

HENRY ALBACH: EDITOR AND AGITATOR, 1914-1918

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John Henry Albach, usually called Henry, was a newspaper owner and editor who represented two minorities in turn-of-the-century Lawrence, Kansas: the German-Americans and the Democrats. The son of a German immigrant who had fled Germany after the failure of the democratic revolution of 1848, Albach felt close ties to both the German people and to the Democratic party. Although trained in law, Albach was a businessman, and he first became a journalist when he bought the German-language Lawrence Germania after the failure of his dry goods business in 1902. Six years later, he founded the Lawrence Democrat and subsequently edited both weekly newspapers until the Germania was forced to suspend in 1918 because of pressure related to World War I. He continued to edit the Democrat until 1943.

This study looks at various issues of Albach's newspapers during the World War I period, 1914 to 1918, to see how Albach reacted to the political events of the time. A rising hysteria in the United States against all things German made it increasingly difficult for Albach, and all German-American editors, to represent their compatriots. And most German-Americans detested the president of the war era, Woodrow Wilson. Albach did not have an easy time trying to defend one against the other in the pages of his newspapers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	iii
Chapter I. Introduction	1
Chapter II. Albach the Man	4
Chapter III. Albach the Democrat	18
Chapter IV. Albach the German-American	39
Chapter V. Conclusion	66
Appendix	69
Bibliographical Essay	73
Bibliography	77

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I have always enjoyed the study of history and journalism. I also speak the German language and so, since my first semester in the master's program six years ago, I had known that I wanted to do a project on some historical aspect of the German-American press. My choice was justified, I thought, by the recommendation of a prominent historian of the German-language press of the Americas, Karl J. R. Arndt: "A special study of the German element in Kansas using materials now available would be a valuable contribution to American history," he wrote in 1980.¹ Those words inspired me to make a small contribution to the history of the Kansas press.

History is concerned with the dual elements of discovery and analysis, wrote Norman Graebner in an article on the use of newspapers in research.² It was the analysis of two Lawrence, Kansas, newspapers that led to my "discovery" of an unusual and interesting member of the

¹Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, The German Language Press of the Americas (Die deutschsprachigen Presse der Amerikas), 3 vols., vol. 1: History and Bibliography, 1732-1968: United States of America, 3d rev. ed.; vol. 2: History and Bibliography (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973-1976); vol. 3: German-American Press Research from the American Revolution to the Bicentennial (Munich: K. G. Sauer Verlag KG, 1980), 1:151.

²William Taft, "Local Newspapers and Local History," in Ronald T. Farrar and John D. Stevens, Mass Media and the National Experience: Essays in Communications History (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 175.

Kansas press corps, Henry Albach. More accurately, I first uncovered one of Albach's newspapers, the German-language Lawrence Germania. Albach served as its third and final editor from 1902 until 1918. Because the Germania was one of the larger and longer-lived German newspapers in Kansas, I intended to analyze its content from the World War I era, along with that of three of four other large Kansas German newspapers.³ But then I found that Albach had also founded and edited an English-language newspaper, the Lawrence Democrat, in the same town during the same period, and I became more interested in the man himself. For one thing, it was unusual for a German-American to edit a second paper in the English language and not make one paper simply a translated version of the other.⁴ For another thing, most German-Americans detested Woodrow Wilson for his imprudent remarks on what he termed the questionable loyalty of "hyphenated citizens" during the war,⁵ and I wondered how

³Arndt and Olson, The German Language Press, 1:151-67; 2:392-95.

⁴There are no published figures to support this theory, but it might make an interesting study. My conclusion is based on several histories of the German-language press in the United States, the most important of which I consider to be Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1957).

⁵I will refer often to general characteristics of the German-American press or people, but I will not give a source for each reference (unless it is a specific fact) to avoid the tedium of too many footnotes. My sources for background information were Wittke, German-Language Press; Carl Wittke, We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant, rev. ed. (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1967); Arndt and Olson, The German Language Press; Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1922); Richard O'Connor, The German-Americans: An Informal History (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968); and Georg von Bosse, Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1908).

Albach, obviously a supporter of the Democratic party, would synthesize his opposing viewpoints as a Democrat and a German-American. The Wilson era proved to be Albach's most active period as a party member and local politician, and his newspapers were full of commentary on the war, politics and the harassment of German-Americans. Furthermore, what little underlying antagonism existed between German-American and native citizens of Lawrence seems to have crystallized around the figure of Henry Albach. This antagonism is usually ignored by local historians, and so the "discovery" of Albach is a real find, I think. The bonus is that Albach's parents were pioneer settlers of Lawrence, and the Douglas County Historical Society is interested in my study.

Unfortunately, average citizens do not leave many documents behind for posterity. Likewise, Henry Albach left little for researchers in the way of personal papers, but he did leave four decades of personal commentary in his newspapers.⁶ From this commentary I have tried to glean a profile of the man whose dual backgrounds seemed to be so at odds with each other. Whether it is an accurate profile, I do not know, but it is obviously the one that Henry Albach wished to leave behind.

⁶One document available to researchers is a copy of Albach's speech to the audience of a loyalty meeting held April 5, 1917 in Lawrence to demonstrate the city's loyalty to a country about to plunge into war. The speech has been preserved in pamphlet form, indicating perhaps that Albach had it printed for distribution. The full address appears in the Appendix as the best representation of Albach's philosophies on democracy and pro-Germanism. Henry Albach, "Address Delivered by Mr. Henry Albach at the Loyalty Meeting Held in the Bowersock, April 5, 1917, at Lawrence, Kansas," Lawrence Scrapbooks, vol. 2, Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Spencer Research Library, Lawrence, Kansas. Hereafter referred to as "Address."

CHAPTER II

ALBACH THE MAN

John Henry Albach was the son of a German immigrant and revolutionary Forty-Eighter, and these facts were to mold his life. The Forty-Eighters, German immigrants so called because they fled Germany after the failure of the political revolution of 1848, believed in the principles of democracy and had attempted to overthrow the German monarchy in favor of a democratic government. The revolution was brutally crushed by the German Army, and many men had to flee for their lives, Albach's father Phillip among them. The destination of choice was the United States, perceived by these German idealists as being a democratic mecca.¹

Phillip Albach arrived in the United States in 1848 or 1849, living first in New York, then in California for several years, and becoming an American citizen in 1858. He returned to Germany briefly in 1858 to marry and then brought his young German wife to the United States with the intention of traveling overland to California with her. The couple decided instead to settle in newly founded Lawrence, Kansas Territory, where Phillip Albach came to be known as an anti-slavery man and supporter of the Democratic party. The younger Albach, called Henry, was to adhere to the democratic principles of his father all

¹Wittke, We Who Built America, pp. 187-191.

his life.²

Henry Albach was born September 8, 1863, two weeks after Quantrell's raid on Lawrence had destroyed his parents' home and business. As the Albachs traveled on foot to Leavenworth to borrow from friends the capital to begin again, Wilhelmine Albach was forced to stop at Schneider's Tavern near Tonganoxie to deliver her fourth child. Phillip Albach continued walking to Leavenworth, where he received the help he needed to finance a new business. Because the couple had lost their first three babies to the extreme climatic conditions of the treeless Kansas prairie, they took their son Henry, who was as sickly as his siblings had been, to stay with relatives in Germany, where he remained until his tenth year. This intimate contact with the German people during his formative years was also to shape his future.³

Albach's background was not unusual. The latter half of the nineteenth century had seen a large influx of European immigrants to the United States, people who were drawn by the promise of cheap, fertile land and a less repressive government. The Germans made up one of the largest groups of newcomers, both to the United States and to Kansas, representing twenty-five percent of the foreign element and nine percent of the total population of the United States in 1910.⁴ For the most

²William Connelley, History of Kansas, State and People: Kansas At the First Quarter Post of the Century, 5 vols. (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1936; microform edition, Tucson: Americana Limited, [1976?]), 3:1566-67; Henry J. Albach, Jr., "The Story of the Albach Family and Their Kith and Kin," unpublished family history, 1971.

³Ibid.

⁴U. S., Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census,

part, the German community of Lawrence, Kansas, was well integrated into the general populace; its most distinguishing feature was that it was well represented and highly respected in the business district along Massachusetts and Vermont streets. Here, too, Albach was not unusual: his father Phillip bought commercial property on Massachusetts Street in 1858 and operated a successful wagonmaking and blacksmith shop until Quantrill's raid came in 1863. Thereafter he operated a dry goods business. Henry carried on the business tradition of his family, traveling as a salesman for several years before opening his own dry goods store, and later owning and operating two newspapers in Lawrence, the German-language Lawrence Germania and the English-language Lawrence Democrat.⁵

It was as a newspaper editor that Henry Albach found a forum for his philosophies as a Democrat and German-American, although he himself probably would not have distinguished the two as separate. His was a personal style of journalism, in the tradition of Horace Greeley and Joseph Pulitzer, and he avidly commented on local and national politics, with frequent references to his background as a German-American

Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions, 1910, 1900, 1890, vol. C, p. 4; U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Abstract of the Census with Supplement for Kansas, vol. A., pp. 77, 188.

⁵David Dary, Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas: An Informal History (Lawrence, Kan.: Allen Books, 1982), p. 193; Elfriede Fischer Rowe, "War Nerves Blight German Role," in Wonderful Old Lawrence (Lawrence, Kan.: The World Company, 1971), p. 122; Henry Albach, "History of the Turnverein," Lawrence History Scrapbook, vol. 5, Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Spencer Research Library, Lawrence, Kansas; "Albach Family."

and son of an exiled revolutionary. Usually this commentary was printed in the Democrat, a four-page weekly written and printed by Albach alone. In it, he wrote mostly about politics and left coverage of the daily news to the two Lawrence daily newspapers. The Germania, an eight-page weekly, was primarily devoted to perpetuating German language and culture in Douglas County. Six of its pages were preprinted by a German publishing company in St. Louis and regularly contained feature articles, literature and general news about Germany and Europe. Two pages were left blank for local news, which was usually printed in German, but which sometimes was taken verbatim from the Democrat.⁶ Albach used these two pages less for editorial comment than for news of German-American activities in Douglas County, Topeka and Kansas City. The war that broke out in Europe in 1914 changed that, however. The news service in St. Louis began filling the pages of the Germania with "hard" news about the war from European capitals (but with a decidedly German slant); and Albach began commenting on the war as a proponent of and apologist for Germany, as did most of the German-American editors of the day.

The war era was perhaps the most difficult period of Albach's life, for it was during this time that political stands crystallized and a man's politics marked him as loyal or disloyal. It seems that the ownership of an English-language newspaper by a German-American editor who also published an unrelated German-language newspaper was not common, although there are no figures to support this theory. Common or

⁶Robert H. Albach, correspondence of April 13, 1986. Hereafter referred to as Albach correspondence.

not, the editing of two such highly partisan papers put Albach in a somewhat awkward position: as a German-American with childhood ties to Germany, and as the self-appointed spokesman for the German community by virtue of his newspaper, he felt obligated to present the German side of the conflict, which many German-Americans thought was not fairly presented in the English-language press. As a second-generation American citizen who revered American democratic principles and as a strong Democrat, he felt equally obligated to defend his party and his president, even when their policies were seemingly at odds with the interests of Germany or German-Americans.

Neither stand was an easy one to take in Lawrence, Kansas. The German community of Lawrence was not a cohesive one, and although the local German-Americans may have sympathized with Germany, they considered themselves Americans and, perhaps unwilling to risk their respectable standing as businessmen or believing the European war to be too remote from midwestern Kansas, they were not vocal in their support for their cultural homeland. In fact, one local resident of German background remembers that Albach was considered by some German citizens to be too "extremist" in his support for Germany.⁷ Being a Democrat in "rock ribbed Republican" Douglas County was not an easy existence either. Albach was active in local and county politics, and was a strong supporter of the national party, an anomaly both in Republican Kansas and as a German-American. Historically, the German-Americans had voted Republican, going back to their disappointment with the southern Democrats over

⁷ Ibid.; Elfriede Fischer Rowe, interview held April 18, 1986 at Lawrence, Kansas. Hereafter referred to as Rowe interview.

the slavery issue of the 1850s and 1860s, and they were particularly unhappy with what they perceived as President Wilson's unfairness in his preferential treatment of the Allies to the disadvantage of Germany during the United States' period of neutrality. Albach's involvement in local politics and his running editorial war with the Lawrence Daily Journal-World on local issues, not to mention his open support for Germany in the early stages of the war, set the stage for the Journal-World's barely disguised accusations of disloyalty against him after the United States entered the war in 1917.

Albach was a man of principle, however, and he refused to "swim with the current" in order to make life easier for himself. He wrote in September 1915:

Any boy can tell us that it is much easier to swim with the current than against it. It is much the same with our civic affairs. It is much easier and has been much more profitable to be a good fellow by saying "Yea and Amen" to everything those in control put out than it is to have an opinion of your own, the courage to express it openly, whenever in your humble judgment [sic] the powers in control attempt to "put one over" on the public. . . .

Now our career, as a newspaper writer, has lost us the good fellowship of interests here in Lawrence because we have not always bowed down to their ideas. . . . We refused to swim with the current. The writer has never in his 52 years made a compromise with what he considered as wrong and we will not start now. We could have had money, but one cannot ease his conscience with dollars unless he has been hardened to such a performance.

. . . some day [sic] the worm will turn and the people will recognize the fact that we are battling for the public welfare only without thought of self aggrandizement.⁸

That day was not to come, however, as Albach's stand on local and national issues was to cause him personal anguish during the war years. He

⁸"Swimming With the Current," Lawrence (Kan.) Democrat, Sept. 30, 1915, p. 1.

would come to feel that he was being snubbed socially, slaughtered politically and that his business was being secretly boycotted.

