.2.1.3. Manipulations and suspicions against German Immigrants..	51
3.2.1.4. Lynching: Robert Paul Prager	54
3.2.2. Outside the country: Atrocity Propaganda, Facts, Stories and Rumours on German’s brutal war activities, anti-German stereotypes, the “Huns”	56
3.2.2.1. The Invasion of Belgium: “The Rape of Belgium”, 4 August 1914.....	59
3.2.2.2. Lusitania: Sinking of the Passenger Ship Lusitania by German Torpedoes on 7 th May 1915 and the Bryce Report of 12 th May 1915	63
3.2.2.3. Edith Cavell: The Execution of the British Nurse Edith Cavell by German soldiers in Belgium on 12 th October 1915.....	70
3.2.2.4. The Zimmermann Telegram: The German Attempt to Make Secret Agreement with Mexico	73
4. CONCLUSION	76
4.1. Growing isolationist and nativist sentiments.....	79
4.2. Restrictive immigration policies of the 1920s and their reflections	81
BIBLIOGRAHPY	84
Primary Sources.....	84
Secondary Sources.....	88
APPENDICES	94
A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	94
B. TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM.....	102

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: “Pershing's crusaders--Auspices of the United States Government” Motion Picture Poster

Figure 2: “I Want You For U.S. Army: Nearest Recruiting Station” Poster and Pamphlet

Figure 3: “London Opinion ‘Your Country Needs You’” Poster and Pamphlet

Figure 4: “I have a rendezvous with death”, Notated Music

Figure 5: “We're Over” Sheet music cover

Figure 6: “Side by Side - Britannia! Britain's Day Dec. 7th 1918” Poster

Figure 7: “Britishers, you're needed--Come across now” Poster

Figure 8: “Every Patriotic Briton should Join the Anti-German Union ... No German goods, no German labour, no German influence. Britain for the British” Poster

Figure 9: “Our flags--Beat Germany Support every flag that opposes Prussianism--Eat less of the food fighters need--Deny yourself something--Waste nothing” Poster

Figure 10: “To German and Austro-Americans – Buy Liberty Bonds and Buy as Many as You Can” Advertisement

Figure 11: “Keep these off the U.S.A. – Buy more Liberty Bonds” Poster

Figure 12: “German Becoming Dead Tongue Here” Article

Figure 13: “Sauerkraut May Soon Be ‘Liberty Cabbage’” Article

Figure 14: “In Line for Sauerkraut, Germania, Ia” Postcard

Figure 15: “If this town goes dry, us Germans vill hang togeder (nicht wahr)” Postcard

Figure 16: “Don't talk, the web is spun for you with invisible threads, keep out of it, help to destroy it--spies are listening” Poster

Figure 17: “Danger to pro-German. Loyal Americans welcome to Edison Park” Picture

Figure 18: “How to Hun Hates” Poster

Figure 19: “Remember Belgium--Enlist to-day” Poster

Figure 20: “The Rape of Belgium” Article

Figure 21: “Welcome Noble Belgium” Poster

Figure 22: “Imperial German Embassy Notice” Advertisement

Figure 23: “When You Fire Remember This – Enlist in the Navy” Poster

Figure 24: “Enlist” Poster

Figure 25: “Lusitania medallion” Picture (front and back)

Figure 26: “Germans Satirize Lusitania Sinking” Article published for the anniversary of the *Lusitania*

Figure 27: Cover page of the Bryce Report

Figure 28: “Miss Edith Cavell Murdered, October 12, 1915, Remember!” Postcard (front and back)

Figure 29: “Murdered by the Huns, Enlist in the 99th and Help Stop Such Atrocities” Poster

Figure 30: The Zimmermann Telegram and one of the decoding sheets

Figure 31: “Is your home worth fighting for? It will be too late to fight when the enemy is at your door, so join to-day” Poster

Figure 32: “British Empire Union. “Once a German, always a German.” Remember! Every German employed means a British worker idle. Every German article sold means a British article unsold” Poster

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Propaganda, briefly the “dissemination of ideas intended to convince people to think and act in a particular way and for a particular persuasive purpose¹”, has been utilised quite effectively under the conduct of the domestic and foreign policy of the United States (US). Especially during the times of war in the twentieth century, special institutions were created to shape state propaganda and develop various means of it to expand its effects within the country, in the public daily life, and also outside the country within the scope of the relations with the Allied and Central powers. In this regard, World War I witnessed the first massive usage of the propaganda by the governments to convince public opinion in favour of their war-time policies and to influence as well the public opinion of the enemy countries. Within the US, the Allied countries’ propaganda activities generated an anti-stance in the population towards the immigrants groups coming from the Central powers. This thesis will focus on Britain’s anti-German propaganda, and its effects on the German immigrants in the US. It will also discuss its success by presenting a number of historical facts via ephemeral sources. British immigrants will be referred to as being good counter examples to German immigrants in the comparison context of the government’s immigration policies. In this point, two of the main components of the thesis; propaganda and ephemera, will be defined in this section whereas a brief information about the immigrant groups, which will constitute the other main component of this thesis, will be pointed in the following chapter.

¹ David Welch, “A Much Maligned and Misunderstood Word,” in *Propaganda, Power and Persuasion: from World War I to Wikileaks*. (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 2.

1.1. Propaganda

The usage of propaganda has a long history dated back to ancient times. Since its essential is to convince others to think or act in the propagandist's way, it can be traced back to the first communities where people had started to live in ensemble and develop communication with other groups. David Welch mentions in his "A Much Maligned and Misunderstood Word" that among a variety of propaganda purposes and forms, the most eminent was used in politics in Ancient Greece, in military issues in Ancient China, and in religious matters in the Vatican throughout the history. Ancient Greeks regarded the art of persuasion as a form of rhetoric, and recognised that logic and reason were necessary aspects for communicating ideas successfully. In this regard, in fourth century BC Greece, historians and philosophers were the first people who described the use of propaganda in the service of the state.² The greatest exponent of successful propaganda making was Alexander the Great who came to power as the King of Macedon in 336 BC, and conducted political propaganda about his military victories.³

The term "propaganda" was first officially used in 1622 in the Vatican for the "Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith" (Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide) which was established by the initiative of Pope Gregory XV for the running of foreign missions to spread Catholicism and regulate ecclesiastical affairs.⁴ In addition to its religious use in the seventeenth century, propaganda was also utilised by the British Monarchy – the Tudors and early Stuarts – in the form of newsletters and pamphlets during the English Civil Wars (1642-51), in the context of censorship and licensing system.⁵ Political and military usage of propaganda continued in the

² Welch, "A Much Maligned and Misunderstood Word," 4.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁵ Ibid., 9.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially during the revolutionary wars (the American Independence War in 1775-83, the French Revolution in 1792-1802). From the revolutionary wars to WWI, the production of propaganda became more associated with periods of stress and turmoil, and industrialisation enabled the propagandists to appeal to a greater audience by the aid of advances in printing and circulation of the printed materials, also the increase in the literacy rate in the population.

Global wars and the development of mass media in the twentieth century widened propaganda's area of use and influence. Propaganda can be defined as a deliberate attempt to influence the public opinions of an audience, through the transmission of ideas and values, for a specific persuasive purpose that has been consciously thought out and designed to serve the self-interest of the propagandist, either directly or indirectly.⁶

The attempt to influence the public opinion of an audience needs to create a "we" and "they" division since defining the "the other" as "good" and "evil" makes it more understandable for the audience, and simpler to adopt. The main purpose of propaganda is not to disseminate the truth to the audience, but to convince them in the line with the propagandist. Therefore, it widely needs the manipulation of information and repetition. Furthermore, in order to be understandable by the entire society, propaganda makers have to consider the lowest level of intelligence and prepare the language of the propaganda materials in a simple and clear manner.

Between 1914 and 1918, the wholesale employment of propaganda as an organised weapon of modern warfare⁷ moved up its influence from the battle conflicts to the public daily life with the utilisation of communication and mass media tools in canalizing beliefs and thoughts towards the predetermined course of the state. The propagandists of all sides presented war as a heroic and morale crusade – in Germany as a defense of *Kultur* against British *Civilisation*, or in Britain to protect "Little

⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁷ Ibid., 15.

Belgium” from treaty-breaking militarism.⁸ Thereby, adopting the motives of different propaganda became very easy for the people of the belligerent countries.

In addition to propaganda, censorship was also an effective tool in the hands of the governments to “prevent the enemy from acquiring sensitive information and to bolster the morale of their soldiers and citizens”.⁹ The method of sharing information or producing it to appeal to the audience was the main subject of propaganda, but censorship was another useful tool for “the selection of information to support a particular viewpoint or the deliberate manipulation (or doctoring) of information to create an impression different to that originally intended.”¹⁰ Controlling the means of communication for security reasons, maintaining societies’ support for the war and creating hate and fear against the enemy and its elements in society were among its major objectives. Within this context, WWI may be described as the first modern war in which all the belligerents deployed the twin weapons of censorship and propaganda to rigidly control public opinion.¹¹

The scale and bloodiness of WWI led many historians and other intellectuals to conclude that propaganda was, unfortunately, extraordinarily effective,¹² and the primary force contributing to the success of propaganda was emotional.¹³ Therefore, the emotional content was the source of the success in propaganda messages and instruments. In the article titled “Of Fraud and Force Fast Woven: Domestic Propaganda During the First World War”, Delwiche attributes the failure of the German propaganda in America to the fact that it emphasized logic over passion.¹⁴

⁸ Troy R.E. Paddock, ed. *World War I and Propaganda* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2014), 139.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 1.

¹³ Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front*, 12.

¹⁴ Aaron Delwiche, “Of Fraud and Force Fast Woven: Domestic Propaganda During the First World War,” <https://www.firstworldwar.com/features/propaganda.htm>.

According to Count von Bernstorff, a German diplomat, “the outstanding characteristic of the average American is rather a great, though superficial, sentimentality,” and German press telegrams completely failed to grasp this fact.¹⁵ German propaganda, thus, failed to appeal to the emotions of the people and make a connection with them. Rather than using a sentimental tone in the messages, the German propagandists preferred to prepare materials in a more political dialect.

1.2. Ephemera

Propaganda tools are also worth examining since they were handled by their users so successfully and they penetrated into the daily lives of the American people remarkably. Posters, postcards, pamphlets, pictures, illustrations, novels, movies, children songs and plays, newspapers and governmental speeches were important examples which were employed to address the emotions and patriotic feelings of the people to gain support for the US’ entry to war, and promote war-time policies towards immigrants. These means of propaganda are handled in this thesis by their characteristics of being war-time ephemera.

Although ephemera are defined as the minor transient documents of everyday life, ephemera in this thesis, and generally ephemera produced under the propaganda frame, have had long-term significance beyond their short-term characteristics.¹⁶ Ephemera constitute a huge range of printed materials, such as leaflets, pamphlets, posters, maps, postcards, playing cards, paper bags, tickets, labels, advertisements, bills, receipts and any kind of printed materials produced for everyday usage. Among them, posters, pamphlets, sheet music covers, poem pamphlets, movie posters, columns in newspapers and magazines, advertisements, postcards are taken into consideration in this thesis by being significant and effective ephemeral propaganda tools which enabled governments to appeal to a greater audience and to spread

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Twyman, “The Long-Term Significance of Printed Ephemera”, 19-20.

information in local, national and global scales by their characteristics of being easily accessible, deliverable and producible.

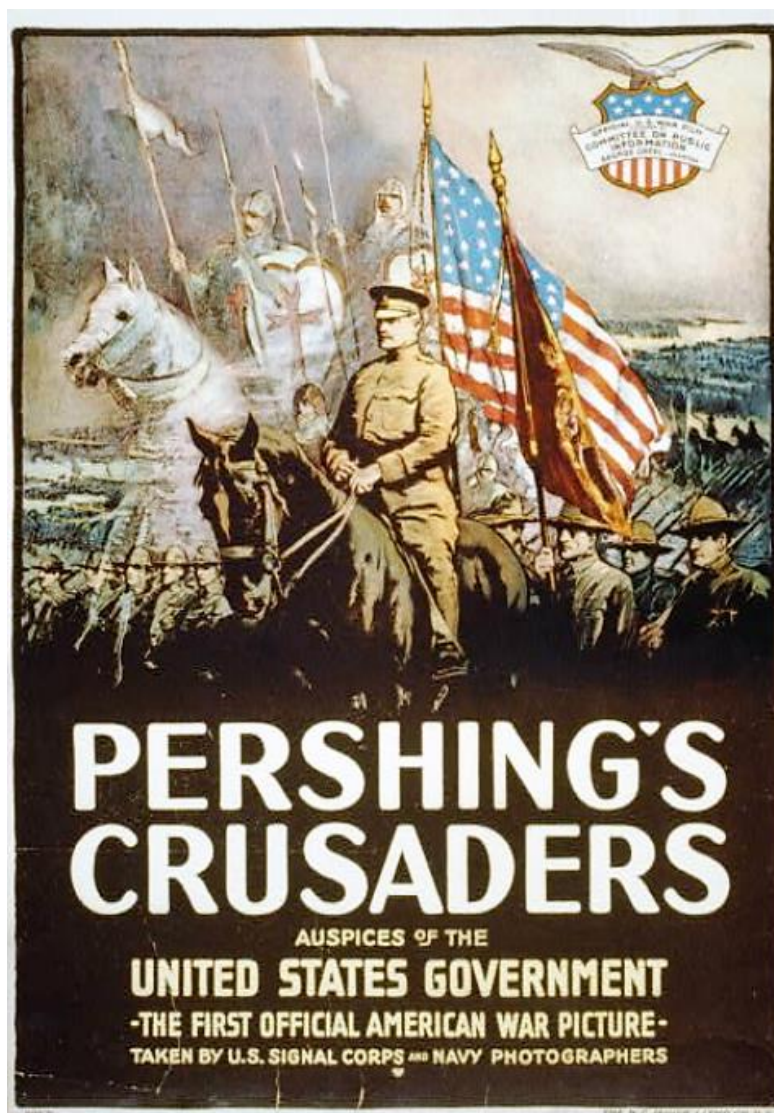


Figure 1: “Pershing's crusaders--Auspices of the United States Government” Motion Picture Poster, New York: The H.C. Miner Litho. Co., 1918, accessed 27th August 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3b53043/>.

Printed propaganda tools “had created something new: a mass audience”.¹⁷ In addition to the printed materials, even the movie industry participated in the official

¹⁷ Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front*, 15.

propaganda process, and “movies with titles like the *Kaiser: The Beast of Berlin*, *Wolves of Kultur*, and *Pershing’s Crusaders* flooded American theatres”¹⁸ to dehumanize the Kaiser and his people¹⁹. *Kaiser: The Beast of Berlin* was directed by Rupert Julian in 1918, and it was an anti-German propaganda movie which was about the political greed of German Kaiser Wilhelm II. The movie depicted the Kaiser as an arrogant and futile leader, and referred to the German invasion of Belgium and the sinking of *Lusitania* by emphasizing their victims in the story. *Wolves of Kultur* was directed by Joseph A. Golden in 1918, and it was an adventure movie about an American girl accompanied by her boyfriend, and together they endeavoured to prevent enemy countries’ spies not to steal the description of an invention of wireless torpedo from the American scientists. *Pershing’s Crusaders* (1918) was the first official American war picture that was produced under the auspices of the US government, and taken by US Signal Corps and Navy photographers as a documentary. It was about the American troops marching in France under the command of General John J. Pershing, and they were accompanied by the souls of crusaders floating above.

It should be underlined at this point that the propaganda tools mentioned in this thesis in the form of movies, poems, novels, songs are not ephemeral sources for the obvious reason that they were not produced for transient purposes. However, printed materials for these works such as movie posters, sheet music covers, books or poem pamphlets, advertisements produced for these works constitute ephemeral sources.

1.3. The Context and Aim

On the eve of and during WWI, propaganda was used effectively as an instrument of state policy in the US under the conduct of the domestic and international politics. This thesis will focus on two different aspects of the propaganda that was carried out by the Allied countries and the US during WWI towards the British and German immigrants as a consequence of war-time policies. Although the Allied powers consisted of Britain, France, Russia, Japan and Belgium, the main Allied

¹⁸ Delwiche, “Of Fraud and Force Fast Woven”.

¹⁹ Finkelman, “The War on German Language and Culture, 1917-1925”, 181.

country considered in this thesis is Britain. The main reason of this consideration is the idea that the major effect coming from Europe to the US in the context of WWI belonged to Britain. With its well-organised and successful propaganda activities and long-term cultural links with the US, Britain is recognised in this thesis as the pivotal power of the Allied propaganda by having the utmost influence on the US and the American population. The historical facts that are referred to in the following chapter are evident examples of the differentiation in the enduring official and public attitude towards the British and German immigrants as a result of the successful propaganda campaigns conducted by Britain. For this reason, British and German immigrants are chosen to demonstrate the significance in the differentiation caused by the Allied propaganda activities in the US during the WWI.

To deepen the subject, the usage of propaganda in the US before and during WWI was organized in two ways: to create sympathy for the Allied countries, and hostility towards Central power countries. This orientation towards sympathy and hostility was caused by the actions and incidents of both sides, but more importantly by their projections to the world by their counterparts. This orientation evolved to a discrimination and possessed a leading role in the shape of the international relations of the country, as well as a major impact on domestic policies by having a distinct reflection in the attitude towards immigrants of these countries. The attitude, which came into existence as pro- and anti-stance towards the immigrants, was manipulated publicly and sometimes officially.

The reason of the massive British – and also German – propaganda activities directed at the US can be linked to the fact that on the outbreak of World War I (WWI), Great Britain and Germany had lost each other's best customer in economic and commercial terms so that it was essential for both of them to compensate for this loss by increasing their trade with the rapidly expanding economic might of the US and to entice the Americans into joining their cause; therefore, until the US entered the war, British and German propagandists fought an intense and widespread propaganda campaign designed to win American sympathy and all the benefits that entailed.²⁰ Thus, it can be claimed that the content, direction and intensity of propaganda in the

²⁰ Michael Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War 1914-18* (The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982), 167.

US was considerably determined outside the country; and many of its materials flowed through the other sides of the Atlantic.

Atrocity propaganda, which was carried out toward Germany, was an important part of WWI and should be mentioned to draw attention to the estrangement of the German immigrants in the US. Almost every academic resource about the war-time propaganda emphasizes the importance of the atrocity stories in the conduct of the propaganda. Atrocity stories that were one of the pillars of the war-time propaganda against enemies corroborated states' official discourse in the conduct of the country's foreign and domestic policies. Some of the atrocity stories were in fact real; however, there were the fabricated ones which were quite effective in appealing to the people's sentiments. The "intentional distortion of the truth"²¹ was the idea generally used in the propaganda making, and of course during the fabrication of the atrocity stories as well. As a result of all war-time propaganda activities, it would become understandable that – according to some academic readings – although having been the first or second most populous ethnic group in the US in that time, German cultural influence is not visible today in language, culture and art compared to the cultures of other ethnic groups such as the Irish, Italians, Chinese, etc. With the great propaganda efforts of Britain within and from outside the US which aimed to manipulate American public opinion and benefit from the German mistakes in propaganda making, German popularity in the US entered a path of downgrade which continued in aftermath of the war, and even worsened with the WWII.

Within this context, the first chapter of this thesis aims to provide an outlook about the historical immigration background of the British and Germans in America, and their stance in the American daily life before WWI. The reasons behind the immigration motives, history of the immigration, immigrants' engagement in public life are briefly touched on in the first chapter with the aim of building a context and preparing a basis for the following chapter. As it was mentioned before, British and German immigrants are highlighted to demonstrate the differentiation in the US public towards an anti- and pro- stance to certain immigrant groups as a consequence of war-time propaganda activities within the country and coming from outside the country.

²¹ Welch, "A Much Maligned and Misunderstood Word," 33.

These two major immigrant groups were the best examples to compare advantages and disadvantages of the results of the Britain's anti-German propaganda, and to show reflections of the US government's domestic and foreign policies on different immigrant groups.

The main theme of this thesis is described in detail in the second chapter "World War I and the Usage of Propaganda as an Instrument of State Policy towards Immigrants". The chapter begins by giving a brief information on the public atmosphere in the US before and on the outbreak of WWI, and continues with pro-British and anti-German propaganda conducted first to influence the US government and American population in the context of the Allied discourse, then to convince the American population to enter the war on the Allied side. Firstly, the pro-British influence in the US is discussed in two aspects as within the US and arriving from outside the US. Afterwards, the chapter represents how the pro-British propaganda generated anti-German stance in the US, and how Britain availed atrocity propaganda and anti-German stereotypes as an opportunity to counter attack outside the battlefields. In this respect, the invasion of Belgium by Germany on 4th August 1914, the sinking of the passenger ship *Lusitania* by German torpedoes on 7th May 1915, the Bryce Report on Belgium's invasion on 12th May 1915, the execution of the British Nurse Edith Cavell by German soldiers in Belgium on 12th October 1915, and the Zimmermann Telegram are chosen in this chapter as the cardinal incidents to demonstrate the British anti-German propaganda conducted during WWI. These four incidents are perceived in this work as the most powerful and effective consequences of British anti-German propaganda attempts which aimed to persuade the US during WWI.

The conclusion chapter firstly examines the results of the pro-British and anti-German propaganda within the US, and their reflections to people's daily lives. This chapter discusses whether Britain operated a successful propaganda toward the US and Americans, or failed. The chapter makes a comparison between the British and German immigrants, and demonstrates the advantages and disadvantages of these immigrant groups in the consequence of war-time domestic and foreign policies. Finally, the conclusion chapter mentions the attitude that was developed in the American public after WWI towards the immigrants, and the government's new

immigration policies of the 1920s. Although these policies were not directly linked with the British and German immigrants, and even had benefits sometimes for the newcomer German immigrants,²² the idea of talking about them was to show the American public stance towards the immigrant groups in general during the inter-war period. Because of the propaganda activities which targeted American public opinion, the Americans felt themselves exhausted within the mass of information, rumours and atrocity stories. They also became suspicious against their own elements who originated from the Central power countries. The chapter summarises the growing isolationist and nativist sentiments which arose in the post-war era in the US, and which provided a platform for the government's restrictive immigration policies in the following decades.

