

Making America: The Synthesis of Nationalism and Anti-immigration in the Creation of American Identity, 1914-1919

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Making America: The Synthesis of Nationalism and Anti-immigration in the
Creation of American Identity, 1914-1919

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Abstract

The United States of America underwent a series of political and social changes as a result of the First World War. This thesis seeks to examine the relationship between nationalism and anti-immigration sentiment as a result of wartime exacerbations on these movements and ideologies. The acceptance of immigrants and immigrant culture is directly correlated to the prevalence and intention of nationalism. As the United States attempted to formulate a cohesive and united identity within the early twentieth century, immigrants, particularly immigrants from enemy nations, were increasingly excluded from American identification. As a result, immigrants underwent a series of Americanization efforts in addition to increasing legal and social pressure to conform and confirm their allegiance to their new country. Anti-immigration attitudes and nationalism worked together to reimagine both American society and America's role in global affairs.

Dedication

To my friends and family who listened to me tirelessly and all my teachers and professors
over the years who have always encouraged me

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Thank you to Professor Wilcox. You have been an invaluable asset in this project and beyond. Without your help I would be completely lost.

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List of Abbreviations

APL	American Protective League
AAUP	American Association of University Professors
NBHS	National Board for Historical Services
ROTC	Reserve Officers' Training Corps
SATC	Student Army Training Corps
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

1. Introduction

The United States of America in the early twentieth century was characterized by increasing tension amongst immigrant ethnic groups and native-born Americans. The tension in this period is evident in the rising prejudice as exemplified through government actions and societal responses to immigrants resulted in either ostracizing or attempting to Americanize them. Tension reached a peak during the First World War in which nationalism rose in response to the war effort. As a result, citizens were expected to engage in an active patriotism involving buying war bonds, participating in parades, and most of all remaining vigilant for anything that threatened the United States. The hyper awareness of citizens often translated into suspicion of outsiders, particularly immigrants from belligerent states known as enemy-aliens. These included immigrants from Germany, Austro-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire, but German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants were particularly susceptible to anti-immigration sentiment due to the high volume of emigration to the United States in the decades preceding the war. The extreme environment of wartime society even resulted in pressures on native-born Americans to prove their loyalty through participation in nationalist groups and events. As the war progressed and American involvement increased, the relationship between nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment created an environment that lead to a surprising level of suppression of immigrant culture and freedom of speech as well as the forced integration of immigrants in the undefined “American” culture.

The synergistic effect of nationalism and anti-immigration stems from a national, top down approach as well as a local, bottom up model. Federal efforts for cultivating public opinion

often involved dispersing nationalistic fueled propaganda. Additionally, the federal government engaged in legal suppression through the Espionage (1917) and Sedition (1918) Acts. These affected the ways in which citizens interacted with the perceived domestic enemy: immigrants. While the federal government increased these sentiments, there was a significant grassroots effort by local authorities and civilian groups to root out potential threats to the war effort and through this American society. Local effort often manifested in vigilante type groups such as the American Patriotic League (APL), which had chapters across the United States.

In order to explore the effect of the federal government on society, it will be necessary to analyze official documents and legislature such as the Espionage and Sedition acts as well as some of the legal cases that invoke them. This represents both federal and local efforts through the creation (a primarily federal effort) and enforcement (a joint enterprise) of these laws. Finally, many of these cases rely on civilians reporting suspicious actions, which represents societal pressure present with the United States during the war years. Additionally, the government distributed pamphlets and posters via the Committee for Public Information, which was created during this period to bolster support and morale. Federal efforts for integration of immigrants resulted in the formation of Americanization committees, which endeavored to educate and assimilate newly arrived immigrants.

The body of secondary literature concerning these issues typically either isolates nationalism and anti-immigration sentiment at either a federal or local level or does not overtly connect the two within the analysis. However, understanding the interdependence of the federal and local levels as it affects nationalism establishes a clearer view of how immigrants were perceived during this period. The interplay between the two authorities created a systematic and

comprehensive effort to strengthen nationalism and support for the war, one consequence of which was an increase in tension between nativists and immigrants.

This thesis seeks to explore the relationship between federal and local authority and societal pressure as they relate to the shifting attitudes concerning immigrants and rising nationalism. As in most wartime societies, limitations on civil liberties were enacted for the interest of national security. However, within this era, previous movements, such as nativism and nationalism, garnered more support as Americans increasingly sought a way to unify and present a solid front in the face of international conflict. While there had been campaigns previously to decrease immigration and restrict those already residing in the United States, this became a highly popular idea due to the suspicion of enemy-aliens residing in America. The anxiety over enemy-aliens persisted due to rumors about immigrants spying for their home country. As a result, those immigrant communities and individuals were ostracized until they conformed to standard American culture and behavior.

While wartime fueled these attitudes, they had a history within the United States before the outbreak of World War One. It is only within the context of the First World War that they come to fruition in the form of actual policy and implementation as well as become a social reality as a result of private enterprise. Thus, this thesis will explore what were the conditions in this period that lead to the implementation of these ideas. An example of changing attitudes and behaviors is Progressives such as Woodrow Wilson, who originally ran his presidential campaign in 1913 on the premise of staying out of European affairs, eventually caving to the pressures of interventionists and nativists. This represented the end of isolationism in the United States, thus marking a significant social and political turning point in the nation's history.

American shift in foreign policy reflected a domestic shift in increased nationalistic tendencies as they became institutionalized.

The broader of context of American social and political changes is important to understand how and why these changes in nationalism and attitudes towards immigration and immigrants manifested as they did. Part of the objective of this research is to differentiate how nationalism and anti-immigration attitudes differed in this period as compared to pre-war society. The first chapter of this thesis will focus on defining nationalism and anti-immigration, as they exist within this particular context of American history. It will compare how different peoples conceptualized nationalism and its function within society, especially, as distinguished from patriotism. While often used interchangeably, nationalism and patriotism are differentiated in that the former is often viewed as an excess of the latter. This best exemplified in George Orwell's "Notes on Nationalism" in which the relationship between aggression and nationalism are explored fully as well as patriotism's contrasting characteristics.

Some scholars such as John Higham in *Strangers In The Land: Patterns Of American Nativism, 1860-1925* attempt to differentiate American nationalism within this period as separate from nationalisms native to other countries. This distinction seems tenuous due to its assumption that all nationalisms are inherently attempting to build an omnipotent state and that this was not the intent of the American people. Issues of how nationalism was fostered on the federal and local level with shed light on this issue as well as examining the actual outcomes of its development. The first is readily available within the legal record and government documentation. For the latter, this project will rely on participation in local, private, and unofficial groups as well as the increase in socio-political movements. This will include participation both financially and intellectually supporting the war effort as private citizens.

The suspicion created by these attitudes lead to social pressures for forced Americanization, the topic of the second chapter in this thesis. American culture was an amalgam of various cultures, most notably Anglo-Saxon by their own historical classification, with gradual influence from its various immigrant communities. Nonetheless, in this period, the United States and its citizens sought to solidify a uniquely American identity, separate from its immigrant influence. One way this was executed was through the National Americanization Committee, a private organization founded in 1915 that provided a way to assimilate immigrants into American culture. This was done through providing English lessons and teaching American values and history. German-American Alliances in cities, which had provided a way for German immigrants to hold on to their culture, either disbanded or ceased using the German language, thus giving in to the social pressures to conform. Immigrants, particularly those classified as enemy-aliens, were forced to concede aspects of their culture and identity for the sake of safety within their new communities.

The third chapter of this thesis explores the complex and often contradictory relationship between liberty and compulsion within wartime society. Due to the pressures inherent to fighting a war, the federal government sought to limit civil liberties. National unity and morale were prioritized above personal freedoms and even constitutional rights. This would lead even to reinterpretation of the constitution in regards to the First Amendment. The reinterpretation was done in order to protect conscription. Any speech that had the potential to discourage draft aged men from performing their civic duty was deemed a national security threat and could therefore be limited in the name of safety. Nationalism no longer become an optional feature of citizenship, but was demanded of all residents. Immigrants especially were expected to display their love of the United States as a way of ensuring their loyalty. Nationalist groups garnered

popular support to enforce nationalism across the country. The result was a nation that was ruled by suspicion and marked by contradictions as the United States compromised its foundational ideals for victory.

In addition to suppression and Americanization efforts, federal and local efforts to assimilate immigrants is clearly illustrated through the changes made to higher and lower education in this period. Education within America represents the combined efforts of federal, local, and private authorities wielding influence to introduce nationalism into curriculum. By rewriting history to frame Germany as an aggressive and malicious nation while glossing over America's conflict with Britain, the government attempted to indoctrinate students into viewing Germany as the enemy. These changes were primarily motivated to bolster support for the war and applied at all levels of education. At the university level, War Studies courses were implemented to educate students on the war and its causes, according to the government of the United States of America. The indoctrination of students was important because university campuses double as recruitment centers. The Students' Army Training Corps was an official government endeavor in which students would go to school, living under army conditions, and train for eventual participation in the war.