Albach's political credo was that government should be an institution of and for the people. He was against the European system of monarchy, a belief he inherited from his Forty-Eighter father. In an editorial written before Europe plunged into war, he urged the people of the United States to eliminate the last vestiges of the English system in American government in order to make the United States a truly classless society. He equated the Senate with the English House of Lords and thought that it ought to be eliminated altogether. The Electoral College, he wrote, was established only because the founding fathers had not truly trusted the democratic form of government, and it also should be abolished. Although Albach had a degree in law from the University of Kansas he was not a practicing attorney and deplored a legal and judicial system that he thought was prejudiced in favor of the rich man. He called the capitalists of Wall Street the new nobility and urged the public to use "voice, pen and vote" to break up their monopolies.⁹

Albach did not believe in socialism, either, and he cautioned against giving the federal government too much control in local affairs:

Long distance regulation is expensive and subversive to the principle of personal liberty. It is so easily abused and leads to tyranny. We need less government, less interference, less laws, less political commissions, more freedom, more personal independence, and more of a square deal to business.¹⁰

⁹"The Rule of Class," Democrat, May 14, 1914, p. 1.

¹⁰Democrat, May 21, 1914, p. 1.

Albach thought that socialists were individualists and faddists run amuck and that they were looking out only for their own interests. He was sure that they would be soundly defeated at the polls by the business interests who were banding together against them. He used the socialists as an argument against extending the vote to women, who would create a field of "good picking" for demagogues like the socialists.¹¹ Keeping women out of politics was a common viewpoint among German-Americans, who believed in strong family units and were afraid that involving women in issues outside the home would endanger family life. He apparently changed his mind later, however, as he approved of the idea of women police officers for Lawrence, and he also endorsed the appointment of women delegates to the state Democratic convention in 1916.¹²

Above all, Albach believed in "clean" politics. He wrote in 1915:

We cannot all come to the same conclusions but we can all be honest in our beliefs. And we can be clean in our politics and sincere in our religion no matter where we belong. . . . Give me the man who is not afraid to tell the truth and he's my man no matter what political party he may espouse. Let it not be said, "A truth teller finds the doors of political preferment closed against him."¹³

Unfortunately, this was to be a prediction of his own political downfall. His penchant for bringing what he considered to be "dirty" politics to

¹¹Ibid.

¹²"Want a Woman Policeman," Democrat, Feb. 5, 1914, p. 5; "Democrats in Convention," Democrat, Mar. 30, 1916, p. 1.

¹³"Clean Politics," Democrat, Sept. 9, 1915, p. 1.

the attention of the public in the pages of his newspapers would make him many political enemies in local government, and they would engineer his exit from public office in 1916.

Albach also abhorred political influence-peddling: "Political 'rings' were built around a 'boss' in the party in power and only those who would bend their knee to 'Baal' were admitted to the pie counter," he wrote, referring to political favors as a slice of the pie. "The man, or woman, who will fight fair and in the open has no chance for success against the methods of a political ring." Writing this as commentary on a national political scandal, Albach no doubt had the Lawrence politicians in mind also, whom he had referred to in the past as part of a local "machine."¹⁴

Albach has been characterized variously as a quiet man who never raised his voice, "not a proposer of action," and as an extremist whose volatile articles on the war cast a suspicious light on the rest of the German-American community of Lawrence.¹⁵ The truth probably lies somewhere in between. He apparently was well thought of in local Democratic circles, running for the State Legislature in 1910, running for probate judge of Douglas County in 1912, and holding the position of chairman of the Douglas County Democratic Central Committee in 1916. He was campaign manager of J. B. Billard's unsuccessful bid for the state gubernatorial nomination in 1912 and was put on the Kansas ballot as the Democratic candidate for state auditor in 1916, an honor he refused.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Albach correspondence; Rowe interview.

In January 1918, Governor Arthur Capper appointed Albach as a delegate to the War Council in Topeka, which was held to coordinate regional forces for effectively carrying out the government's war program.

(Kansas had been chosen by the national council of defense as one of six strategic areas nationwide for holding war councils.) Albach was also chosen as a representative of the local Elks' Club and the German-American community to address the audience at a citywide loyalty meeting held April 5, 1917, the day before the U. S. Congress declared war on Germany.¹⁶

Still, Albach was undoubtedly a frustrated Democratic office-seeker in a Republican stronghold, losing the race for the State Legislature in 1910; losing the election for probate judge in 1912; losing in 1915 the postmastership he thought that he deserved for service to the Democratic party when a local official gave it to someone less controversial; and losing reappointment in 1916 to the one public office he did hold, that of police judge, in a political squabble with Mayor W. J. Francisco.¹⁷ It is understandable that he would give vent to

¹⁶"Our County Ticket," Democrat, Oct. 13, 1910, p. 4; Lawrence (Kan.) Daily Journal-World, Nov. 6, 1912, p. 1; "Democratic Ties," Journal-World, Aug. 9, 1912, p. 1; Democrat, Sept. 28, 1916, p. 2; Democrat, June 16, 1916, p. 4; "Local Briefs," Democrat, Jan. 10, 1918, p. 1; Albach correspondence.

¹⁷The loss of the postmastership is unfortunate from a historical standpoint. Had Albach been postmaster in 1917 when Congress passed the Espionage and Trading With the Enemy Acts, he would have been responsible for proofing his own German-language newspaper for pro-German content in ruling on the continuance of its second-class mailing permit. See Harry N. Scheiber, The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960), pp. 17-20; Democrat, Nov. 10, 1910, p. 1; Journal-World, Nov. 6, 1912, p. 1; Democrat, Sept. 30, 1915, p. 1; "City Commission Makes Appointments," Journal-World, May 4, 1916, p. 1.

his frustration in the pages of his newspapers. The cause and effect regarding the war and the Anglo-American press's attitude toward Germany would have been much the same, leading him to attempt to strike a balance with the other Lawrence papers in presenting Germany's side of the issues.

Albach seems to have been a generous man. He occasionally performed legal services for friends without asking for payment. He apparently allowed subscriptions to the Germania to run on unpaid for years, although his patience snapped in 1918 with the suspension of the newspaper, and he demanded immediate settlement of those accounts in the suspension notice. He sometimes wrote, in defending himself against what he thought was unfair criticism, that the critic was a friend, and he seemed disappointed that they had treated him unkindly. On one occasion, he even provided copies of his articles to a man who later used them to denounce him for disloyalty in the Journal-World.¹⁸

The suspension of the Germania and the end of the war brought to a close a trying period in Albach's life, that of bilingual editor in a community that no longer appreciated his efforts. His newspapers had never been profitable, he said in an interview at the end of his career, but that was not the reason he had bought them. He was not a man to put financial security above all else, twice giving up good-paying jobs on matters of principle. As a young husband, he had left the lucrative life of traveling salesman because his wife did not want

¹⁸ Albach correspondence; "Germania Quits After 43 Years Publication," Journal-World, Sept. 5, 1918, p. 1; Democrat, Sept. 30, 1915, p. 1; "Patriotic Doctrine," Journal-World, Jan. 19, 1918, p. 2.

him on the road, and had bought a dry goods store in Lawrence with a friend. The store failed in the face of stiff competition, but the partners did not file bankruptcy claims for ethical reasons and spent the next twenty years paying off their debts. After that unfortunate episode, Albach became chief clerk of the Fraternal Aid Association (predecessor of the Standard Mutual Life Insurance Company of Lawrence), which also paid a good salary, but he "severed ties" with it in 1908 for undisclosed reasons. (He later entered into a heated editorial exchange with the Journal-World over bankruptcy proceedings at the F.A.A., in which he accused the company of trying to cheat its policy holders. This is possibly the reason for his abrupt departure from the company.)¹⁹

In January or February 1910 Albach founded or bought a daily newspaper called the Lawrence Democrat²⁰ in order to champion the cause of the "opposition element" in Douglas County and to "hold an arrogant majority

¹⁹ Journal-World, Feb. 24, 1943 (clipping from the Henry Albach file, University of Kansas Alumni Association); Albach correspondence; "Albach Family"; "It Hurts Business," Democrat, May 7, 1915, p. 1; "Influence," Democrat, May 13, 1915, p. 1; see also other issues of the Democrat in May and June 1915 for more on the F.A.A. bankruptcy case.

²⁰ Details vary as to the founding of the Democrat, with most sources giving Albach credit for establishing the paper on October 13, 1910. According to an announcement in that issue, however, Albach had been publishing the paper for nine months as a daily and the October 13 issue was the first as a weekly. The announcement says that the Daily Democrat had "gone to its grave" after two years' existence, which supports the idea that Albach bought a daily Democratic newspaper founded by Joseph (Jim) Fugate in 1908. Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives, The History of Kansas Newspapers (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives, 1916), pp. 179-80; Dary, Lawrence, Appendix A, p. 368; untitled article and "Many Thanks, Brady," Democrat, Oct. 13, 1910, p. 1; Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, 2 vols. (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1912), 2:1579; "Press Helped in Kansas Struggle," Douglas County Clippings, vol. 4: 1921-1930, Kansas Historical Society, pp. 175-76.

in check." In October he changed the Democrat to a weekly because running a daily was too great a financial and physical burden. He had acquired the Germania, established in 1877 by Gottlieb Oehrle, in 1902 and was its third editor. According to an unsubstantiated account, then-mayor A. L. Selig had bought the Germania and presented it to Albach on the condition that he publish official notices in it at normal rates. According to the story, the Lawrence dailies had formed a monopoly to charge inflated rates for printing these notices, and the mayor wanted to break that monopoly. But according to an article in Albach's first issue as editor of the Germania, a group of leading German citizens had formed a corporation to buy the newspaper, which thereafter listed Albach as editor and publisher. If the former story has any element of truth, however, then Albach definitely got into the newspaper and printing business on the wrong foot. That, combined with his open criticism of local politicians, may indeed have caused a "secret boycott" of his business, as he contended in 1915.²¹

This series of political, financial and social setbacks seems to have drained Albach's energy and made him somewhat bitter. He turned down the nomination as candidate for state auditor in 1916 for "lack of time and loss of interest." He tired of fighting for his honor and that of fellow German-Americans and suspended the Germania in August 1918 because "pressure has compelled us to suspend. . . . Opposition against us is too strong." He wearily berated local Germans for not standing

²¹"Wir nehmen Abschied," Lawrence (Kan.) Germania, Sept. 5, 1902, p. 4; "Albach Family."

up to pressure: "When even our German citizens fear to take the paper, why should we trouble further about it?"²² And the effects seemed to stay with him for many years. An article he wrote for the Democrat in 1922, "Ignorance and Malice," defending the loyalty of German-Americans even at that late date, was reprinted in the Democrat in 1941, because Albach felt again the "spirit of hatred against every citizen of German extraction."²³ Most historians agree that there was very little persecution of German-Americans during World War II, but Albach apparently never forgot his bitter experiences of the first war. By 1941 he also had lost his wife to heart trouble, and was himself nearly blind with glaucoma and cataracts. He would close down the Democrat in 1942, because, with the lack of manpower caused by the war, he no longer could run the presses by himself.²⁴

Four decades of battling seemingly insurmountable odds in representing the Democrat and German-American minorities in print have gone almost unnoticed in the histories of the Lawrence and the Kansas press. And yet this son of Lawrence settlers, whose family home and commercial building still stand,²⁵ who represented the dilemma loyal German-Americans experienced in World War I and lived it out in the pages of his newspapers, typifies the legendary independence and determination of many Lawrence natives.

²²Journal-World, Sept. 5, 1918, p. 1.

²³Democrat, Aug. 21, 1941. p. 2.

²⁴"Albach Family"; Albach correspondence; Journal-World, Feb. 24, 1943.

²⁵Stacy A. Jeffress, "1701 Tennessee: The Albach House," unpublished paper, 1984, Watkins Community Museum, Lawrence, Kan.

CHAPTER III

ALBACH THE DEMOCRAT

Henry Albach was born into a "democratic" family and supported the Democratic party all his life. (He used the word "democrat" to mean both one who believes in democratic principles and one who is a member of the Democratic party.) His father, a tradesman and anti-monarchist, instilled democratic beliefs in young Henry with tales of the German revolution of 1848 and the flight to freedom in the United States. Albach referred to his heritage on many occasions, in editorials he wrote for both the Democrat and the Germania. He wrote in 1915:

A man's politics, and his religion, grow on him and it is just as natural for a boy to follow in the footsteps of his father in one case as it is in the other. . . . So with politics, we were raised a democrat because we were taught that salvation of the average man, or woman, for the attainment of civil rights were bound up in that political division of our body politic.¹

Speaking to a citywide audience at a meeting held on April 5, 1917 to demonstrate Lawrence's loyalty to the country, he said:

My father was a 48er. He took part in the uprising of the year 1848 against autocracy in Germany and was compelled to flee for his life after the revolution was crushed. . . . Is there one here who would assume that any love for royalty dwells within me?²

¹Democrat, Sept. 9, 1915, p. 1.

²Albach, "Address."

Albach defined a democrat thus:

When the term democrat is applied in its broad sense it means equality. Your real democrat recognizes the fact that men are by nature free and equal and but one law should be enacted for all the inhabitants of state and nation.³

To him, militarism and autocracy were two of the world's primary evils. The caste system of royalty and nobility was grounded in militarism, secret diplomacy and the waging of war, he thought:

Abolish the royal indigents and the titled nobility and you'll abolish most of the incentive for war. . . . Militarism means autocracy, because the system and discipline are based on autocratic authority.⁴

Therefore, it was not hard for Albach to accept the idea of entering the war to fight against the monarchical governments of Europe, if he based that decision on his democratic ideals:

The European system is based on the assumption that the government is all powerful, all pervading, and can demand everything of the individual even his life, with or without his consent. The American system, never in all its history assumed such powers for the government. . . .