1.4. Literature Review

The concepts of “WWI propaganda” and “immigration” – individually or together – are very appealing and popular topics in war literature, and constitute plentiful sources for various academic works. Considering the literature review of this thesis, there are many valuable academic works on the WWI propaganda conducted by the Allied and Central power countries, of which Great Britain, Germany and the US are in the focus of this work. Since propaganda had a great place in shaping of the governments' war policies, the concept of propaganda, its history, the way of its conduct in the domestic and foreign policies of the states, and its impact on public were all examined comprehensively in these sources. E.H. Carr's “Power in International Politics”, Aaron Delwiche's “Of Fraud and Force Fast Woven: Domestic Propaganda During the First World War”, David Monger's *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain*, David Welch's *Propaganda Power and Persuasion: from World War I to WikiLeaks* and Troy R.E. Paddock edited *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion, and Newspapers in the Great War and World War*

²² The Immigration Act of 1924 brought the national origins quota on the Western and Eastern Hemisphere. The national origins quota was determined as the two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the US according to the national census of 1890. Since the Western European Americans had long resided in the US, the percentage for the newcomers from Western Europe was significantly higher than the ones from Eastern and Southern Europe.

I and Propaganda are very significant sources that provide substantial information for this thesis since they point out the details of the propaganda conducted during the war. Some other resources were taken into consideration for their focal point of Britain's massive and effective propaganda campaigns. *British Propaganda during the First World War 1914-1918* of Michael Sanders and Philip M. Taylor and *Foreign Office and British Propaganda during the First World War* of Taylor are some of the detailed sources that shed a light on the British propaganda in international politics. Germany, Germans and German elements in the US were discussed in detail by Mary J. Manning in "Being German, Being American", by Willi Paul Adams in *The German Americans: An Ethnic Experience*, by Michael F. Connors in "Dealing in Hate: The Development of Anti-German Propaganda", and by Dieter Cunz in "The German Americans: Immigration and Integration" along with a number of secondary sources which are indicated in the bibliography.

Primary sources are noteworthy in explaining facts from first hand. In this respect, newspapers – *the Ashland Daily Press*, *the Milwaukee Sentinel*, *the New York Times*, *the New York Tribune* and the *Medina Sentinel* – comprised noteworthy sources for this work, especially in demonstrating the attempts and the consequences of the British anti-German propaganda activities directed at the US citizens. The US Library Congress is appreciated very much by constituting the main resource for this thesis' ephemeral sources with its very comprehensive database. Almost all the ephemeral drawings and their references are downloaded from the Library of Congress' website. Some other ephemera were mainly taken from university and museum digital collections like the Temple University Libraries, the Hoover Institution Library and Archives, the Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries Digital Collections, the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Libraries and the Merseyside Maritime Museum of the National Museums Liverpool.

WWI propaganda literature emphasizes on the British success in the conduct of the intensive propaganda towards the US and the effectiveness of the well-prepared propaganda materials. The aforementioned academic sources describe the British propaganda that mainly contoured itself around the anti-German rhetoric through exaggerating facts, taking advantage of German mistakes, and manipulating news arriving from Europe to the US. As for the German-themed resources noted in the

previous paragraph, they examine the facts with the attempt of enlightening the truths behind them, the truths that were claimed to be manipulated by the British propaganda.

In this work, the main purpose is framed around the impacts of the British war propaganda with anti-German rhetoric, and which targeted the US Government and public before and during WWI. The focus was the anti-German manner of the British war propaganda which had unfavourable consequences on the German Americans, long-stayed German immigrants and the newcomers. In this thesis, the invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the passenger ship *Lusitania*, the execution of the British Nurse Edith Cavell and the Zimmermann Telegram constitute the main incidents of the British anti-German propaganda targeting the US government and American people to draw attention to the war and gain support for the Allied causes. These incidents are mentioned in the secondary sources of this work and in other academic resources of war-time British propaganda. The first three ones – Belgium's invasion, sinking of *Lusitania* and execution of Edith Cavell – are analysed in this thesis to show the British attempts to raise awareness of war in the American public, to generate hate for Germany and sympathy for the innocent victims of German attacks, and finally to support the Allied causes in the war and give consent to the US government to enter the war. These incidents provided a platform to create positive attitudes in the direction to enter the war on the Allied side by being greatly used in the propaganda materials to appeal to the people's emotions. When it comes to the Zimmermann Telegram which was a German attempt to make a secret agreement with Mexico against the US, it was accepted as the final incident to trigger the US government to declare war against Germany. In this thesis, the Zimmermann Telegram is indicated as the only threatening direct action towards the US among the other three which had already bolstered the American government and people not to be indifferent to the war and to act against Germany.

With this aim, this work aspires to present a series of remarkable ephemeral sources to display the efforts of Britain that aimed to develop an anti-German stance in the American public opinion, and to support the idea that the result of the British anti-German war propaganda had negative and undesirable consequences on the German elements of the US. The aforementioned sources utilise impressive examples of pertinent ephemera – especially posters and pamphlets – to strengthen their

standpoints. This work seeks to collect the most significant examples of these ephemera to present their varieties to justify the success of the British anti-German propaganda towards the US, and to combine them with the idea that successful British anti-German propaganda had a negative impact on the American German elements in the daily and administrative life.

CHAPTER 2

AN OUTLOOK ON THE BRITISH AND GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE WORLD WAR I

2.1. British Immigrants: Immigration to the United States and the British Population in American Daily Life²³

The first significant English immigration to America started in the beginning of the seventeenth century with the colonists who regarded themselves as settlers, and the lands where they had settled as the expansion of the motherland Britain.

The first settlers arrived to the New World to live for a while, and they made their first contact with Native Americans. The first colony was founded at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. They profited from hunting and trade revenues of the lands on which they settled, and forced the natives to leave their lands if any conflicts happened. The first settlers did not bring their families to America; they stayed in England because of the intent of the men's about staying for a time of period to make trade and to gain profit. The revenues obtained from trade and hunting were returned to the kingdom that had sponsored them in the form of taxes. By time, Britain requested to obtain higher taxes in the late eighteenth century from the settlers to fund its war activities in Europe. War expenses during the Seven Years' War in Europe between the years of 1756 and 1763 gave rise to need for financial recovery in Britain. Dissatisfaction about the higher taxes forced the settlers to drift apart from Britain, and to settle in America permanently and bring their families as well. Along with their families and other new comers, they established their own villages and cities, and ran the administration within a social and legal context which was similar to Britain's.

²³ This section widely resumed from Benjamin Thomas' *Encyclopaedia of Western Colonialism Since 1450*.

In addition to the settlers who had the motive of making trade and gaining, a further considerable wave of English immigration to the US continued in the colonial period with the Puritans who migrated from England with the motive of living the purest form of Protestantism than the one of the Anglican Church. The first Puritan settlement was established in Virginia Colony in 1618, and the Puritans continued to migrate during the seventeenth century to the same place and also to the Massachusetts Bay, and to the New England Colonies.

The migration movements from Great Britain to the other side of the Atlantic continued in the following centuries with the similar motives like earning their own living, starting new life far from the Kingdom and its conditions, or practicing their religious beliefs in freedom.

The British population was active and visible in every area of America with their wide range of settlements and works. They were farm owners, traders, hunters, government officials, journalists, artists, depending on the region where they lived. As being one of the ancient and populous immigrant groups, they were dominant in shaping the social and political features of the US such as language, law system, religion, administration, education and culture. They named villages and cities where they lived with eminent British characters or places in Great Britain. (For example, Virginia, Charles Town, Jamestown, New Jersey, New Hampshire)

The language advantage was the most important pattern that provided a strong and visible stance for the British immigrants in daily life. They gained a wide work area by communication in the same language. Accordingly, adapting to the new society and socialisation were much easier for them than other non-British immigrants. Puritanism was quite effective in the British population's daily life and culture with its characteristics of strong work ethic, the idea of exceptionalism, constant fear of evil and extreme reactions to the rebellious movements to their traditions.

The British population provided continuous cultural, commercial and political links between the US and Britain which also became quite effective in the relations of these two countries before and during WWI. American politicians with British descent and high level government officials shaped the political rhetoric for the sake of the US-Britain relations, and to support the legislations which were in favour of Anglo-Americans and British immigrants. This pro-British rhetoric endorsed the entry of the

US to WWI as well. The continuous trade between these two countries was not interrupted even in the difficult economic conditions of the war. Britain's need for the US market was bigger than the American need for the British market before and during WWI. In this context, the British Americans played a great role in sustaining and developing the trade links between the two countries. Additionally, Anglo-American sportspersons, artists, novelist and journalists served as a cultural bridge in further disseminating British culture and customs amongst the American public and deepening current Anglo-American culture.

2.2. German Immigrants: Immigration to the United States and the German Population in American Daily Life

The Germans, who constitute one of the largest segments of the American population, arrived in America in the second half of the seventeenth century, together with Dutch and Scandinavian Calvinists and Lutherans, and settled down in the New England and New Amsterdam Colonies. Religion was the main motive of their immigration movement where the Lutheran and Reformed confessions composed the majority of immigrants.²⁴ In the intolerant environment of Europe, they had not been permitted to shape their own community life.²⁵

German immigration to the US continued in the nineteenth century in search for improving their standard of living and escaping from religious conflicts, poor agricultural conditions and military enrolment.

Large kin and neighbour groups emigrated together and landed at the ports of Philadelphia or Charleston that they had fixed upon from the start; and, many such groups re-established their neighbourhoods in the new land, and preserved kinship and social ties which were temporarily broken by their departure from the old villages.²⁶

²⁴ A.G. Roeber, "In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No.4, Oct., 1987, 763.

²⁵ Willi Paul Adams, *The German Americans: An Ethnic Experience* trans. La Verne J. Ripple and Eberhard Reichmann, (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1993), accessed 3rd February 2019. <http://www.manitouislandsarchives.org/history/biographicalessays/beck/references/%5B12%5DTheGermanAmericans-AnEthnicExperience-Chap2.pdf>.

²⁶ Roeber, "In German Ways?," 765.

German farmers settled in the areas which had the same conditions and climate with the lands they came from, and they continued their farm business in the US.

Politically motivated emigration from Germany began in the 1830s when the reactionary forces governing in the post-Napoleonic period persecuted liberals and democrats.²⁷ According to John F. Flynn in “German Revolution of 1848 and Historiography in the German Democratic Republic”, in the middle of the 19th century, the industrial revolution was achieved in Europe, but workers and peasants could not profit from the gains of the industrial development. Workers had been working in difficult conditions in the cities, and peasants suffered from the potato disease which occurred in the 1845-1846 seasons. Economic depression, famine and working class problems created massive social unrest in Europe with the demands for liberal policies and better working conditions. In Germany, the lack of the political union between the German States increased the political disturbance. Workers, students and artisans first revolted in Paris on 22nd February 1848, and the revolt movement reached to Berlin on 17th March 1848. The German Revolution of 1848 was initially a part of the Revolutions of 1848 that arose in many European countries²⁸. The German Revolution of 1848 stimulated further immigration to the US. Rebellious liberals were forced to exile from the country, and many of them immigrated to the US including leaders of rebellion, revolutionaries and others in hope for better economic conditions and stable politics.

The German population in the US was visible in business, religion, art, education and many other areas. They were merchants, traders, farmers, brewery owners, academicians, politicians, teachers, religious functionaries and art performers in orchestras, theatres, and bands. German culture, language and social features penetrated into the daily lives of the villages and cities where the German immigrants lived. Similar to the British, they gave German names to the cities where they lived in as Germantown, Mannheim, Oppenheim and Herkimer²⁹.

²⁷ Adams, *The German Americans*.

²⁸ John F. Flynn, “German Revolution of 1848 and Historiography in the German Democratic Republic,” accessed 23rd August 2019. <https://www.ohio.edu/chastain/dh/germrev.htm>.

²⁹ Dieter Cunz, “The German Americans: Immigration and Integration,” 30.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the older stock of Americans had sympathy for the German immigrants in the US, and also for their home country, Germany. Firstly, the German immigrants participated in the American Civil War and fought for the North, and Germany supported the North as well during the war. The outcome for the Germans in the US was dignity in the society. Secondly, for the majority of Americans, Germany was the land of universities and of religious freedom, and fought for its national unity against an Imperial aggressor,³⁰ which was France during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Indeed, Germany became a pioneer in Europe with its achievements in culture, philosophy, literature, science and education during the nineteenth century. The Germans (in Germany) were generally regarded as methodical and energetic people and models of progress, while in their devotion to music, education, science, and technology they aroused the admiration and emulation of Americans.³¹ During the Franco-Prussian War, Americans had pro-German and anti-French stance as an outcome of the belief that Germany symbolised liberty and progress, whereas despotism was identical with France. The positive feelings in the nineteenth century about Germany and Germans in Europe were reflected to the German immigrants in the US to the same extent.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain positioned itself closer to Germany rather than France who was its continuous neighbour enemy to fight with in every century. The reason behind the Anglo-German cooperation might have resulted from the rather political weakness of Germany because of its unsuccessful unification attempts. Thus, Germany did not constitute a powerful rival for Britain in Europe and in the global arena, until the Otto von Bismark's unification of Germany in 1871. It was the first successful nationalism initiative in Germany; however it was, perceived then as a threat since its consequences created a strong potential competitor for European and global economy and trade. In 1904, the Entente Cordiale was signed between France and Great Britain, which led to a rapprochement between these two countries that eventually caused a disengagement from Germany. This change in the

³⁰ Michael F. Connors, *Dealing in Hate: The Development of Anti-German Propaganda*, (London, Britons Publishing Co., 1996), 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

British opinion created a similar change in American opinion of Germany.³² Particularly, the American press started to flourish anti-German rhetoric with the beginning of the twentieth century because large segments of the American press depended on British sources for information about European and particularly German affairs.³³ This climate change that resulted with a complete attitude change towards German elements is going to be mentioned further in the following chapter.

2.3. Why Immigrants Matter?

Immigrants are chosen in this thesis to demonstrate the social consequences of the governments' war-time propaganda efforts. During WWI, by the help of propaganda activities, governments aimed to convince a multilateral audience: their population, their allies, the population of their allies and even the population of their enemies in the direction of official war-time policies. In this context, immigrant groups were one of these target groups and affected differently by the governments' massive war activities. By being a citizen, they included the same target audience of the official propaganda as the other citizens. However, by being an immigrant originated from the enemy countries, they automatically became suspicious and alleged to be enemy spies, and were exposed to the anti-propaganda conducted toward the enemies, even they were against the war or the originated country.

In this thesis, the concrete consequences of Britain centred Allied war-time propaganda are displayed with the effects on the German immigrants. Within the historical and social perspective, this thesis covers the change from the pro-stance to the anti-stance towards the German immigrants as a result of Britain's successful propaganda attempts in the US. It will not be wrong to claim that German immigrants became indirect victims of the anti-German propaganda of British and US governments. Although they had left their home country Germany seeking better economic conditions, religious and political freedom, and adopted the US as a homeland, they became suspicious with the allegation of being German spies and

³² Ibid., 7.

³³ Ibid..

working against the US government. The details will be covered in the following chapter which displays the usage of propaganda as an instrument of state policy towards immigrants.

CHAPTER 3

WORLD WAR I AND THE USAGE OF PROPAGANDA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF STATE POLICY TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

WWI drew attention to the role of propaganda by its extensive use as an important tool of warfare in addition to the conventional tools and intelligence services. On all sides, WWI witnessed the first massive organised propaganda campaign of the twentieth century, the first deliberate and official effort to manipulate public opinion, an effort that was largely successful, according to war-time statistics.³⁴

During the Great War, the US maintained its neutrality until 1917. When the war broke out, American public opinion was mainly against the war, and especially the German immigrants were in favour of maintaining neutrality. According to Paul Finkelman,

In 1914 most German Americans were either indifferent to the war in Europe or actually hostile to the German governments and its goals. After all, they had abandoned Germany for the US. Most thought of themselves as Americans totally loyal to American democratic ideals. In the German American's view, his cultural heritage created no special loyalty for the German Imperial Government, nor did it inhibit his capacity for patriotic citizenship in his adopted homeland. However, this did not mean German Americans were anxious to fight against their friends and relatives in their former homeland.³⁵

However, both the anglophile rhetoric used by the British politicians, businessmen and other dominant characters in public, and German atrocity rumours arriving from the European continent stimulated an orientation to the British causes in

³⁴ Celia Malone Kingsbury, *For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press), 6.

³⁵ Finkelman, "The War on German Language and Culture, 1917-1925," 178.

the US public. Dispute with Germany first started with American consequential casualties because of the German attacks towards the British and French. The conflicts in relations resulted with the diplomatic rupture, and when the US declared war on Germany on 6 April 1917, the negative sentiments that had already risen against the German descendants spread out across the nation towards the ethnic groups who had their origins in Central Power countries, especially Germany. On the other hand, pro-British propaganda was used increasingly in favour of the war by both the British and other ethnic groups whose ancestors arrived from the Allied countries. These sentiments were fuelled by the mass propaganda activities of the government to mobilise public opinion concerning government's war-time policies.

Arguments in this section of the thesis are supported with the war-time “pro-Allied” and “anti-Central” ephemera propaganda in the form of posters and illustrations, postcards, pamphlets, pictures, illustrations, newspapers and also politicians' speeches, which was used by the government to appeal to the emotions and patriotic feelings of the people to gain support for the war policies which effected dramatically the life conditions of the immigrants. These patriotic feelings and emotions gave rise to a change in the attitude towards the German immigrants sometimes in a hostile way around the neighbourhoods. Not only their daily lives in neighbourhoods were the subject of this change, but also German business such as breweries, commerce firms, newspapers were boycotted by people. Language and education were two other segments of social life where German elements disfavoured³⁶.

3.1. Pro-British Propaganda

During the war, the official propaganda makers – mainly politicians and military officials – used propaganda materials, posters and pamphlets mostly, in great extent as an influential and touching element of propaganda. Posters provided the broad dissemination of information in public to achieve support, motivate to take action, and push up morale during the war. Patriotic artists created several powerful posters, painted in patriotic colours, sometimes by the demand of propaganda makers,

³⁶ Finkelman, “The War on German Language and Culture, 1917-1925,” 190-196.

for giving catchy messages supported with well-thought quotes and striking drawings. Furthermore, posters were printed out in form of pamphlets as well, and extensive usage in common areas made them visible. With their well-prepared designs providing the message be taken in both at a distance and also at a glance in street reading,³⁷ they received widespread public attention for the need on recruitment and fundraising of war activities.

The absence of public unity was a primary concern when America entered the war,³⁸ and President Woodrow Wilson established the “Committee on Public Information (CPI)” on 13th April 1917 as an independent governmental institution under the leadership of journalist George Creel³⁹ with the aim of persuading public opinion to gain support for the US participation in war. James Montgomery Flagg, born in New York in 1877 (and died in 1960), one of the most famous war-time illustrators who was the creator of many eminent propaganda posters, together with other artists such as Charles Dana Gibson, Louis Delton Fancher, Joseph Pennell, Newell Convers Wyeth, produced many posters, cartoons, lanternslides and other ephemeral items in the context of the CPI-mandated official propaganda efforts. C.D. Gibson – graphic artist, and creator of the famous “Gibson Girl” who was the symbol of beautiful and independent American woman – produced more examples on women participating in the war. For example, “Help! The Woman's Land Army of America, New Jersey Division, State House, Trenton” (1918) poster which illustrates Uncle Sam shaking hands with a woman working in a land, and “U.S. Navy--"Here he is, sir"-- We need him and you too! Navy Recruiting Station” (1914) poster which pictures a young man holding the hand of a mother who is shaking the hand of Uncle Sam. L. D.

³⁷ Twyman, “The Long-Term Significance of Printed Ephemera”, 38.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ George Edward Creel (born in 1876 in Missouri, died in 1953) was an American journalist who started his early carrier as a reporter in Kansas City. Then, at age 23, he started to work at *The Independent* and later became the owner of it in which he published articles on many social issues including the tax system and women suffrage. In 1909, Creel sold *The Independent* and moved to Colorado where he became editorial writer for *The Denver Post*. He later worked with *the Cosmopolitan* and *The Rocky Mountain News*. He continued to make news on the social issues and support public ownership wherever he moved. In 1916, he participated and actively worked in the re-election campaign of President Woodrow Wilson. (Dan Nimmo and Chevelle Newsome, *Political Commentators in the United States in the 20th Century*, 60-65.)

Fancher created recruitment posters for the aviation section of the US Army such as “Over there! Skilled workers On the ground behind the lines - In the Air Service” (1917) illustrating a soldier holding wrench and waving to airplane in flight; illustrated most of the occupations available, such as chauffeurs, wood workers, auto mechanics, photographers, and motorcyclists, "and men from 40 other trades." and “U.S. official war pictures” (1917) showing the silhouette of a soldier operating a motion picture camera. Joseph Pennell, artist and author, designed “That Liberty Shall not Perish from the Earth - Buy liberty Bonds Fourth Liberty Loan” poster showing the Statue of Liberty in ruins and the New York skyline in flames which was produced for the liberty loans campaign of 1918. N.C. Wyeth, artist and illustrator, produced oil paintings portraying warfare, the most famous was “The Americans at Château-Thierry” (1918).⁴⁰

Business, media, academia and art world communities were also included in the CPI functions. The CPI blended advertising techniques with a sophisticated understanding of human psychology, and its efforts represented the first time that a modern government disseminated propaganda on such a large scale.⁴¹ The CPI continued to be active until 21st August 1919 and eventually accomplished its mission when the war ended.

One of the famous propaganda piece of the CPI, “I Want You for U.S. Army: Nearest Recruiting Station” work was produced by James Montgomery Flagg in 1917 and millions of its copies were printed as of posters and pamphlets to be distributed in every state of the country. After this poster, Uncle Sam asking Americans to entitle to army became an iconic image used in many latter occasions.