Utilizing a collection of government and federal documents, newspaper articles, propaganda posters, legislation, and census bureau statistics, as well as a wealth of secondary literature, this study focuses on the institutional reaction to immigrants in this period rather than the immigrant experience through personal journals or firsthand accounts. As a result, this thesis focuses heavily on the societal structure that surrounded immigrants as a measure of attitudes towards immigration. The laws passed and implemented in this period reflect the larger mindset of the country.

This thesis, as a whole, attempts to thread together disparate concepts and efforts into a single narrative about the evolution of nativism and nationalism in America. It seeks to explore questions about the codependence and reliance of nationalism and anti-immigration on each other and whether they could exist without the other. Most importantly, it takes account for the effect of the war on social attitudes. It will analyze the situation from a variety of perspectives from the most broad, federal level to the individual where possible. The evidence used within my research will rely on secondary literature, legislation, propaganda, nationalist groups, case studies, and governmental records to demonstrate the varied ways these attitudes manifested.

Nationalism and anti-immigration sentiment combine in a symbiosis and are often difficult to separate as motivating certain actions or attitudes within America. Nonetheless, examining the two working in unison, but still as disparate concepts, demonstrates the way multiple influences shaped American attitudes during this period. The nativist and nationalist movements were heightened and strengthened by the onset of World War One. Wartime societies often increase tension between social groups and often war efforts rely on extreme nationalism to create and maintain support for war, especially one as total and violent as the First World War. The result was a society that limited pressured immigrant groups to conform to the as yet undefined American identity, one that tampered with history and education to suit its needs, and suppressed free speech in the name of national security.

2. Defining Nationalism and Anti-Immigration Sentiment

In order to investigate the phenomena of nationalism and anti-immigration sentiment within American First World War society, it is necessary to clearly define these terms. These definitions are not meant to be exhaustive or universally comprehensive, but merely to describe a specific period in American political and social history. This will be done through exploring the intellectual history of the terms and contrasting the American experience with similar counterparts in other states. Using Canada, a fellow former colony, as a foil for American ideology helps to clarify the extent to which American nationalism can be viewed as a unique phenomenon. Additionally, nationalism, which acts as an umbrella for a series of interrelated themes such as ideas about what it means to be part of a nation, anti-immigration, racism, and xenophobia, will be explored both as an intellectual phenomenon and more specifically in its American iteration. For the purposes of this chapter, the focus will remain on nationalism as a whole before delving deeper into the affects of anti-immigration sentiment on American society. Ultimately, this chapter will explore the relationship between the two ideologies as they relate to the time leading up to and during the Great War.

Defining nationalism for the sake of this project requires a threefold approach: the general definition of nationalism according to scholarship, the definition of American nationalism as it relates to its contemporaries, and, finally, the immigrant experience of nationalism. Nationalism was born out of eighteenth century ideas and political

developments, primarily the intellectual development of ideas of the “nation.”¹ A nation according to Benedict Anderson is defined as an “imagined political community-- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.” The nation is comprised of individuals who do not personally know of nor interact with each other.² This manufactured relationship creates a shared identity out of linguistic and cultural ties.³ However, the creation of nationalism in this way creates three fundamental paradoxes as identified by Anderson: the “objective modernity of nations to the historian’s eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists,” “formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept...vs. the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations,” and “the ‘political’ power of nationalism vs. their philosophical poverty and even incoherence.”⁴ This final point, the philosophical poverty of nationalism, is echoed in George Orwell’s “Notes on Nationalism” in which Orwell describes nationalism as “power-hunger tempered by self-deception.” Throughout the essay, Orwell discusses nationalists’ indifference to reality and objective truth by merit of their ardent and blind devotion to their nation.⁵ Likewise, Renan in his famous treatise “What is a Nation,” given in 1882, states that the “essence of a nation is that individuals have many things in common, but also have

¹ Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Rev. Ed. ed. London: Verso, 2006), 4.

² *Ibid.*, 6.

³ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 102.

⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5.

⁵ Dag, O, “George Orwell: Notes on Nationalism,” Accessed March 8, 2018, http://orwell.ru/library/essays/nationalism/english/e_nat. Orwell wrote his “Notes on Nationalism” in 1945 after the Second World War, but his principles remain applicable in retrospect due to the copious historical analysis present within his work.

forgotten many other things.”⁶ These scholars point out one factor that remains constant with all types of nationalism: blind faith. Nationalism builds upon a trust and confidence in the nation regardless of facts or reality. This attribute of nationalism makes it a formidable and dangerous political tool as is seen throughout the American experience during World War One.

It is possible, however, to admire one’s nation or state without accepting these negative characteristics as a reality. Orwell differentiates patriotism and nationalism by defining the former as “devotion to a particular place and particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people,” and the latter as “competitive prestige” and enforcement.⁷ Though some scholars choose not to differentiate between the two, Orwell’s definition accounts for a benign love of one’s nation or state as compared to one that is politically, competitively, and emotionally charged. Nationalism and nationalists seek to expand power and influence of the nation, not the individual.⁸ Patriotism can therefore by Orwell’s definition be viewed as a kind of defensive nationalism that seeks to protect one’s nation both ideologically and materially. The development of nationalism from 1880-1914 focused on self-determination movements of nations as well as the ethnic and linguistic focus of identity.⁹ From Anderson’s imagined community, nationalism rises as a political movement and identity. In the second half of the eighteenth century, nationalism became associated with right wing politics, focusing on

⁶ Ernest Renan, "What is Nation?" In *Nationalism in Europe: From 1815 to the Present*, edited by Stuart Woolf, 48-60, (London: Taylor and Francis, 1995), 51. Renan wrote this in the nineteenth century at the inception of nationalism and would go on to influence subsequent nationalist movements.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Hobesbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 102.

loyalty to flag and country and associated with xenophobia.¹⁰ This specific development is particularly important for understanding the trend within American First World War society.

The United States of America was created just as nationalism began to gain a hold across Europe and, as a former colony, had to face creating its identity outside of British influences. Often, American national identity was a negative identity, as identified by Orwell, meaning that they defined themselves by what they were not.¹¹ As a nation made of immigrants without a shared history and tenuous linguistic ties, America began to define themselves in ways that were not as prominent in European iterations of nationalism. American nationalism was intrinsically tied to race and to its Protestant roots.¹² Therefore, American nationalism in the decades preceding the Great War could be defined as white, Protestant, not British, black, or Native American. In fact, as nationalism developed, the exclusionary nature of it became clear. Principles of liberty and constitutional rights became a fundamental part of American identity, thus those such as Native Americans or Blacks who resided in the United States, but were not granted those rights, could not be considered American. This reinforced racial limitations to American identity within the first century of the United States' existence. Blacks, Native-Americans, and immigrants were treated as outsiders or fundamentally un-American under this world-view.¹³ The

¹⁰ Ibid., 105.

¹¹ "George Orwell: Notes on Nationalism."

¹² David A. J. Richards, *Italian American: The Racializing of an Ethnic Identity*, (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

¹³ The irony of immigrants being treated as outsiders in the United States draws on the paradox of the immigrant nation. The current white society that excluded these groups once found themselves as new immigrants in America. This begs the question of where to draw the line for immigrants being firmly part of American identity and those who were viewed as outsiders. Unfortunately, this cannot be treated in full within this study due to its complex and detailed nature.

connection between nationalism and anti-immigration sentiment will be discussed later in this chapter, but the racial component of nationalism cannot be ignored when examining the development of the American identity.

In the early twentieth century, American nationalism underwent a significant change as a result of the First World War. Within the war period, American nationalism was not directed at dismantling established institutions and structures as in Europe, but instead focused on using nationalism as a tool of the state and society to regulate conformity in the face of an international crisis. It was this sense of impending crisis that caused the population to view any preserved deviation from the norm as potential catastrophe. Nationalism was meant to support the war effort and, by extension, the state and act as a preserving mechanism for the American way of life, despite the ambiguity of a still undefined American identity.¹⁴ It is through the experience of World War One and its effects on American society that a modern identity emerges in the United States. Emphasizing conformity in the pursuit of nationalism stems not only from the pressure of wartime society, but also from its status as a former colony. Thus, nationalism and conformity formed a circular feedback in which one strengthened the other. It is useful to juxtapose Canadian and American nationalism as former British colonies to understand how American nationalism differentiates from its contemporaries. American nationalism, like Canadian, differs sharply from their European counterparts whose nationalism is built upon strong linguistic, cultural, and historic ties.

¹⁴ John Higham, *Strangers In The Land: Patterns Of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, (New Brunswick, NJ : Rutgers University Press, [2002]), <http://hdl.handle.net/jcu.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.00398.0001.001>, 207.