Nationalism has entirely superseded individualism in Europe. Love of country, its flag and its institutions is based, and rightly so, on love for its ideals, its homes and firesides. Nowhere is this truer than right here in our own beloved Republic. We are all Americans united on American Ideals ready and willing to sacrifice our lives on the holy shrine of human liberty.⁵

Albach at that time wisely dropped a condition for entering the war that he and other German-American editors had earlier set forth: that German-Americans would willingly fight for the United States in the event of

³ Democrat, May 14, 1914, p. 1.

⁴ Albach, "Address."

⁵ Ibid.

a defensive war.⁶

Albach often wrote editorials against graft and influence-peddling in government and advocated voting for the best man regardless of party membership. On the personal level, he sometimes found this maxim hard to follow. He wondered publicly in the Germania why local Democrat Herman Broeker had appointed a Republican to the position of deputy (probably deputy sheriff) when there were plenty of good Democrats around.⁷ But generally, he tried to follow his conscience and support those who he thought were doing a good job in office or chastise those who he thought were using their political influence to profit personally. This attitude made him many political enemies in Lawrence and Douglas County, particularly when he printed his opinions on the front page of the Democrat. He did himself no good by taking J. D. Bowersock, one of Lawrence's wealthiest men, publicly to task for using his influence to get the new bridge approach built on Bowersock's land.⁸ Incidents like these probably cost him the postmastership in 1915; it was given to a lesser Democratic functionary who would not cause so much trouble.

Albach was bitter over his loss of that post and, in an article titled "Political Pull vs. Political Service," he complained that the appointee was a nobody in local politics and did not deserve the post. He, on the other hand, had twenty-five years of faithful service to

⁶"Du Deutsch-Amerikaner," Germania, Oct. 8, 1915, p. 4.

⁷Germania, Dec. 3, 1915, p. 4.

⁸See the Democrat for September 1915.

the party, had come through for the party in the last election by obtaining all but one of the available seats on the county commission for Democrats, and had the backing of twelve of the fifteen county commissioners for the position. He blamed his loss on T. J. Sweeney of Lawrence, "federal patronage dispenser" for Douglas County. A few weeks later, he wrote an editorial, "Swimming With the Current," in which he said he had been told that his independence had cost him the political post and was also costing him business by way of advertising accounts for his newspapers. But he refused to change his ways.⁹

A few months later, in May 1916, the city commission declined to reappoint Albach as police judge, the only willing incumbent to be turned out of office. Albach and then-mayor W. J. Francisco had had a series of run-ins since Albach took office in June 1914, and that is the most likely reason for the dismissal. (The Journal-World had referred to this political feud on different occasions.) The final confrontation between Albach and Francisco took place in April 1916, when Albach, as police judge, tried to overrule an order by Francisco to drop charges against a young man arrested for speeding. No reason for Francisco's order was given in newspaper accounts, but the man had given "John Doe" as his name, leading to speculation that he was a member of a prominent family.¹⁰ There had been a similar incident in the

⁹Democrat, Sept. 2, 1915, p. 1; Democrat, Sept. 30, 1915, p. 1.

¹⁰"John Doe Plead Not Guilty," Journal-World, Apr. 1, 1916, p. 1; "When Is a Case Dismissed?", Journal-World, Apr. 7, 1916, p. 1; "That Our People May Know," Democrat, Apr. 13, 1916, p. 1; Journal-World, May 4, 1916, p. 1; "Professional Courtesy," Democrat, May 11, 1916, p. 1.

fall of 1914 when a police officer arrested five prominent men for gambling. The men had given fictitious names, posted bond, and forfeited their bond by failing to appear for trial. The arresting officer was fired without cause in May 1915 and was denied a hearing before the city commission, which was his right, according to Albach. The officer told Albach that he thought it was the arrest of these five men that led to his dismissal, and Albach ran an editorial about it in the Democrat.¹¹ In the "John Doe" case, Albach accused Francisco in the Democrat of wielding too much power over the police department by appointing to the force only special officers, who then served at Francisco's will. He said that Francisco had not made one regular appointment to the force since taking office as mayor. He implied that the officer making the arrest and signing the complaint in the "John Doe" case was pressured by Francisco and the police chief into signing a dismissal request, which barred Albach from arraigning the speeder on a bench warrant. (The Journal-World, however, reported that Albach had "cut the Gordian knot" of the controversy and agreed with the mayor's actions after receiving the dismissal request from the police officer.) Albach was less diplomatic in the Germania, calling Francisco an autocrat who was taking the law into his own hands and saying directly that the officer would have lost his job if he hadn't repudiated his own testimony. Albach was forced out of office three weeks later.¹²

¹¹"Mr. Heflin Displeased," Democrat, May 20, 1915, p. 1.

¹²"A Word of Advice," Democrat, June 8, 1916, p. 1; "Case Finally Dismissed," Journal-World, Apr. 8, 1916, p. 1; "Er ist Autocrat," Germania, Apr. 14, 1916, p. 4.

The Journal-World accused Albach of threatening the mayor with ouster proceedings if he was not reappointed police judge for a second two-year term. Albach replied in the Democrat that that alternative had been suggested on behalf of another city employee (whether by Albach or someone else is unclear) and that any testimonials and petitions made on his behalf were unsolicited.¹³

There is a difference of opinion as to what actually was done to try to keep Albach in office, depending on whether one reads the Democrat and the Germania, or the Journal-World. The Journal-World, a Francisco supporter, reported that first a warning to reappoint Albach had been sent to the mayor in a "carefully roundabout way." Later a petition was filed with the city commission on Albach's behalf. When it was clear that Francisco had no intention of reappointing Albach, according to the Journal-World, "stronger measures were resorted to," including the retention of an attorney who was looking into alleged violations of office by the mayor and a possible recall election. (The two violations mentioned were that Francisco had not taken the oath of office at the beginning of his second term and that he had not filed a statement of election expenses in accordance with a law that had gone into effect a few weeks before his reelection.) The Journal-World called the threat blackmail, reporting that if Albach were reappointed, the ouster proceedings would be halted. Francisco gave a statement in the same issue of the Journal-World, saying that he was not a lawyer,

¹³"Threats Used to Secure Office," Journal-World, May 4, 1916, p. 1; Democrat, May 11, 1916, p. 1.

did not know about the new law and did not have any campaign expenses to declare. He did not address the question of having failed to take the oath of office. He said that he would not be intimidated into making appointments he did not "deem to be for the best administration of the city's business." Anyone was welcome to prosecute him if they so wished.¹⁴

Albach wrote that the whole affair was a political move taken to remove him from office because he did not agree with Francisco, and he said that he was told by a Francisco crony a few weeks before the end of his term: "We've got you fixed." His own argument against Francisco was based on the handling of police department affairs, the validity of Francisco's special police officers, and his dismissal of appointees without a hearing before the city commission, which was ultimately responsible for those appointments, not the mayor. Albach said that the ouster threat against Francisco on this occasion had in fact been made by supporters of his successor, C. S. Finch, who wanted to assure that Albach was removed from office, not reappointed. Furthermore, he wrote, the rumors that he had attempted to have Francisco ousted the previous year were started by a prominent Lawrence Republican, who had wanted Albach to sign a letter to the attorney-general. No further details were given, but Albach refused to sign the letter. He wrote that the Journal-World and the Lawrence Daily Gazette, also a Republican paper, had intentionally published false information about this last incident, although he had offered to provide them with proof of his

¹⁴Journal-World, May 4, 1916, p. 1; "Statement From the Mayor," Journal-World, May 4, 1916, p. 1.

version.¹⁵

It is not clear whether there were three attempts to remove the mayor from office or only two, nor is it clear which version of the "John Doe" incident more accurately reflects the truth. Apparently there were enough citizens in Lawrence who agreed with Albach to file a petition with 1,151 signatures in February 1917, asking for a mayoral recall election to be held in conjunction with the spring primary elections on March 13. Whether Albach was involved in drafting and circulating this petition is not mentioned in any of the accounts, but he spoke on behalf of all signers at a special meeting of the city commission, called on February 9 to consider the request. Although the commission did consider the petition seriously, it eventually rejected it on a technicality of law, and the signers apparently did not try to revive the recall action with a new formulation of the document. Albach reported tersely in the Democrat on February 15 that the recall election had been ruled illegal.¹⁶

This political battle, which had lasted almost a year, effectively ended Albach's career as an officeholder and seemed to have dulled his interest in active political participation as well. It was shortly after his removal from the police court that he turned down the candidacy for state auditor, which the Democratic delegation from Kansas offered him. He cited loss of interest as one of his reasons for

¹⁵Democrat, May 11, 1916, p. 1; Democrat, June 8, 1916, p. 1.

¹⁶"Recall Laws May Come In For Test," Journal-World, Feb. 2, 1917, p. 1; "Table the Petition For Mayor's Recall," Journal-World, Feb. 10, 1917, p. 1; Democrat, Feb. 15, 1917, p. 1.

refusing.¹⁷

In his opinions on national issues, Albach was just as independent as he was at the local level. His biggest challenge during the war era was Woodrow Wilson. Although most German-Americans came to abhor what they perceived to be Wilson's pro-British stance during the days of neutrality, Albach remained true to the standard-bearer of his party. Depending on the issues involved, however, Albach found his loyalty to Wilson wavering between enthusiastic support of his domestic policies and lukewarm criticism of his foreign policies. He never outright denounced Wilson, but Wilson's less than wholehearted espousal of a truly neutral neutrality and his distrust of "hyphenated citizens" sorely tested Albach's patience.

Albach had not supported Wilson for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912, but had voted for Missourian Champ Clark. By 1914, however, he was quite enthusiastic about the former professor:

Mr. Wilson is the most refreshing proposition that has disturbed the political atmosphere in a generation. He has shown himself a good democrat because he is bigger than his job, he is bigger than mere party bounds. . . . we have long since reversed our opinion of the scholar in politics. . . . Agree with him or not you'll admit that Woodrow Wilson is a man among men, an American of whom we are all proud.¹⁸

His enthusiasm was checked somewhat in the summer of 1914 when war broke out in Europe. Wilson had called into question the loyalty of the "hyphenated Americans," particularly that of the German- and Irish-Americans, many of whom publicly hoped for the defeat of England by

¹⁷Germania, June 16, 1916, p. 4.

¹⁸"Practical Ideas," Democrat, Feb. 5, 1914, p. 1.

Germany and the Central Powers. An editorial sharply critical of Wilson's remarks appeared in the preprinted pages of the Germania (i.e., those pages written and edited in St. Louis) in August 1914, asking why Wilson had not questioned the loyalty of those Americans who supported England, which was equally a violation of neutrality. Did Wilson think, the editorial said, that Americans of German heritage could ignore the insults to Germans appearing in the "Anglophile" press, which portrayed them as bloodthirsty, cowardly and brutal? Musn't those insults apply also to them? The writer did not need Wilson's advice to remain loyal and did not "give two hoots" whether Wilson was comfortable or uncomfortable with hyphenated labels; German-Americans intended to continue using the hyphen. Albach took a slightly softer line in his own editorial appearing in the same issue, giving Wilson credit for delivering the right message (i.e., do not take sides in this conflict), but criticizing him for delivering it to the wrong audience. Family ties to the homeland were completely natural, Albach wrote, and to expect anything less from German-Americans was unnatural. Wilson's pleas would fall on deaf ears, Albach said, and it would be more effective if Wilson would warn those with no family ties not to take sides. They were the worst offenders of the neutrality, according to Albach. He was not pleased when Wilson insisted on adding a plank against "hyphenated Americans" to the 1916 Democratic platform, and he complained that other citizens were allowed to say what they liked, but German-Americans had to keep quiet or they were not honorable citizens.¹⁹

¹⁹"Giesst Oel ins Feuer," Germania, Aug. 28, 1914, p. 2; Germania, Aug. 28, 1914, p. 4.

Albach had criticized Wilson for his stand on German-American disloyalty before and he thought that the president had abandoned one of the most fundamental of democratic principles, that of free speech. In an editorial written on October 14, 1915, Albach wrote about "American Citizenship":

It is the constitutional right of every citizen to hold and express opinions even to the extent of criticizing our own government in its policy and we should resent the charge of treason that some newspapers are placing against such opinions. Such a charge is unjust, unamerican and clearly strikes at the root of free speech.²⁰

Albach was disappointed in Wilson's failure to support the German-Americans' right to express their sympathy with Germany.

Generally, Albach supported Wilson on domestic issues that arose during the war, such as rural credit to farmers to increase food production, and suffrage for women, which Wilson thought should be left to the individual states to approve.²¹ And initially Albach sympathized with Wilson's difficult position in trying to keep the United States out of the European war. He wrote in May 1915:

Not since the days of Lincoln has a president been compelled to carry such a load of responsibility. It is an easy matter to criticise the president but very few men in this republic could go through so many nerve and soul-trying ordeals that have been the lot of the quiet, studious and conscientious man now inhabiting the White House.

Wilson had indeed had his hands full with the Mexican Revolution and questions of American neutrality in the thirty months since his election

²⁰Democrat, Oct. 14, 1915, p. 1.

²¹"Congress Still At It," Democrat, Aug. 3, 1916, p. 1; "President Wilson and Suffrage," Democrat, Aug. 24, 1916, p. 1.

to the presidency. He also had lost his wife, who died in August 1914.