⁴⁰ “Posters: Artist Poster” Collection of the Library of Congress was used for the information on posters (www.loc.gov). Information on “The Americans at Château-Thierry” oil painting is from the Brandywine River Museum of Art’s “World War I Influence on Artists in New Lecture Series” (<https://www.brandywine.org/press-room/press-releases/brandywine-river-museum-art-explores-world-war-i-influence-artists-new>).

⁴¹ Ibid.



Figure 2: “I Want You For U.S. Army: Nearest Recruiting Station” Poster and Pamphlet, James Montgomery Flagg, 1917. Accessed on 1st July 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/96507165/>.

James Montgomery Flagg might have been inspired by “Your Country Needs You” poster and pamphlet, produced by Alfred Leete in 1914, illustrating Lord Kitchener – the British Secretary of State for war – pointing at the viewer with his arm and his finger to enlist for the army.⁴² Sometimes American artists modelled the practices of their European counterparts, especially British, as they met war and its propaganda concept prior than the US.

⁴² “I Want YOU!’ – The Story of James Montgomery Flagg's Iconic Poster”, Illustration Chronicles, accessed 27th August 2019. <https://illustrationchronicles.com/I-Want-YOU-The-Story-of-James-Montgomery-Flagg-s-Iconic-Poster>.



Figure 3: “London Opinion ‘Your Country Needs You’” Poster and Pamphlet, Alfred Leete, London: Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., Ltd., 1914. Accessed on 5th August 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37468/>.

The above-mentioned mass media works and other similar examples produced under or sponsored by the CPI or other official instructions were “exploited, censored and coordinated (arguably for the first time) in order to propagate officially approved themes”; so that, “international affairs increasingly became the concern of peoples everywhere, and governments knew they could not afford to neglect the ever more powerful press”⁴³.

⁴³ Welch, “A Much Maligned and Misunderstood Word”, 15.

I have a rendezvous with Death

Poem by
Alan Seeger

I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade
When Spring comes back with rustling shade
And apple blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When Spring brings back blue days and fair.

It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land
And close my eyes and quench my breath—
It may be I shall pass him still,
I have a rendezvous with Death
On some scarred slope of battered hill,
When Spring comes 'round again this year
And the first meadow-flowers appear.

God knows 'twere better to be deep
Pillowed in silk and scented down,
Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep,
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
Where hushed awakenings are dear . . .
But I've a rendezvous with Death
At midnight in some flaming town,
When Spring trips north again this year,
And I to my pledged word am true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

Set to Music by
GEORGE CLIFFORD VIEH
FOR BARITONE FOR BASS
75 cents, net

THE BOSTON MUSIC COMPANY · BOSTON
G. SCHIRMER · NEW YORK

Figure 4: “I have a rendezvous with death”, Notated Music of Poem by Alan Seeger. Accessed on 6th August 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ihas.200211242.0/?sp=1>.

Together with the official propaganda, personal works by patriotic artisans became also quite effective considering their emphatic and touching characteristics penetrated into public feelings. For instance, Alan Seeger, an American soldier-poet who fought with the French Foreign Legion between 1914 and 1916 – until he died, was an outstanding example in this context. He became a part of the war while he was working in Paris as a man of letters, even though his nation had not yet joined it. He was important for the emergence of soldier poetry in American press because his posthumous *Poems* – most famous of them was “I have a Rendez-Vous with Death” – published in December 1916 and intensely partisan on behalf of the Allies, compiled

sales figures which demonstrated that propaganda by soldier-poets could be commercially profitable.⁴⁴ Using word of “rendez-vous” could refer an appointment of two people – a dating in a romantic sense – that should not be “failed”. Alan Seeger made the following analogy that a man of honour would not fail his rendez-vous with his date, and a soldier should not fail his rendez-vous with death neither in the battlefield.

War-time poetry became a tool for propaganda “with soldier-poets, deceased soldier-poets, poets memorialising deceased soldiers, and poets explaining the ‘necessity’ of additional deceased soldiers.”⁴⁵ Thus, Americans became connected emotionally with the soldiers and war from an Allied perspective, and war was justified in some way through poetry, even glamorised may be.

The following sheet music cover showing an American soldier arriving in Europe and greeting British and French compatriots, designed for the patriotic song titled “We’re Over” written in 1918 by James Anderson, and it is another example of WWI ephemeral propaganda products. Once the US declared war, the US army attempted to mobilize the troops very quickly and the fatigued British and French troops, who had been fighting since August 1914, sorely needed the relief offered by the American forces.⁴⁶ “We’re Over” appealed to the American people’s sentiments to stand for the allied nations with its following lyrics:

We have watched the Sons of Belgium, of Italy and France
To her everlasting honour, Old Britain took her stand to
take the field for liberty to stop the Hun’s advance.
Then help the Belgians drive the foe from off their native land.
And Uncle Sammie he stepped in to help the cause a long,
That’s now since Uncle Sammie has toed the fighting line,
We’ll why the Yankee boys are here, five hundred thousand strong.
Make the Kaiser wish that he had never crossed the Rhine.
We’re over, we’re over, we’re here to fill the gap;
Our roaring guns will wipe the Hun’s clear off the fighting map.

⁴⁴ Mark W. van Wienen, *Partisans and Poets: The Political Work of American Poetry in the Great War* (Cambridge & NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 134.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁴⁶ “The American Expeditionary Forces” in Collection of “Stars and Stripes: The American Soldiers’ Newspaper of World War I, 1918 to 1919”. Accessed on 26th July 2019 <https://www.loc.gov/collections/stars-and-stripes/articles-and-essays/a-world-at-war/american-expeditionary-forces/>.

We're over, we're over, and here we're going to stay
till we make the Boss of the Iron Cross respect the USA.⁴⁷

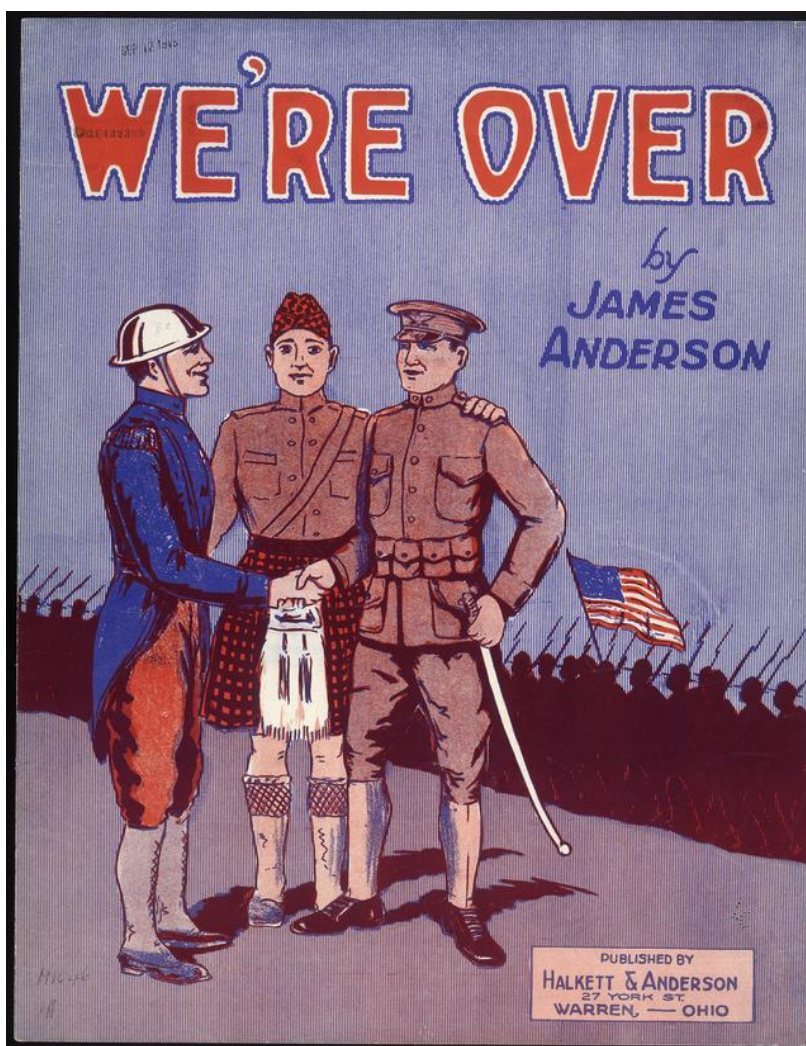


Figure 5: “We're Over” Sheet music cover, created in 1918, Warren, Ohio: Halkett and Anderson. Accessed on 24th July 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2013568686/>.

3.1.1. Within the US: British “Natural” Advantages of Linguistic and Cultural Closeness

Common language, cultural closeness and long-term business relations with mutual benefits had created a bond between Americans and Britain. In this context, the British immigrants had an obvious advantage of linguistic and cultural closeness compared to the other groups in the US. As far as adaptation and socialisation concepts

⁴⁷ “We're Over” Notated Music, words and lyrics by James Anderson, accessed 27th August 2019. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ihas.200198342.0/?sp=3>.

were concerned, the British immigrants accommodated themselves easily to social and business life with the benefit of communicating in the same language with the residents of America. On the other hand, the Germans and other non-English speaking nationalities faced with problems related to assimilation, adaptation or disapproval by the society because of the language barrier.

Additionally, common language made the official visits of the British politicians and high-level officials easier. Since in their communication translation was not required, the direct transmission of the messages to audience was enabled.

Pro-Allied anthologies were not only linked to the US interests with those of the Allies, but also merged America's cultural identity with the identities of Britain and France.⁴⁸ Charles Callan Tansill, who was an American historian, professor of history and an important figure in the American Foreign Policy criticism, evaluated the cultural interaction between the US and Britain as follows,

Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, Dickens, Burns, Wordsworth, and host of other British men of letters had knocked on the door of the American heart and had received a warm welcome. There never had been an American tariff on British intellectual goods nor any embargoes on British ideals. In the American mind in 1914 there was a deep substratum of British thought and it was easy to convince the average American that Britain's war was "our war".⁴⁹

Since Tansill wrote extensively on American history and foreign relations, in 1925, he prepared for Congress the official volume on World War I responsibility, and in 1927 edited another volume for the Library of Congress entitled "Documents on the Formation of the American Union -", and his books *America Goes to War* (1938) and *The Back Door to War* (1952) discussed WWI and WWII in details, his above evaluation would be an appropriate reference.⁵⁰

When it comes to cultural closeness, Americans felt themselves more comfortable with the idea of coexisting with the people who were loyal to the British

⁴⁸ van Wienen, *Partisans and Poets*, 119.

⁴⁹ Connors, *Dealing in Hate*, 9.

⁵⁰ "Charles Tansill, Historian, is dead; Vocal Critic of U.S. Policy—Wrote for Birch Society", *The New York Times*, 14 November 1964, accessed on 11th September 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/11/14/archives/charles-tansill-historian-is-dead-vocal-critic-of-us-policywrote.html>.

monarch rather than the Kaiser of “the Hun”. Besides, from the historical perspective, early British immigrants were supported by the British Royalty to settle in America and develop business relations with their home country. Consequently, it would not be wrong to claim that their long-standing emotional and trade relations with Britain were still strong during the war-time, and that provided a positive platform for the later arrivals from Britain as well.

War-time literary works, newspaper columns and other written materials provided a platform for their composers to demonstrate their sympathy and fondness with the Allied countries. They also became the examples of a common culture written in a language and a literary tradition shared with Britain.⁵¹ At this point, according to the “Pictures as Propaganda” article on the Library of Congress website, “the US newspaper coverage of World War I (1914-18) provides a unique perspective on war-time propaganda. The scope of articles and images clearly exhibits America's evolution from firm isolationism in 1914 to staunch interventionism by 1918. Once American soldiers joined the war, public opinion at home changed. And newspapers helped change it.”⁵² American newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* would be good examples as being the newspapers publishing pro-British news, advertisings, columns, comments and interviews before and during the war with its pro-British American and British journalists. The same article continues with below statement.

On 6 April 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. Headlines in *the New York Times* and *the Washington Post* over the next few days declared: "Call for 'Republic' in Reichstag; America Will End Autocracy by Entering War, London Thinks—German People Learning—And Our Taking Up Arms Will Complete Their Enlightenment" and "Germans Lose Hope—Strong Demand Develops for 'Peace Without Annexation.'—Conservatives are in Fear—Campaign Against Wilson's Appeal to Teuton Democracy."⁵³

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² “Pictures as Propaganda,” *Collection of Newspaper Pictorials: World War I Rotogravures, 1914 to 1919* in Library of Congress, accessed on 27th August 2019. <https://www.loc.gov/collections/world-war-i-rotogravures/articles-and-essays/pictures-as-propaganda/>

⁵³ Ibid.



Figure 6: “Side by Side - Britannia! Britain's Day Dec. 7th 1918” Poster by James Montgomery Flagg, created in 1918. Accessed 24th June 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002712329/>.

“Side by Side” poster of James Montgomery Flagg shows the consolidation between two nations with the symbolic characters of Uncle Sam arm-in-arm with Britannia, celebrating Britain’s Day and they are accompanied with a lion and an eagle which are the national symbols of Britain and the US. Illustrating two national figures arm-in-arm aimed to attract the attention to the past conflicts which had started to disappear, and to the continuous glory of the two nations which was going to endure forever. The eagle and the lion, two wild and strong animals, might be interpreted as

symbols of the powerful stance of these two nations in peace and warfare. Consolidation and collaboration with Britain engaged the attention of the American population in every occasion as an outcome of the distribution of these posters and pamphlets in public areas, which enabled them to be easily accessible.

For the celebration of Britain's Day on 7th December 1918, Charles S. Whitman, Governor of New York, had issued a proclamation stating the acknowledgment by the American people of the nobility with which the Anglo-Saxon standard of fair play had been upheld for four years by the British Empire, and said that the ideals of America and Britain were one.⁵⁴

3.1.2. Pro-British Influence Arriving from Outside the US

From outside the US, pro-British propaganda arrived from Britain obviously in two directions that complemented each other: pro-British and anti-German rhetoric.

When WWI started in 1914, Britain had already been aware of the importance of possessing the power of communication and its tools to reach people within and outside the country and to manipulate them as well. The neutral US was an important target with its big industry which was tempting Britain and Germany to make trade and be partners with. Also, it had a good potential with its human resources to fight together as allies. In this respect, the pivotal action of the early British war attempts in August 1914, which eased the conduct of the latter propaganda activities, was to cut the German telecommunication cables going to North America, and enjoy being the only country that had direct communication access to the US.

As a consequence, Britain used its intelligence services and communication network in that period to the full extent through a well-developed telegraph system, and newspapers, books, novels, poems, pamphlets and other printed materials to mobilise the American public opinion against the Central powers – especially Germany and its international German elements. British propagandists tried to convince American journalists with the Allied causes in the war, and provided them materials and documents. They also assisted them during their visits to Britain.

⁵⁴ "Britain's Day in America," *The Queenslander Newspaper*, 14th December 1918, 40.



Figure 7: “Britishers, you're needed--Come across now” Poster by Lloyd Myers, created in 1917. Accessed 23rd June 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2001700113/>.

The above poster of Lloyd Myers titled “Britishers, you're needed--Come across now” depicts two men on a globe shaking hands across the Atlantic; a man in a suit reaches across from the US to a soldier standing on Great Britain and France representing a call from Europe to the US to join the fight and the league together against the enemy. It symbolises the coalition of the US, Great Britain and France for the common safety that was threatened by the enemies. This kind of posters and other

ephemeral pieces were largely produced by Britain with the attempt to attract the American public attention in favour of war and the Allied countries, also to appeal to the feelings of Americans and create sympathy for those being in difficult situation.

The important point in British propaganda conducted inside the US was that “Americans were led to believe that they were making up their own minds when they were really being directed gently towards a pre-determined set of opinions in favour of the Allies.”⁵⁵ It was done by catering news, views and other means for the American journalists, writers and artists to support them unnoticeably in works they would produce.

Throughout WWI, Britain’s anti-German sentiment was reflected to the Americans through propaganda attempts which were mainly on an atrocity basis. As a consequence of massive anti-German rhetoric, Americans began to believe that the Germans, whether US citizens or Europeans, were the enemies of the US. Therefore, atrocity propaganda became a concrete method that resulted with the alienation of the German immigrants in the US. Further details are given in the following paragraphs.

3.1.2.1. British War Propaganda Bureau “Wellington House”

To conduct British propaganda abroad and within the country, Britain’s War Propaganda Bureau, commonly known as Wellington House – the name of the building – was established on 2nd September 1914 by Chancellor of the Exchequer David Lloyd George under the supervision of the Britain Foreign Office. Sir Gilbert Parker, Canadian novelist and MP for Gravesend, was appointed at the head of the American Department in the organisation. In September 1914, the Foreign Office and Wellington House were in complete agreement that by far the most important of neutral countries was the US.⁵⁶ Thus, a special unit in Wellington House was created to deal solely with British propaganda in the US with support of the information provided by the intelligence services activities. Wellington House aimed to influence

⁵⁵ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War*, 172.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

the American public and governmental opinion to foster pro-British and anti-German sentiments in the US. With this aim, many efforts had been given to encourage the US to enter WWI on the side of the Allies powers, and to flourish anti-German stance. Not only political propaganda but also propaganda in literary works, art and cinema was also conducted meticulously by Wellington House.

At that point, Wellington House carried its activities carefully without giving any impression to the Americans that they had been exposed to British propaganda. Therefore, Sir Parker was operated as a private individual rather than a British Government official.

According to Sanders and Taylor's book titled "*British Propaganda During the First World War*", Sir Parker launched his propaganda activities first with creating a mailing list based partly upon his own personal contacts but drawn mainly from entries in the American edition of *Who's Who* that enabled him to reach lawyers, doctors, businessmen, politicians, scientists, academics, teachers and other influential individuals who were in various positions to influence much larger numbers of their own people. By June 1916, propaganda materials – papers, articles, letters, etc. – were being despatched to more than 13,000 addresses in America, and in one year, the list increased to 170,000 addresses.⁵⁷

As it was emphasized in *British Propaganda During the First World War*, during the first eighteen months of war, British propaganda in the US was generally cautious and defensive. Wellington House decided not to establish an organisation in the US which would suggest that the British government was attempting to win over American sympathies. During this period, they preferred to take opportunities to exploit German mistakes to demonstrate their "barbarism". Observation and combating German espionage activities were the prioritised aspects. However, from 1916, British propaganda campaign in the US was renewed in a way to improve Britain image that was tarnished by anti-British sentiment arising from the suppressing of the Easter rebellion in Ireland, continued British interference with the trans-Atlantic mails and the blacklisting in July of American business firms suspected of trading with the

⁵⁷ Ibid., 169.

Central Powers.⁵⁸ Wellington House decided to establish a British propaganda Bureau in New York and continued widespread dissemination of news and views through this bureau.

British propaganda accentuated on “civilizational principles of democracy, liberty, justice and honour,”⁵⁹ and aimed to spread them to the world. That discourse created a platform for the “civilised nations” – of which the main target was the US – to feel right and comfortable to believe in and adopt the British cause.

Propagandists often modified their speeches according to local interests.⁶⁰ In German populated communities, they warned against spying activities, and asked for support for the American government’s war activities. In other communities, they appealed for reducing food consumption, or buying war bonds issued by the government. All speeches were prepared in a comprehensive and sincere tone to obtain the sympathy and credit by the audience. In addition, propagandists mainly benefited from ephemera sources such as pamphlets, songs, newspapers, books, cartoons, advertising prepared to authors, writers and artists.

The following “Every Patriotic Briton should Join the Anti-German Union” poster shows the drawing of John Bull – the symbolic British character like Uncle Sam in the US – with a club striking at a multi-headed serpent labelled “German influence, trade, industry, finance, politics, labour.” John Bull called the British to join *Anti-German Union* which was established in April 1915 in Britain for lobbying for wholesale internment of British-Germans and organised anti-German demonstrations.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 174.

⁵⁹ Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 35.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 27.



Figure 8: “Every Patriotic Briton should Join the Anti-German Union ... No German goods, no German labour, no German influence. Britain for the British”, Stanford University Hoover Institution Library & Archives, Poster collection, ID: Poster UK 1395. Accessed on 28th June 2019 on <https://digitalcollections.hoover.org/objects/27007>.

3.1.2.2. Controlling and modifying news from Europe to the US

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain possessed the broadest and advanced telegraph and underwater cable system. By benefiting from the outcomes of this large communication intelligence, Britain decided to prevent Germany to connect with the outside world. One day after declaring war on Germany, on 5th August 1914,

the British cable ship *CS Telconia* cut Germany's trans-Atlantic underwater communication cables to sever Germany's connection with the world. This critical action, eliminating Germany in the communication rivalry, moved Britain forward while disseminating and manipulating all news arriving in the US.

After cutting Germany's Atlantic cable communication, Britain enjoyed and benefited from being the only country transmitting news from Europe to the US. This transmission included the facts but modifying news also in accordance with the British propaganda towards Americans.

Controlling and modifying news as a propaganda materials provided a great gain for Britain, possibly more than the one that it had achieved at battlefields. A German official declared in 1918 that "more powerful than the English fleet, more dangerous than the English army, [they] are Reuter and the English news-propaganda."⁶¹

Through skilful and successful intelligence operations, the British were also able to expose acts of German espionage on American soil while preserving the secrecy of their own intelligence operations.⁶²

3.2. Anti-German Propaganda

As Lisa M. Todd indicated in "The Hun and the Home: Gender, Sexuality and Propaganda in First World War Europe":

...whether in the so-called "Rape of Belgium", the unrestricted submarine warfare and aerial bombing campaigns, Allied propagandists painted vivid pictures of the German "Hun" as a beast so uncivilised that he could not even follow the rules of civilised warfare. This equation of "Germanness" with barbarism, lawlessness and lack of civility remained constant in the Allied message (both domestically and internationally) until the final days of the war.⁶³

⁶¹ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda During the First World War*, 256.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 203.

⁶³ Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 140.