As former colonies, both the United States and Canada partially formed their nationalism based on a negative identity as discussed above. Both contrasted themselves against Great Britain and had to contend with the shadow that colonialism spread over them. For America, the revolution served as a redefinition as firmly separate from Britain ideologically and constitutionally. However, Canada existed as a colony and transitioned into modern Commonwealth smoothly in 1931. For the duration of World War One, Canada was a dominion of the British Empire; however, despite its dominion status, Canada saw its role in World War One as aiding Britain as an equal. It can be assumed then that Canadian national identity was able to grow independent from and unhindered by its relationship with the British Empire. The transition into a Commonwealth was largely due to a mutually beneficial economic relationship between Canada and Great Britain under both the mercantilist and capitalist model.¹⁵ While the United States was made up of multiple ethnicities, races, and cultures and chose conformity over individual integration, Canada had two main linguistic and cultural groups, French and English Canadians. The unifying factor for French and English speaking Canadians was their decidedly anti-colonial attitude and objection to “continentalism annexing to the United States.”¹⁶ For residents within the United States, language proved to be a dividing factor; as a result, the English language became fundamental to American identity, especially as the First World War began. Canada to this day maintains a dualistic linguistic heritage that exists side by side within the country.

¹⁵ George W. Brown, “Canadian Nationalism: An Historical Approach,” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 30, no. 2 (1954): 166–74. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2607515>, 168-169.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 170.

Nationalism manifested in the United States in various ways, but remains difficult to measure. One of the most useful ways to measure nationalism is volunteerism.

Volunteerism is the practice of voluntarily joining nationalist societies, supporting the war effort through the purchase of liberty bonds and rationing, and the number of volunteers for the army. This project will focus primarily on the volunteerism as it relates to nationalist societies and civilian response to propaganda and war effort campaigns by the federal government. These will be further investigated fully in subsequent chapters.

American nationalism within the context of the First World War was a formidable political and social force that the government used to promote the war effort. Once the U.S. entered the war, it demonized immigrants from enemy nations in the eyes of ardent nationalists and furthered a xenophobic policy. Since race and nationalism cannot be separated, and anti-immigration sentiment is intrinsically tied to both these concepts as a subordinate category, the rise in nationalism during World War One subsequently increased anti-immigration sentiment as immigrants progressively came to be seen as a national security threat.

Similarly, anti-immigration sentiment, though not overtly classified by scholars, can be grouped into a few categories stemming from diverse motivations.¹⁷ These include anti-immigration sentiment based on race/ethnicity, religion, culture/language, and, during this period, against immigrants from belligerent countries referred to as enemy-aliens.

American struggles with immigration, both in terms of policy and acceptance of

¹⁷ Anti-immigration is often treated as one whole category of discrimination, but upon further investigation is a complicated mix of prejudices against different peoples. The prejudice against Asian immigrants certainly differed sharply from that which European immigrants experienced. Additional scholarship is needed to provide a complete and comprehensive categorization of the various facets of anti-immigration sentiment.

immigrants, creates a complex situation due to the unique nature of the United States being a country primarily made up of immigrants, with only a few indigenous peoples able to claim true ancestral connection to the land. Ultimately, anti-immigration sentiment extends beyond mere prejudice against people, but also their culture and contributions to American identity. This situation creates a paradox as America selectively accepted certain immigrants and immigrant cultures, while rejecting others.

The first category of anti-immigration sentiment based on race and/or ethnicity often revolves around the idea of inferiority and the social Darwinist classifications of people as well as popular prejudices. For example, the United States was the first country in the Americas to implement naturalization (1790) and immigration policies (1803) based on race. The inclusion of race in this early legislation revealed the foundation of racial tension that characterizes the United States to this day. However, Benjamin Franklin wrote in an essay in 1751 that, “white excludes not only the black and tawny, but also Europeans of ‘swarthy complexion’ such as Spaniards, Italians, Russians, Swedes, and most Germans.” This complicates the idea of the contemporary modern association of white equating to European. Thus, it is important to note that while these groups were viewed as ethnically different and distinct from “American,” they functioned as legally white, meaning they were granted the ability to naturalize where other races were discriminated against.¹⁸ White within the United States during this period meant those claiming heritage to Anglo-Saxon roots. This narrow definition paved the way for increased discrimination against the groups mentioned above.

¹⁸ David FitzGerald, and David Cook-Martín, *Culling the Masses*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCOhost, 82, 87-88.

Additionally to illustrate the prevalence of racism in attitudes as it relates to immigration, the Immigration Act of 1917, colloquially referred to as the “Asian Ban,” prohibited immigration from Asian countries except for Japan, which was excluded for political reasons.¹⁹ The passing of the legislation clearly represents a federal effort to curtail immigration and supports nativist agendas.

The Asian Ban, implemented just when the United States entered the war, complicates the idea that the increase in anti-immigration sentiment was a direct reaction to enemy-aliens and their connection to the war. As most of the Asian countries specified in the ban remained peripheral to the war (especially to the United States, which entered the war much later and thus experienced little actual conflict), the anti-immigrant sentiment present in the America pre-dated the First World War. This is also supported by the fact that other immigration limitations had been proposed in the decades preceding the war, but had either not passed or been vetoed by Wilson; however, it may be rationalized that with the pressure of a war time society seeking stability, limiting foreign peoples acted as a way to fabricate a stable, united America, even if those excluded were not directly tied to the war

¹⁹ H.R. H.R. 10384, 64 Cong., G.P.O. (1917) (enacted).
<http://library.uwb.edu/Static/USimmigration/39%20stat%20874.pdf>

European Immigration to America

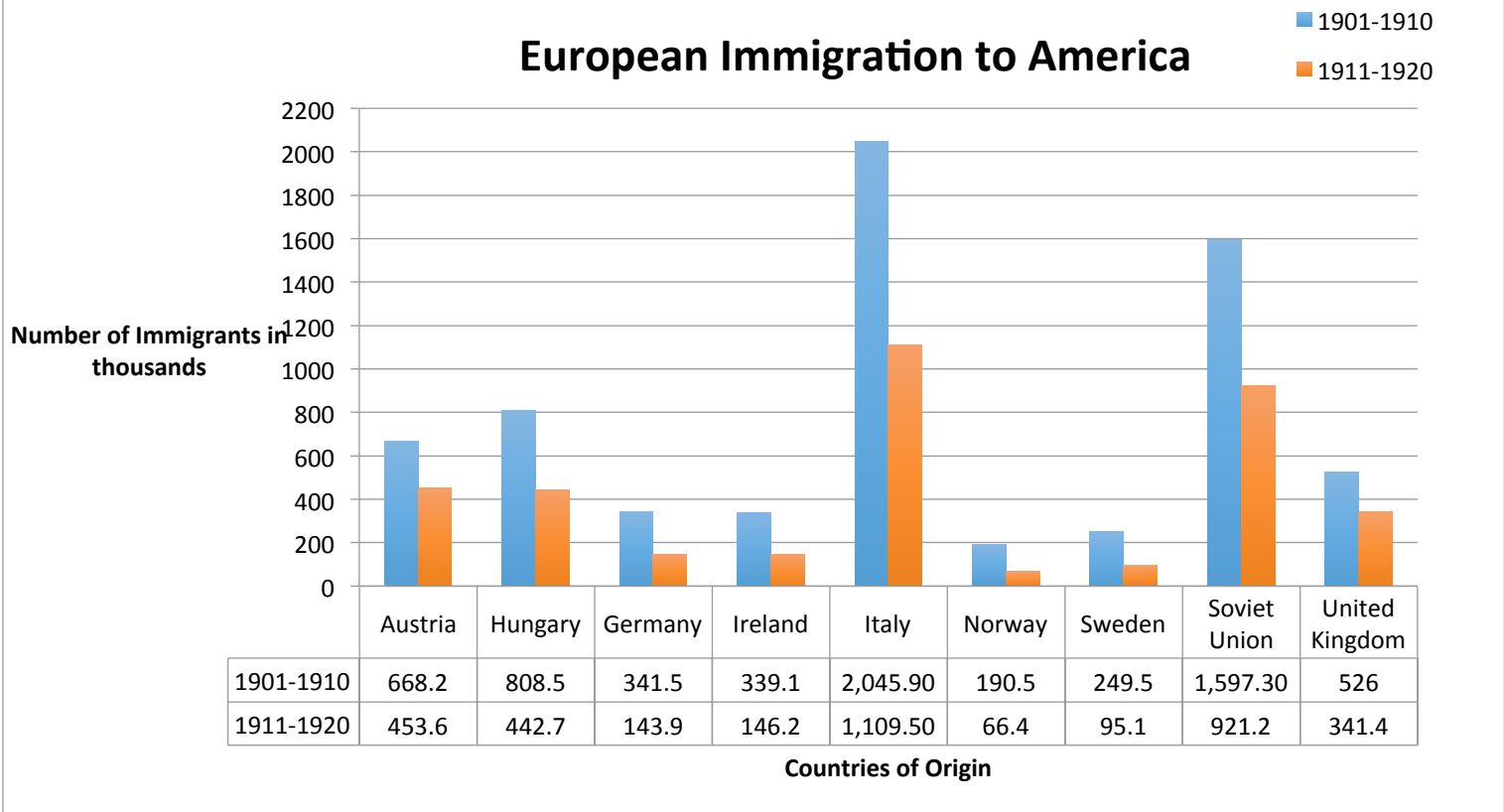


Figure 2.1 *Immigration trends before and during the First World War. This data illustrates the large influx of immigrants before wartime and gradual lessening as a result of the war. Data obtained from the United States Census Bureau*

Xenophobia was not limited to racial discrimination, but also included religious intolerance. Specifically, with America’s close ties to Anglo-Saxon Protestantism, Catholics were regarded as agents of the Pope meant to influence the United States in favor of the Vatican agenda.²⁰ Interestingly enough, this period saw a decrease in anti-Catholic sentiment as this fear of a foreign leader manipulating American ideology and actions shifted from the Pope to the Kaiser.²¹ Anti-Catholic sentiment primarily affected Irish and Italian immigrants as they hailed from predominantly Catholic nations. Their opposition to the war, for different reason, nonetheless continued the suspicion and discrimination against them. Jews living in America often left their homeland due to the pogroms in Russia

²⁰ Ibid., 83.