Place yourself in his position, gentle reader, and if he does not agree with you in this speech or that, in this state paper or that, always remember that it is not the man Woodrow Wilson that is speaking or writing; but the president of a people trying to uphold the honor of this republic and at the same time hold the confidence and respect of the conglomerate mass called American citizenship. . . . And in all this controversy stand by your president, he is your government, and is giving the best that is in him to preserve the peace of the republic.²²

But as the war in Europe dragged on and Wilson continued his attacks on those who sympathized with Germany, while tolerating in silence those who sided with Britain, Albach began to criticize the administration for its inconsistency on neutrality and its weakness in allowing the munitions makers of Wall Street to push the United States toward war. Like most German-American editors, Albach thought it unfair that the U. S. government would allow Britain to break international law by controlling all neutral trade on the seas and blockading the German coast, while condemning Germany for using its new weapon, the submarine, to break the blockade and to sink British ships carrying neutral passengers when these ships also carried contraband. As a local agent for the Norwegian-American shipping line, he pointed out that there were enough opportunities for Americans to travel to Europe on neutral ships and that the Norwegian-American ships were seldom filled to capacity although they sailed directly to Liverpool from New York.²³ His attitude toward the sinking of the British

²²"A Cross to Bear," Democrat, May 20, 1915, p. 1.

²³"United States Makes Demands," Democrat, Apr. 20, 1916, p. 1.

ship Lusitania in May 1915, in which 115 Americans were among the 1,150 killed, was also much the same as that of other German-American editors: he deplored the loss of life and did not exonerate Germany completely, but he called it an act of war and said that the British were just as much to blame for carrying ammunition on an unarmed ship. Furthermore, neutral American passengers had been warned not to travel with vessels of belligerent countries, and they specifically had been warned not to travel with the Lusitania. Albach did give Wilson credit for keeping the United States out of the war after the Lusitania disaster, but called him "wrong, eternally wrong" in his demand to Germany to stop its submarine warfare or risk a diplomatic break with the United States. He said that Wilson's only reason for demanding this unfair cessation of justified, defensive submarine attacks was Wilson's ties to the big-money interests of the munitions manufacturers, and Albach encouraged Germania readers to write their senators to "stop the vampire of Wall Street in its bloodsucking trade."²⁴

Albach was also against the president's preparedness plan, unveiled in early 1916, which meant raising an army, building warships and manufacturing other war materiel. Compulsory military service was against Albach's inherited principle of antimilitarism. Not even Theodore Roosevelt, the militaristic bane of the German-Americans' existence, had as yet advocated a standing army, he wrote. Such an institution would breed snobbishness and cost the taxpayers billions

²⁴"Verrückte Ansichten," Germania, May 14, 1915, p. 4; "Horrors of War," Democrat, May 13, 1915, p. 1; "Wilson und die Waffenfabrikanten," Germania, Jan. 28, 1916, p. 4; Democrat, Apr. 20, 1916, p. 1.

of dollars, he said. Albach tried to blame the Republicans for forcing the plan on Wilson. They had run out of things to criticize Wilson for, he wrote, because the president's domestic policies had been successful, and so they had taken to calling Wilson a coward in his foreign policy regarding the war. But Albach refused to "follow Wilson into the Republican camp," and he resisted the changes in the platform at the risk of being called a traitor for not supporting the president.²⁵

In any case, as the election neared in 1916, Albach's editorials became increasingly more supportive of Wilson, although he insisted that he would retain his prerogative to criticize. If he filled his columns with "gush" for Wilson's policies, his readers might discount any real merit he attributed to the administration in an election year, he wrote in response to a prominent Kansas politician who had called Albach "shy" in his support for the Washington administration. He grudgingly endorsed Wilson in the Democrat in June 1916, shortly after the Democratic convention had nominated Wilson for a second term and in spite of the president's "hyphenism" plank:

The editor is today and always has been a Democrat and is proud of the record of our party but we think President Wilson made a mistake when he insisted on a strong plank against the "hyphenated citizens" at St. Louis. We will support the democratic ticket but we know that plank will cost Mr. Wilson a million votes he would otherwise have received.²⁶

²⁵"Watchman, What of the Night?", Democrat, Feb. 3, 1916, p. 1.

²⁶Democrat, Oct. 14, 1915, p. 2; "Poor Politics," Democrat, June 22, 1916, p. 1.

As the months before the election wore on, Albach's support of Wilson again became more enthusiastic. In August 1916 he wrote his editorial, "The Man At the Helm":

The various elements of our citizenship have exerted such influence as was within their right (and sometimes influence beyond such right) in order to reach the man at the helm. From all these quarters much pressure has been yielded, openly and secretly, upon the administration at Washington to take sides in the world's great war. Is it any wonder that one lone figure, upon whom rests the sole responsibility, should at times yield to pressure and make compromises with this side or that. The preparedness program is one of these compromises, it reverses a well established democratic principle. . . .

We have freely indulged in criticism, moved by our sympathy for the land where both parents were borne [sic], impelled by our admitted prejudice for Germany and her allies, yet with the history already written between Washington and Berlin, and between Washington and London, we must admit that President Wilson deserves credit for one great accomplishment: "HE HAS KEPT THE NATION OUT OF WAR." ²⁷

Albach also endorsed Wilson, if less enthusiastically, in the Germania, almost unheard of for a German-language paper in the 1916 election. They were nearly all solidly for the Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes. Albach recommended that his German readers take the "lesser of two evils" and vote for Wilson, who at least had a proven record and had kept the United States out of the war. Hughes, he warned, almost certainly would invite Roosevelt, who had a war-mongering, anti-German reputation with German-Americans, into his cabinet. Albach reminded his audience that both candidates were of English heritage and that they, the readers, should understand from their own experience why the two politicians would favor England in the conflict. He did not mention Wilson's hyphenism plank. A few

²⁷ Democrat, Aug. 10, 1916, p. 1.

weeks later, Albach tried to convince readers of the Germania that the Republican party actually was less interested in neutrality than the Democratic party in an editorial titled "Some More Republican Logic." In it he discussed House Resolution 231, submitted by the Republican representative Gardner, which blamed the war on the Central Powers and congratulated France and her allies on their military successes. It also called for the discouragement of any peace treaty that did not make clear that "violations of the law of God and man" would be punished. Albach contrasted this document with Wilson's notes to both England and Germany in his attempts to mediate, and asked who was the better American.²⁸

By "The Last Call" in November 1916, Albach could recommend with "no hesitancy" that his readers vote for Wilson. He called the president a "real Democrat in the fullest meaning of the term," high praise indeed from Albach. He listed several domestic policy successes, as well as Wilson's ability to keep the United States from entering the war, and said that "that fact in itself should cover a multitude of sins of either commission or omission."²⁹

Albach did not gloat over the reelection of the president. Wilson had won Kansas's ten electoral votes, and he also had won the popular vote in Kansas, though not overwhelmingly (314,353 to 276,372 for Hughes). The Journal-World reported the day after the election that Wilson had carried Kansas by 15,000 votes, although the totals

²⁸"Wie Soll Man Stimmen?", Germania, Oct. 6, 1916, p. 4; Germania, Oct. 20, 1916, p. 4.

²⁹Democrat, Nov. 2, 1916, p. 1.

it gave showed him winning by only 10,000 votes. Albach reported somewhat more accurately a day later that Wilson had won in Kansas by 30,000 votes. (The delay in receiving the hand-tallied results no doubt contributed to the variance.)³⁰

Albach surmised that it was Wilson's stand on peace that contributed to his reelection. He rejected the idea that new women voters had carried Kansas for the president, pointing out that there were several hundred Progressive voters in the state who had refused to follow Roosevelt back into the Republican party and who no doubt had voted Democratic. Douglas County went solidly Republican, not only for local and county candidates, but also for Hughes. Albach noted sarcastically:

Douglas County maintained its ancient reputation as a conservative community and elected the entire republican [sic] county ticket with but two exceptions. . . . Douglas County is likely the most rock ribbed republican [sic] county in the state. We still have some people here who persist in charging the democratic party of 1916 with upholding slavery and some more who persist in voting as they shot.³¹

Now that the election was over, however, Albach intended to return to his normal independent stand on issues. He told his Germania audience on November 9: "Because we have not always been in accord with the views of the president, we will continue our criticism in the future,"

³⁰ Edgar Eugene Robinson, The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934), pp. 200, 402; "Wilson Carries Kansas By 15,000," Journal-World, Nov. 8, 1916, p. 1; "County Officials Canvassed Votes," Journal-World, Nov. 15, 1916, p. 1; "Die Wahl," Germania, Nov. 10, 1916, p. 4.

³¹ Germania, Nov. 10, 1916, p. 4; "Our County Election," Democrat, Nov. 9, 1916, p. 1; "The Women Did It," Democrat, Nov. 16, 1916, p. 2.

a promise he followed through on.³² Although he pledged to stand behind the president when Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in February, saying that it was an unavoidable step and that Wilson appeared to be "much depressed" at having to take it, Albach apparently still hoped the break would not lead to war. He applauded Wilson's "peace without victory" speech in January as "a speech that will go down the pages of time with the greatest utterances ever delivered by any statesman in the world's history," and put the president on a pedestal above the "petty, selfish, commercial greed underlying the action of nations today."³³ He did not criticize Wilson's decision on April 6, 1917, to enter the war, probably because he had been asked as a member of the Elks' Club and as a representative of the local German-Americans to speak at the loyalty meeting held in Lawrence on April 5. It may have been somewhat easier for Albach than for other German-American editors to quickly change his tune, since he was already solidly on record as a Wilson supporter. He used the occasion of his speech to express his, and other German-Americans', loyalty; to reiterate his abhorrence of the monarchical system of government, militarism and war; and to defend the German people against charges of brutality and barbarity.³⁴ But he resumed selective criticism of U. S. policies well after the declaration of war, even though he

³²Germania, Nov, 10, 1916, p. 4.

³³"The President Takes the Step," Democrat, Feb. 8, 1917, p. 1; "An Epoch in the World's History," Democrat, Jan. 25, 1917, p. 1.

³⁴Albach, "Address."

agreed in principle that fighting for the overthrow of the European monarchies was a worthy cause for Americans to fight for. He called the war news now received from the government "bombast and bluster" and said that it was not worth the readers' time. He wanted to know how Wilson was going to justify England's interference in Greece, forcing the abdication of the king, with his own professed desire to save the world for democracy. He criticized Wilson's establishment of a national shipping board to control all exports to belligerent and neutral countries, and said that the United States was in effect taking over the British blockade, thereby helping to starve seventy million German civilians. And he asked who was running our government when England and France requested that American Red Cross units operating in those countries not admit Americans with German names.³⁵ It is certainly this sort of commentary that led to increasingly vitriolic comments about Albach's loyalty in the Journal-World during 1917 and 1918.

America's entrance into the war had an effect on Albach's papers, of course, particularly on the Germania. The six pages sent from St. Louis initially contained the same amount of war news as they always had, but that news was less partisan in its support for Germany and more neutral in reporting battles won and lost. On one occasion the war news was divided into several units, first the "German Report" (via London), then the British, French and Russian reports, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the reliability of the

³⁵"War News," Democrat, Apr. 19, 1917, p. 1; "Poor Little Greece," Democrat, June 21, 1917, p. 1; "U. S. Will Control Shipping," Democrat, June 18, 1917, p. 2; "War Talk," Democrat, July 5, 1917, p. 1.

information. On October 26, 1917, the front page of the Germania printed entirely in English the "War Review, Compiled From Authentic News of Military Events," obviously government-approved reports.³⁶ By December 1917, war news had disappeared from the pages of the Germania forever, probably in response to the Espionage and Trading With the Enemy Acts of June and October. The acts prohibited criticism of the U. S. government or its allies, and required foreign-language newspapers to file translations of any news stories covering the war.³⁷ Albach reported in March 1918 that the Germania had been held up twice in the Lawrence post office until he had signed an oath. He had had to swear that the issue in question contained no editorial or other article about the government in Washington, any belligerent country, their domestic or foreign policies or other war news, unless that article was printed in English. That apparently was enough for Albach to change the content of the paper, because he told his readers in German: "Now our readers can see how careful we must be in this matter. Our mouth is closed to further criticism."³⁸

Instead, the Germania returned to what it had been before the war, a medium devoted to perpetuating German language and culture. The front page became a compilation of reports on German-American social and cultural activities around the United States. The inner pages were devoted to recurring features, such as "Flur Farm und Garten,"

³⁶"Vom Kriege," Germania, Oct. 12, 1917, p. 1; Germania, Oct. 26, 1917, p. 1.

³⁷Scheiber, Wilson Administration, pp. 17-20.

³⁸"Müssen Maul halten," Germania, Mar. 1, 1918, p. 4.

and serial novels in the German language. Albach continued to make commentary on the pages left to him, but it was increasingly devoted to local news and editorials on city politics, printed both in German and in English. He used more reprints from the Democrat than he had in the past and printed articles obviously emanating from the government, such as those by the National Crop Improvement Association, or one in German called "True Patriotism," which was a plea from the Treasury Department to buy Liberty bonds. Even the translation of that article, circulated by a government department, had had to be approved by the U. S. Post Office.³⁹

Albach more or less turned his attention to local and national domestic politics in both his newspapers to avoid further interference from the post office, although no one other than the Journal-World seemed to be interested in what he printed in the Democrat. What he wrote in the Germania was a different matter. The United States' conversion from neutral to belligerent had an effect on the citizens of Lawrence, and the town experienced a change in its attitude toward German-Americans. Much of the hostility was aimed at Albach, who was the most visible of the local Germans. He was busy enough in 1917 and 1918 reporting the local war to miss reporting the world war.

³⁹"Wahrer Patriotismus," Germania, Apr. 12, 1918, p. 4.