Anti-German feelings did not start immediately with WWI. After the unification of Germany in 1871, Germany constituted a potential rival for Britain and other European countries in economy, military and international politics. Thus, British anti-German movements had started to flourish in global arena. Within the US, anti-German feelings had already flourished before entering the war. The State of Union address of President Woodrow Wilson on 7th December 1915 is concrete example for proving the negative feelings that had risen against the Germans.

There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue ...⁶⁴

Anti-German propaganda fuelled support for the war, but it also contributed to the intolerance on the home front.⁶⁵ After declaring war on Germany, with patriotic feelings and emotions fuelled by domestic and foreign propaganda, the German immigrants and German elements in American social life were exposed to negative attitudes, even hostility, by close friends, neighbours, teachers and others. German business and businessmen such as owners of breweries, commerce firms or newspapers were boycotted and ended with bankruptcy, losing jobs and closing down eventually.

Germany's disadvantage was being forced to use communications means apart from direct cable communication cut by Britain. German communication to the US relied heavily on broadcasting from wireless radio stations at Tuckerton, New Jersey, and at Sayville, Long Island. The former operated under American government censorship regulations from the autumn of 1914 and the latter from August 1915

⁶⁴ Woodrow Wilson, "State of Union Speech 1915" <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/woodrow-wilson/state-of-the-union-1915.php>.

⁶⁵ Delwiche, "Of Fraud and Force Fast Woven".

onwards, thereby limiting the efficacy of the medium.⁶⁶ With the lack of success in German propaganda in the US, anti-German propaganda spread throughout the country by the aid of the Allied countries propaganda discourses and activities.



Figure 9: “Our flags--Beat Germany Support every flag that opposes Prussianism--Eat less of the food fighters need--Deny yourself something--Waste nothing” Poster by Adolph Triedler, Edwards & Deutsch Litho. Co. Chicago, 1918. Accessed 10th June 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g07900/>.

The words “Our flags--Beat Germany Support every flag that opposes Prussianism--Eat less of the food fighters need--Deny yourself something--Waste nothing” were stated in the poster by Adolph Triedler which was one the good

⁶⁶ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda During the First World War*, 171.

examples that showed the consolidation of the Allied Powers against Germany. Triedler focused on flags – one of the most important symbols of a nation – to draw public attention and demand to act for protecting country and allies, too.

The German immigrants were under implicit and explicit pressure simultaneously by been forced to give donation and aid to the State's politics and efforts for getting funding for war activities.

THE MEDINA SENTINEL
PAGE THREE

This Advertisement is furnished through the courtesy of the Medina County National, the Old Phoenix National, and the Savings Deposit, Banks

To German-And Austro-Americans

Men and women of German and Austrian blood, we ask you to remember that this is *your country* now. You owe no allegiance to any king or kaiser. But you do owe *everything* to this great America that has given you your job, your homes, your businesses, this country that has given you a greater chance for happiness and success than any other country on the globe could give you.

An enemy of America, no matter who that enemy is, is *YOUR ENEMY*. If you so much as lift a finger to help an enemy of America, then you're not only injuring yours if and injuring your children, but you also place yourself in the ranks of *TRAITORS* and will suffer all the shame that is visited on traitors. If you help the enemies of America then your children will forever bear the stigma and disgrace that *TRAITORS' CHILDREN* have to bear.

If you stand back, if you refuse to buy America's Liberty Bonds, then you're stabbing in the back those tens of thousands of loyal German-American and Austro-American soldiers in the armies of the United States.

The Kaiser told his soldiers to make themselves "*more frightful than the Huns under Attila.*" He urged them on to barbarous atrocities. And if *YOU* side with the Kaiser now, and against America, the name "*Germanian*" and "*Hun*" will stick to you and to your children through all the years to come.

You've got the best chance in the world right now to show your loyalty. You've got a chance to show us whether you want us to call you "*American*" or "*Hun*". When this campaign is over and the names of those who *BOUGHT LIBERTY BONDS* are checked, if *YOUR NAME* is there we'll know you want to be called "*American*."

We urge you for your own sake, for your children's sake, for the sake of your home, for the sake of Cleveland, whose loyal patriotism has never yet been questioned, to stand by us, shoulder to shoulder, and help America by *BUYING LIBERTY BONDS* with every dollar you can spare.

Buy Liberty Bonds And Buy as Many as You Can

Figure 10: "To German and Austro-Americans – Buy Liberty Bonds and Buy as Many as You Can" advertisement in *The Medina Sentinel*. (Medina, Ohio), 26 Oct. 1917. *Chronicling*

America: Historic American Newspapers. Accessed 3rd May 2019 on <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84028262/1917-10-26/ed-1/seq-3/>.

This advertisement, published on *The Medina Sentinel* on 26th October 1917, asked for German and Austrian immigrants to buy “Liberty Bonds”, as many as they could to finance government’s war activities. The advertisement first addressed the immigrants as “Americans”, and demanded from them to remember that the US was their country that provided them jobs, homes, business along with happiness and success. By calling them as Americans, the government and its institutions had the full right of asking support for their activities in the way any other American would give. Recent immigrants, eager to prove their support for the war had to realise that “buying bonds, singing the national anthem in public, and displaying the American flag became important symbols of national loyalty”.⁶⁷

The language of the advertisement is worth mentioning when considering its rhetoric about children. Following the expressions of “...you’re not only injuring yours If and injuring your children...”, “...your children will forever bear the stigma and disgrace that TRAITORS CHILDREN have to bear.”, “...the name ‘barbarian’ and ‘Hun’ will stick to you and to your children...”, “we urge you for your own sake, for your children’s...” turn its rhetoric into a threatening as much as influential tune.

3.2.1. Within the US: “Hate Everything German”

Public opinion maligned everything German, everything in any way connected with Germany,⁶⁸ and that resulted in the country with *Germanophobia*, the fear and hate of Germans and German elements. German Americans – no matter if they were in favour of war or having pro-German feelings or not – became the indirect victims of British propaganda. Although having been an admirable immigrant group until the beginning of the twentieth century, with the war and intensive propaganda conducted around them, they faced hate and exclusion in the society in the early 1900s. Some anti-German movements went beyond legal actions and ended with vigilante violence.

⁶⁷ James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 4.

⁶⁸ Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 260.

Less violent but no less regrettable were the actions taken by the state and local governments, and countless private institutions to fire German aliens, suspend performances of German music, and ban the teaching of German in schools.⁶⁹

Besides, anti-German feelings were also intense among those who had social and business connections to Britain and France.⁷⁰



Figure 11: “Keep these off the U.S.A. – Buy more Liberty Bonds”, Poster by John Norton, 1917, accessed 10th June 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.50013/>.

⁶⁹ Patricia O’Toole. “When the U.S. Used ‘Fake News’ to Sell Americans on World War I,” accessed 10th June 2019. <https://www.history.com/news/world-war-1-propaganda-woodrow-wilson-fake-news>.

⁷⁰ Delwiche, “Of Fraud and Force Fast Woven”.

“Keep these off the U.S.A” poster by John Norton demonstrated bloodstained boots with the German imperial eagle insignia, which symbolised a German soldier as murderer. At first German soldiers, then all Germans in fact were symbolised as murderers and brutal criminals, killing innocent people, no matter women or children, having blood of them in their hands – in their boots in this poster – and they should be prevented with every possible effort.

As Troy Paddock stated in *World War I and Propaganda*, the Anglophone world were familiar with acts – both real and fabricated – of the barbaric German “Huns” on the Western Front; less familiar to the same people were tales of atrocities, both real and exaggerated, by the Russian⁷¹ and Allied countries.

3.2.1.1. The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918

In his war message to Congress on 2nd April 1917, President Wilson had warned that the war would require a redefinition of national loyalty. There were "millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us," he said. "If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with a firm hand of repression."⁷²

The anti-German sentiment also contributed to the arrival of prohibitions and two acts consequently, the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918. Congress passed the Espionage Act on 15th June 1917, as the codification of the Alien Enemy Act of 1798, which prohibited collecting information, documents, pictures, or copy descriptions of any information relating to the national defence with the intent to use against the US, or to the advantage of any foreign nation. The Act also banned newspapers and magazines to publish disloyal articles and news.

To be a further step, Congress passed the Sedition Act of 1918, which made it a federal offense to use "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the Constitution, the government, the American uniform, or the flag. These two Acts were

⁷¹ Paddock, ed. *World War I and Propaganda*, 1.

⁷² *President Wilson's Great Speeches and Other History Making Documents* (Chicago: Stanton and VanVuet Co.:1917), 22, accessed 10th June 2019. <https://archive.org/details/presidentwilsons02unit/page/n9>.

completing each other, and German Americans were suffering from both to a certain extent. For example, German-language newspapers were shut down immediately by these acts or indirectly by losing their advertisers. German political figures were also subject to sentences for their illegal and disloyal activities.

The CPI (Committee on Public Information) gave implicit help in the pass of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918.

3.2.1.2. Prohibition on language and culture

German cultural elements and words, and expressions in language had been penetrated to American culture and language during centuries. However, because of the negative feelings developing in the US on the eve of the war and reaching to peak point with the war, German language and culture were put under serious threat, and consequently prohibited.

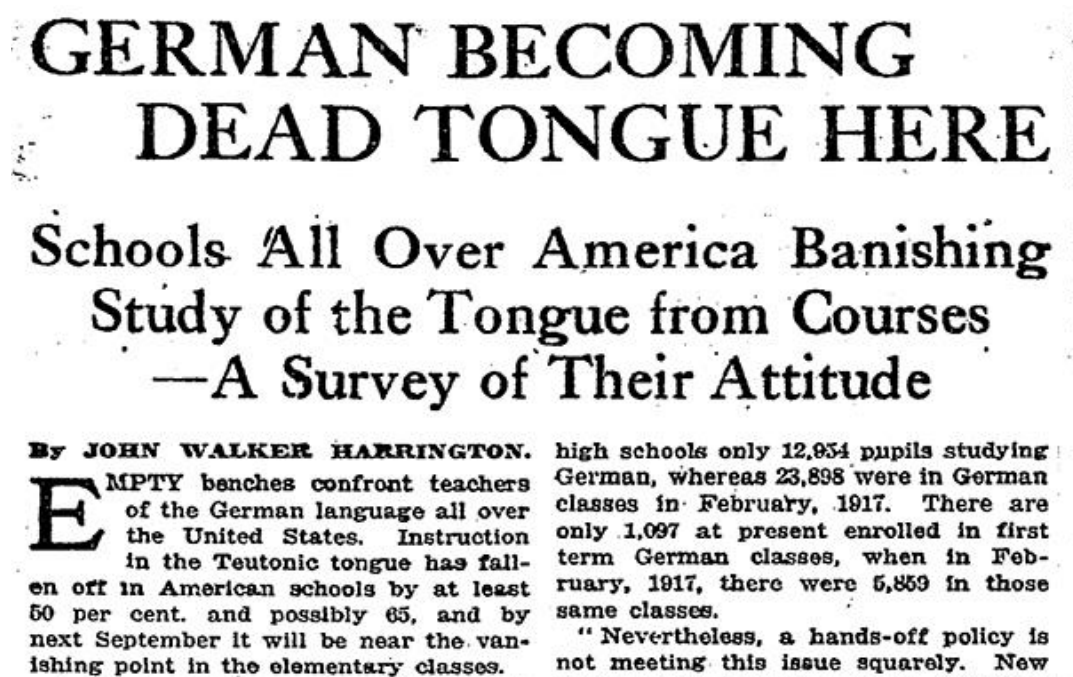


Figure 12: "German Becoming Dead Tongue Here" article by John Walker Harrington, *The New York Times*, 14 July 1918, accessed 2nd February 2019 on <https://blogs.illinois.edu/view/25/116243>.

Immediate attempts were held to annihilate the use of German language and German originated words in American language, despite some of them were in

common use in daily language. Any phrase that sounded German was changed.⁷³ City and street names were changed from German-sounding designations to more Americanized ones.⁷⁴ German words were eliminated from the language. Changes of hamburger to “liberty burger”, dachshunds to “liberty hounds”, sauerkraut to “liberty cabbage” were striking examples.

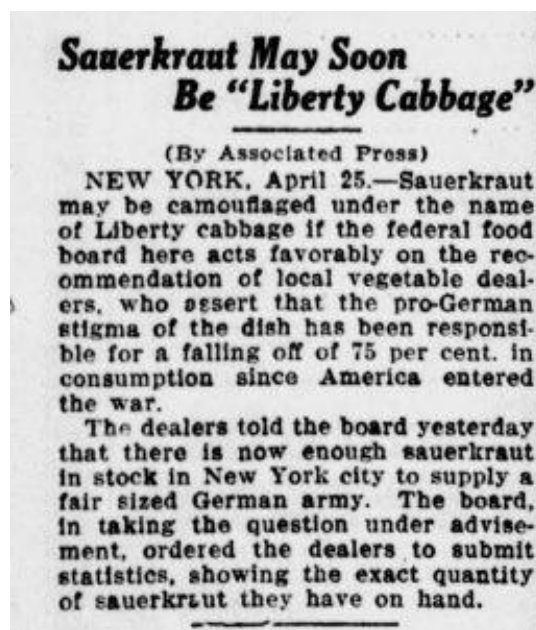


Figure 13: “Sauerkraut May Soon Be ‘Liberty Cabbage’” Article by Associated Press, *The New York Times*, 25 April 1918, accessed 3rd February 2019 on <https://medium.com/iowa-history/when-sauerkraut-became-liberty-cabbage-bb84f4369d52>.

In the “Sauerkraut May Soon Be ‘Liberty Cabbage’” article of *The New York Times* dated 25 April 1918, it was claimed that the consumption of the vegetables with German names decreased with the US’ entry in the war, and the Federal Food Board might have initiated a change in the German origin names as a precaution to increase sales.⁷⁵

⁷³ Mary J. Manning, “Being German, Being American,” *Prologue* (Summer 2014), 16.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁵ “Sauerkraut May Soon Be ‘Liberty Cabbage’,” Associated Press, *The New York Times*, 25 April 1918, accessed 3rd February 2019. <https://medium.com/iowa-history/when-sauerkraut-became-liberty-cabbage-bb84f4369d52>.

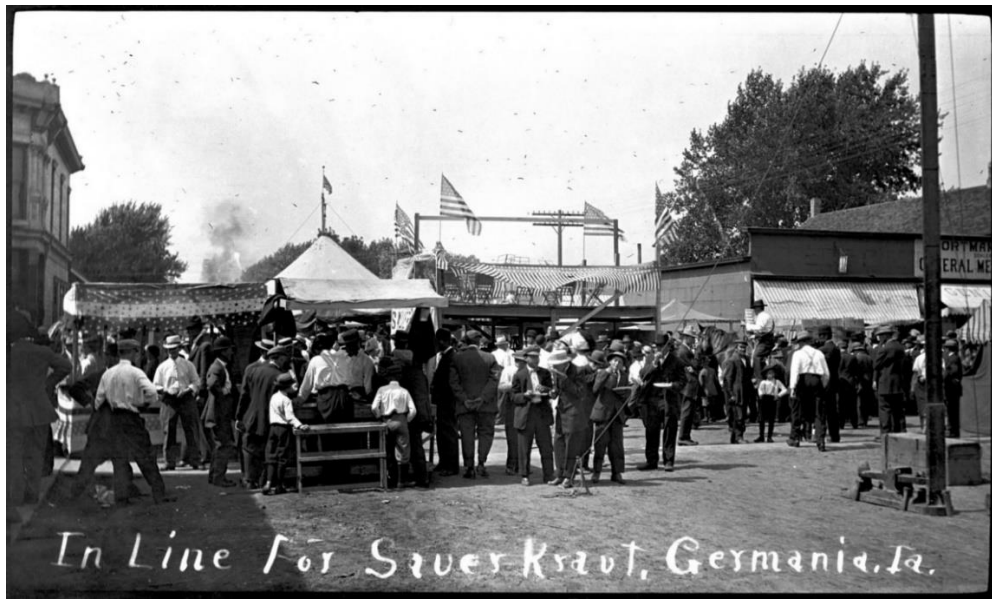


Figure 14: “In Line for Sauerkraut, Germania, Ia” Postcard, Germania, Iowa, 1912, accessed 3rd February 2019 on <https://medium.com/iowa-history/when-sauerkraut-became-liberty-cabbage-bb84f4369d52>.

The postcard dated 1912, demonstrates a crowd gathering in the streets of Germania, Iowa, during a Sauerkraut Day celebration, which had been organised annually from 1902 in the region. Sauerkraut is one of traditional German tastes which is some kind of a pickled cabbage. During the celebration, people gathered to entertain themselves, and enjoy food tasting. With the attempts of the annihilation of German elements in the American culture, “volunteer ‘watchdog’ societies reported on such German American gatherings and activities to federal authorities.”⁷⁶ Sauerkraut was renamed as “Liberty Cabbage” and Germania changed its name to “Lakota” in 1917.

In addition to the restrictions made in the language, cultural and business related prohibitions were also held to cover up the German elements in daily American life. For example, churches were under pressure to stop their services in German and switch to English. Schools stopped teaching German, and German-language schools continued their education in English. Dennis Baron describes this prohibition as follows in his article “America’s War on Language”:

Schools banned foreign languages from classrooms and schoolyards, promoting English not just as the best way to succeed in life, but also as the

⁷⁶ Ibid., 16.

language for patriots. In 1918, the Chicago Woman's Club launched Better American Speech Week to further this agenda. With slogans like "Speak the language of your flag"; "American Speech means American loyalty"; and "Better Speech for Better Americans," children were encouraged to learn English, and those who already spoke the language were asked to speak it better.⁷⁷

German bands, theatre and orchestral groups had to suspend their activities. Anti-German sentiments directed people to avoid being in relation with German business and businessmen. Thus, many German business were boycotted by the society. German merchants, newspapers, breweries lost their customers. Breweries, for instance, were one of the most common ones. Since most breweries were German owned, the new prohibiting Acts affected them most.



Figure 15: "If this town goes dry, us Germans vill hang togeder (nicht wahr)" Postcard, 5 February 1910, Publisher: Tom Jones, accessed 4th April 2019 on <https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/gfmmke/id/497/>.

"If this town goes dry, us Germans vill hang togeder (nicht wahr)" postcard illustrates four man hanging on a tree because of beer shortage in Milwaukee, Wisconsin where most of the German owned brewery factories were located. At the back of hanging men, there are closed brewery factories, probably representing the

⁷⁷ Dennis Baron, "America's War on Language," accessed 20th December 2018. <https://blogs.illinois.edu/view/25/116243#image-4>.

ones which were closed after being boycotted. The Anti-Saloon League, which started its activities from 1906 and conducted prohibition campaigns for the sale of alcohol, might have contributed in closing of those breweries.

3.2.1.3. Manipulations and suspicions against German Immigrants

President Woodrow Wilson talked about German intrigue and aggression in his speech on 14th June 1917, on the occasion of the Flag Day as follows:

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defence of our rights as a free people and of our honour as a sovereign Government. The Military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf.⁷⁸

President Wilson made this speech when the US was already participating in the war. He explained the reasons behind the US' entry to the war, and how the US was forced into the war by German actions. He condemned the German Government for leaking into the American society with its spies to collect information and to manipulate public opinion.

He, at the same time, expressed his sympathy for German people and made clear that he did not regard them as enemies to America by stating “we know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it.” He also indicated the German Americans in his speech with the aim in one hand not to offend them and on the other hand to maintain social peace, by continuing “...and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own.”⁷⁹

⁷⁸ *What we are fighting for: speeches of the President on Flag day, of Elihu Root to Russia* (Hartford, Connecticut: The Connecticut State Council of Defense), 5, accessed 10th June 2019. <https://archive.org/details/whatwearefightin00unit/page/4>.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

During the war, in an area of conspiracy, accusations were directed to the German immigrants with the claim of making disloyal attempts to aid the enemy. In addition to the direct accusations, federal agencies and private organizations, such as the Food Administration and National Americanization Committee involved in manipulative activities to unite the American people in support for the war and against the German enemies. The Food Administration sponsored many propaganda posters and materials to encourage people to support war activities and make donations. The National Americanization Committee focused on education, library and guidebooks for the immigrants to adopt American national values. In the conduct of this propaganda, anti-German elements were mostly used in the materials that provoked people against the German elements within the country.

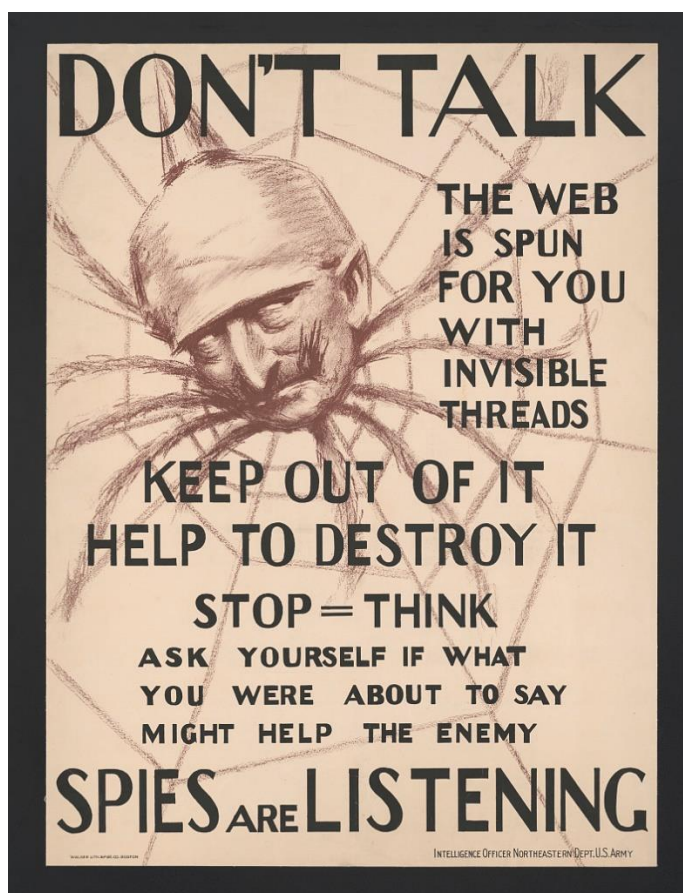


Figure 16: "Don't talk, the web is spun for you with invisible threads, keep out of it, help to destroy it--spies are listening" Poster, Boston: Walker Lith. & Pub. Co., 1918, accessed on 10th April 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/93515950/>.