²¹ Higham, *Strangers In The Land*, 201.

and as a result more often than not sided with Germany during World War One.²² This became a problem when America entered the war and New York City, a center for Jewish and other potentially dangerous immigrants such as Germans, Socialists, and others, came under suspicion.²³ Thus, anti-Semitism rose in reaction to the potential for Jewish sympathies lying with the enemy.

The idea of culture and language also acted as a basis for anti-immigration. Many immigrants were expected to assimilate into American culture and to forgo their own native tongue for English. This often took the form of enforced catabolism in which immigrants simplified or Americanized their own culture for the sake of acceptance in their new community. Additionally, certain cultures were seen as inferior such as those from Eastern Europe. Francis Walker, the superintendent of the 1870 Census, described eastern European immigrants as “beaten men from beaten races,” illustrating his view of these peoples as weak and inferior.²⁴ This illustrates the cultural bigotry and superiority within America, especially from influential persons such as Walker, thus demonstrating that anti-immigration was a compilation of both top-down and bottom up efforts. Vigilante groups within local communities kept special tabs on certain groups.

No groups of immigrants were so highly scrutinized and viewed with suspicion than those classified as enemy-aliens. Enemy-alien was a classification of immigrants introduced upon American entry into the war that included both Austro-Hungarians and German immigrants residing within the United States. Before the war, German-Americans were viewed highly, even as exemplary citizens. In 1903, one sociologist even went so far as to

²² Ross J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War : Shaping an American City* (London: Routledge, 2016), 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁴ FitzGerald and Cook-Martin, *Culling the Masses*, 83.

describe them as the “best ethnic type.” They were viewed as model immigrants that had achieved success and were more likely to own a home than native-born white American.²⁵ However, during the war, German-Americans had to go to extreme measures to prove their loyalty. This also applied to Austro-Hungarians and Italians to an extent. The social and civil repercussions of these enemy-alien specific anti-immigrant attitudes will be discussed in subsequent chapters, but nonetheless provides a significant motivation for previously nativist Americans to push for stricter immigration laws and treatment of immigrants already residing within America.

These different types of anti-immigrant ideologies resulted in a few socio-political movements that had significant consequences for the entire nation as they shaped policy and changed lives. The first of these is the Anti-hyphenation movement, which embodied the idea that American citizens or residents who identified as a hyphenated American (e.g. German-American, Italian-American, etc.) had divided loyalty, which could cause a national security threat once America entered the war against their homeland or even as an ally. This best exemplifies cultural and linguistic anti-immigration in which hyphenated peoples were expected to give up their ties to their homeland in order to become fully American.

Both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson helped to bolster this movement, with the former embodying it and the latter gradually yielding. Higham best sums up this movement as a political maneuver in his statement: “psychologically the hyphen could serve as a surrogate for enemy fleets or armies.”²⁶ In this way, an attack on immigrants who did not fully embrace their new country and maintained ties to their homeland could be used as political fodder to fuel the war effort and incentivize a public that could not

²⁵ Higham, *Strangers In The Land*, 196.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 198-199.

personally see the tangible danger of the war. Both African and Native Americans, while technically hyphenated peoples, were viewed as separate from immigrant groups for obvious reasons. Neither were immigrants and both were victims of the United States attempting to strip them of their culture and heritage. Native Americans were forced onto reservations on the peripheries of American society. The case of African Americans in relation to wartime attitudes and the anti-hyphenation movement, while a fascinating and rich topic, cannot be done justice within this work. Needless to say, both suffered from these movements as they were still outside the realm of “American” national identity.

American Population (in thousands)

Demographic	1900	1910	1920
Born Abroad	70	75	131
Native Born	65,723	78,456	91790
Total Population	75,995	91,972	105711

Figure 2.2

This figure illustrates the small portion of the population that was actually foreign born (i.e. immigrants) during this period. All data is taken from U.S. Census Bureau.

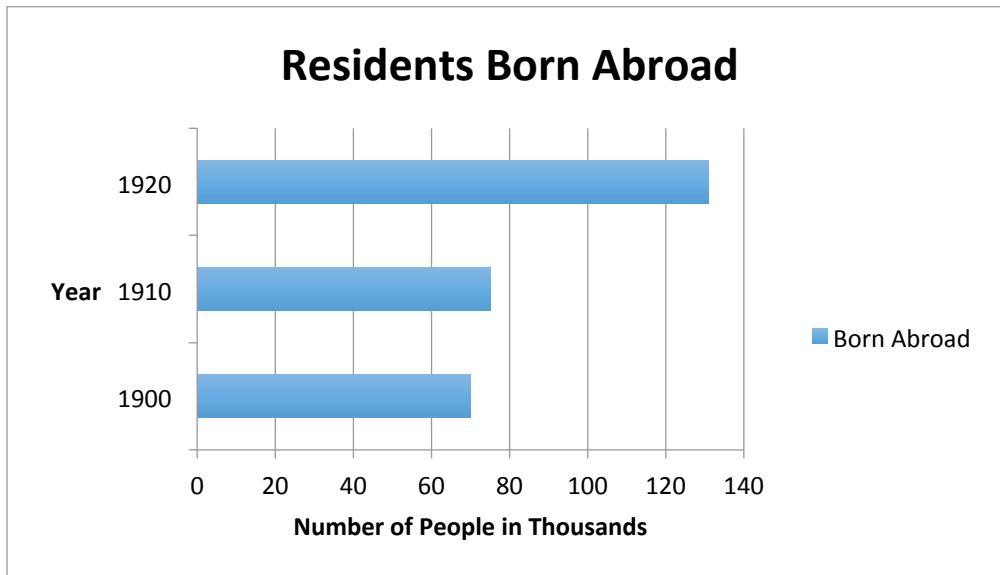


Figure 2.3.

A closer look at the number of non-native residents in the United States in the first two decades of the century. All data is taken from U.S. Census Bureau

Similarly, the 100 Percent Movement focused on forging an identity and overlapped greatly with the increase in nationalism. This movement focused on absolute loyalty to the nation, and attempted to enforce regularity and conformity, particularly amongst immigrants who were viewed as foreign and threats to American unity. It grew out the desire for a positive way to phrase anti-hyphenation attitudes after American entry into the war. Essentially, the 100 Percent movement blended anti-immigration and nationalism in the pursuit of conformity.²⁷ Wilson attempted to silence immigrant and working class objections to the war and his policy by citing patriotism, i.e. demanding absolute and active loyalty.²⁸ The 100 percent movement invokes ethnic racism as it attempts to artificially manufacture a citizen that is 100 percent American.

²⁷ Ibid., 205.

²⁸ David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, (Oxford ; Oxford University Press, 1982) <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.01420.0001.001>, 62.

Anti-immigration in America was a means of control, both socially and politically. It was a tool used by citizens to define themselves and their country, while the government used it as a way of bolstering support for the war. They capitalized on people's fear of "other" and foreignness to motivate the war effort. This was done through discrimination and legal persecution of different immigrants based on race/ethnicity, language/culture, and religion. Ultimately, it would come to define the mindset of this period as America struggled to distinguish itself as a united country in wartime.

The First World War exacerbated nationalism and, by extent, anti-immigration attitudes as America struggled to shed its isolationist ideologies and become further involved in European and global affairs. Because of this involvement and the war, America required loyalty and support from its citizens. Nationalism and anti-immigration sentiment are intrinsically connected as they acted to mold American attitudes and actions. Nationalism did this through the desire and demand for conformity in a diverse and often disjointed community, and anti-immigration movements as an outlet for anxiety over the unfamiliar and foreign influences present within the country. Both were methods of encouraging war enthusiasm and direct reactions to World War One. As a result, the United States underwent a fundamental shift in attitudes that left it forever changed as a nation and global power.