CHAPTER IV

ALBACH THE GERMAN-AMERICAN

The turn-about in Americans' attitudes toward Germany with the beginning of the war bewildered German-Americans. There had been little political antagonism between the two countries in 140 years and, as late as 1907, the American scientific community considered the German "race" to be a superior one, ranked second only to the Americans and ahead of the English. That Americans should suddenly call the Germans "barbarians" and English "saints" seemed beyond understanding. Frederick Luebke says that this anti-Germanism corroded the self-esteem of German-Americans and goaded many to compensate by strengthening their ethno-cultural loyalties. They made new demands that their rights be respected and their views recognized.¹

One result of these strengthened ties was the increased circulation of German-language newspapers in the early years of the war. Whereas the German press had been dying a natural death at the turn of the century as second- and third-generation immigrants became increasingly integrated, it experienced new life in 1914 as German-Americans turned away from the pro-British attitude of the English-language press. There was an overwhelming conformity to the coverage of the European war by German newspapers as they reacted similarly to charges of brutality and

¹Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), pp. 65-66, 151.

aggression against the German people and attempted to balance the gruesome picture painted by the Anglophile press.²

German-Americans in Lawrence reacted much as did their compatriots around the country in this regard. The circulation of the German-language newspaper serving Lawrence and Douglas County, Henry Albach's Germania, jumped from five hundred in 1910 to fifteen hundred in 1915.³ This increased interest in the newspaper almost certainly reflects a desire to read the German version of the conflict and not a suddenly renewed interest in Deutschtum (Germanism). Albach had been fighting the deterioration of German culture and language in Douglas County since he acquired the Germania in 1902, and the "critical year" for German language in the county, reflecting the point at which the mother tongue no longer dominated among Germans, is given as 1910. But in 1914, although generally well integrated into the population and uninterested in maintaining ethnic ties to each other any longer, the Douglas County Germans were drawn to the Germania for news of their former homeland when the English-language papers failed to supply this need.⁴

²Park, Immigrant Press, p. 318; Carl Wittke, "The Tragedy of War and the Darkest Hour of the German-Language Press in the United States," in Arndt and Olson, The German Language Press, 3:740-41.

³These numbers seem to be somewhat optimistic. In 1915 the German population of Douglas County was 1,648 and of Lawrence, 549. Albach's son Robert, who helped in the print shop, said that the number of papers printed never exceeded two hundred. The published circulation figures may represent instead Albach's estimation of the number of people who actually read each issue of the Germania. Arndt and Olson, The German Language Press, 1:160; U. S., Department of Commerce, Thirteenth Census, vol. A, pp. 602, 619; Albach correspondence.

⁴J. Neale Carman, Foreign Language Units of Kansas, Vol. 1: Historical Atlas and Statistics (Lawrence, Kan.: The University of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 126-27.

There had been settlers of German heritage in the county almost from its founding in the 1850s, Albach's family among them. One of the first settlements was at Eudora, founded in 1856 by the German Settlement Society from Chicago, and the town was the most important German community in the county.⁵ Lawrence, however, had received its German contingent in bits and pieces over the years, and the group never was to attain the clannish character that many of the religiously organized immigrant groups elsewhere in the state had. Individual immigrant families, many of whom had fled the German revolution or military service, as Phillip Albach had, were more attracted by Lawrence's reputation as a stronghold of freedom than by any sense of ethnic solidarity in the fledgling community. The Germans established themselves in the county as farmers and tradesmen, and were renowned, particularly in Lawrence, for their savvy as businessmen. Many of the businesses founded in Lawrence by German immigrants still thrive today. Although they had their Turnverein (gymnastic society), which also provided a focal point for social activities, the Lawrence Germans were otherwise difficult to organize, as Henry Albach discovered when he tried to encourage them to take more interest in politics. He accused some of them of being "too good" to join in the German activities, and he said that one good Irish voter was worth ten German voters when it came to political acumen.⁶

⁵Dary, Lawrence, Appendix B, p. 377; Carman, Foreign Language Units, p. 126.

⁶"Der deutsche Tag," Germania, Oct. 9, 1903, p. 4; "In anderen Händen," Germania, Sept. 5, 1902, p. 4; "Der Deutsch-Amerikaner," Germania,

Albach was especially concerned about the deterioration of language skills among second-generation Germans. He agonized often in the early years of his editorship over the lack of interest among the younger generation in maintaining the ability to speak their parents' language. One of his professed purposes in taking over the Germania was to give them a chance to read German. He had abandoned this crusade by 1914, but the rejuvenated interest in the newspaper because of the war must have pleased him. Throughout the United States, many German-American papers were saved from extinction because of the war, and many editors actually welcomed the war as a rallying point for disintegrating German communities. Their zeal in promoting pride in Germanism was often overdone, and it is therefore somewhat misleading to assume that all German readers favored the pro-German political stance taken by these editors. A large majority were probably motivated to read the German newspapers because of their wish to know what was happening to family and friends left behind in Europe.⁷

In the early days of the war, in the summer of 1914, German-American newspapers saw no need to hide their pride in the smart military units of the Kaiser's army and did not think twice about announcing their sympathy for Germany. The war reports emanating from the Germania's news source in St. Louis, which filled six of the paper's

May 6, 1904, p. 4; "Unser County Deutschtum," Germania, Sept. 4, 1904, p. 4; "Unser Deutschtum und die Politik," Germania, May 12, 1916, p. 4.

⁷"Der Kansas Deutsch-Amerikaner," Germania, Mar. 4, 1904, p. 4; Germania, May 6, 1904, p. 4.

eight pages, were unabashedly chauvinistic in their support for the Fatherland. Young men who had earlier served in the German Army, some now American citizens, loyally returned to fight for the Kaiser.⁸

Lengthy feature articles on recent European history sought to remind readers that Germany, through a series of secret defense treaties among England, France and Russia, was surrounded by enemies and was fighting only for its preservation. Albach seemed to subscribe to this theory, running an article called "Teuton or Slav?" twice in the same issue, once in German and once in English, in which he said that Germany had tried to prevent the war by assuring Russia that it would hold Austria back from any action in Serbia; the Russians, he wrote, would not guarantee the peace on this basis, and Germany was therefore compelled to protect its borders against the Russians. France, locked in a centuries-old struggle with Germany over disputed border territories, and England, jealous of Germany's alarming commercial and military progress, had used the opportunity to exact revenge on Germany by coming to the aid of their Russian treaty partner. The real issue in the war, he said, was whether Germany's liberalism and progress would prevail over Russia's ancient feudal system; it was a war for the preservation of German culture, and Americans should be careful not to pronounce judgments against Germany that they might have to retract later. In the Democrat he went even further and predicted that if the Slavic population of Europe ever threatened to take over the balance of power,

⁸"He Promised to Return, So He Goes Back to Kaiser," Democrat, Aug. 20, 1914, p. 8; "Fallen on the Field of Honor," Democrat, May 17, 1915, p. 3.

England and France would be the first to unite with Germany against them because "blood is thicker than water."⁹

Throughout 1915 and 1916, when it became apparent that the war would drag on, war coverage in the German newspapers entered a second phase, and the editors found themselves having to justify their opinions more and more. Albach tried to walk the middle ground between blatant pro-Germanism and abandonment of his ethnic heritage. He admitted his sympathy for Germany based on the "accident of birth" and his experience among the German people as a child:

The writer was born here in Kansas during the civil war but his parents both come from Germany and our sympathy in this war is primarily with our relatives across the water, but let it be known right here that we are not in sympathy with the system in vogue over there.¹⁰

He made this announcement in the Democrat, so there was no attempt to hide his true feelings from Anglo-Americans in the pages of the Germania. Still, Albach undoubtedly found himself in a position like that in which many other German-American editors found themselves: not rabidly pro-German enough to suit some readers, not patriotic enough to please Anglo-Americans or Germans who wished to maintain a low profile. The niche he had carved for himself in the world of Lawrence journalism enhanced that difficulty. He was well known in town as an outspoken champion of the Democratic party and as a Wilson supporter; he was also

⁹ Germania, Aug. 14, 1914, p. 4; "The Real Issue," Democrat, Aug. 13, 1914, p. 1.

¹⁰ Albach's wife was also born in Germany and emigrated to the United States with her parents at the age of twelve. "A Diplomatic War," Democrat, Feb. 17, 1916, p. 1; "Albach Family"; Connelley, Kansas, 3:1567.

known (in his own words) as an "agitator" for a unified German-American community.¹¹ Until the war, his interests were not at odds with each other, but in 1914 he suddenly found himself having to balance one ideal against the other. It was not that he considered his philosophy as a patriotic American, active in politics, to be inconsistent with his emotional support for Germany so long as the United States remained neutral. But as the war continued, Albach found that he continually had to reiterate his position to both his audiences, defending himself and German-Americans in general against charges of disloyalty, while reserving his right as an American citizen to freely criticize the government.

Albach tended to ignore daily reports on the progress of the war in the Democrat, since he could not compete with the Lawrence dailies on timeliness. He also must have known that the readers of the Democrat had little interest in hearing the German battle reports, which invariably disagreed with the sanctioned English/American version in the rest of the American press. The Germania, however, received highly partisan details of battles and troop movements, as well as editorial comment, from the German news service in St. Louis, information that German readers could not obtain from American sources. This preprinted material often could be inflammatory. A column called "Topeka Chat," which was supplied by St. Louis and was not local material, said after the Lusitania disaster that the "hotheads" demanding war were not considering the fact that most German- and Irish-Americans

¹¹Germania, Sept. 4, 1904, p. 4.

would not join with England to fight Germany. This was in contradiction to what Albach was assuring Lawrence residents, that German-Americans would respect their oath of loyalty if the government called upon them to fight. A year later, the column reported the celebration at the Topeka Turner Club over a recent German sea victory and announced a second celebration for those who had not been able to attend the first one. The writer hoped that their next celebration would be the fall of Verdun.¹²

Albach did not shun war issues in the Democrat, writing editorials on the violation of neutrality by the English and pro-English Americans, and the constitutional right of German-Americans to hold their own opinions about the war. He defended German-Americans against charges of bloc-voting at the behest of the Kaiser, ironically admitting his own defeat at trying to mold the local German community into a single voice. (He seemed as surprised as anyone when the majority of German-Americans united behind Charles Evans Hughes in the 1916 presidential election.) He also defended the German Army against charges of brutality in the Democrat and tried to convince Americans that they were partly responsible for the sinking of the Lusitania. At the same time, he urged everyone, including German-Americans, to "keep cool."¹³

¹²"Topeka Plauderei," Germania, May 14, 1915, p. 8 and June 9, 1916, p. 8; Germania, Oct. 8, 1915, p. 4.

¹³"A Catch Phrase," Democrat, June 15, 1916, p. 1; "Wants to Investigate," Democrat, May 4, 1916, p. 1; "Republican Logic," Democrat, July 27, 1916, p. 1; "Das Deutschtum ist einig," Germania, June 16, 1916, p. 4; Democrat, May 20, 1915, p. 1; "Comparisons Are Odious" and "Horrors of War," Democrat, May 13, 1915, p. 1; Democrat, May 20, 1915, p. 1.

The town of Lawrence seemed to ignore these issues through 1916, perhaps because the majority of Kansans, and Midwesterners, were non-interventionists and crusaded for peace rather than for war. Eleven thousand Kansans signed petitions against Wilson's preparedness plan after he visited Kansas in February 1916 to raise support for it, and Governor Arthur Capper himself actively worked for the peace movement until the United States entered the war. Many Kansans also opposed the draft and the declaration of war when it finally came.¹⁴

Perhaps the attitude of Lawrence citizens would have been different if they had been able to read the Germania. Albach was less circumspect in his choice of words in the German paper, calling the editor of the daily Gazette an "Anglophobe" (he meant "Anglophile") and German-hater for his views on the Lusitania episode, and inquiring of a local banker what sort of financial pressure Lawrence Germans could wield if they decided to withdraw their money from institutions making loans to England or France. The banker replied: "If our people would only stick together, they could have a proper influence." He also printed several poems by the Eudoran Adolf Lutz that sang of German glory and victory. In "Hail, Germany," Lutz wrote:

You arm yourself with shield and sword,
Honor has called you to the field.
Only when Foe's defiance is cured,
And envy and lies to truth do yield
Will peace rule o'er the world.

¹⁴Edgar Langsdorf, "The World War I Period," in Kansas: The First Century, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1956), pp. 49-52; Herbert Pankratz, "The Suppression of Alleged Disloyalty in Kansas During World War I," Kansas Historical Quarterly 59, No. 3 (Autumn 1976) pp. 277-307.

My Germany, our hearts beat warm
 For you in holy war.
 Hail, Germany, in want and harm
 May God protect you, and His arm
 Lead on to Victory's door.¹⁵

Remarkably, this sort of partisanship went unnoticed or unanswered until 1917. Through the end of 1916 Albach did not report a single instance of harassment against a local German. He complained about the unneutral attitudes of many Americans and proclaimed the loyalty of German-Americans as a group, but he had no complaints about the treatment of local Germans. According to Albach's son Robert and Elfriede Fischer Rowe, whose father was a Lawrence businessman, the town more or less ignored the war until shortly before the U. S. declaration in April 1917. References to the "war" made by both sources always referred to the period after that. There apparently was no overt trouble with the local Turnverein, of which Albach was a member and which required its members to be U. S. citizens. Both Albach and his son, as well as Mrs. Rowe, have described the Turner Club as a strictly social organization, and Robert Albach has said that the club was on the decline by the war period anyway.¹⁶ Nor was there a protest when German doctor John Rudolph, who was serving as county health officer at the time, established a local branch of the "Sons of Hermann," a fraternal order devoted to the promotion of German culture, in 1916. Albach reported on the meetings of the group

¹⁵Germania, May 14, 1915, p. 4; Germania, Oct. 1, 1915, p. 4; Adolf Lotz, "Heil, Deutschland," Germania, Apr. 30, 1915, p. 4.