Americans feared that German spies had infiltrated in their communities and workplaces from the beginning of the war. The above poster showing the head of Keiser Wilhelm II, German Emperor, as a spider which spins a menacing web around itself, is one of the posters produced within the scope of anti-spy ephemera works. The poster warned its audience to speak carefully with people who might have been German spies.

In this threatening period for the German Americans, some of them changed their German sounding names to American versions to protect themselves and their families from discrimination. For example, a common German name Schmidt was transformed to Smith, Braun to Brown, Fischer to Fisher, Busch/Bosch to Bush, Becker to Baker, Förster to Forester, Funchs to Fox, Gutmann to Goodman, Müller to Miller, Neumann to Newman, Schneider to Taylor.



Figure 17: “Danger to pro-German. Loyal Americans welcome to Edison Park” Picture, *Chicago Daily News*, 1917, Library of Congress, Chicago Daily News negatives collection, DN-0003451, accessed 3rd February 2019 on https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Children_standing_in_front_of_an_anti-German_sign.jpg .

Threatening messages given through posters and newspapers were quite effective with their availability in public use. Propaganda makers used children in their works as subject or supporting elements of the materials. In the above photograph

published in *Chicago Daily News* in 1917, children were depicted as reading a warning that targeted pro-German people who were not welcomed in Edison Park.

Using children in propaganda materials and propaganda directed at children were important for the propagandist to influence the youngest citizens of the society by employing various techniques to convince them to convince their families in such a way that they were experienced as well in issues about war and spying.

3.2.1.4. Lynching: Robert Paul Prager

As mentioned previously, the negative feelings towards the German immigrants developed to Germanophobia, the fear of Germans of their disloyal activities and being spies. Pro-British Americans and those who became very absorbed into anti-German propaganda launched a cruel smear campaign against the German immigrants. The CPI campaigns also lighted patriotic fires and fuelled the unrest in the society.

Anti-German hate somehow turned into illegal actions at one point that resulted with vigilante violence. According to Patricia O'Toole in "When the U.S. Used 'Fake News' to Sell Americans on World War I",

thousands of self-appointed guardians of patriotism began to harass pacifists, socialists, and German immigrants. Most of the violence was carried out in the dark by vigilantes who marched their victims to a spot outside the city limits, where the local police had no jurisdiction. The perpetrators who were apprehended were rarely tried, and those tried were almost never found guilty. Jurors hesitated to convict, afraid that they too would be accused of disloyalty and roughed up.⁸⁰

The incident of lynching of Robert Paul Prager was the first of the vigilante activities that took place in Collinsville, Illinois, on 5th April 1918. That was a time when anti-German hysteria spread throughout the country and in Collinsville. Threats and violence were directed to those who were suspected to be pro-German or were against the war for any reason.

⁸⁰ O'Toole, "When the U.S. Used 'Fake News' to Sell Americans on World War I," accessed 10th June 2019. <https://www.history.com/news/world-war-1-propaganda-woodrow-wilson-fake-news>.

In this era of hysteria, Prager was accused of being a German spy, and planning a sabotage a nearby coal mine; whereas none of those accusations was proven. Prager arrived in the US in 1905 at age 17, with a profession listed as baker in the records. He adopted the American way of life, and developed patriotic ties with the country in following years. He also wanted to join the Navy with the start of the war, however he was rejected due to health issues. Prager wanted to work at the coalmines in Collinsville, but he was refused, according to records, because of his socialist views, or he was assumed to be pro-German. After several attempts and rejections, Prager posted a letter of protest, complaining of unfair treatment. With the impact of the letter, a mob of approximately a hundred men including mine workers, came for Prager. They attacked him and after unsuccessful police attempt, he was eventually lynched by the crowd.

A dozen men brought to on trial because of Prager's lynching and none of them was accused of any charges. In general, the lynching and the consequent trial got significant public backlash throughout the country. The press reacted against the lynching incident and commented its trial as a miscarriage of justice, criminals as anarchists who should have held responsible for their unlawful action.

Anti-German hysteria caused other lynching attempts and attacks towards the German Americans and immigrant groups throughout the country during in the war period. For example, in Ashland Wisconsin, a vigilante patriot group, the Knights of Liberty, carried out attacks against the German Americans residing in the city. According to *the Ashland Daily Press* Archives, after the group's formation, E.A. Schimler, a Northland College language professor, was abducted in February 1918, tarred and feathered by the area residents because he was German. Another victim of the group was Adolph Anton who was taken from his home in front of his wife and baby, and given tar and feathers for his alleged pro-German sentiments on 10th April 1918.⁸¹

⁸¹ Claudia Curran, "Ashland teacher researches area's German heritage," *The Ashland Daily Press*, 18 May 2004, accessed 27th August 2019, https://www.apg-wi.com/ashland_daily_press/news/ashland-teacher-researches-area-s-german-heritage/article_e4a5bd7e-16b9-5ebb-af3f-9806da0c5188.html.

3.2.2. Outside the country: Atrocity Propaganda, Facts, Stories and Rumours on German's brutal war activities, anti-German stereotypes, the "Huns"

In the psychological context of war propaganda, the unacceptable parts of the self – its greed, cruelty, sadism, hostility – are made to disappear and are recognised only as qualities of the enemy⁸². Thus in WWI propaganda, the Germans were depicted as rapists, cannibals, and mutilators of young children.⁸³

The rape, murder and mutilation of women and children were the central tenets of the most effective Allied propaganda campaign of the war: the circulation of atrocity stories, which “were, of course, a time-honoured technique of war propagandists helping to sustain the moral condemnation of the enemy”⁸⁴. The Allied countries built their anti-German propaganda mainly on atrocity stories.⁸⁵ These stories were partially factual in general, but often exaggerated, and contained fabricated facts. Rumours of atrocity stories spread in a web-like network from England, France, Belgium and Italy to the US and to all the British colonies, which during the war, were still numerous.⁸⁶

According to Philip M. Taylor in *Munitions of the Mind*, perhaps the most infamous atrocity story of the WWI concerned the alleged German “Corpse-Conversion Factory”.⁸⁷ The rumour came up with a discovery of dead German soldiers carried in a railway that was mistakenly went to Holland rather than Belgium. Belgian and British newspapers elevated the story, alleging that the bodies were carried to a factory to transform into soap bars. Although no additional evidence was found, the British and other Allied countries manipulated the story to the full extend.

⁸² Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 18.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind* (Manchester University Press, 2003), 180.

⁸⁵ Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 141.

⁸⁶ Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 6.

⁸⁷ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, 180.

Both sides of war used these stories to disfavour counterparties, “to quickly recruit soldiers, to provide a moral justification for military intervention, to prompt neutral countries (primarily the US) to join the fight in Europe, to sell war bonds, to fundraise for victim relief organisations and to sell newspapers”.⁸⁸ However, anti-German stories were able to reach a broader audience thanks to mass media and communication tools possessed by Britain.

The Allied propaganda against the enemy was based on the distortion of the image of the Germans as the “Huns”. The “Hun” expression had been widely used for the Germans especially after the atrocity stories spread out worldwide. The origin of the “Hun” was a reference to emperor Atilla the Hun which was made in a speech of Wilhelm II on 27th July 1900 on the occasion of the farewell to German soldiers departing for China to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. According to the speech:

Should you encounter the enemy, he will be defeated! No quarter will be given! Prisoners will not be taken! Whoever falls into your hands is forfeited. Just as a thousand years ago the Huns under their King Attila made a name for themselves, one that even today makes them seem mighty in history and legend, may the name German be affirmed by you in such a way in China that no Chinese will ever again dare to look cross-eyed at a German.⁸⁹

Although Wilhelm II associated the German army to the Huns under the command of Atilla in the context of the military victory, the connection turned into a symbol of cruelty and barbarism by the Allied countries’ propaganda activities.

In the “How to Hun Hates” poster of David Wilson, German naval troops were depicted as keeping captive some British fisherman, and wrongfully accused them of laying mines, and punished them by shaving the hair off of one side of the head and face. The illustration depicts the incident during which the shamed fishermen marched past a crowd of mocking Germans in Sennelager, and the text demands: "British Sailors! Look! Read! and Remember!"⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 141.

⁸⁹ “Wilhelm II: "Hun Speech" (1900)”, *German History in Documents and Images*, accessed 4th June 2019, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=755&language=english.

⁹⁰ “How the Hun Hates!”, *Temple Digital Collections*, Temple University Libraries, accessed 10th June 2019, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p16002coll9/id/2923/>.

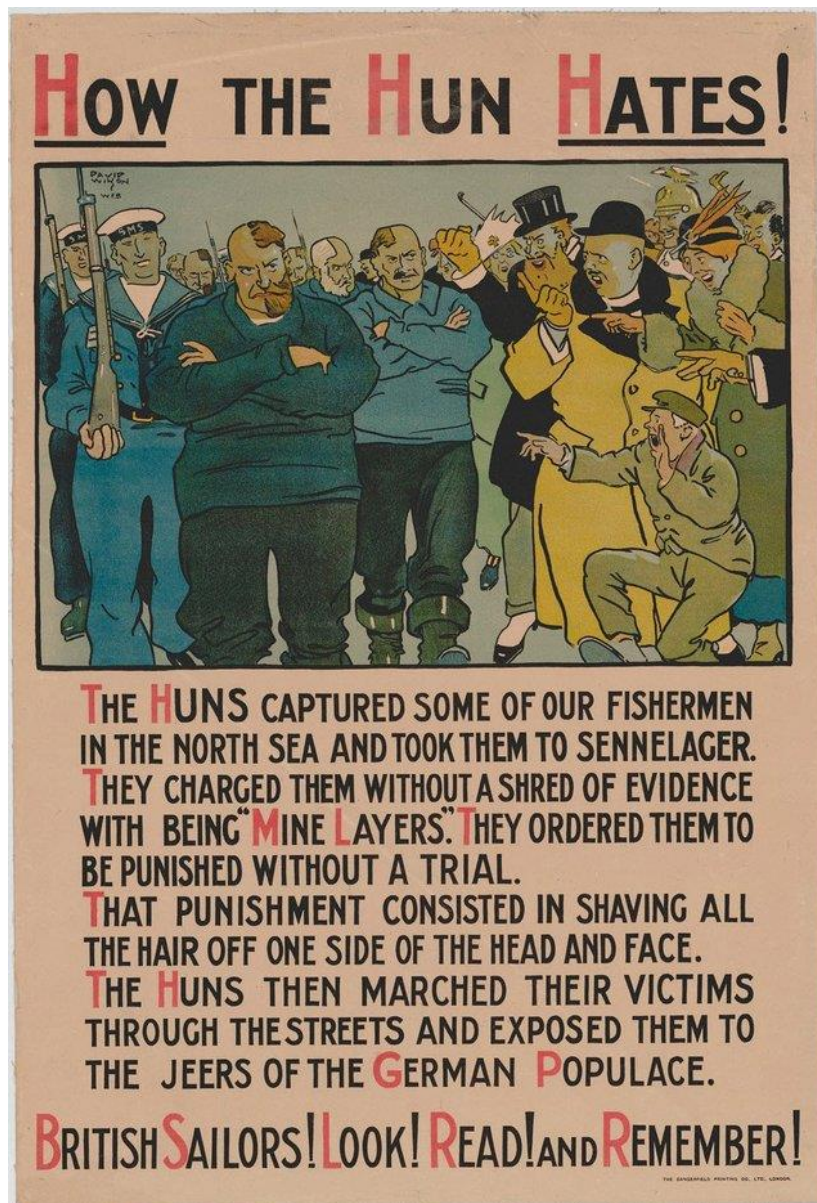


Figure 18: "How to Hun Hates" poster by David Wilson, 1917, *Temple Digital Collections*, Temple University Libraries, accessed 20th July 2019, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p16002coll9/id/2923/>.

The invasion of Belgium by Germans on 4th August 1914, sinking of *Lusitania* passenger ship on 7th May 1915, and the execution of British Nurse Edith Cavell on 12th October 1915 could be listed as provocative incidents for creating public support in the US' entrance to the war. All of them were used exhaustively in the British and other Allied propaganda materials and campaigns in order to shift American public opinion against Germany for pro-Allied sympathy. The final incident which triggered

the US government to declare war against Germany came up with the Zimmermann Telegram. This German attempt to make a secret agreement with Mexican government against the US was decrypted by the British intelligence service on 19th January 1917, and constituted the final incident provoking the US which was already disturbed by the previous ones mentioned below.

3.2.2.1. The Invasion of Belgium: “The Rape of Belgium”, 4 August 1914

Germany began fighting WWI on two fronts, invading France through neutral Luxembourg and Belgium in the west and confronting Russia in the east. According to some historical resources, Germany asked for the permission to cross over Belgium in peace. However, Belgium had a secret agreement with France and Britain. True or not, on 4th August 1914, German troops crossed the border into Belgium. In this first battle on the path towards France, the Germans assaulted the heavily fortified city of Liege and occupied the city by 15 August.

The battle was destructive and bloody, it left behind many civilians dead including women, children and non-soldier figures such as priests, doctors and nurses. Moreover, assaults and attacks on women, children and babies, in addition to the mutilations and rape stories, made the battle more traumatic. These battle stories were combined with the atrocity rumours, and became the main ingredients of the British anti-German propaganda. Britain and other Allied countries introduced the German invasion of Belgium as “the Rape of Belgium” pointing out German barbarities. To attract the attention of the public opinion to German barbarian war activities, babies, children and women were extensively used in Belgium invasion-themed propaganda posters and other materials.

The success of posters depended on the emotions of young men who regarded themselves as the protectors of women and children, and men responded to this obvious sentimentality.⁹¹ In the poster “Remember Belgium--Enlist to-day”, published by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, a British infantryman was described standing in front of a Belgian woman and child escaping from a burning village. The

⁹¹ Kingsbury, *For Home and Country*, 12.

British infantryman gave inspiration to young men to enlist for helping the innocent and helpless figures of the war and putting an end to German cruelties.



Figure 19: “Remember Belgium--Enlist to-day” Poster, Henry Jenkinson Ltd., Kirkstall, Leeds, 1915, accessed 1st January 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003662916/>.

The language of these materials were meticulously prepared to touch the hearts; words such as rape, mutilations, babies and mothers were used again and again to this extent in a systematic repetition that broke hearts while conquering them. One of the impressive example was the article series of Hugh Gibson, the first secretary of the American Legation in Brussels at the time of invasion. *The New York Tribune*

published Gibson's diary every day to display the German atrocities which were told in first-hand accounts of an esteemed government official. Additionally, heart breaking stories of Gibson were enriched by attractive drawings.

NDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1917



The RAPE of BELGIUM

AS witnessed by Hugh Gibson, First Secretary of our Legation in Brussels, when the Germans broke through Belgium.

His personal diary—the day to day history of all that he saw—can be given you now that the seal of diplomatic neutrality is broken.

The opening instalment appeared in yesterday's Sunday Tribune—a new chapter will be published daily and Sunday for about six weeks. Read to-day's (yesterday's if you can still get a copy), and to make sure of reading all of it leave an order with your newsdealer now.

—NOTE—
This remarkable story will appear daily and Sunday in The Tribune over a period of about six weeks. The Tribune's Circulation Department will receive subscriptions for the length of the story, and will mail the Daily and Sunday Tribune during its run for the special price of \$1.25. This is a real opportunity. Notify us to-day!

Figure 20: “The Rape of Belgium” article in *The New York Tribune*, 5 November 1917, accessed 28th May 2019 on <http://www.wikizeroo.net/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWt pcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvRmlsZTpSYXBIT2ZCZWxnaXVtLTE3MTEwNS1ueXRyaWJl bmUuanBn>



Figure 21: “Welcome Noble Belgium” poster, 1917, accessed 3rd February 2019 on <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001701600/>.

“Welcome Noble Belgium” poster of 1917 illustrates the female symbols of Belgium and the United States greeting each other in front of their flags. The poster was issued on the occasion of the US entry into WWI on the side of the Allied countries. Although the US were in direct contact with Great Britain and France during the war in the political arena, the American public had a great sympathy for its “smaller” ally, “noble Belgium,” which was attacked and devastated by Germany at the beginning of the war. Atrocity propaganda conducted against Germany during and after Belgium’s invasion deeply affected the American public, and raised compassion

for the Belgians. German atrocities were reported to the public in a “highly stylised and often highly fabricated manner”.⁹²

3.2.2.2. *Lusitania*: Sinking of the Passenger Ship *Lusitania* by German Torpedoes on 7th May 1915 and the Bryce Report of 12th May 1915

The sinking of the passenger ship *Lusitania* on 7th May 1915 by a German U-boat attack gave a new opportunity for Allied propaganda to attract attention to civilian casualties, and point out once again Germany’s brutal and unmerciful actions in the war.

The German U-boat torpedoed *Lusitania* in the coast of Ireland, which departed from Liverpool and intended to arrive in New York. As a result of the attacks, approximately 1,200 of 2,000 passengers drowned, including women and children.

To widen the fact of the sinking of *Lusitania*, one should investigate the reason behind the attack to a passenger ship. Firstly, Germany had warned Britain beforehand that *Lusitania* had been carrying military munitions to the US thus making herself a legitimate military target. Furthermore, in advance of the sinking, the German government had paid for prominent advertisements in the American press warning American passengers of the peril they were going to face on the British vessels in the war zone.⁹³ Indeed, nearly 130 American citizens died at this attack.

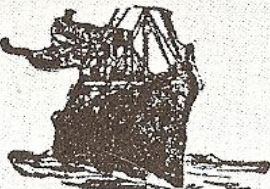
German warnings before the attack brings out the question whether the British Government deliberately exposed *Lusitania* and her passengers to risk. No matter what would be the answer, the incident of *Lusitania* created sorrow in people’s heart for the drowned innocent passengers including women and children.

⁹² Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 143.

⁹³ Connors, *Dealing in Hate*, 10.

OCEAN STEAMSHIPS.

CUNARD



**EUROPE VIA LIVERPOOL
LUSITANIA**

Fastest and Largest Steamer
now in Atlantic Service Sails
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 10 A. M.

Transylvania, Fri., May 7, 5 P.M.
Orduna, - - Tues., May 18, 10 A.M.
Tuscania, - - Fri., May 21, 5 P.M.
LUSITANIA, Sat., May 29, 10 A.M.
Transylvania, Fri., June 4, 5 P.M.

Gibraltar—Genoa—Naples—Piraeus
S.S. Carpathia, Thur., May 13, Noon

NOTICE!

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22, 1915.

Figure 22: “Imperial German Embassy Notice” A warning issued by the Imperial German Embassy in Washington about travelling on Britain's RMS Lusitania, 1915, Robert Hunt Picture Library, accessed 4th July 2019 on https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lusitania_warning.jpg.

The images of women and children were widely used in the propaganda materials in the context of *Lusitania* in order to appeal to the hearts and feelings of people, and especially young men to recruit for the army with the intention of protecting their loved ones at home.

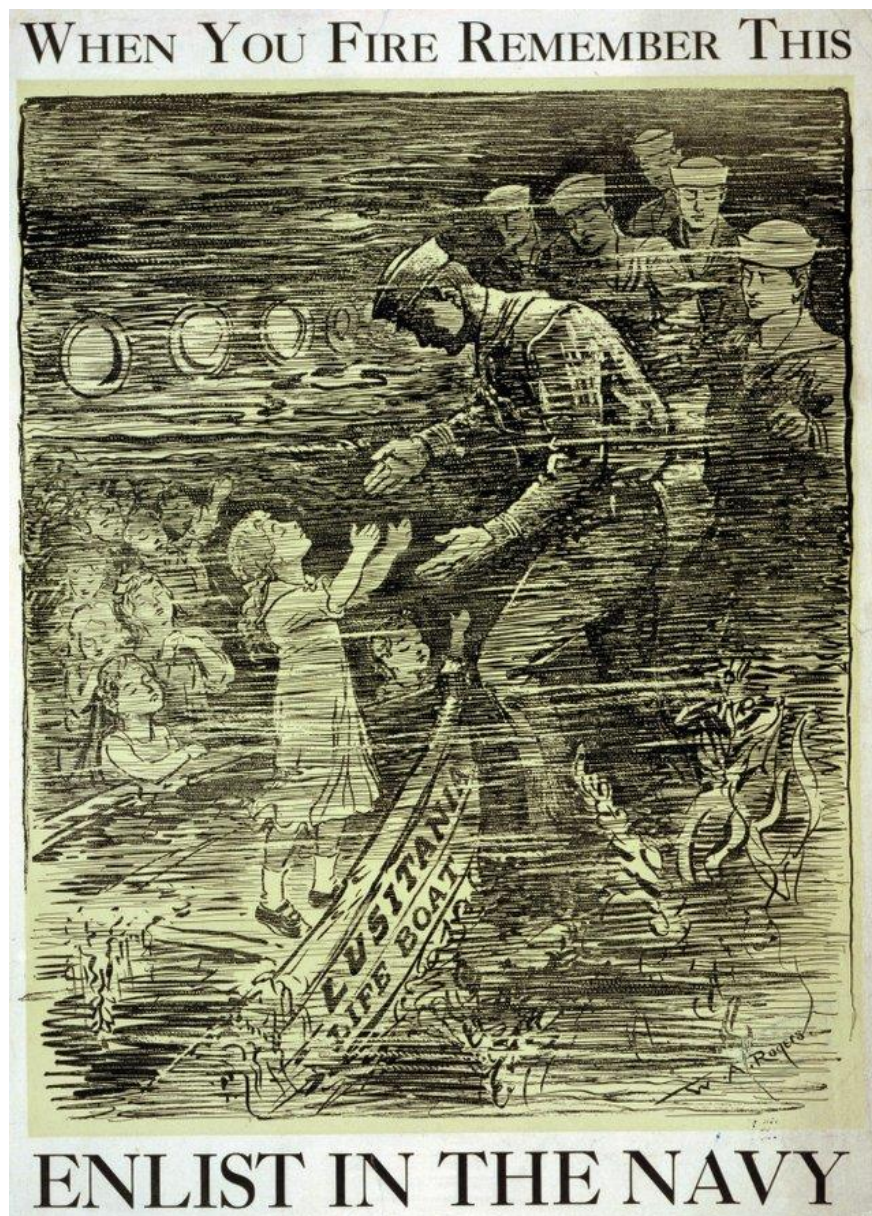


Figure 23: “When You Fire Remember This – Enlist in the Navy” Poster by W.A. Rogers, 1917 or 1918, accessed 10th February 2019 on https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p16002_coll9/id/4321/rec/1.