3. Americanizing the United States

As a nation, the United States of America struggled to find a cohesive identity from the division of patriots and loyalists in the Revolutionary war to its basic nature as an immigrant nation. Few could claim true ancestral connections to the land, and those that could were not permitted to be full American citizens. Because of this ambiguity when it came to defining what qualified as “American,” there was a deep confusion over what Americanization meant in the face of large waves immigrants who were expected to assimilate into the United States. The late nineteenth century saw a rapid increase in migration of European immigrants, specifically Italian, Irish, and German: In the 1880s, 1.5 million Germans emigrated to the States, with 250,000 alone in 1882, and by 1910 there were approximately 2.3 million German immigrants residing in the United States.²⁹ Additionally throughout the 1880s, almost four million Italians immigrated to America due to economic troubles at home.³⁰ In the decades preceding the First World War, America often defined the process of Americanization by tangible and achievable traits, then followed an ethnic stereotype, and, finally, the war years created a new definition of what it meant to be American: absolute loyalty.

Many of the immigrants entering America during this period came in search of opportunity, jobs, freedom from persecution, and the elusive idea of the “American Dream.” Immigrants often read of a romanticized America filled with heroism and adventure, which acted

²⁹ "The Germans in America," Chronology : The Germans in America (European Reading Room, Library of Congress), Accessed January 2018, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/european/imde/germchro.html>.

³⁰ "Global Immigration Timeline - Immigration...- Classroom Presentation | Teacher Resources," Library of Congress, Accessed January 2018, <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/immigration/alt/timeline.html>.

as additional motivation for emigration; however, the America often portrayed abroad failed to convey the disunity of the country as a whole.³¹ Some attempted to identify the qualities that made up the American spirit and provide a foundation for a disparate nation. In the nineteenth century, Alexander de Tocqueville and his contemporaries defined the values inherent to American identity as industriousness, independence, disregard for formality, and respect of property; these characteristics would continue throughout the century and into the war period. While these clearly outline a basis for a form of American unity and were achievable for immigrants to adopt, they lack the ability to fill in the cultural, linguistic, and historic gaps that often coalesced to create national identity. By the twentieth century, however, the United States had come to tentatively define American as white and Protestant in an effort to create one nation out of many.³² These categorizations were much harder for immigrants to acquire, especially for Italians and some Germans, who were often not considered socially white, but of a “swarthy complexion.”³³ This definition was additionally problematic for Catholic Italians as they were faced with strong Anti-Catholic sentiment. Additionally, Jews, as discussed in the previous chapter, faced considered backlash for their faith as defiantly “un-American.”

Thus, the inclusion of such large masses of immigrants with identities inconsistent with the newly narrow definition of what it meant to be American would become even more problematic once the First World War began and these domestic concerns began to take on international importance. Besides immigrants, there are two important groups that were unable to

³¹ , Dorothee Schneider, *Crossing Borders : Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.), Accessed February 1, 2018, ProQuest Ebook Central, 151.

³² Ibid., 152-153.

³³ David FitzGerald, and David Cook-Martín, *Culling the Masses*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCOhost, 88.

and not expected to assimilate: Native Americans and African Americans.³⁴ The exclusion of these two groups from the same Americanization efforts as given to immigrants is largely due to their status with the United States as unwilling participants in the nation. Neither group chose to become a part of the United States, nor were they afforded the full legal rights of citizens due to discriminatory practices. The assimilation efforts discussed within this chapter refer solely to immigrants who were legally considered white, but still suffered from discrimination based on their ethnic origins.

For some, the war offered an opportunity at just the right moment to consolidate and determine what being American meant.³⁵ This would lead to socio-political campaigns for homogeneity such as the 100 Percent and the Anti-hyphenation movements, as is discussed in the highly influential book *Strangers In The Land: Patterns Of American Nativism, 1860-1925* by John Higham. The 100 Percent movement was motivated by a desire during war time for complete unity, thus native-born Americans expected immigrants, particularly immigrants from belligerent countries, to shed their ties to the old world and become wholly American. The Anti-hyphenation movement likewise built on nationalistic rhetoric and demanded absolute loyalty. These movements found support in figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, who campaigned rigorously for assimilation by immigrants due to fear over split-loyalty and the potential domestic threat that posed during the war.³⁶ Higham characterizes these movements as nativist Americanization as opposed to Liberal Americanization. Liberal Americanization embraced

³⁴ Otis L., Graham and Elizabeth Koed, "Americanizing the Immigrant, Past and Future: History and Implications of a Social Movement," *The Public Historian* 15, no. 4 (1993): 24-49. doi:10.2307/3378635, 27.

³⁵ David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, (Oxford ; Oxford University Press, 1982), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.01420.0001.001>, 63.

³⁶ John Higham, *Strangers In The Land: Patterns Of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, (New Brunswick, NJ : Rutgers University Press, [2002]), <http://hdl.handle.net.jcu.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.00398.0001.001>, 198.

“immigrant gifts,” while the 100 Percent movement was born out of social anxiety of immigrants infiltrating American institutions.³⁷ They manifested in bottom-up and top-down assimilation of immigrants through employer, private, and state sponsored programs.

With these movements gaining popular ground, the demand for assimilation of immigrants or, as it came to be known, Americanization necessitated a means to this end and, more importantly, a clear definition of what Americanization meant. Peter Roberts, a leading figure in the Americanization movement and heavily involved with the YMCA, an organization deeply invested in this process, helped to define Americanization as involving knowledge of English and American customs and history.³⁸ Additionally, the 1906 Immigration Act required knowledge of English and the American constitution as prerequisites for naturalization, thus linking many of Robert’s standards to the legal status of an American. Despite this more formal connection, many viewed legal status and true Americanization as separate entities: Dorothee Schneider in *Crossing Border: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States* describes Americanization as the final border crossing for immigrants, meaning that immigrants could not truly reside in America until they had undergone this crucial and indeterminably long process.³⁹

Despite the high pressure to conform to the culture and society around them, many immigrants formed strong communities and retained their cultural and linguistic heritage in an effort to retain ties to the Old World. Often, they engaged in chain-migration with family members following to certain regions. New Haven, Connecticut, referred to as *colonia* by its

³⁷ Graham and Koed, "Americanizing the Immigrant," 29.

³⁸ Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 151.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

inhabitants, acts as one such example.⁴⁰ Italians were often able to embrace their cultural heritage and still be viewed as patriotic during the war due to the status of Italy as an allied nation. In this way, politicians often even appealed to ethnicity to garner support for the war: The New Haven Italians raised thousands of dollars for the Italian war effort and sent a check directly to the Prime Minister of Italy Vittorio Orlando.⁴¹ A more symbolic than contributive gesture, but nonetheless it demonstrated the enthusiasm and initiative necessary to be considered a true patriotic, i.e. American, in this period. The new preeminent definition of Americanization shifted from rote memorization of American history or unaccented English to active patriotism. In this case, however, patriotism and support for their old country coincided with American interests.

New Haven acted as a model city when it came for support for the war, and Italian-America support ironically increased after the defeat at the Battle of Caporetto as they began to form a closer emotional attachment to the war than their singularly American neighbors.⁴² Because much of Americanization at this time relied on patriotic rhetoric and support of the war, Italian-Americans were accepted due to their enthusiastic contributions while many other immigrants were viewed with suspicion. President Woodrow Wilson even declared May 24, 1918 as Italy-America Day, a day to celebrate the contributions of Italy to the war on the third anniversary of its entrance into the war.⁴³ Wilson, a reluctant participant of the anti-hyphenation movement, was in this way able to both pacify nationalists with his encouragement of loyalty and support for the war while also coopting Italian public opinion and efforts. This use of public opinion characterized Wilson's career as a politician and lead him to both capitalize on the

⁴⁰ Christopher M. Sterba, *Good Americans : Italian and Jewish Immigrants During the First World War*, (Cary: Oxford University Press, USA, 2003), Accessed January 17, 2018. ProQuest Ebook Central.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 119-123.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 118.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 123.

Americanization movement and to attempt to retain diplomatic relations with immigrants nationwide.

While Italian-Americans were able to enjoy a measure of acceptance in their new country, many German immigrants struggled with the entrance of America into World War One. Because of their new status as enemy-aliens, their community suddenly openly rejected Germans, who had once been viewed as model immigrants, and their language and culture were repressed. In 1894, there were eight hundred German-language newspapers and journals being printed, but by 1920 that number had dropped to two hundred and thirty.⁴⁴ McLean County in Illinois went from celebrating German festivals and parades to viewing any expression of German heritage as inherently unpatriotic.⁴⁵ Wilson himself in his June 1917 Flag Day speech incites suspicion and prejudice against German Americans by accusing “[the Imperial German Government with filling] our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf...and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance [to America]”⁴⁶ Wilson was not alone, however, in his vilification of Germans. St. Louis, being the city with the second largest recruitment rates in the Midwest, was deemed a model city for its contribution to the war, much like New Haven, but it faced internal divisions as native-born Americans turned on their German neighbors. Restricted zones were created within the city in which enemy-aliens were not permitted live, meaning those

⁴⁴ “The Germans in America.”