¹⁶Albach correspondence; Rowe interview; Germania, Dec. 18, 1903, p. 5; Rowe, "War Nerves," pp. 120-23.

and urged membership in it. Even the Journal-World had no comment at that time about German activities in Lawrence or about Albach's pro-German sympathies, but seemed to be more interested in Albach's stand on other political issues.¹⁷

Despite Albach's opinion about the relatively weak influence of the German "bloc" in Lawrence, there were a number of leading citizens with German backgrounds, including wealthy industrialist J. D. Bowersock, fire chief Wilhelm Reinisch, county health officer John Rudolph, and several merchants, among them Otto Fischer, F. W. Barteldes, Philip Ernst and William Wiedemann. And it was probably their influence as integrated German-Americans that kept tempers low-key during the early stages of the war. In fact, there may have been many Lawrence "natives" who quietly agreed with Albach that the Americans should remain neutral. A man named Samuel Kelsall wrote to Albach in June 1915 (after the Lusitania disaster, when public outcry against Germans reached a peak) that he admired the position Albach had taken on the "European question." Although he was of British background, Kelsall wrote, contact with Albach had led to "seeing in each other noble qualities and . . . we are advancing to that point where we place humanity above national or party lines."¹⁸

¹⁷Germania, Apr. 28, 1916, p. 4; Luebke, Bonds, p. 43; Journal-World, Jan. 9, 1918, p. 1; Germania, June 24, 1916, p. 4.

¹⁸"To Appoint Reinisch Later," Journal-World, May 5, 1916, p. 1; Albach, "History of the Turnverein"; Irene Lukasch, "The German Heritage in Kansas and Missouri," unpublished paper, 1979, Watkins Community Museum, Lawrence, Kan.; "We Thank You," Democrat, June 10, 1915, p. 4.

At most, Albach partly blamed his dismissal from the police department and Otto Rost's "easement" from the position of athletic director of Lawrence public schools in 1916 on their German background, but his point was that German-American voters were at fault for helping to reelect a city commissioner known to agree on every issue with Mayor Francisco, Albach's political archrival. It hardly could be considered anti-Germanism, because fire chief Reinisch was reappointed (and his position expanded to full-time) and another German-American was appointed athletic director at the same city commission meeting that saw Albach and Rost leave the employ of the city.¹⁹

Charges of spying and sabotage against local Germans began almost simultaneously with the U. S. declaration of war against Germany on April 6, 1917. Perhaps it was a case of too many protestations of loyalty in the early months of the year as the United States moved ever closer to the final break with Germany. Although Albach and many other German-American editors had assured their readers earlier that the German-Americans would be loyal in the event of war, national German organizations began making formal statements of loyalty as soon as Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany over resumed submarine warfare in February 1917. The Journal-World reported without editorial comment the pledge of the German-American National Alliance, which had been investigated for disloyal activities by Congress in 1916, that it would support the president in his decision to break off rela-

¹⁹"Known As a Pull," Democrat, May 18, 1916, p. 1; Journal-World, May 5, 1916, p. 1; "Reber Athletic Director," Journal-World, May 2, 1916, p. 8.

tions with Germany, that it would form regiments from among its reported three million members to fight for the United States, and that it would make available to the Red Cross all the funds it had collected for German war relief. Albach reported the same day that German-Americans knew the sanctity of their oath of allegiance and that citizens of "other national extractions" need not worry about their loyalty. A week later, he reported the statement of the national Turner organization, the North American Gymnastic Union, which phrased its pronouncement more carefully: its platform, endorsed by the local Turnverein, advocated the settlement of international disputes in a harmonious manner and pledged its support to President Wilson in all his efforts to prevent war. Various important citizens, including Chancellor Frank Strong of the University of Kansas, gave testimonials to the loyalty of German citizens and urged others not to alienate "the fine loyalty of German-Americans by misdirected patriotism."²⁰

Lawrence held a loyalty demonstration on April 5, one which began with a convocation at the university and was followed by a parade and speeches in the afternoon. Additional speeches were given in the evening for those who could not attend the afternoon rally. Mayor Francisco announced the nature of the event: "We want to show that Lawrence is not behind in patriotism, that she is loyal to the flag and the nation. We all deplore war, but if it has got to come

²⁰"Pledge Their Support," Journal-World, Feb. 8, 1917, p. 1; Luebke, Bonds, p. 269; "Why Should We Worry," Democrat, Feb. 8, 1917, p. 2; "Our German-Americans," Democrat, Feb. 15, 1917, p. 2. D. O. McCray, "German-Born Americans Loyal to This Country," Journal-World, Apr. 3, 1917, p. 4.

we want it to be known over the whole country that we are willing to do our share." Resolutions of loyalty to be sent to President Wilson and Congress were adopted.²¹ Albach was asked to speak at the evening meeting. In his speech, he reminded the audience of the many contributions of German-Americans to the building and defense of the country. He talked about his dislike for the system of government prevalent in Europe, a system founded on the precepts of monarchy and military. He talked about the difficult position of German-Americans in being asked to fight against brothers, uncles and cousins serving in the Germany Army and asked for tolerance and understanding, because America was asking more of its German citizens than of any others.²² He reported to the readers of the Germania afterward that the speech was enthusiastically received, and that there were some in the audience who had expected him to urge loyalty to the Kaiser. But he also reminded Lawrence citizens that there were those in the county who did not habitually make a display of their emotions and that they should not be judged too harshly if their exuberance did not meet the expected standard.²³

Unfortunately, the warning fell on some deaf ears and there were accusations from the very sources who had urged tolerance in the

²¹"Plan For Patriotic Meeting," Journal-World, Mar. 28, 1917, p. 1; "Patriotic Meeting Set For April 5," Journal-World, Mar. 29, 1917, p. 1; "Lawrence Unites in Patriotic Show," Journal-World, Apr. 5, 1917, p. 1; "The Loyalty Meeting," Democrat, Apr. 12, 1917, p. 1.

²²Albach correspondence; Albach, "Address"; Robert Albach, who attended the meeting with his father, says that Albach interspersed his talk with amusing anecdotes, but they have not been preserved.

²³"Pflicht und Treue," Germania, Apr. 6, 1917, p. 4.

first uncertain days after the declaration of war. The day after the loyalty demonstration, the Journal-World reported on page one that a Baldwin City, Kansas, man had been arrested as a spy and that it was the "first arrest in Douglas County as a result of pro-German activity." The man had arrived from Germany without his family six months before and had opened a cobbler shop. The money in his Kansas City bank account was said to come from German sources (a natural state of affairs for a recent immigrant with a new business). He said that he left Germany to escape the military, but he had been heard to curse the American government. There was no follow-up story on the case, so it is not known whether the man was prosecuted.²⁴

About a week later, Albach reported harassment of local German-Americans for the first time and said that it was a manifestation of the antagonism that had been going on elsewhere for three years. He warned his readers in the Germania not to criticize the administration in Washington or its foreign policy, but told them they need not be afraid to defend themselves against lies. He said that the Germania would always be willing to "go to bat" for them and that he was convinced it was only a handful of "jokers" in Lawrence who were behind the harassment. A local resident remembers that, although there were no overt incidents in Lawrence at the time, there was an underlying feeling of unease, and that her father had told the family, "We're Americans, not Germans, so don't spout off." The woman shunned for the duration of the war a friend who was too outspoken in her views, and her sister

²⁴"Take Baldwin Man Suspected As a Spy," Journal-World, Apr. 6, 1917, p. 1.

was prohibited from corresponding any further with a German pen friend, even after the war was over. The father recommended that his wife volunteer to sell Liberty bonds, which she did.²⁵

There are other indications that the atmosphere in Lawrence became one of suspicion. Reports of un-American activities began circulating. The tension was heightened by the announcement that foreign-born citizens with first citizenship papers would not be allowed to take out their second (and final) papers for the duration of the war. Some of these people had received their first papers as many as thirty years before and, receiving with them the ability to vote as well as other privileges of citizenship, had neglected to file for final papers. An amendment to the Kansas constitution subsequently withdrew their right to vote, adding to their humiliation.²⁶

The Journal-World, in the first days after the war declaration, ran editorials and testimonials proclaiming that no finer people than the Germans could be found, and that the United States was fighting the Kaiser, not them. Albach reminded his German readers again that they must be as tolerant of Americans as they expected Americans to be of them, but he also pointed out to Americans that one would not have to scratch very far beneath the surface of their skin to find an immigrant. "The accident of birth is a mighty poor foundation for any free-born citizen to build a reputation upon. Let your character be your foun-

²⁵"Lügenpack," Germania, Apr. 13, 1917, p. 1; Rowe interview.

²⁶"Plots Galore," Democrat, Apr. 19, 1917, p. 1; "Local Briefs," Democrat, Jan. 17, 1918, p. 1; "Register Aliens February 4 to 9," Journal-World, Jan. 17, 1918, p. 1; Luebke, Bonds, p. 255.

dation and forget the idea of American 'blue blood.'" But he reserved the right to sympathize with Germany: "Loyalty means allegiance to the government; sympathy means love for a cause or a people. Either trait of human nature may be exercised without reference to the other."²⁷ Albach increasingly printed such editorials in the Democrat, because they were meant to reach American readers. The Germania, in both its news service and local content, returned more and more to its prewar function as a source of exposure to the German language and became less and less a political forum.

There was a turn for the worse in the city's atmosphere in early 1918. The hysteria against all things German was reaching its peak across the nation, and the mass circulation magazines were full of warnings to Americans to beware of their German-speaking neighbors and to stamp out German culture in the United States for good. Interest groups of all kinds used charges of pro-Germanism against their political enemies to further their own causes. Beer drinking was painted by the temperance movement as "a very significant form of pro-German friendship." The horrible barbarism of the German armies was due, the charges continued, to their "centuries of beer drinking, which has deadened their moral sense and coarsened their moral fibre until barbaric tragedies have become a delight and brutalities have been reduced to a code. . . ."²⁸ The teaching of the German language was especially

²⁷"Loyal Americans," Journal-World, Apr. 17, 1917, p. 4; "Who Are You?", Democrat, Apr. 19, 1917, p. 1.

²⁸A few of the more commonly cited magazine articles were written by well-known journalists: Frank Perry Olds, "Disloyalty of the German-American Press," Atlantic Monthly 120 (July 1917) pp. 136-40;

suspect, because it was assumed that love of Fatherland and Kaiser was absorbed automatically with the classic phrases of Goethe and Schiller. Several Kansas towns, including Dodge City and Ellsworth, banned the teaching of German in the public schools, and Kansas Governor Henry Allen, as late as 1919, declared that German must be barred from all elementary schools. Cooler heads prevailed in Lawrence, at least at the university, where neither German language study nor German classical music was banned.²⁹

The German-language press was seen as the natural perpetrator of Deutschtum in the United States (a well-founded, but paranoid, notion). It is perhaps for this reason that Albach, as editor of the local German newspaper, became the focus for hateful charges of disloyalty in the pages of the Journal-World. Undoubtedly the history of antagonism between him and the editor of the Journal-World, W. C. Simons, on political issues inflamed tempers, and Albach's record of support for Germany in the first three years of the war, practically ignored at the time, may have seemed in retrospect to be good cause for charges of sedition. The pot had begun to simmer with the declaration of war and it boiled over in the summer of 1917. Albach chastised the Journal-World in July for believing and playing up rumors of German plots to

Samuel Hopkins Adams, "Invaded America," Part I: "Poisoning the Press," Everybody's Magazine 37, No. 6 (December 1917) pp. 9-16, 86; George Harvey, ed., "Enemy Speech Must Go," from "Peril of the Future," The North American Review 207, No. 6 (June 1918) pp. 811-14; Journal-World, Jan. 14, 1918, p. 2.

²⁹Kirk Mechem, ed., The Annals of Kansas, 2 vols. (Topeka: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1954), 2:207, 213, 220, 232.

blow up plants, or of German-American plans to join the hordes of German soldiers expected to invade the east coast. He called these articles hateful, insulting and based on hearsay, and said the Journal-World was "assuming a lot of things."³⁰

The Journal-World paid him no heed, and in January 1918 it reported on page one that an attempt had been made to blow up the Bowersock power plant in Lawrence:

This may be a case where a miner accidentally left a stick of dynamite where it became mixed with the coal, but following the destruction of many plants over the country, it looks more like the work of German agents. . . . The use of dynamite in mining is strictly against orders and mining rules and therefore it is more likely that the charge was placed in the [railroad] car with malicious intent, than that it was accidental.³¹

The charges in its editorial of the same day, "Time To Be On Guard," were even more incredible:

It perhaps would seem to you a trivial matter to the German government to elect the mayor of Lawrence this spring, something that would not be worth while, but study the matter closely and you can see that it might mean the appointment of disloyal police and the countenancing within the city of German spies. It might lead to the destruction of property. . . .

The evidence of pro-Germanism has been apparent in Lawrence to every one who is in touch with the town and it has been expected that the pro-German influences will be exerted, under cover, at the spring election. . . . The Journal-World knows positively that as long as three years ago German influence was exerted to secure patronage for

³⁰"War Talk," Democrat, July 5, 1917, p. 1; "The Rules of Evidence," Democrat, July 5, 1917, p. 4.

³¹"Looks Like Attempt to Blow Up Plant," Journal-World, Jan. 7, 1918, p. 1.

Germans in Lawrence under the plea that "We Germans must stand together."

. . . while there have been no overt acts, enough has been known to suggest the existence of an active pro-German influence in the city.³²

Albach was incensed. In an editorial run in both the Germania and the Democrat, called "Fie Upon Such A Diatribe," he wrote:

The meanspirited, cowardly attack upon the honor and integrity of many of our best citizens can only emanate from a mind poisoned by hatred and inspired by pusillanimity. . . . Fie upon you and do abeyance in sackcloth and ashes for your evil spirit.³³

He noted the contributions to the war effort of Lawrence Germans (who, among other things, headed the Liberty loan campaigns and the local draft board) and challenged Simons to turn over to Fred Robertson, U. S. attorney for Kansas, the names of alleged spies and plotters. The Journal-World the next day turned Albach's words back around to reflect what it thought to be his own suspicious behavior:

It seems queer that every time anyone mentions the necessity of guarding the property of the nation from destruction at the hands of enemy aliens, some one always see [sic] in it an insult to Loyal German Americans. As a matter of fact the loyal Americans heartily approve of such actions and it is only those whose acts are not above suspicion who object.³⁴

A few days later, the Journal-World directly charged Henry Albach with unpatriotic behavior:

³² Journal-World, Jan. 7, 1918, p. 2.