In this context, the poster of W.A. Rogers asks young American men to “enlist in the navy”. “This” in the script “When You Fire Remember This” is the drowned children and victims of sinking *Lusitania*. The posters illustrates dead children reaching from under the ocean to the sailors. This kind of illustrations was very effective to provoke young men to enlist and fight for the revenge of the little children and other innocent victims.

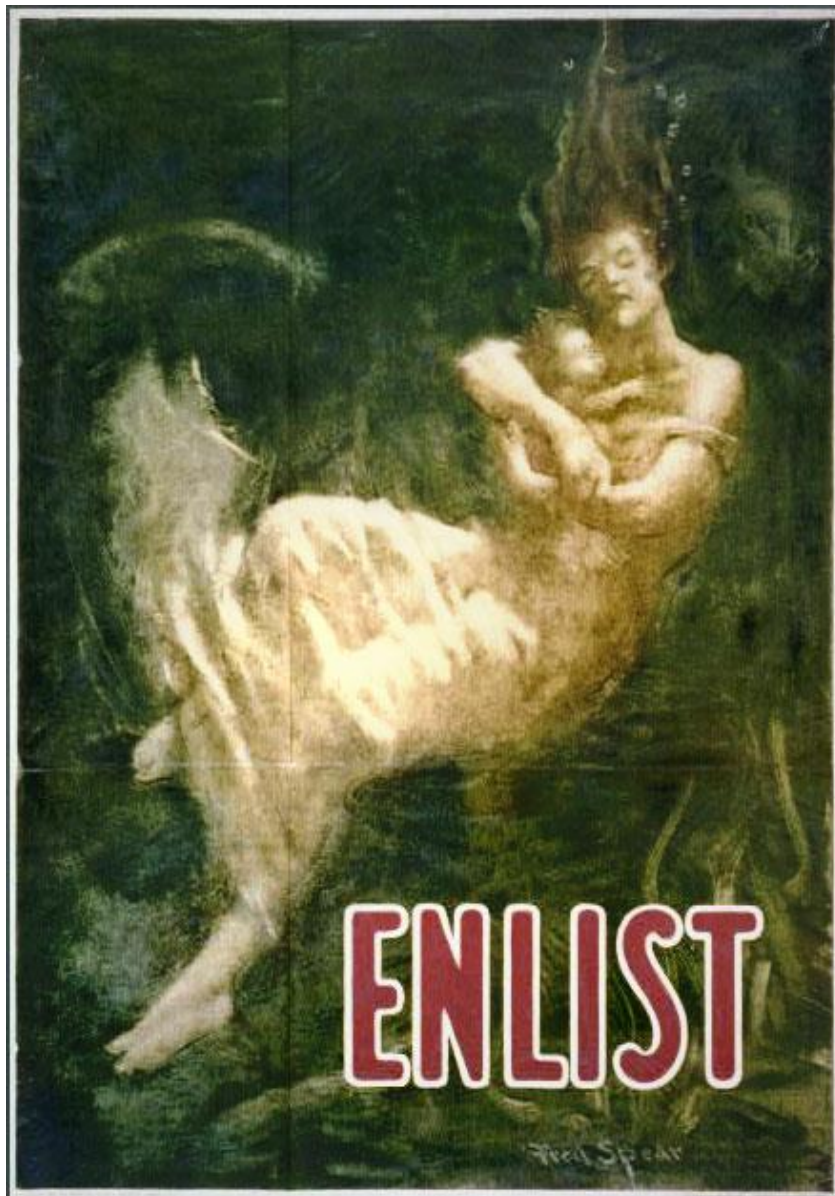


Figure 24: “Enlist” Poster by Fred Spear, New York: Sackett & Wilhelms Corporation, 1915 or 1916, accessed 28th June 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/00651156/>.

A mother holding her baby in her arms while drowning in the *Lusitania* attack was a very touching drawing of Fred Spear and obviously was quite effective during the enlistment appeals.

Several posters and other printed materials were produced in the context of the sinking of *Lusitania*, and revenge for her and her innocent passengers. The main message behind these posters appealing people was to take action against the enemy, which was a necessity of being civilised humans.

When the *Lusitania* incident was about to be elapsd, the German initiation to issue a commemorative-medal to celebrate the sinking of *Lusitania* as a German naval victory flamed counter British propaganda. German artist Karl Goetz designed this medal on August 1915, and mistakenly put the date of 5th May 1915 on the medal, which was two days prior to the sinking date.



Figure 25: “Lusitania medallion” by Karl Goetz, second edition, 1916, Lusitania Collection in Merseyside Maritime Collection, accessed 5th July 2019 on <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/collections/lusitania/item-253214.aspx>.

One side of the medallion shows the depiction of the sinking of *Lusitania*. On the top of the picture, there is an inscription stating, “No Contraband Goods!” and goes on as “The liner Lusitania sunk by a German submarine 7 May 1915.” On the reverse side, there is a skeleton (Death) selling passage in the Cunard Line Ticket Office. Along the top is “Business Above All” in German, aimed at Cunard for placing passengers’ lives at risk. On the left is a man reading a paper on which are the German words for “U-Boat danger”. Behind him is the figure of the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, raising a wagging finger as a reminder that Germany had placed a warning notice in the same newspaper as Cunard Line’s sailing schedule.⁹⁴ Thus, Goetz’s attempt to celebrate Germany’s naval victory met with public backlash due to British clever propaganda’s counter attack.

⁹⁴ “Lusitania Medallion by Karl Goetz, Second Edition”, Lusitania Collection, Merseyside Maritime Collection, accessed 5th July 2019, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/collections/lusitania/item-253214.aspx>.

WEATHER
SHOWERS TO-DAY, THUNDER
FAIRLY CLOUDY, MODERATE
SOUTH-WESTERLY WIND.
Full Report on Page 18.

New York Tribune
First to Last—the Truth: News-Editorials-Advertisements
SUNDAY, MAY 7, 1916.—SEVEN PARTS—SIXTY-FOUR PAGES.
CIRCULATION
Over 100,000 Daily
Net Paid, Non-Returnable
PRICE FIVE CENTS

Pope Urges Wilson to Move for Peace

**POLICE ACTOR
SHOT PLAYING
PARADE THIEF**

Detective Feared Mimic Robber Threatened Mayor

**DISGUISED COP
BADLY WOUNDED**

Woods Kept Exhibition as Secret Climax—8,000 in Line.

LUSITANIA DAY OBSERVED IN LONDON

First Anniversary Commemorated with Display of the Red Cross, Wounded Soldiers and Canadian Nurses and Representatives of the League of Nations.

J. D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., HIS REFERENCE

Felix Arnold Substituted as Trustee in Wm. Mayer Estate.

GERMANS SATIRIZE LUSITANIA SINKING

Medal struck off in Germany by K. Goetz, a prominent artist, to celebrate the torpedoing of the liner and loss of American lives. These have been sold extensively throughout Germany.

The medals show death selling tickets to American passengers. The upper inscription, while the lower reads: "The liner Lusitania, sunk by a German U-boat May 7, 1916."

AVOID BREAK WITH BERLIN, PAPAL LEGATE'S MESSAGE

President Considering Peace Plea in Reply—Plan Seen to Get Allies' Proposals.

NOTE WILL BE ACCEPTED ON KAISER'S ASSURANCE

Wilson Gets Gerard's Report of Conference with Emperor Along with Official Text of Reply.

Washington, May 6.—A new appeal for peace from Pope Benedict to President Wilson was delivered at the White House today by the Papal Delegate, Monsignor Giovanni Bonanni. The Pope urged the President to maintain his neutrality and to do his utmost by mediation to bring peace to Europe. Coming only twenty-four hours after the German note, in which similar hints appear, officials decided that the message was issued on appeal from the Central Empires.

The President did not see Monsignor Bonanni and it is unlikely that he will heed either the appeal of the Pope or the obscure hints of the German government. He notified the latter-early in the way that he was ready to act as mediator on the request of any one of them, but he has refused to interfere of his own initiative or on suggestions from outside sources.

Ever that a break between the United States and Germany would impair the ability of the United States to aid in restoring peace in Europe is said to have influenced Pope Bonanni in communicating with the President. The message, taken in connection with the mediation in Germany's last note that she was ready to consider peace on certain terms caused deep interest among officials here. The Pope, like President Wilson, is understood to be ready to make peace suggestions when he believes the time ripe.

The President read with careful attention today the portion of the new building on peace. Unusual significance was attached to that part of the note because it was taken after their source. He returned the

As the required permission tickets and medals and medals were to be sold at the public square yesterday afternoon a crowd gathered. Police Commissioner Woods, sitting on the steps of the Fifth Avenue side of Madison Square Garden, near the Fifth Street, urged Mayor Michael H. Hahn, who had been elected to the office. This has been elected to assist in the work.

Just that a while later Patrick H. Hahn, who had been elected to the office, was seen in the crowd. He was seen in the crowd of people who were gathered in the square. He was seen in the crowd of people who were gathered in the square. He was seen in the crowd of people who were gathered in the square.

Several articles of the disaster struck off in Germany by K. Goetz, a prominent artist, to celebrate the torpedoing of the liner and loss of American lives. These have been sold extensively throughout Germany.

The medals show death selling tickets to American passengers. The upper inscription, while the lower reads: "The liner Lusitania, sunk by a German U-boat May 7, 1916."

CAVALRY KILLS 42 VILLISTAS

Dawn Surprise Results in Rout of Large Outlaw Band.

Bandits of General Francisco Villa, who were defeated at the battle of Columbus, 25 miles from the border, were routed by the American cavalry on May 6. The bandits were routed by the American cavalry on May 6. The bandits were routed by the American cavalry on May 6.

U-BOAT SANK LUSITANIA ONE YEAR AGO TO-DAY

A German submarine sank the Lusitania without warning off the coast of Ireland a year ago today. The vessel was heading for Queenstown, Ireland, and was carrying 1,158 passengers and crew.

The German Embassy at Washington had published statements in newspapers throughout the country, warning passengers against sailing on the Lusitania.

On May 11 President Wilson sent his first note to Germany. He would the Imperial Government not to expect "the Government of the United States to open any work on any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens."

On June 22 President Wilson sent his second note. On July 22 he sent his third. Following notes on the subject were completed by the German Embassy at Washington, and other ships, received July 22.

Cecil Defends Sea Policy

British Minister Rides Peace Hint in German Note.

London, May 6.—Great Britain will not alter her blockade as the result of Germany's note to the United States, the statement given by Lord Curzon, Foreign Secretary, in the House of Commons today.

The Allies are resolved to press the blockade with the same vigor, Lord Curzon declared, and neither Germany nor Germany's allies would alter their course. He returned the

Daniels Talks with Ship at Sea

Gives Orders by Wireless Phone to New Hampshire, Cruising in South.

Washington, May 6.—The Secretary of the Navy, Daniels, today gave orders by wireless to the USS Albatross, a minesweeper, to cruise in the South Atlantic Ocean.

Figure 26: "Germans Satirize Lusitania Sinking," *The New York Tribune*, article published for the anniversary of the *Lusitania*, 7 May 1916, accessed 15th August 2019 on <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1916-05-07/ed-1/seq-1/>.

The British government seized the opportunity to reflect this mistake as evidence that the attack was pre-meditated. To encourage this belief, Britain produced 300,000 copies to raise funds for the war effort. Goetz produced a second edition with the correct date, but the damage was done, fuelling anti-German sentiments.⁹⁵ British intelligence services obtained one copy of the medal and sent its photograph to the US where *The New York Tribune* published on the anniversary of the sinking. In the article, the newspaper mentioned that the medal was produced "to celebrate the torpedoing of the liner and loss of American lives,"⁹⁶ also that "these (medals) ha[d] been sold

⁹⁵ "Lusitania Medallion by Karl Goetz, Second Edition," *Lusitania Collection*, Merseyside Maritime Collection, accessed 5th July 2019, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/collections/lusitania/item-253214.aspx>.

⁹⁶ "Germans Satirize Lusitania Sinking", *The New York Tribune*, 7 May 1916, accessed 15th August 2019, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1916-05-07/ed-1/seq-1/>.

extensively throughout Germany.” The article described the medal as it “shows Death selling tickets to American passengers.”⁹⁷

The Germans insisted that the sinking was a justifiable act of war but, combined with the publication of the *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages* in Belgium – which is widely known as the Bryce Report – within a few days of the *Lusitania* incident, the situation served to reinforce precisely the stereotype of the Hun that British propaganda had been trying to create.⁹⁸

The Bryce report was the one of well-known British propaganda tools used for the smearing campaign against Germany’s Belgian invasion. Lord Bryce, who was one of the respected former ambassadors to the US, was appointed by the British Parliament to investigate the German atrocities in the war together with other distinguished British figures. To Americans it seemed that the chairman, Lord Bryce, was one Briton who would never offer himself as the tool of tendentious propaganda.⁹⁹ “The Committee on Alleged German Outrages” released the “Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages” on 12th May 1915 which verified the German atrocities in Belgium with testimonies taken after the invasion in 1914. The report was translated to many languages, and it was a sensational document that incorporated mutilation and rape stories. Although, the report was criticized by the lack of evidence in the stories told, it served as a useful propaganda material for the Allied countries for their anti-German allegations.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Taylor, *Munition of the Mind*, 178.

⁹⁹ Connors, *Dealing in Hate*, 11.

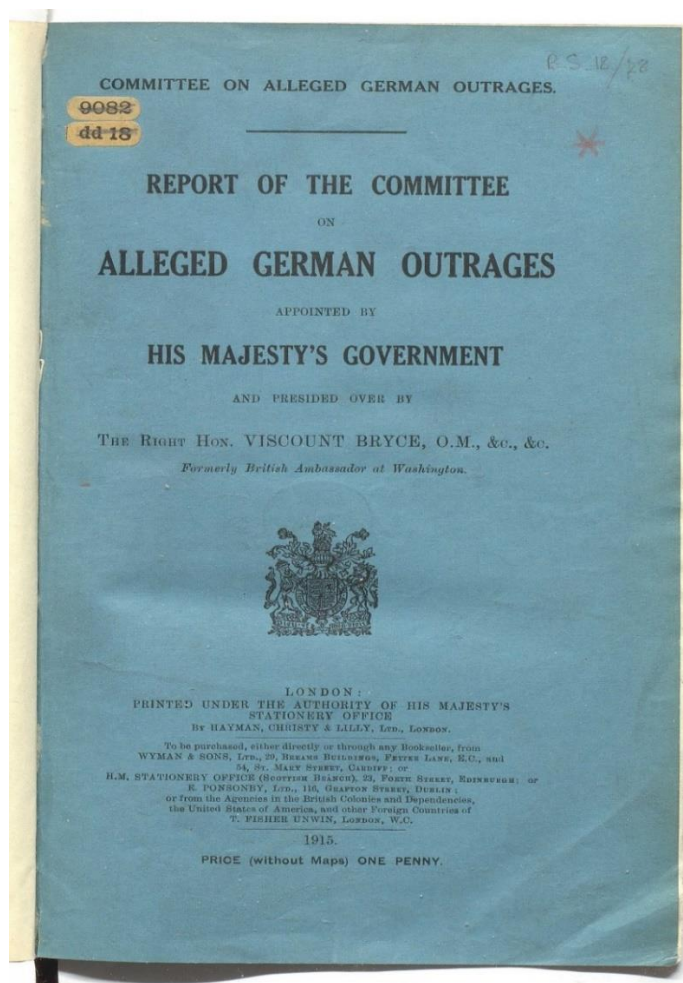


Figure 27: Cover page of the Bryce Report, Printed by Hayman, Christy & Lilly in London in 1915, accessed 25th July 2019, the British Library website <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/depicting-the-enemy>.

3.2.2.3. Edith Cavell: The Execution of the British Nurse Edith Cavell by German soldiers in Belgium on 12th October 1915

Edith Cavell was a British nurse, serving as the supervisor of the Berkendael Medical Institute in Brussels. After the German invasion in 1914, the institute started to function under the British Red Cross Service.

On 5 August 1915, Nurse Cavell was arrested with the charge of helping the Allied troops, and sentenced to death afterwards. In fact, she was aiding the Allied troops to escape to the Netherlands within the period of November 1914 to July 1915. She was aiding the French and British soldiers to escape from Belgium when she was

arrested, and that was an action quite understandable in war conditions, but could also be described as a violation of neutrality of the medical profession by the other side.

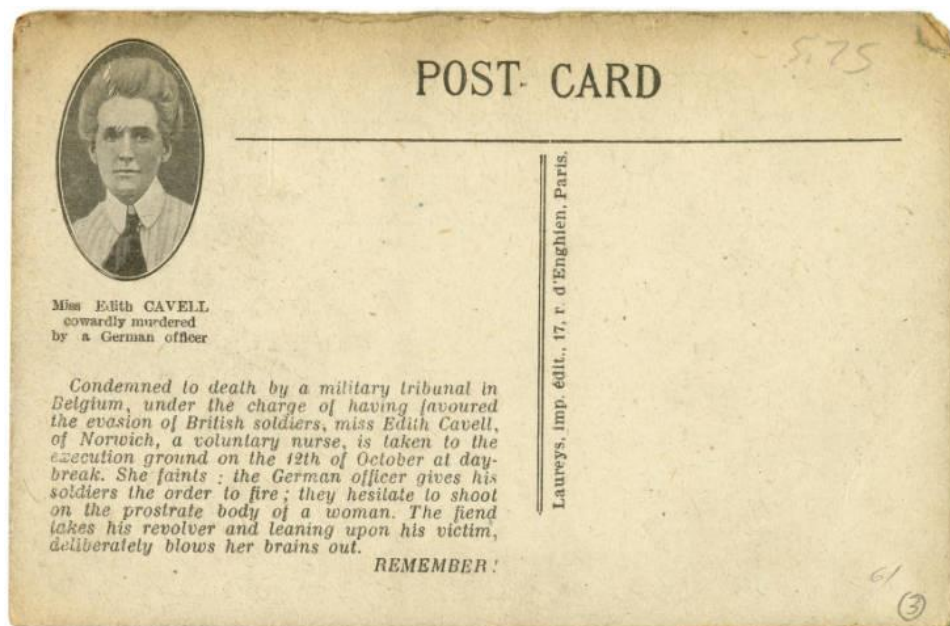


Figure 28: “Miss Edith Cavell Murdered, October 12, 1915, Remember!” Postcard (front and back) picturing Edith Cavell’s death on front side and an explanation on backside, accessed 9th April 2019 on <https://digital.library.vcu.edu/digital/collection/kay/id/186>.

The death of Edith Cavell provoked global indignation because of her role as an “angel of mercy” (at least that was the way she was presented), and because her

execution was set against the broader and emotive background of the Belgian violation.¹⁰⁰

Her execution was exploited to a great extent as a propaganda material by the media and politics to proliferate anti-German propaganda. For example, an article from *The New York Times* on 27th September 1917, referred to Mr. Hugh Gibson, First Secretary of the American Belgian Legation in Brussels, regarding a conversation held with a German official in an attempt to prevent the death sentence of Edith Cavell. The conversation was as follows: “when he [Mr. Gibson] and Maitre Gaston de Laval, attorney to the American Legation, told German official that the civilised world would be stricken with horror at the shooting of a woman, the German replied that the effect on the world would be ‘excellent’. At that moment, another German official interrupted with the remark that his only regret was that they did not have ‘three or four old English women to shoot.’”¹⁰¹

Cavell became an immediate martyr, and her name continued to invoke cries of outrage against Germany and to symbolise the bravery and dedication to Britain, and ultimately to the Allied womanhood.¹⁰² Her death was utilised to inspire young women to enlist to participate in the national war services by being military nurses, and for young men to join the army to stop German atrocities and protect innocents.

The Allied propaganda cared little for whether she received a just sentence for her role in aiding the escape of the Allied soldiers from German captivity. The Allied cared only for the fact that she was a woman who had been “murdered” by enemy troops in the front lines.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the French soldiers killed two German nurses, but newspapers did not make the story of this kind of events which were related to Central powers casualties.

¹⁰⁰ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda During the First World War*, 145.

¹⁰¹ “Germans Gloried in the Murder of English Nurse, Edith Cavell,” *The New York Times*, 27 September 1917, accessed 10th June 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/resource/2004540423/1917-09-27/ed-1/?sp=4&q=hugh+gibson&r=-0.596,-0.017,2.192,1.332,0>.

¹⁰² Paddock, *World War I and Propaganda*, 235.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 144.