⁴⁵ Tina Stewart Brakebill, "From 'German Days' to '100 Percent Americanism:’ McLean County, Illinois 1913-1918: German Americans, World War One, and One Community's Reaction," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1998-)* 95, no. 2 (2002): 148-71. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40193520>, 155.

⁴⁶ "The President's Flag Day address, with evidence of Germany's plans. Issued by the Committee on Public Information ... September 15, 1917," Archive. <https://archive.org/details/universityofnorthcarolinagreensboro?and%5B%5D=flag+day+1917&sin=>



Figure 3.1 “Many Peoples One Nation: Let us Unite to Americanize America” Published in 1917 by National Americanization Committee. Reproduced by Library of Congress

residing within the zones were forced to relocate with little notice.⁴⁷ In this way, St. Louis became a city divided and reflected the greater turmoil present within the country. As national demands for tangible patriotism through draft rates and purchasing liberty bonds increased, so too did the social pressure within the community. Dissenting opinion was not tolerated: After a group of Pro-Germans were found to have burned an American flag, women of the community formed a Home Guard which would use the threat of violence to maintain stability.

These small vigilante type groups were not alone in their unorthodox encouragement of nationalism. St. Louis itself established a chapter of the Anti-Yellow Dog Club, a private

⁴⁷Petra Dewitt, "From the 'Most American City' to Seeing German Ghosts Everywhere: St. Louis during the Great War." In *Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community during World War I*, 84-110, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1j7x8hz.9>, 86.

nationalist organization that worked to rout out anything they viewed as a threat to the war effort such as German sympathizers and draft dodgers. Anything perceived as unpatriotic became both a domestic and international threat and as such, more and more vigilante groups gained popularity across the country. These included the American Protective League, National Security League, American Defense Society, and Volunteer Intelligence Corps.⁴⁸ The inclusion of these types of groups into the Americanization effort illustrate how Americanization did not just stem from a federal mandate, but was actively furthered by volunteer citizens who desired a homogenous society and feared the influence of immigrants.

Organizations such as the Sons and Daughters of the Revolutionary War, the YMCA, and Hull House had offered programs for immigrants to learn English and assimilate into American culture. These programs had been going on for decades before the outbreak of the First World War and were motivated by fear of immigrant radicalism, assuming that an unassimilated immigrant posed a threat to the whole society. As the war took its toll on the American psyche, the “Americanization movement fostered a militant nationalism” due to this very same fear, but magnified a hundred fold.⁴⁹ Immigrants were forced to extreme measures to prove their loyalty and were slowly being stripped of their identity. German newspapers declined and businesses with German names adopted more neutral terms in an effort to disassociate from the suspicion around them.⁵⁰

Another immigrant group that proved controversial during the war period were the Irish. Due to their hatred of the English, Irish immigrants often sided with the Central Powers. This complicates the idea of Americanization because as James R. Barret and David R. Roediger

⁴⁸ Strauss, Lon. "Social Conflict and Control, Protest and Repression (USA)." International Encyclopedia of the First World War. October 08, 2014. Accessed September 2017. https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/social_conflict_and_control_protest_and_repression_usa.

⁴⁹ Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 237.

⁵⁰ Dewitt, “Most American City,” 106.

point out in their article “The Irish and the ‘Americanization’ of the ‘New Immigrants’ in the Streets and in the Churches of the Urban United States, 1900-1930” the Irish often acted as the models new immigrants sought to emulate. This was because Irish immigration, though still prominent after the turn of the century, was already well under way in the nineteenth century. Three million Irish immigrated to the United States between 1840 and 1890.⁵¹ These Irish immigrants acted as the informal forms of ‘Americanization;’ newly arrived immigrants would live next to well-established Irish-Americans and imitate their behavior. Even with the more formal aspects of Americanization which have been documented such as employee, state, or private organization programs, the greatest method of Americanization is also the most illusive to track: everyday experience. Irish immigrants provided the standard to which many other immigrants saw as ‘American,’ despite the harsh racism many Irish exhibited towards other white ethnicities.⁵²

The increased effort to Americanize immigrants stemmed from the desire for a unified front during the war, but it built upon established institutions and methods that had deeper roots. Because of the United States’ disparate peoples, it was necessary to find common ground amongst all its citizens. The large influx of immigrants challenged this effort and resulted in resentment or misunderstanding between communities. World War One only exasperated this effect as conservative groups lead a national and local effort to homogenize the nation. The various groups of immigrants present in America during this period experienced this process differently due to complex geo-politics as well as the strength of pre-established prejudices. Prominent political and social leaders such as Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Peter

⁵¹ James R. Barrett, and David R. Roediger, “The Irish and the ‘Americanization’ of the ‘New Immigrants’ in the Streets and in the Churches of the Urban United States, 1900-1930,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24, no. 4 (2005): 3–33, 4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 6, 11.

Roberts acted as sounding boards for the Americanization movements and emboldened local vigilante groups and grassroots efforts to indoctrinate and assimilate immigrants within their communities. The success of these practices can be seen today in the fact that most descendants of these peoples do not speak Italian or German, and despite a few pockets of strong German towns in the Midwest, most Americans descending from German immigrants have little cultural knowledge of their heritage. Overall, assimilation of immigrants into American culture was contingent upon the desire for domestic tranquility and security and would lead to even more radical steps to be taken.

4. Liberty and Compulsion

The First World War required sacrifices from the citizens of belligerent nations due to its industrialized and modern nature as a total war. This would often translate into compromised civil liberties that were restricted out of necessity for national safety. It was this kind of reasoning that led to widespread discord and even transgression of basic human rights. As the American government and vigilante civilian population gradually expanded the scope of their power, factions of the population fought back. Some of the most outspoken of these were political, social, and ethnic outcasts, including socialists, Germans, and Austro-Hungarians. American society found itself torn between relying heavily on volunteerism in the form of civilian groups and state compulsion through legislation such as the Alien and Sedition Acts to fuel the war effort. The rising nationalism within the United States in conjunction with these efforts lead to discrimination and violation of civil liberties, especially those immigrants classified as enemy-aliens.

The American identity rested heavily on its democratic values: equality, individuality, free market, individualism, and a future-oriented mindset. This identity as discussed in the previous chapter was used as criteria to determine loyalty. A loyal citizen would have these qualities as well as the correct ethnic/racial background. Within this period, loyalty came to define the American identity even more so than the previously mentioned attributes. This shift was due to the effects wartime society has on its populace. Both the government and the public began to compromise civil liberties in the name of national security. One of the first controversial comprises was the draft. Though legislators flirted with the idea of naming the bill something more appealing to the populace such as the 'Universal Service' or 'Democratic

Service,' the Selective Service Act was passed in May 1917.⁵³ It required "all male citizens, or male person not alien enemies who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years, both inclusive" to register for the draft.⁵⁴ The language of this bill clearly stated that enemy-aliens would still be suspect. Previously, individuals who did not speak English were not permitted to serve, but due to the greater need for manpower for the war, this prerequisite was waved in favor of segregated battalions.⁵⁵ The height of patriotism and loyalty was and continues to be military service. This stems from the propaganda and rhetoric surrounding the national draft in this period.

For immigrants the draft itself divided able-bodied men in to four categories comprising of diplomatic, declarant (immigrants beginning their naturalization process), non-declarant (immigrants not starting their naturalization process), and enemy-alien (immigrants from Central Power nations). Out of these three groups only declarants, meaning citizens or immigrants from allied countries who had petitioned for citizenship, were allowed to serve. Out of fear of espionage and sabotage, enemy-aliens were not permitted to legally serve; however, this was not always true in practice. Many Austro-Hungarians who felt as though they were persecuted minorities in their home state volunteered to fight for the United States in order to "free their homeland from the Central Powers."⁵⁶ Additionally, some enemy aliens, including 1,000 German immigrants, ended up serving due to mix-ups within the conscription system.⁵⁷ As such, it fell upon their officers to determine their loyalty. Despite the fear of immigrants serving in the

⁵³ Joseph T. Hapak, "Selective Service and Polish Army Recruitment during World War I." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10, no. 4 (1991): 38-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27500870>, 40.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 41

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵⁶ Nancy Gentile Ford, "'Mindful of the Traditions of His Race': Dual Identity and Foreign-Born Soldiers in the First World War American Army." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16, no. 2 (1997): 35-57, 36.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 36-37.

army, a total of eighteen percent of soldiers (500,000) in America during the First World War were of immigrant background.⁵⁸ The military, in addition to apparatuses discussed the previous chapter acted as a venue for Americanization. Immigrants that served gained the patriotic prestige and public confidence in their loyalty.⁵⁹ Therefore, the conscription of immigrants who were able to serve acted as a way to prove their American-ness but those enemy-aliens residing within the United States were ostracized further for their inability to serve. Eventually, declarants and non-declarants were permitted to serve, but had to choose between serving for the United States or their home country.