³³ Democrat, Jan. 10, 1918, p. 1; Germania, Jan. 11, 1918, p. 4.

³⁴ Journal-World, Jan. 11, 1918, p. 2.

Henry Albach appears to be greatly worried because the Journal-World has asked the voters to beware of pro-German tricks. But if you will read the editorials he wrote two or three years ago you will find that he took the same stand about preparedness, about protecting American shipping and lives on the sea, about protecting American property from German agents. . . . From the beginning of the war until now Albach has held that everything against Germany has been exaggerated or is wrong and for everything Germany has done he has offered an excuse. The Journal-World will leave it to the government authorities to watch Mr. Albach, but with many others it has become tired of the sort of unpatriotic insinuations and inuendoes [sic] that constantly fill his paper. The Journal-World repeats that Albach has damaged the position of Germans in Lawrence a hundred times more than anything that has been published in the other papers of the town.³⁵

This exchange of insults provoked a response from both sides of the controversy, the German-Americans and the Americans, and it seems that public opinion was mostly against Albach. A well-known German-born farmer, Gus Brune, was the first to respond. "If any of the Germans are dissatisfied with this government, they should leave it as soon as possible," he told the Journal-World. Otto Fischer, owner of Fischer's Shoe Store and Mrs. Rowe's father, was another German-American who thought that Albach was too outspoken and a troublemaker. And a man named Theodore Gardner wrote a long letter to the Journal-World on January 19, in which he said:

I have heard several comments upon your recent editorial with reference to the public utterances of our fellow townsman, Henry Albach. The general consensus of opinion being that in these war times the people of this country are automatically divided into two classes. Those who are for the government and those who are against it. The time for neutrality has passed.

. . . The patience of this government, in putting up with the various species of pro-German propaganda carried

³⁵"Same Old Utterances," Journal-World, Jan. 14, 1918, p. 2.

on in this country by German subjects and sympathizers from Ambassador von Bernstorff [sic] down to the editor of the Democrat, has been sorely tried, and if we would command a measure of respect from a foe who is amenable to no argument other than brute force and frightfulness, in the course of events we shall be compelled to adopt sterner measures than we have heretofore done.

. . . the greatest service Albach could render, not only to the community, but to himself, would be to stop his nonsense, put his shoulder to the wheel in a whole hearted manner and help win the war.³⁶

The charges and countercharges continued for several weeks. Albach defended the honor of the Germans of Lawrence, but he refused to answer charges against himself on the grounds that they were too ridiculous to deserve attention. As to who was for or against the government, the Journal-World's abuse of the president, with the desired goal of seeing the "administration turned topsy-turvy," constituted a graver offense than anything he had been charged with, he wrote.³⁷

There were other charges of disloyalty in Lawrence in early 1918, particularly against merchants who violated a city ordinance to close their shops at 5:30 in order to save fuel, which was in short supply during the winter months. A local citizen wrote to the Journal-World that these "slackers" should be branded as criminals and looked upon as dangerous, and that their businesses should be boycotted. Two men eventually were reported to the fuel administration chairman, but

³⁶"Germans Are Loyal," Journal-World, Jan. 16, 1918, p. 1; Rowe interview; Journal-World, Jan. 19, 1918, p. 2. Gardner is the man who received directly from Albach the articles he used to denounce Albach.

³⁷"Standing By Our Government," Democrat, Jan. 17, 1918, p. 1; "Taking Advantage," Democrat, Jan. 24, 1918, p. 1.

no names were reported in the newspaper and apparently no charges were filed.³⁸ Later in the year, G. W. Kleihege of Lawrence was acquitted in federal court of charges of disloyalty and sedition.³⁹ Adolf Lotz, prominent Eudora businessman and author of several pro-German poems published by Albach in the Germania, found his business painted yellow in June 1918, a means of harassment often used to denounce someone as pro-German. The most serious incident of harassment in Douglas County was the tarring and feathering in Willow Springs township, near Worden, of a German Lutheran minister, who allegedly refused to conduct church services in English and to promote Liberty bond sales and Red Cross donations from his pulpit. There was also a rumor that at a church meeting the minister had asked those loyal to Germany to stand and be recognized. He denied all these charges in a letter to the Germania.⁴⁰

³⁸"Shorter Hours For Merchants," Journal-World, Jan. 10, 1918, p. 1; "Brands Them Disloyal," Journal-World, Jan. 19, 1918, p. 2; "Violated Closing Order," Journal-World, Jan. 24, 1918, p. 1. Lawrence also passed a vagrancy ordinance to help against a shortage of manpower. Arrested vagrants were put to work in the fields or in factories. Langsdorf, "The World War I Period," p. 58.

³⁹"Lawrence Man Acquitted," Democrat, Apr. 18, 1918, p. 1. Kleihege, the Socialist candidate for governor of Kansas in 1914, had been arrested with several others for participation in an antidraft meeting in Topeka on May 27, 1917, and was charged with conspiracy to cause violation of the Draft Act. The jury, obeying instructions of the judge to consider only evidence and not the defendant's views on the war, acquitted him. Pankratz, "Suppression," p. 295.

⁴⁰Judy Sweets, "Little Known Source: German 'Alien' Registration Records," The Pioneer 8, No. 2 (December 1984) p. 57; "Zur Schande der Umgegend," Germania, May 10, 1918, p. 4; Germania, May 17, 1918, p. 4.

There does not seem to have been any wholesale denunciation of German-Americans in Lawrence. It appears that Germans may have gone out of their way to get involved in the war effort, such as Fischer's wife did by selling Liberty bonds, or William Bromelsick, who was chairman of the Liberty loan campaign. Douglas County was listed as having sent more than its quota of volunteer soldiers, and many of them were Germans, Albach's sons among them. The Journal-World even had kind words for the sixty-seven Germans in Lawrence who had to register with the government as enemy aliens, calling them fine old German men and women who were loyal to the core and who were suffering innocently by having to take this step.⁴¹

But the seeds of distrust remained, driving at least one man to commit suicide because of the anti-German feeling. The owner of a popular candy and ice cream store, William Wiedemann, shot himself in 1919, leaving a note behind that said, "This is what propaganda has done." His final letter read in part:

This is my country and my home. I am not pro-German and I am a citizen of this U. S. . . . My friends look and talk as if I were not true to this country, and in a town where I have lived for sixty-two years and we have helped the government, have bought bonds and saving stamps.

. . . I think we have done very well for one family. I hope the public will be charitable to my invalid wife and daughter.

He had listed all his contributions to various war relief drives and to the Red Cross, which amounted to more than seven hundred dollars.⁴²

⁴¹"Prospects of Liberty Loan Campaign in Second District," Democrat, Jan. 17, 1918, p. 4; Annals of Kansas, 2:191; Connelley, Kansas, 3:1567; Sweets, "Little Known Source," p. 58.

⁴²It was commonly believed in Lawrence that Wiedemann had

The Journal-World continued its agitation to discredit alleged "pro-German" candidates in the mayoral election of spring 1918. It insisted in January that the pro-German candidate was soon to be announced. Albach wrote that this was nonsense, that Simons was using the war issue to keep his hold on the city administration by reelecting the current mayor, W. J. Francisco. Charges of danger to local property, should a German mayor be elected, were illogical, Albach said, because local Germans owned the largest stores and factories and would not be likely to blow up their own property. But he recognized the fragility of the issue and went against his own political impulses by refraining to endorse any candidate, for fear of burdening that candidate with the "pro-German" epithet.⁴³ Still, challenger George Kreeck, president of a local bank, had to defend himself publicly against charges of pro-Germanism. His parents, Kreeck said, were born in the United States and he himself was a native Kansan, an American "first, last and all the time." He was in the race to give Lawrence "Clean City Government," he announced in the

never recovered from the death of his son ten years earlier, and that he suffered from depression. Most people believed that this contributed to his suicide. But Wiedemann's own note does not mention his son, citing "propaganda" as the reason. Wiedemann, as an enemy alien, also might have been threatened with government control of his business under terms of an order signed by President Wilson, which required aliens to surrender records to custodians of alien property. If Wiedemann were submitted to this added indignation, it might well have pushed him over the edge. "William Wiedemann, Victim of Delusion," Journal-World, Sept. 9, 1919, p. 1; Rowe interview; Rowe, "War Nerves," p. 122; Luebke, Bonds, p. 256.

⁴³"Will Soon Be Named," Journal-World, Jan. 26, 1918, p. 2; Germania, Jan. 24, 1918, p. 4; "Die Stadtwahl," Germania, Feb. 8, 1918, p. 4; "The Coming Primary," Democrat, Mar. 7, 1918, p. 1.

Germania. Reason prevailed. Francisco did not survive the primaries and Kreeck was eventually elected mayor of Lawrence.⁴⁴

But the climate in Lawrence by then was such that Albach decided that the continuation of the Germania was no longer worthwhile. Two issues had been held up at the post office until he signed an oath certifying that they did not contain material relevant to the war. He received anonymous letters and cartoons in the mail accusing him of disloyalty. He eventually felt compelled to print a sort of testimonial to his loyalty on the front page of the Democrat, although he had earlier rejected such a move as unnecessary. The U. S. Treasury Department had asked Albach's advice in reaching the German citizens of Lawrence "who might be interested in the prospective third Liberty Loan." He responded that a cessation of anti-German propaganda was essential and that German citizens should not be treated differently from other citizens. The chief of the foreign language division of the Treasury replied in February 1918 that unfortunately the government had little control over the circulation of such propaganda. He tried to encourage Albach, however:

Do not become discouraged. On the contrary work all the harder, especially in behalf of the financial war enterprises of the government. . . . You have the assurance of our highest appreciation of your so patriotic interest and valuable co-operation as well as our readiness to ever be ready to assist you.⁴⁵

⁴⁴"To the People of Lawrence," Germania, Mar. 29, 1918, p. 4; Germania, Apr. 5, 1918, p. 4.

⁴⁵"Somewhat Personal," Democrat, Aug. 29, 1918, p. 1; "That Our People May Know," Democrat, Mar. 7, 1918, p. 1.

But public opinion and lack of support among local German-Americans led Albach to discontinue the Germania on August 30, 1918. He cited "opposition" and "pressure" as the reasons and said that German citizens were afraid to take the paper. The Journal-World printed a translated version of the suspension announcement on September 5, feigning surprise at the move: "Just what the 'pressure' mentioned consisted of has not been made public. . . ." The report insinuated that Albach had been watched by the government for disloyal activities. A subhead of the article read, "Editor Albach Had Had Correspondence With Washington Regarding Suspension of Sheet." It smugly reported:

It is known that Mr. Albach has had correspondence with the federal authorities at Washington in regard to Germania and that he was at one time cited to give reasons why the paper should not be forced to suspend.⁴⁶

The incident referred to was Albach's application for a permit to continue publishing, which all foreign-language newspapers had had to apply for under terms of the Trading With the Enemy Act, passed in October 1917.⁴⁷

And so ended one phase of Henry Albach's forty-year career as a newspaper editor. What the inexorable movement of time had begun, the effects of war and propaganda accelerated. The German-language press in Lawrence, Kansas, and around the United States, temporarily revived by war and censorship, was pushed to a sudden death by xenophobia and superpatriotism.

⁴⁶ Journal-World, Sept. 5, 1918, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Germania, Oct. 12, 1917, p. 4; Scheiber, The Wilson Administration, p. 20.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The suspension of the Germania did not signal the end of Albach's newspaper career. Albach still had the Democrat, which he continued to edit and publish until his increasing blindness and the shortage of manpower related to World War II forced him to discontinue that newspaper in 1943. He was eighty years old.¹

The Democrat always had been Albach's main forum; it was in the Democrat that he had free reign to preach the gospel of democracy, so dear to his heart. In it he continued to follow the course of the war, but never with the same attention he had shown before public opinion forced the Germania out of business. For one thing, he probably thought it wise to maintain a low profile: the atmosphere in Lawrence was still tainted with anti-German feeling after the armistice on November 11, 1918 and well into 1919. For another thing, he seems to have lost some of his crusading energy and his editorials seem to have lost some of their bite. He returned to commenting on domestic politics and had little to say about the end of the hostilities, although he followed with some interest the history of the ill-fated

¹Albach had begun to complain of deteriorating vision in 1937, shortly after his wife died. He was diagnosed as having glaucoma and cataracts, but he continued to put out the Democrat, getting around town with the help of his housekeeper and running the printing press by touch. Albach correspondence; Journal-World, Feb. 24, 1943 (KU Alumni Files).

League of Nations, which appealed to his idealism. He gladly hailed the end of monarchical rule in Europe and the founding of social democracy in Germany, but his joy was restrained for reasons known only to himself. Perhaps he had learned his lesson about appearing to be too pro-German; perhaps he truly grieved over Germany's astronomical losses.²

But Albach survived the disillusionment of World War I and went on with his labor of love, the Democrat. It became one of the longest lived newspapers in Lawrence history, possibly the longest under one editor, appearing for thirty-five years. It was the only opposition Democratic paper to survive more than a few years in "rock ribbed Republican" Lawrence.³ Albach could also look back upon a sixteen-year career with the Germania, one of the longest lived German-language newspapers in the state, possibly in the country. The paper had survived forty-one years of immigrant assimilation and was suspended because of external forces; it might have reached the fifty-year mark under Albach's care had World War I not intervened.⁴ He also may have been unique as a German-American editor who simultaneously edited unrelated German- and English-language newspapers.