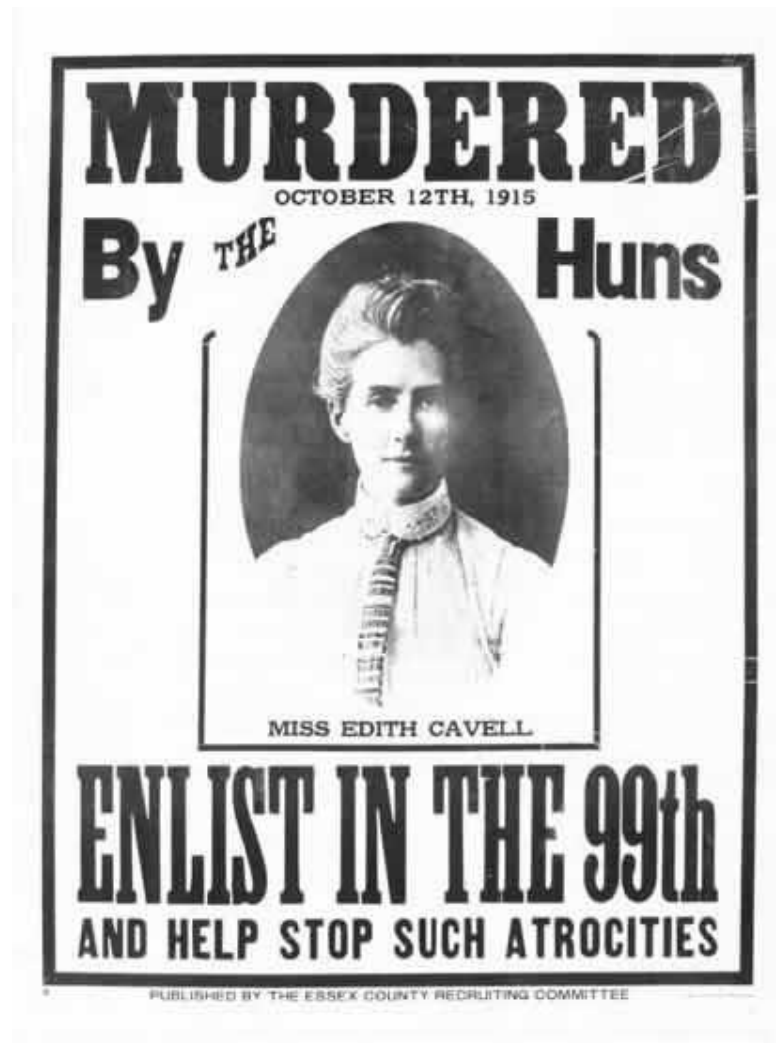


Figure 29: “Murdered by the Huns, Enlist in the 99th and Help Stop Such Atrocities”, Essex County Recruiting Committee poster, accessed 23rd March 2019 on http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/firstworldwar/spotlights/p_cavell.htm.

3.2.2.4. The Zimmermann Telegram: The German Attempt to Make Secret Agreement with Mexico

The incident of the “Zimmermann Telegram”, which was Germany’s attempt to make a secret alliance with Mexico, supported pro-war allegations in the US and triggered the US government to declare war against German and to adopt officially Allied causes in the war. On 19th January 1917, British naval intelligence intercepted and decrypted a telegram sent by the German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann to the German Ambassador in Mexico City. With the telegram, German Minister Zimmermann stated the endeavour to keep the US neutral but if it would fail, a

proposal would be given to the Mexican Government to assist the Mexicans in reconquering the lost territories in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona which they had lost after the Mexican-American War. In return for this assistance, Zimmermann asked for the Mexican support in the war. The telegram, of course, was used widely in Britain's anti-German campaigns and propaganda activities toward the US, and became "one of the final contributory factors resulting in the decision of the American government to enter the war against Germany".¹⁰⁴ After the Zimmermann Telegram story was published on the newspapers, it "caused an immediate sensation in the US."¹⁰⁵

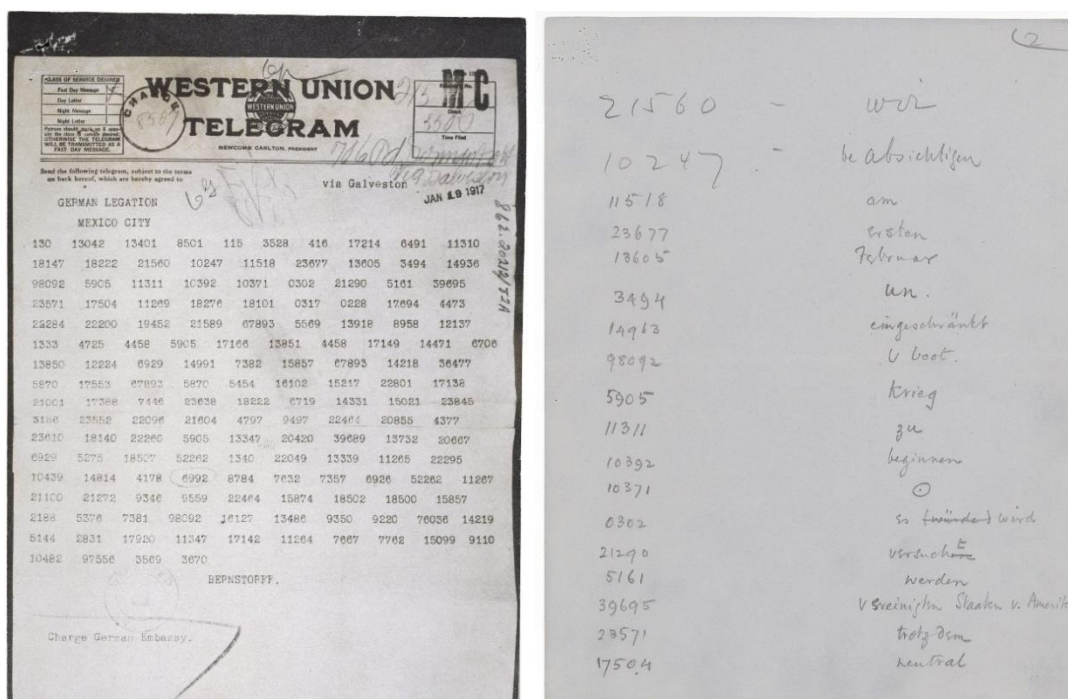


Figure 30: The Zimmermann Telegram and one of the decoding sheets, 19 January 1917, accessed 3rd August 2019 on <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/zimmermann>.

The Zimmermann Telegram, combined with the previous incidents of invasion of Belgium by the Germans, the sinking of *Lusitania* ships, the execution of the British Nurse Edith Cavell, and continuous submarine attacks to American passenger and merchant ships, generated American public support for the US entry to

¹⁰⁴ Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda During the First World War*, 183.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 185.

WWI. Within the scope of the all these incidents, President Woodrow Wilson asked from Congress to declare war against Germany on 2nd April 1917. Congress voted in support of declaring war against Germany on 4th April 1917. After the entry to the war, the American troops immediately arrived at the European continent to aid the British and French armies that were tired of being already in war since 1914.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Although having been the most populous and highly esteemed immigrant group once in the US, German cultural elements were repressed and became less visible especially after WWI because of the significant propaganda activities that was carried out by Britain and other Allied countries. Allied and Central power countries conducted massive propaganda activities towards the US and its citizens during the war; however Britain and the Allied countries became victorious in this rivalry by reaching their goals to convince the US to enter the war on their side.

The basic objective of the British and other Allied countries' propaganda was to attract the attention of the US and its citizens to the war, and to obtain aid in favour of the Allied cause. This basic objective had collateral consequences affecting German immigrants negatively. In the historical perspective, British alienation from Germany started after the unification of Germany in 1871 which gave rise to a stronger competitor for Britain in Europe. This competitor role of Germany was escalated after the outbreak of WWI. Both Germany and Britain were in quest of attracting the US interest to war and having political, financial and human power support from this country for their causes. Through well-developed communication infrastructure and intelligence, it would not be wrong to claim that Britain lead both in the rivalry with Germany and in the Allied anti-German propaganda in Europe and in the US. The main pillar of these propaganda activities was atrocity stories; whether true or not, they escalated social unrest by their disturbing contents and covering innocent victims who were mainly children and women. These atrocity stories provided a public support for British and the US governments' war policies by appealing people's sentiments and creating an emotional link towards the victims of the war in Europe. In order to demonstrate the success of the atrocity stories, the invasion of Belgium by Germany is chosen in this thesis as the prominent example. In the civilian casualties of the

Belgium invasion, children and women were in the focus of the atrocity stories to create sympathy for the innocent victims and hate for Germany and its German elements. The other incidents of the sinking of the *Lusitania* passenger ship and execution of the British Nurse Edith Cavell, which were mentioned in previous section, were also used by the Allied propaganda in an exaggerated story telling format to appeal to the emotions of people. To describe and spread the story of these incidents, dramatic drawings and expressions were utilised in the printed propaganda materials to expand and dramatize the impacts of them on the audience.

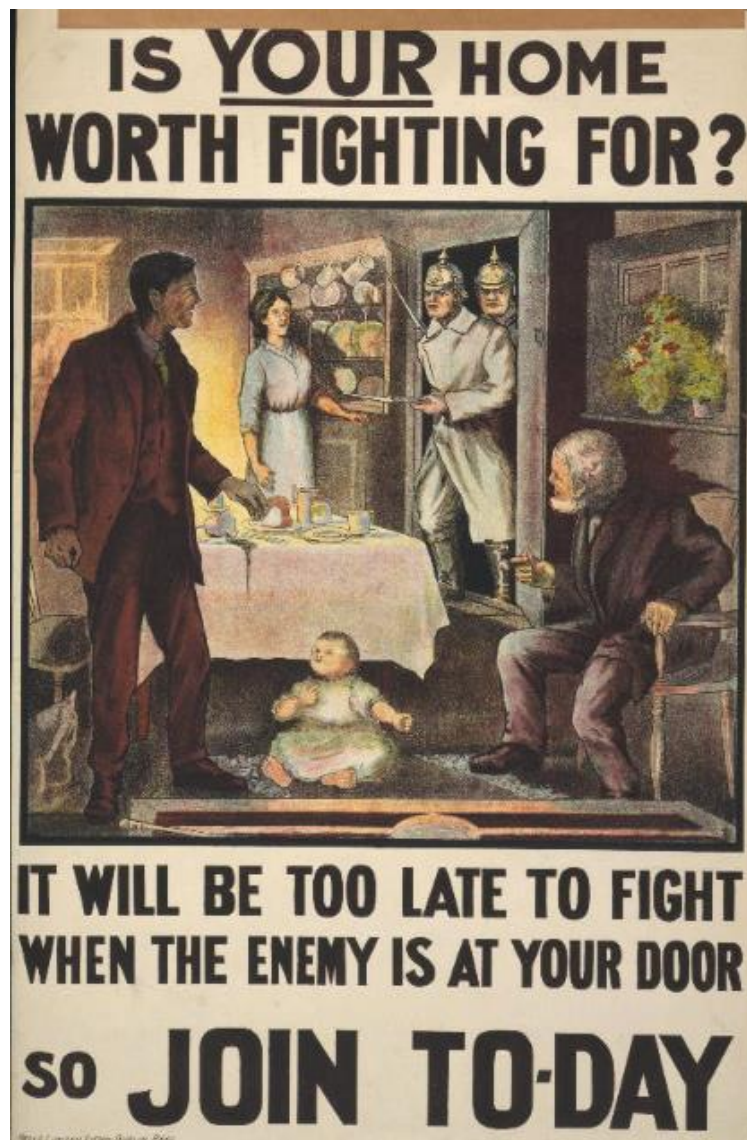


Figure 31: “Is your home worth fighting for? It will be too late to fight when the enemy is at your door, so join to-day” Poster, Hely's Limited, Litho., Dublin, 1915, accessed on 23rd September 2019 in <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g10977/>.

The above poster pictures a family which was shocked by the sudden entrance of German soldiers in their home with bayonets. This poster was not prepared precisely for the US audience, it was produced under the British propaganda in the context of the recruitment and enlistment calls in Ireland. However, it is mentioned in this point to show its impressive drawing that aimed to touch the people's hearts when looking at the picture, reading the message, and to incite to make an empathy with this family which was under German threat. Similar to this poster, the family concept was chosen greatly in the propaganda works to attract the attention of people, gain their sympathy and support for the war victims. Using the images of a mother and baby as the innocent elements of the population, they aimed to attract the attention of young men to entitle to protect the innocents, and also the ordinary people to buy war bonds to support government's war policies.

As Connors mentioned in his *Dealing in Hate*, deliberate and systematic diffusion of Allied war-time propagandist distortions gave birth to the pathological Germanophobia that later became such a familiar and integral part of Western thought processes.¹⁰⁶ It also caused the distortion of the German image in the world and in the mind of Americans for the following decades. With WWI, German immigrants in the US suffered as the focus of the negative attitude and hate discourse directed at them a result of the anti-German propaganda activities. They were also exposed to aggressive and bad behaviour against them in business and social life. They were boycotted, lost their jobs, banned officially or unofficially from using their language in education and in religious institutions. They forced to show their loyalty to the US by buying war bonds, or more radically, by singing the national anthem or kissing the flag publicly. These developments affecting the German immigrants were the indirect consequences of the success of the British-led anti-German propaganda towards the US and its citizens.

As German immigrants were the target of the British propaganda, the British immigrants in the US are mentioned in this thesis to point out the differentiation in the American public stance towards the immigrants groups coming from two separate sides of the war. German and British immigrants are the most convenient target groups to be examined by being larger immigration groups in the US in that period. While the

¹⁰⁶ Connors, *Dealing in Hate*, 7.

German immigrants experienced negative treatments, the British immigrants were treated with sympathy, even if they were against the war.

The anti-German stance in the US continued after WWI, and deepened in WWII during which Germany was the enemy again. Therefore, German immigrants were still in a disadvantageous position in the American population. They continued to hide or avoid showing their German elements in public.

4.1. Growing isolationist and nativist sentiments

After WWI and massive propaganda campaigns which were produced inside and outside the country, the American people became weary of being the object of the European conflicts of interest. Consequently, isolationist and nativist sentiments raised among Americans. Within the country, social coexistence of different groups developed into a complicated and problematic manner. The division between the Allied and Central countries had been reflected to the American population through different immigrant groups who had come from these countries. Anti-enemy propaganda continued after the war by reminding people the harmful stories from the battlefield. The main target of the “after war anti propaganda” in the US was Germany and the Germans. The German immigrants were still under the accusations of being spies of Germany and disloyal to the US. Therefore, for the German immigrants, restriction and prohibition continued after the war.

“Once a German, always a German.” poster of David Wilson¹⁰⁷ illustrates the Germans before and after WWI. The poster mainly focuses on war-time scenes of former German violence and cruelties including the execution of Edith Cavell (by

¹⁰⁷ David Wilson (1873-1935) was an Irish illustrator, educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution and worked for the Northern Bank. Then, he joined the Belfast Art Society and quit his job in the Northern Bank. In 1899 he began contributing a regular full-page caricature to the Belfast weekly 'The Magpie'. He contributed 55 cartoons to 'Punch' 1900-1933. From 1910 to 1916 he was chief cartoonist for 'The Graphic', and from 1912 his cartoons appeared regularly in the 'Daily Chronicle' also contributing to 'Nomad's Weekly', 'Fun', 'London Opinion', 'The Sketch', 'The Star', 'Temple Magazine', 'Life' and 'Tatler' and his work continued to appear in publications like 'The Passing Show', 'The World' and 'Pan' until 1920. From the 1920's his reputation as a painter developed, concentrating on landscapes and flowers, mainly in watercolour. He became an associate of the Royal Society of British Artists. He illustrated propaganda posters for the government during the WWI. (This information was taken from “Suffolk Artists” webpage under the “Wilson, David” title, accessed 27th August 2019. <https://suffolkartists.co.uk/index.cgi?choice=painter&pid=3036>)

depicting her grave), a sinking ship by German U-boat (referring to *Lusitania* and other passenger/merchant ships), tortures, mutilations and attacks. There is then a charming German businessman from the peace period, smiling and ready to do business. The poster also includes the caption of "1914 to 1918. Never again!" like it is said toward the German businessman.



Figure 32: "British Empire Union. "Once a German, always a German." Remember! Every German employed means a British worker idle. Every German article sold means a British article unsold" poster by David Wilson + W.F.B.; Printed by the Globe Printing Co., Ltd., 1918, accessed 4th April 2019 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003675256/>.

The poster asks from the American public not to forget the German atrocities that had happened in the war, and be cautious against the new ones. Therefore, being cautious was very important for the individuals and the government itself. This kind of propaganda materials caused the German Americans to face with distrust and discrimination, as they were still perceived “untrustworthy” and “pro-German”.

The Eighteenth Amendment of the “prohibition of intoxicating liquors” – as an example to restriction and prohibition against them – passed Congress on 16th January 1919. Since German-owned breweries were widespread in the German populated states, this prohibition affected negatively both German owners and costumers. Alcohol prohibition had a long history in the US. Starting in 1906, *the Anti-Saloon League* began leading a campaign to prohibit the sale of alcohol on the state level. Speeches, advertisements, and public demonstrations were held, and the Anti-Saloon League authorities tried to convince people not consuming alcohol to end poverty and solve social issues, such as immoral behaviour and violence. According to Joseph Gustaitis, author of *Chicago Transformed: World War I and the Windy City*, “All the great brewers in the Midwest, like Schlitz, Pabst, Blatz, Anheuser, and Busch, were born in Germany and spoke German. Therefore, the Prohibition forces were able to paint beer as anti-American”¹⁰⁸

4.2. Restrictive immigration policies of the 1920s and their reflections

Restrictive immigration policies were not directed German immigrants in purpose. However, they will be mentioned in this point to reflect the attitude of the US government and population in general towards the new comers. Growing isolationist and nativist sentiments in the US eventually led to the closing of America’s “golden

¹⁰⁸ Daniel Hautzinger, “How World War I Transformed Chicago,” interview with Joseph Gustaitis, 10 April 2017, accessed 1st August 2019. <https://interactive.wttw.com/playlist/2017/04/07/how-world-war-i-transformed-chicago>.

door” following the end of the WWI.¹⁰⁹ The country’s immigration policies became tighter, and had more restricted characteristics for the new applicants.

National security gained utmost importance in the country because of the enemy’s massive intelligence and propaganda activities during the war. Thereby, Congress seized the opportunity to pass new restrictive immigration laws. The first of these laws was the Immigration Act of 1917 which was imposed by the 64th US Congress on 5th February 1917. The new act extended the limitations of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882¹¹⁰, and put new restrictions into effect. With the 1917 Act, mentally and healthy ill people, alcoholics, prostitutes, anarchists and other admissible people were rejected to enter to the country. The Act also implemented literacy test requirement for the immigrants. According to the law, all aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, but could not read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish would not be eligible.¹¹¹ The 1917 Act also increased the tax amount for the immigrants to eight dollars per person.

The Immigration Act of 1917 was modified by the Immigration Act of 1924 which brought national origins quota on the Western and Eastern Hemisphere; besides, included Japan and the Philippines as well to the Asia-Pacific zone. The national origins quota was determined as the two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the US according to the national census of 1890. Since the Western European Americans had long resided in the US, the percentage for the newcomers from Western Europe was significantly higher than the ones from Eastern and Southern Europe. According to USA Department of State, Office of the Historian,

¹⁰⁹ “Immigration and the Great War, Ellis Island Part of Statue of Liberty National Monument,” *National Park Services*, accessed 3rd August 2019, www.nps.gov/articles/immigration-and-the-great-war.htm.

¹¹⁰ The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first significant legislative regulation that brought restriction to an ethnic group in the US. This Act passed on the Congress on 6 May 1882 and delivered a suspension on Chinese labour immigration for 10 years. The motive was to decrease the Chinese population with purpose of their ineligibility for naturalisation. Chinese Exclusion Act was the beginning of the exclusion policies in the U.S towards the major ethnic group immigration. The US Government extended the restrictions to the Japanese and Filipinos later.

¹¹¹ Sixty-Fourth Congress. Sess.II. Ch.29, 1917, 877.

The quota had been based on the number of people born outside of the United States, or the number of immigrants in the United States. The new law traced the origins of the whole of the U.S. population, including natural-born citizens. The new quota calculations included large numbers of people of British descent whose families had long resided in the United States. As a result, the percentage of visas available to individuals from the British Isles and Western Europe increased, but newer immigration from other areas like Southern and Eastern Europe was limited.¹¹²

The 1924 Act stayed in practice until its revision by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. The Act of 1952 preserved the national quotas, however abolished the ban of Asia-Pacific zone which enabled rather small portions of quotas for the countries from this region. The Act of 1952 contained new precautions against the communist elements of the time.

To conclude, through the immigration acts after 1920s, the main purpose of the American Government turned out to become to “preserve the ideal of the US homogeneity”¹¹³. Even though, the immigrants, who had resided in the US for long periods and were already assimilated in the American society, war-time propaganda against the enemy never prevented them from being accused as becoming suspicious and disloyal to the country. This thesis focused on the German immigrants as being one example of them.

¹¹² “The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act),” *Department of State, Office of the Historian*, accessed 3rd June 2019. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Kısaca, insanları belirli bir şekilde ve belirli bir ikna edici amaç için düşünmeye ve hareket etmeye yönelten fikirlerin yaygınlaştırılması anlamına gelen propaganda, bir devlet politikası aracı olarak Birleşik Devletler ve İtilaf güçleri tarafından özellikle Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında iç ve dış politikada, kendi halklarını ve düşman devletlerin halklarını etkilemek amacıyla etkin bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Tarihi geçmişi çok eskilere dayanan, özellikle eski Yunan'da, Antik Çin'de ve Vatikan'da kullanımına dikkat çekilen propaganda faaliyetleri, genel olarak savaş ve ihtilal zamanlarında devletler tarafından toplumları etkilemek amacıyla yoğun olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, Birinci Dünya Savaşı, devletlerin kendi halklarını ve düşman devletlerin halklarını kendi savaş politikaları doğrultusunda ikna etmek için yoğun şekilde propaganda tekniklerini kullandığı bir sahne haline gelmiştir. Bu tezde ise, devletler tarafından yürütülen siyasi propaganda faaliyetlerinin göçmenleri etkileyen kısmı özeline inilmiş ve bunların göçmenler üzerindeki sonuçlarına odaklanılmıştır. Göçmenler açısından ise, hem propaganda tekniklerinin uygulanışı hem de başarısı göz önüne alındığında, Britanya önderliğindeki İtilaf güçlerinin Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetlerinin Birleşik Devletler'deki Alman asıllı göçmenler üzerine etkisi ana konuyu oluşturmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmada, Britanya özelinde İtilaf güçlerinin Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetleri ile Birleşik Devletler hükümeti ve halkını savaş yanlısı propaganda faaliyetleri ile etkileme ve savaşa kendi yanlarında katılmaya ikna etme çabaları incelenmiştir. Bu faaliyetlerin Alman göçmenler üzerindeki etkileri, Britanya'nın Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Almanya'ya karşı yürüttüğü propaganda faaliyetlerinin başarısı şeklinde ortaya konmuştur.