The efforts of the military to envelop immigrants into the pre-established system often mirrored the large society as a whole. Once the issue of what immigrants were and were not permitted to serve was more or less settled, there came the problem of assimilating a variety of ethnic and linguistic groups into the English speaking military. Because of this, the War Department created the Foreign-Speaking Soldier Section, which was headed by various Eastern and Southern European immigrant military personnel who had naturalized previously and embodied the characteristics of a loyal American citizen. Through this organization, special Development Battalions were created for immigrants to smooth their transition into the American military and encourage the learning of English before they joined the regular ranks.⁶⁰ Even after immigrant-soldiers left Development Battalions, they were often placed in ethnic-specific platoons for the sake of morale and cohesion.⁶¹ Each step of the process of

⁵⁸ Nancy Gentile Ford, "Civilian and Military Power (USA)," in: 1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War, ed. by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08. DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10030 and

⁵⁹ Additionally, their naturalization process was expedited to avoid diplomatic complications, Ford, "Mindful of Traditions," 37.

⁶⁰ Ford, "Mindful of Traditions," 38-39.

⁶¹ Ibid., 40.

indoctrinating immigrant-soldiers into the military mirrored the larger process of immigrant assimilation. First, their loyalties had to be ensured and were subject to Americanization processes. Then, immigrants were to be included into the fold of American society, though they remained culturally isolated within their own ethnic-niches within the community. Whether the military consciously modeled their indoctrination process after the social iteration is unknown, but the strong parallels between the two cannot be ignored. It illustrates that the way in which immigrants were treated within the United States was systematized in effort to ensure unity, especially in times of war. Peculiarly, 191,419 non-declarant immigrants had the choice to serve or not and waived their exemption in order to fight for the United States.⁶² This allowed them to exhibit their loyalty in a way that even native-born Americans could not: they were not forced to serve due to the Selective Service Act of 1917, but chose to anyway.

The fervor with which people defended conscription and hunted down draft dodgers is matched only by the outcry of those opposing it. Some of the “patriotic pageantry” in support of conscription was merely carefully constructed propaganda by the state.⁶³ There were Preparedness Parades to celebrate “Absolute and Unqualified Loyalty to Our Country.”⁶⁴ In New York on May 13, 1916, 145,000 people marched in preparation for a war their country was as yet uninvolved in. An article in the *Cornell Daily Sun* notes that there were protestors present, but were unable to halt the parade.⁶⁵ The crowds at such events illustrate that the federal government did have popular support in declaring war; however, the draft itself caused controversy as some

⁶² Ibid., 37.

⁶³ Jeanette Keith, "The Politics of Southern Draft Resistance, 1917-1918: Class, Race, and Conscription in the Rural South." *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 4 (2001): 1335-361. doi:10.2307/2674731.

⁶⁴ John Higham, *Strangers In The Land: Patterns Of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, (New Brunswick, NJ : Rutgers University Press, [2002]), 200.

⁶⁵ "Unusual Preparedness Parade in New York." *Cornell Daily Sun*. <http://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell?a=d&d=CDS19160515.2.44>.

likened it to slavery, claiming that it violated the Thirteenth Amendment and “involuntary servitude.”⁶⁶

Many of native-born American ancestors fled from persecution including burdensome and compulsory military service, thus the introduction of a mandatory draft chafed certain individuals.⁶⁷ War Plan White was the strategy to handle domestic class warfare in response to the resistance of the draft and paranoia over anarchists and socialists.⁶⁸ There was grumbling amongst the populace about drafting an unequal percentage of native-born men and immigrants were given an easy out. The above-mentioned changes to drafting laws eventually accounted for this when it allowed certain groups to participate. Even so, there was an overwhelming acceptance and general enforcement by the public.

Much of the mass support for the conscription came from private, vigilante groups such as the American Protective League (APL). The APL was made up of volunteers and became a semi-official organization that worked with and reported to the FBI. The organization began on March 30, 1917 with approval by President Woodrow Wilson in a cabinet meeting.⁶⁹ While members were not authorized to carry deadly weapons or to make arrests, both federal and local governments relied on them to them provide the tactical ground support in enforcing compliance. The APL started mainly as a mechanism to find German spies and saboteurs. Unfortunately for them, there were fewer not as many German dissenters as the anticipated and their membership, which reached between 250,000 and 300,000, were soon redeployed with the objective of finding

⁶⁶ Strauss, “Social Conflict and Control.”

⁶⁷ Nancy Gentile Ford, *Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), Accessed February 10, 2018. ProQuest Ebook Central, 46.

⁶⁸ Strauss, “Social Conflict and Control.”

⁶⁹ Bethany Nagle, "The American Protective League and White House Security During World War One," The White House Historical Association, <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-american-protective-league-and-white-house-security-during-world-war-one>.

draft dodgers.⁷⁰ The APL lost support though after detaining anywhere from 300,00 to 500,000 people in a New York raid with only one hundred and ninety-nine being actual draft dodgers. It was after this public relations disaster that the government began to rely less on private groups.⁷¹

The significance of the Selective Service Act was so great that even constitutional rights were interpreted around preventing any interference with conscription. In *Schneck v. United States* (1919), The Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Charles Schneck, the Secretary of the Socialist party, who were strongly opposed to the war, and charged him with violating the Espionage Act by distributing 15,000 anti-war draft pamphlets to draft aged men. The Court stated, “Words which, ordinarily and in many places, would be within the freedom of speech protected by the First Amendment may become subject to prohibition when of such a nature and used in such circumstances as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils which Congress has a right to prevent.”⁷² This sets the precedent that freedom of speech can be limited for the sake of public safety and national security. Schneck was not the only one to be silenced using this tactic. Other anti-war and anti-draft leaders such as Jacob Frohwerk, who worked for *Missouri Staats-Zeitung*, a German newspaper, was also convicted under the Espionage acts. This may suggest a correlation between German heritage and anti-draft activism as there were many instances of German-speaking groups who were targeted for suspicion of disloyalty; however, further research would be needed to come to a definitive conclusion as to whether this was merely suspicion by the state or a real threat.

The redefinition of the First Amendment during wartime society illustrates how civil liberties were sacrificed for victory. Their ability to limit civil liberties came from the passing of

⁷⁰ Ibid., Strauss, “Social Conflict and Control.”

⁷¹ Ibid.,

⁷² “*Schenck v. United States*,” Cornell Law School: Legal Information Institute, accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/249/47>.

the Espionage and Sedition Acts in 1917 and 1918 respectively. 2,000 people were prosecuted under these acts, with the Espionage Act being utilized more due to its earlier inception. The Espionage Act disallowed the publication or distribution of material that threatened national defense and allowed for the prosecution of individuals who were in violation of the act, meaning they acted against the best interests of the United States.⁷³ The Sedition Act was an amendment to the Espionage Act and stated:

Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements... or to promote the success of its enemies, or shall willfully make or convey false reports, or false statements, ...or incite insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, or ...shall willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States ...or shall willfully display the flag of any foreign enemy, or shall willfully ...urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production ...or advocate, teach, defend, or suggest the doing of any of the acts or things in this section enumerated and whoever shall by word or act support or favor the cause of any country with which the United States is at war or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both....⁷⁴

This was an astonishing amendment in that it restricted civil liberties to an extreme degree. Stating that one was not permitted to publish anything that dissented with the United States prerogative and the display of foreign flags of enemies was outlawed indicates a nation in severe distress. American anxiety over disloyalty during this period, though not unfounded, resulted in forfeiting the moral and ideological foundation of the United States in the favor of security. This is a theme that has been present throughout this project, but the institution and execution of the Espionage and Sedition Acts illustrates this point most clearly. It restricted immigrant and

⁷³ "Espionage Act." Digital History. Accessed April 13, 2018.
http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3904.

⁷⁴ "Sedition Act." Digital History. Accessed April 13, 2018.
http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3904.

native-born American expressions of discontent and permitted no dissent. Democratic discussion was forgone in the sake of a united front. The number one priority of the United States become not the intellectual protection of civil liberties and democratic solutions, but the ability to fight, and win, the First World War and subsequently, and ironically, protect democracy and civil liberties abroad. The image below illustrates the severity of the Sedition Act and the attitudes that accompanied it. It shows Uncle Sam haphazardly rounding up spies and traitors in an effort to protect America. Thus, the Sedition Act was framed as a protective measure for American society.