²"Those Terrible 'Germans'," Democrat, Nov. 21, 1918, p. 1; Journal-World, Sept. 9, 1919, p. 1; "'If the People Only Knew?'" Democrat, July 31, 1919, p. 1; "'Good Bye, Willie'," Democrat, Nov. 14, 1918, p. 1.

³See Dary, Appendix A, for the most recent and coherent survey of Lawrence (and Douglas County) newspapers. Dary, Lawrence, pp. 365-70.

⁴See Arndt and Olson for a state-by-state survey of German-American newspapers between 1732 and 1968. Arndt and Olson, German Language Press, 1:151-67, 2:393-95.

And yet Henry Albach has been all but ignored by press and Lawrence historians, his name rarely mentioned as anything other than the son of pioneer settlers. The name of his uncle George, an invalid killed in his bed by Quantrill's raiders, appears more often in history books.⁵ Different aspects of Henry Albach's life would make interesting studies: his biography as a Lawrence settler; his forty-year career as a newspaperman; or his political career as the Democratic conscience of Lawrence. The Germania would be a good starting point for a study of the German element in Douglas County. In a town known for its numerous newspapers, a town nevertheless dominated journalistically for most of its existence by the Simons family, a study of other successful newspapers and journalists is overdue.⁶

⁵"Albach Family"; Jeffress, "Albach House"; Connelley, Kansas, 3:1566.

⁶Dary, Lawrence, Appendix A., pp. 365-70.

APPENDIX

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. HENRY ALBACH AT THE LOYALTY MEETING HELD
IN THE BOWERSOCK, APRIL 5, 1917, AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS

This is a loyalty meeting. Webster thus defines loyalty: "Fidelity to a superior, faithful to law, upholding lawful authority, unswerving in allegiance." Our government appears to have reached a crisis with the imperial government of Germany; it is not for us to question lawful authority in this matter. I have been requested by the committee to speak here tonight, not entirely as an individual citizen but as a representative of some one thousand of our citizens in our immediate city and county in whose veins flows German blood. In the beginning of my remarks allow me to state that it never was necessary in the past history of this great republic to offer an apology for the loyalty of citizenship of German extraction and it will not be necessary to do so at this time, even though the threatened rupture of amity be with the German empire. I am acquainted with the German character, with German ideals; and if there is one trait that these people possess above all others it is submission to lawful authority. It is instilled into them from the cradle up, in the family life, and there is no more sublime family life than that of the German; German blood has been shed on the battlefields of Europe under the banner of a Spanish Bourbon, under the banner of a French adventurer; as well as under the banner of an English Iron Duke, and no matter where it was shed it was shed in defense of lawful authority. Napoleons [sic] Grand Army into Russia was composed largely of Germans and it was Germans, under Blucher, who came to the rescue of Wellington at Waterloo to place the quietus upon the tyrant of Europe.

It was the pupil of Frederick the Great, of Prussia, Baron Von Steuben, who was the drillmaster of citizen soldiery under George Washington in the battle for freedom of our colonies and it was General Herchheimer, afterwards Americanized to Herkimer, who saved central New York from foreign invasion in revolutionary days. The first regiment fully armed and equipped in the revolutionary war was a German-American regiment in Pennsylvania. And in our own civil conflict our citizens of German extraction were ready and did respond nobly to Lincoln's call for volunteers. Companies, yea, some regiments, were recruited composed almost entirely of German-Americans; and our own townsmen were loyal and true. I have read recently the minute book of the first German social organization in this city, the first Turnverein, established in 1859. They erected a meeting place at the corner of New York

and Tenth streets, and the old frame house still stands. In April, 1861, the civil war began and within less than a year that organization was compelled to disband, sell its hall and quit.

Why do you say? Simply because all but four of its members had responded to the call of Abraham Lincoln to fight for the preservation of the Union. No, the German-American needs no apology on the question of loyalty in the past, and it needs none now. But you say this is different, now we are about to proceed belligerently against the Fatherland.

"A brave man's country is wherever he chooses his abode."

The audience will pardon a bit of personal reference. My father was a 48er. He took part in the uprising of the year 1848 against autocracy in Germany and was compelled to flee for his life, after the revolution was crushed, across the Swiss border. From there he made his way to Paris and New York. It was not until some ten years later, when amnesty had been granted, that he could return to Germany and get mother. They were married and immediately left, came to Lawrence, Kansas, and lived here until their death. Is there one here who would assume that any love for royalty dwells within me? The same thing is true of 90 percent of the Germans who left the home ties behind them to seek peace and happiness in this land of opportunity. But let us not forget that royalty is not confined to the Hohenzoller [sic] family, let us not forget that the Guelph family on the throne of England, the Hapsburg of Austria and the Bourbons all belong to the breed and all are related to each other, in fact the late Queen Victoria was grandmother to most of the incumbents of the thrones of Europe. Then again there is that adjunct to royalty, that bulwark of the European system, the titled and landed nobility, whose votaries boast of "blue blood" of more superior quality than the common herd. I have traveled in England, in France, in Italy, Austria and in Germany and have brushed up against English lords, German Dukes and French counts and they were all "cut over the same last."

All this caste system of Europe rests primarily on military assumption. The sons of the titled nobility wear most of the epaulets in all these European nations, and the people furnish the cannon fodder.

The "business" of diplomacy and war is their chief pursuit, and both are intimately co-related. Abolish the royal indigents and the titled nobility and you'll abolish most of the incentive for war. I sincerely hope that this republic may never "pull the chestnuts out of the fire" for one set of autocrats as against another set of the same breed. But if any and all the autocrats of Europe ever attempt to engraft their system on American soil you'll find the "spirit of 76" rampant from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and it wouldn't surprise me if our neighbors to the north join hands with us in such a struggle.

If it were possible to gather the data you would learn that 75 percent of the emigration from Europe to America was due to the compulsory military service exacted in those countries. A young man of 18 must give three of the best years of his life, years when he

might earn a competence for himself, in the service of his country. During those years he earns nothing, the pay being hardly sufficient to support himself. We have berated Prussian militarism for three years. Let us be consistent in this matter of military compulsion. Let us at least be honest with ourselves. Militarism means autocracy, leads to autocracy, because the system and discipline is based on autocratic authority. I am not saying that such authority is not essential; far from it, for it is essential, for every form of military in action demands an autocrat, a dictator. Rome, in the balmy days of the republic always named a dictator when at war. In all this riot of war, this saturnalia of Mars let us not forget our American ideals, let us not become imitators of a fast waning system, but remain leaders of the new and better civilization wherein TRUTH and RIGHT prevail over secret DIPLOMACY and MIGHT.

I am no "peace at any price" man nor am I opposed to fighting when it becomes necessary for defense, but hope to see the day come when offensive warfare between nations shall be relegated to the historical scrapheap where we have already relegated the Duello, or private warfare. War engenders hatred, jealousy and releases all the baser passions of man. We have already experienced the effect of the war spirit in the metropolitan press. For a century and a quarter we have lived at peace with the German nation and with the German people. Frederick the Great was one of the first monarchs of Europe to recognize our independence. The sympathy of the German nation and the German people was with the Union from 1861 to '65. Our magazine writers, our newspaper correspondents, our university professors, and our statesmen said many beautiful things about Germany and its people. We found less criticism of Germany in the public print of this country than against any European power except Switzerland. But on August 1st, 1914, all this was changed, all of a sudden this land of poetry, music and art became the home of Huns and Barbarians. These people, almost in the twinkling of an eye were the outcasts of civilization, not fit to dwell in this enlightened 20th century. For three years we have been told that these people are to be hated. They are our enemies, and had become so on August 1st, 1914. I refuse to believe this, and though we be in a state of war with these people I refuse to believe that the two boys of my cousin Carl, now in the German army, are Huns and Barbarians, would commit crimes indescribable, even though ordered to commit them. I know better, I lived ten years among these people. All my immediate relatives beyond our own family are in Germany. From my first to my tenth year I have lived with an uncle and aunt who treated me as a child of their own. Their three daughters and two sons were like sisters and brothers to me. These five cousins had seven sons in the German army when the war began. How many are left now I cannot tell. My wife is in a similar position to myself. She does not know how many of her relatives have been killed. The last letter I received was of March, 1916, and I will translate you some extracts that you may realize the horrors of modern warfare.

"Oh, if this horrible war would only end, this everlasting murder. If you could only see the poor soldiers butchered up, some

have lost both legs, both arms, or one leg or arm, some both hands, many are blinded for life, but worst of all to bear is the poor fellows who have lost their reason due to the terrible strain of modern warfare. The lunatic asylums are filled to overflowing. Many parents have lost a son, some two and even three sons besides other relatives. It is a pity that the finest sons of the fatherland, the pride and hope of its future, should lie stretched out cold on the battle field. In our little burg (about 3,000 people) something over 50 have already died on the field of battle."

We have two boys at our home, aged 20 and 18. We are proud of them. They are American boys, Kansas boys, if you please and proud of their land and state. I have taught them loyalty and if it becomes necessary to enter this "Hell of War" in defense of home and fireside I am sure they can be depended on to do their duty, but God grant that they may never be forced to fight against their own cousins on the battle fields of Europe. God grant that their cousins in Europe may never be forced to fight against them on American soil, but should the latter be the case, should any European nation seek to gain a foothold on our sacred soil I would lead my boys into the ranks and go myself, though past the half century mark.

In conclusion, let me admonish you of Anglo-Saxon, Scotch, Irish, Latin, Jew or Slav extraction to remember that in a war of this republic with Germany you are asking more of the Teutons than of any other American, you demand a greater sacrifice of them. "Blood is thicker than water." Place yourself in their position, be tolerant and by all means practice charity, that charity that is lived and loved by a true son of the living God.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The most valuable sources of information about Henry Albach's life during the period 1914 to 1918 were his newspapers, the Lawrence Democrat and the Lawrence Germania. They are found at the State Historical Society, Newspaper and Census Division, Topeka, Kansas. The Society has nearly complete files for both newspapers. The Democrat was the more informative of the two papers, having been edited solely by Albach. In the Germania, only the articles found on pages four and five were from Albach's pen, but knowledge of that fact vastly simplified the identification of his work. I also used the files of the Lawrence Daily Journal-World as a counterpoint to Albach's viewpoints, and I found it most interesting in uncovering events not only related to Albach's life but to Lawrence history as well. These files are located in both the Historical Society, Topeka, and in the Periodicals Room of the University of Kansas Watson Library, Lawrence. (The latter files are on microfilm.)

Biographical information about Albach was pieced together from various sources. The Kansas Collection at the University of Kansas Spencer Research Library provided many volumes of state history, biographies of Kansans and demographic atlases, as well as state historical quarterlies with articles on the war period and Germans in Kansas. The University of Kansas Alumni Association allowed me to use information from files of various members of the Albach family, and it was through them that I was able to contact Albach's son Robert and his grandson Walter. The Alumni

files are a good source for current addresses, photographs and newspaper clippings on personal events (such as job promotions, anniversaries, and deaths) if the subject was a KU graduate. From Albach's son and grandson I received more facts and anecdotes about his life and young adulthood, as well as Robert Albach's impressions of his father and of Lawrence during the war era.

At the Watkins Community Museum, Lawrence, Kansas, I found more information about Albach's family, about Lawrence, and about German-Americans in Lawrence. The director has collected many unpublished manuscripts about Lawrence history written by local residents, KU faculty and students. He was most helpful in making available to me those manuscripts that were related to my topic.

I also read several histories of the German-American people and press. The best overall for thoroughness and insight are those by Carl Wittke: The German-Language Press in America (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1957) and We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1967). Wittke's German-Language Press discusses in detail the problems of the German press during World War I. Arndt and Olson's The German Language Press of the Americas in three volumes (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973, 1976; K. G. Sauer Verlag KG, 1980) is a good source of publishing data on individual German newspapers. It contains a state-by-state survey of nearly every known German-American newspaper in the United States since 1732. Robert E. Park's 1922 book, The Immigrant Press and Its Control (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers), still seems to be the definitive study of immigrant newspapers. Not only does he discuss

the suppression and use of foreign-language papers in World War I, but he also includes a good introductory chapter on the nature of the immigrant press and the psychological need of immigrant groups to communicate in their own language. Frederick C. Luebke concentrates solely on the dilemmas German-Americans faced during the war in Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and the World War (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), a scholarly but readable work. For a good, concise discussion of Wilson's policies during the war and descriptions of wartime legislation affecting the press, see Harry N. Scheiber, The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960). He includes a chapter on Wilson's policies before the United States entered the war in 1917.

Other books I found useful were David Dary, Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas: An Informal History (Lawrence, Kan.: Allen Books, 1982) for the most recent telling of Lawrence history and a coherent list of Lawrence and Douglas County newspapers; Elfriede Fischer Rowe, Wonderful Old Lawrence (Lawrence, Kan.: The World Company, 1971) for anecdotal information about Lawrence told by a German-American; and Kirk Mechem, editor of The Annals of Kansas (Topeka: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1954) for a compilation of news stories from Kansas newspapers organized by year. Although the information given is brief, it is a good source for finding the dates of various incidents, e.g., the passage of laws.

I also read magazine articles from several popular magazines of the time in order to get a feel for the hysteria against German culture and language in the United States. I found articles in Everybody's

Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, The Century Magazine, The Forum, The Nation, The North American Review and many others. Most of these are available in bound volumes in Watson Library at the University of Kansas; others are available on microfilm in the Periodicals Room at Watson.

Sources that I did not use, but that also might be informative, are the files of the Lawrence Daily Gazette, the archives of the Standard Mutual Insurance Company of Lawrence, the archives of the Douglas County Democratic headquarters, and city and county records of business transactions for information related to Albach's business and political affairs.

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