Savaş zamanında, Birleşik Devletler hükümetinin içeride ve dışarıda savaş yanlısı politikalarına ve ayrıca içeride göçmenlere uygulanan politikalarına, halkın desteğini sağlamak amacıyla vatansever duygulara hitap ederek hazırlanan Alman

karşıtı propaganda örneklerinden posterler, kartpostallar, broşürler, resimler, illüstrasyonlar ve gazete kupürleri gibi efemera bu tezin ana kaynağını oluşturmuştur. Kelime anlamıyla “bir günden fazla dayanmayan” kâğıt parçaları olan efemeranın, savaş zamanında propaganda amaçlı kullanımı sayesinde toplumsal ve siyasi etkisi, kelime anlamından çok daha uzun vadeli olmuştur.

Tezin ilk bölümünde, İngiliz ve Alman göçmenlerin Birinci Dünya Savaşı öncesinde Birleşik Devletler’deki genel durumu hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Her iki göçmen grubun Birleşik Devletler’e tarihsel olarak gelişleri ve gelişlerinin nedenleri incelenmiştir. Savaş zamanı propaganda faaliyetleri sonucunda Amerikan halkında belirli göçmen gruplarına karşı oluşan olumlu ve olumsuz duyguların karşılaştırılmasında en iyi örnekleri oluşturduğu düşüncesiyle, tez boyunca incelenmek üzere, İngiliz ve Alman göçmenler seçilmiştir. Her iki grubun da Birleşik Devletler’e gelişleri incelendiğinde, ortak sebeplerin daha iyi ekonomik koşullarda yaşama isteği ile siyasi ve dini özgürlüklere sahip olmak şeklinde olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. İlk İngiliz yerleşimciler önceleri göç etme amaçlı gelmemişler ve sadece ticaret yapmak ve para kazanmak amaçlı yerleşimler kurmuşlardır. Dolayısıyla, ailelerini beraberlerinde getirmemişlerdir. Zamanla Britanya Krallığı’nın, o dönemki Avrupa’daki savaşları finanse etmek için gelire ihtiyaç duyması sonucunda, ticaretten daha yüksek vergi talep etmesiyle, İngiliz yerleşimciler Amerika’daki topraklara kalıcı olarak yerleşmeye karar vermişler ve ailelerini de getirmişlerdir. Aynı zamanlarda, ticaret için gelen yerleşimciler dışında dini amaçlı gelen Puritan İngilizler de Amerika’ya göç etmişler ve koloniler kurmuşlardır. İlk Alman göçmenler de, dini pratiklerini daha özgürce yerine getirmek umuduyla, daha çok dini amaçlarla göç etmişlerdir. Daha sonraki Alman göçleri daha iyi ekonomik koşullar ve 1848 Alman İhtilali sonrasında Almanya’dan kaçan siyasi göçmenler ve daha özgürlükçü yaşam arayışında olan göçmenlerle devam etmiştir. Süregelen göç hareketleri her iki grubun kendi özelinde devam etmiştir. Ayrıca, tezin ilk bölümünün sonunda neden bu çalışmada göçmen olgusunun ele alındığı sorulmuş ve cevap olarak savaş zamanı hükümetlerin propaganda faaliyetlerinin toplumsal sonuçlarının incelenmesinde, göçmenler üzerindeki etkilerinin, propaganda faaliyetlerinin başarısının gösterilmesinde dikkat çekici olduğu vurgulanmıştır.

Tezin ana konusu ikinci bölümde ele alınmıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşı zamanında bir devlet politikası aracı olarak göçmenlere karşı uygulanan politikanın kullanımını iki yönlü olarak irdelenmiştir. Britanya'nın Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetlerinin sonuçlarının daha iyi gözlemlenmesine fırsat vermek için, Birleşik Devletler hükümeti ve halkına yönelik İngiliz yanlısı ve Alman karşıtı politikalar karşılaştırmalı olarak ayrı başlıklar halinde incelenmiştir.

Britanya tarafından Almanya'ya karşı yürütülen olumsuz propaganda faaliyetlerinin tarihsel açıdan kısa bir değerlendirmesi de yapılmıştır. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarına kadar olan süreçte, Britanya Almanya'yı bir rakip olarak görmemiş, hem Britanya'da hem de Birleşik Devletler'de Almanya ve Almanlara karşı bilakis bir sempati hüküm sürmüştür. Almanya özgürlüklerin ve entelektüel gelişmelerin destekleyicisi olan bir ülke olarak kabul edilmiş ve Almanlara karşı da bu yönde bir sempati beslenmiştir. 1871 yılında Otto von Bismarck'ın Alman Birliği'ni kurması ile birlikte, uluslararası arenada güçlü bir Almanya imajı doğmuş ve Britanya bu yönde rahatsızlık duymaya başlamıştır. Alman Birliği'nin kurulmasının ardından hızlı ekonomik gelişme arayışındaki Almanya ile Britanya arasında, güçlü ekonomik ve insan gücü potansiyeline sahip Birleşik Devletler'i kendi yanlarına çekme yolunda bir rekabet başlamıştır. Bu noktada, her iki tarafın birbiri aleyhindeki propaganda çalışmaları başlamış ve savaşın patlak vermesiyle hız kazanmıştır.

Birleşik Devletler içinde yürütülen İngiliz yanlısı politika, ülke içinde ve ülkeye dışarıdan gelen etkiler şeklinde iki açıdan ele alınmıştır. Ülke içinde, İngiliz göçmenlerin doğal avantajları incelenmiş ve Amerikan halkı ile olan ortak dil ve kültürel yakınlık olgularına dikkat çekilmiştir. Ülke dışından gelen İngiliz yanlısı propaganda ise ülkeye elbette Britanya'dan yönlendirilmiştir. Britanya'nın savaş zamanı propaganda faaliyetlerini yürütmek amacıyla kurulmuş olan Britanya Savaş Propaganda Bürosu, daha genel kullanımıyla "Wellington House" ve buraya bağlı olarak çalışan hükümet görevlisi ve sanatçıların Alman karşıtı çabalarına değinilmiş; bu çabaların propaganda malzemesi olarak basılı hale getirildiği efemeral kaynaklar, özellikle savaş zamanında hazırlanan en etkililerinden örneklerle desteklenmiştir. Bu efemeral kaynaklardan posterler ve broşürler ağırlıklı olarak incelenmiştir.

Britanya'dan Amerika kıyasına gelen İngiliz yanlısı ve Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetlerinin Birleşik Devletler'deki yoğunluğunun artması Atlantik

Okyanusu'ndaki Alman iletişim kablolarının İngiliz gemilerince kesilmesi sonucunda Avrupa'dan Birleşik Devletler'e gelen bilgi akışını kontrol etmesine bağlanmıştır. Bu olay, Birleşik Devletler'e yönelik propaganda faaliyetlerinin yürütülmesinde, her iki taraf için de dönüm noktası olmuştur. Britanya, Birleşik Devletler ile doğrudan iletişim kurmanın ve haber akışı sağlamanın faydalarını tam anlamıyla kullanırken, Almanya'nın ise Birleşik Devletler ile doğrudan iletişimi kesilmiş ve dolaylı yollarla iletişimi sürdürmeye çalışmıştır. Bu noktada, Birleşik Devletler'deki Britanya'nın yürüttüğü propaganda faaliyetlerinin, Almanya'nın yürüttüğü propaganda faaliyetlerinin önüne geçtiğini söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır.

Birleşik Devletler hükümeti ve halkını ikna etme amaçlı yürütülen Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetleri, yine bu bölümde, ülke içindeki faaliyetler ve ülke dışından gelen faaliyetler şeklinde iki kısımda incelenmiştir. Ülke içerisinde, Alman göçmenlere yönelik gerçekleştirilen resmi ve resmi olmayan politika ve uygulamalara değinilmiş ve bunların sonuçları incelenmiştir. Bu açıdan, casusluk ve isyana teşvik karşıtı kanunlar yürürlüğe alınmış ("The Espionage Act of 1917" ve "The Sedition Act of 1918"), Alman dili ve kültürünün günlük hayatta kullanımı konusunda kısıtlamalar getirilmiş ve Alman göçmenlere yönelik casusluk şüpheleri ve hileli yönlendirmeler ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu noktada, Britanya tarafından Birleşik Devletler'e yönelik olarak hazırlanan veya Birleşik Devletler içinde bizzat Amerikan sanatçılar tarafından hazırlanan Alman karşıtı posterler ve diğer efemera örnekleri bölüm boyunca incelenmiştir. Tüm bu Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetleri sonucunda, toplumda oluşan Alman karşıtı duygular, fiili hareketlere dönüşmeye başlamış ve Alman göçmenlere karşı saldırı, sataşma, hatta linç girişimleri boyutuna ulaşmıştır. Linç girişimlerinden Alman göçmen Robert Paul Prager'e karşı yürütüleni başarıya ulaştırmış ve Prager 5 Nisan 1918 tarihinde Birleşik Devletler'in Collinsville şehrinde linç edilmiştir. Linç olayları Amerikan basınında geniş yer bulmuş ve genel olarak halk tarafından tepkiyle karşılanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, tepkilere rağmen savaş boyunca linç girişimleri devam etmiştir. Bu noktada, linç girişimleri konusunda gazete kupürleri önemli tarihi birincil kaynaklar arasındadır.

Birleşik Devletler'e dışarıdan yönlendirilen Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetleri İtilaf Devletleri'nden kaynaklanmıştır. İtilaf Devletleri içerisinde en gelişmiş iletişim ve istihbarat ağına sahip olması ve en başarılı propaganda tekniklerini

kullanması sebepleriyle, bu tezde Britanya özeline odaklanılmıştır. Britanya tarafından yürütülen propaganda faaliyetleri, gerçek olayların yanı sıra çoğu zaman gerçeklerin abartılmasına ve gerçeklik ötesinde çarpıtılmış vahşet hikâyelerine dayanmıştır. Abartılmış gerçeklikler ve vahşet hikayeleri, Amerikan halkının kalbine işlemiş ve duygularına hitap etmede büyük başarı sağlamıştır. Amerikan halkı, öncelikle üzüntü, daha sonra ise savaş mağdurları için sempati duymuş, nihayetinde Almanya'nın savaş faaliyetlerinden ciddi boyutta rahatsız olmuş ve Birleşik Devletler hükümetinin savaş politikalarını desteklemeye yönelmişlerdir. Bu kapsamda, savaş tahvilleri satın alma gibi hükümetin ordu için mali kaynak bulma faaliyetlerini de desteklemişlerdir. Öte yandan Britanya, Alman karşıtı savaş politikaları ile Almanlar için dünyada olumsuz bir "Hun" imajı yaratmış ve Birleşik Devletler'e yönelik haber ve bilgi akışını bu imaj üzerinden yürütmüştür. Hun imajı, Alman Kayzeri II. Wilhem'in 27 Temmuz 1900 yılında Çin'deki Boxer ayaklanmasını bastırmaya giden Alman askerlerine yönelik yaptığı teşvik edici konuşmasında, Hun İmparatoru Atilla'ya yaptığı atıfla doğmuş ve İtilaf Devletleri propagandası tarafından barbarlıkla eşdeğer bir şekilde kullanılmaya başlanmıştır.

Birleşik Devletler, Birinci Dünya Savaşı 1914 yılında başladığında tarafsız kalmış ve bu tarafsızlığını 1917 yılına kadar devam ettirmiştir. 6 Nisan 1917 yılında Almanya'ya karşı savaş ilan ederek Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na İtilaf Devletleri tarafında katılmıştır. Birleşik Devletler'in Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na katılmasına ve Alman karşıtı tarafta yer almasına yol açtığı düşünülen en önemli dört faktör olarak, bu tezde, Belçika'nın Almanya tarafından işgali, *Lusitania* yolcu gemisinin Alman torpidoları tarafından batırılışı, İngiliz hemşire Edith Cavell'in Alman askerleri tarafından Belçika'da idam edilmesi ve Zimmermann Telgrafi ele alınmıştır. Bu dört olay dışında, bunlara benzer çeşitli olaylar yaşanmıştır fakat bu tezde, bu dört olayın etkilerinin en büyük ve etkili olduğu kabul edilmiştir.

4 Ağustos 1914 tarihinde Belçika'nın Almanya tarafından işgal edilmesi sonucunda Britanya tarafından, gerçekliği tartışılan birçok vahşet hikâyesi Birleşik Devletler'e aktarılmıştır. Özellikle kadınlar, anneler, bebekler ve çocuklardan oluşan masum savaş kurbanlarının ele alındığı hikayeler ve bu hikayelerin konu alındığı posterler, çizimler, gazete haberleri gibi propaganda amaçlı üretilen materyaller, Amerikan halkının savaş mağdurları ile empati kurmasına yol açmış ve toplumda

büyük rahatsızlık yaratmıştır. Belçika işgalinin yaklaşık bir yıl ardından, 12 Mayıs 1915 tarihinde İngiliz politikacı Lord Bryce tarafından, Belçika'da yaşanan sözde Alman vahşeti hakkında, gerçekliği ispatlanmamış hikayelere dayanan bir rapor hazırlanmış ve dünya kamuoyu ile paylaşılmıştır. Bu rapor ile birlikte, hem savaş zamanı süregelen Alman karşıtı propagandaya destek verilmiş hem de gerçekliği tartışmalı vahşet hikayeleri ile toplumdaki Alman karşıtı duyguların pekiştirilmesi sağlanmıştır.

7 Mayıs 1915 tarihinde 2.000 yolcusu ile Alman denizaltıları tarafından batırılan yolcu gemisi *Lusitania* olayı da Britanya tarafından Alman karşıtı propagandada çok yoğun bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Britanya'nın Liverpool şehrinden hareket edip İrlanda açıklarında batırılan *Lusitania*'nın 2.000 yolcunun 1.200'ü boğulmuştur. 130 Birleşik Devletler vatandaşının da öldüğü bu olay birçok poster ve çizime konu olmuş; genç Amerikalıların orduya katılmasında, halkın hükümetin savaş politikalarını desteklemesinde ve savaş harcamalarının finanse edilmesi için savaş tahvilleri alması yönünde teşvik edilmesinde kullanılmıştır. *Lusitania* batırılışının etkisi yıldönümünde yeniden alevlenmiştir. Alman sanatçı Karl Goetz, *Lusitania*'nın batırılışını bir Alman deniz zaferi olarak kutlamak amacıyla hatıra para tasarlamış fakat hatıra paranın üzerinde olayın tarihi 5 Mayıs 1915 olarak gösterilmiştir. Asıl batırılış tarihinden iki gün önceyi gösteren bu hata, Britanya tarafından bir karşı propaganda malzemesi olarak kullanılmış ve olayın Almanya tarafından önceden tasarlanmış bir olay olarak gösterilmesine sebep olmuştur. Söz konusu hatıra paralardan elde eden Britanyalı propaganda yapımcılar, bunları Birleşik Devletler'e ulaştırmışlar ve Amerikan halkını Alman karşıtı yönde etkilemek amacıyla gazete haberlerinde kullanılmalarını teşvik etmişlerdir. Öte yandan, Almanya *Lusitania*'yı batırışından önce önde gelen Amerikan gazetelerinde, savaş mühimmatı taşıyan İngiliz yolcu gemilerine karşı uyarılarda bulunmuş ve bu gemilerin savaş sebebiyle batırılacağını ilan etmiştir. Bu açıdan, *Lusitania*'nın batırılış Britanya bilgisi dahilinde midir yoksa bilerek savaş mühimmatı mı yüklenmiştir, kesin olarak bilinmediğinden bir muamma olarak kabul edilebilir.

Masumlara yönelik diğer bir Alman vahşeti olarak, İngiliz hemşire Edith Cavell'in 12 Ekim 1915 tarihinde, Belçika'da, casusluk suçlamasıyla Alman askerleri tarafından yargılanması ve ardından idam edilmesi kullanılmıştır. Belçika'da görev

yapan Hemşire Edith Cavell'in Britanyalı, Fransız ve Belçikalı askerlerin kaçışına yardım ettiği ispatlanmış bir olaydır. Bu açıdan, bir hemşireyi idama mahkum eden Alman askerler, bu olayı savaş zamanında tarafsız olarak yürütülmesi gereken tıp mesleğinin ihlal edilmesi olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Hemşire Edith Cavell'in idam edilmesi genç Amerikan erkelerinde kız kardeşleri ve anneleri adına empati doğurmuş, orduya katılıp masumları korumaları yönünde birçok afiş ve poster hazırlanmıştır. Aynı zamanda, genç Amerikan kadınlarına yönelik, orduya hemşire olarak katılmaları yönünde ilham verici propaganda materyalleri hazırlanmıştır. Bu üç olayın Britanya tarafından Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetlerinde yoğun olarak kullanılması ile birlikte, Birleşik Devletler hakkında Almanya karşıtı duygular yeşermiş ve pekiştirilmiştir.

Birleşik Devletler'in savaşa girişini tetikleyen olay olarak, 19 Ocak 1917 yılında Britanya istihbarat servisi tarafından, daha sonradan "Zimmermann Telgrafı" olarak adlandırılan ve Almanya Dışişleri Bakanı Arthur Zimmermann'ın Meksika'daki Almanya Büyükelçisine gönderdiği telgrafı deşifre etmesiyle ortaya çıkan gizli anlaşma girişimi ele alınmıştır. Bu telgrafla birlikte, Almanya Dışişleri Bakanı Büyükelçiden, Meksika Hükümeti ile görüşmesini ve Meksika'nın savaşta Almanya'ya desteklemesi karşılığında, Meksika'ya, Meksika-Amerika savaşında kaybettiği yerleri geri alması için destek vaadinde bulunacağını iletmesini istemektedir. Önceki paragrafta bahsi geçen üç olayın zemin hazırladığı Amerikan hükümeti ve halkındaki Alman karşıtı duygular, Zimmermann Telgrafı ile birlikte, bu tezde, doğrudan Birleşik Devletler'e yöneltilmiş bir Alman tehdidi olarak kabul edilmiş ve Birleşik Devletler'i Alman karşıtı tarafta savaşa götüren olayların başında kabul edilmiştir.

Tez boyunca dikkat çekilen bir husus, savaş zamanı propaganda materyallerinin etkinliğinin artırılması amacıyla, toplumun masum ve aciz kabul edilen bölümünün oluşturan kadın, çocuk ve bebeklerin bolca ele alınmasıdır. Toplumun bu aciz kesimini ve savaş mağdurlarını ön plana çıkaran propaganda materyalleri, propaganda yapımcıların söylemlerinin etkisini arttırmış ve bu şekilde topluma daha etkili bir tarzda hitap edebilmiştir. Bu açıdan ele alındığında, bu materyallerin, hükümetlerin politika söylemleri sonucunda elde edilmek istenen sonuca ulaşmalarında büyük katkıları olmuştur.

Tezin son bölümünde, Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Birleşik Devletler hakkında oluşan milliyetçi ve yerel halkçı eğilimden ve bu eğilimlerin hükümetlerinin gittikçe soyutlayıcı göçmenlik politikaları izlemesini desteklediğine değinilmiştir. Önceki paragraflarda bahsedilen tüm olayların ve savaş zamanı yoğun Alman karşıtı propaganda faaliyetlerinin sonucunda, Birleşik Devletler’de yeşeren Almanya karşıtı duygular ile birlikte savaş sürecince ülkede Alman göçmenlere karşı olumsuz tavırlar sergilenmeye başlanmıştır. Savaş sonrasında da toplumda Alman göçmenlere yönelik kısıtlayıcı uygulamalar devam etmiş, casusluk şüpheleri ile birlikte Alman işyerleri boykot edilmiş, Alman asıllı vatandaşlar tartaklanmış, toplum içinde milli marş söylemeye veya bayrak öpmeye zorlanmış ve sonuç olarak, Alman asıllı vatandaşların sahip olduğu işyerleri kapanmaya başlamış, Alman göçmenlerde Alman özelliklerini gösteren dil, kültür, isim gibi ana niteliklerin saklanması dürtüsü ortaya çıkmıştır. Alman göçmenler tarafından, Almanca soyadları ve işyeri isimleri değiştirilmiş, okullarda ve kiliselerde İngilizce kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Ayrıca, resmi girişimler olarak, toplumda uzun zamandır kullanılan Almanca kökenli kelimeler ve yer isimleri İngilizce yenileriyle değiştirilmiş, bazı eyaletlerde okulların Almanca eğitim vermesi ve kiliselerin Almanca tören yapmaları yasaklanmıştır. Çarpıcı bir örnek olarak, uzun zaman hamburger olarak adlandırılan yemeği adı özgürlük burgeri olarak değiştirilmiştir.

Tüm bu gelişmeler, bu tezde, Britanya’nın Birinci Dünya Savaşı zamanında Birleşik Devletler hükümeti ve halkını hedef alarak yürüttüğü yoğun Alman karşıtı propagandanın başarısı şeklinde kabul edilmiştir. Britanya’nın Almanya karşıtı propagandasının Birleşik Devletler’deki etkisinin güçlü bir yansıması, toplumda Alman göçmenlere karşı sergilenen olumsuz tutum ve tavırlarda kendisini göstermiştir. Bu olumsuz davranışlar savaş süresince ve savaştan sonra da devam etmiştir. Tezin son bölümünde, doğrudan Alman göçmenlere yönelik olmasa da, ülkede oluşan göçmen karşıtı havayı göstermek amacıyla 1920li yıllarda Birleşik Devletler’de yürürlüğe alınan kısıtlayıcı yeni göçmenlik politikalarından da bahsedilmiştir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : ŞANTAY ÖZYÜNCÜ

Adı / Name : SELCAN

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