Figure 4.1 Drawing shows Uncle Sam rounding-up men labeled "Spy," "Traitor," "IWW," "Germ[an] money," and "Sinn Fein" with the United States Capitol in the background displaying a flag that states "Sedition law passed" referring to the Sedition Act of 1918. Created in 1918 and published electronically by the Library of Congress

With public opinion turned against them, those that opposed the draft or were suspected of opposing the draft such as enemy-aliens were punished socially and legally. Speaking out against the war or the draft could lead to a prison sentence ranging from five to ten years in some

cases.⁷⁵ However, for some enemy-aliens residing within the United States, internment became their reality should someone accuse them of suspicious behavior. Some 6,000 people were interned in the United States during the First World War despite a previous treaty with Prussia from the late eighteenth century, which dictated that Austro-Hungarians could return to their homeland or remain free if war were to break out, was still in place.⁷⁶ Utilizing the Aliens Enemies act of 1798, the United States government legally kept discreet surveillance on its five hundred thousand German and three million Austro-Hungarian immigrants. Created in post-Revolutionary America, this originally applied to the contemporary enemies, British immigrants. However, it would be utilized despite the changing demographics and political circumstances to keep tabs on the newly dangerous German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants. It was this surveillance that led to those who were deemed potential risks being interned in one of two camps, either at Fort Douglas, Utah or Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.⁷⁷

Even before the United States officially entered the war, it began compiling names of dangerous individuals and reserved the right to question and/or intern them.⁷⁸ On April 6, 1917 President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed, "All natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of a hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within the United States, and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained,

⁷⁵ Bill Lynskey, "Reinventing the First Amendment in Wartime Philadelphia," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 131, no. 1 (2007): 33–80, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20093916>, 35-36.

⁷⁶ William B. Glidden, "Internment Camps in America, 1917-1920," *Military Affairs* 37, no. 4 (1973): 137–41, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1983776>, 137.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷⁸ Nicole M. Phelps, "'A Status Which Does Not Exist Anymore:' Austrian and Hungarian Enemy Aliens in the United States, 1917-21," In *From Empire to Republic: Post-World War I Austria*, 90-109, New Orleans, LA: University of New Orleans Press, 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/jcu.idm.oclc.org/stable/j.ctt1n2txcs.8>, 93-94.

secured, and removed as enemy aliens.”⁷⁹ Ultimately, 2,300 immigrants were interned at the two camps as there was no clear legal precedence in international law to protect them, despite the Hague Conventions in both 1899 and more recently 1907.⁸⁰

Although, the Swedish embassy attempted to represent and protect Austro-Hungarian immigrants within America, there was little to be done against the pernicious and ambiguous charge of espionage. Many of the internees did not undergo official due process and were unaware or did not understand what they were charged with. In many cases, simply being an enemy-alien was enough. Nicole M. Phelps notes that, “cases like these were symptomatic of a broader racism and xenophobia, as well as wartime disregard for civil liberties on the part of the many American officials and members of the public.”⁸¹ The internment of many Austro-Hungarians and Germans did not end until 1921, meaning that the violation of their civil rights continued for well after the war was over.⁸² The reason for the delay was that though the fighting ceased in 1918, it was not until the signing of the Versailles Treaty that immigrants could begin to be released.⁸³ Added to this was the complication that the United States never ratified the Versailles Treaty. The United States wanted to repatriate many of the immigrants interned in this period, but for Austro-Hungarians this proved complicated as their homeland has been dissolved into a series of successor states and they could no longer be easily identified with one state or another.

⁷⁹ Robert C. Doyle, ed. “Over There and Over Here:: Enemy Prisoners of War and Prisoners of State in the Great War.” In *The Enemy in Our Hands*, 159–78. America’s Treatment of Prisoners of War from the Revolution to the War on Terror. University Press of Kentucky, 2010.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2jcng.14>, 171.

⁸⁰ Glidden, William B. “Internment Camps in America, 1917-1920.” *Military Affairs* 37, no. 4 (1973): 137–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1983776>, 137.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 98.

⁸³ Doyle, “Over There and Over Here,” 172.

As civil liberties were being discarded or warped and nationalistic rhetoric replaced democratic values, organizations arose in an attempt to protect civil rights. Roger Baldwin founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 as a protective measure against government regulation of rights. It acted as advocates and legal representatives for marginalized groups and protected the rights granted to the American people by virtue of the Bill of Rights. German male immigrants were not permitted to own guns, radios, explosives, or live within a half-mile of munitions factories, aircraft stations, forts, arsenals, or naval installations.⁸⁴ This not only limited the right of the Second Amendment to bear arms, but also dictated which areas German immigrants could live in. The limitations on immigrant freedom and autonomy were severely impacted by the suspicion brought upon them as a result of the war.

Within this period there was a systematic attack on civil liberties through coercion by civilian groups and compulsion by the government. Free speech and debate over foreign and military affairs was silenced in the name of safety. The threat of war, even one across the Atlantic, was enough for the United States, a nation built upon democratic values and traditions, to crumble under the pressure. Native-born Americans either embraced the war and joined the rising tide of nationalist groups or were targeted for their unpatriotic attitudes. Immigrants suffered from the association with the far left and revolution and thus were doubly stigmatized. The encroachment on civil liberties opened up the door for immigrants to be denied basic rights such as liberty in the form of internment. Furthermore, the draft itself acted as a controversial element in a democracy, which led to a huge clashing of wills as the patriotism of military service attempted to blot out the idea of forced service. There was no real resolution within this time period and the draft continues to be a controversial topic within American society, but it

⁸⁴ Ibid., 171.

represented an important moment as the American mindset shift from isolationism to strength in militarism and interventionism.

5. Education and the War

*“Foremost among the educational campaigns was the drive to unite Americans behind the war effort.”*⁸⁵

As the war in Europe intensified, so to did the pressure within the United States. Educational institutions, such as universities and public schools, found it difficult to maintain impartiality during American neutrality due to internal and external pressures. A divided nation made for a suspicious and volatile intelligentsia. Educational institutions were paramount for the federal government in cultivating public opinion once they entered the war. The government utilized public schools and universities as mouthpieces for propaganda and intellectual justification for the war. Academics cooperated with the government to rewrite history to reflect current political alignments and spoon-fed the youth this narrative in favor of the Allied cause. The cooptation of universities and professors lead to controversy amongst academics and beyond as schools and universities struggled to cope with the mounting pressure to promote American involvement in World War One. Academic freedom, which enjoyed protection during neutrality, soon came under fire by administration and the larger society. Education underwent stark politicization and militarization during the brief period that the United States was at war as a result of these factors. Anti-immigration sentiment in education transcended mere discrimination against immigrants, and influence from immigrant culture, particularly that of enemy nations.

The debt owed by American universities and academics to German institutions cannot be overstated.⁸⁶ The University of Chicago chose for its theme for its 50th convocation before the

⁸⁵Lewis Paul Todd, "Wartime Relations of the Federal Government and the Public Schools 1917-1918," PhD diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945, 5.

war “Recognition of Indebtedness of American Universities to the Ideals of German Scholarship.” Furthermore, Theodore Roosevelt, later an ardent supporter of limiting German-American freedoms, called Germany “the mother of modern science and learning” in 1904.⁸⁷ Many American academics had been educated in Germany such as Arthur T. Hadley, Yale’s President during the war years. He stated, “I studied in Germany in the later [eighteen] seventies (though perhaps I should be ashamed to confess it now,)” thus illustrating the abrupt change in attitudes to German contributions to education.⁸⁸ Ultimately, the positive attitudes present in American academia gave way to war fervor and anti-immigration sentiment and prejudice against German culture as American entry into the war on the side of the allies became ever more likely. This was largely due to American universities’ “peculiar regionalism” in which they are particularly sensitive to community needs and opinions.⁸⁹ This was not only present at the university level, but also at primary and secondary as curriculum shifted to meet the anti-German and anti-Central Powers rhetoric present with the larger community.

The public school system in the United States represented a complex web of local, state, and federal influence due to the nature of American public schools.⁹⁰ The first introduction of nationalist propaganda came after Commissioner P. P. Claxton gave in to patriotic societies and allowed “Hun Hatred” biases and other educational propaganda to be taught in schools.

Elementary school instructors were given pamphlets instructing them to teach students about the origins of the war: how America fights for freedom from the violent Germans who victimized

⁸⁶ Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 47.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁰ Public schools in America are primarily run by state and county funding, thus the direct influence of these levels are very significant; however, federal allotments for education cannot be entirely excluded, especially as states often followed the federal leads and standards.

her allies. After April 1917, “War biographies” were distributed to students, which glorified heroes of Allied nations that portrayed a neat and tidy history that conveniently left out the centuries of warring between the Allied countries. The federal government presented war “as a glamorous adventure filled with deeds of ‘patriotism, heroism, and sacrifice’” to young and impressionable minds as a cheap way to get public support. War study courses introduced by Claxton included information originally intended for military training camps to high school students.⁹¹ Instances such as this illustrate the ways in which total war affected the home front and society. Not only was it necessary to cultivate all material resources, but the government also needed to utilize intangible resources such as public morale. Public opinion provided the necessary momentum and energy to continue the war. The federal government could not successfully wage a war halfway across the globe without any immediate threat without the full support of the people; however, this proved somewhat challenging after the policies of neutrality.

The resources of public school for cultivating war support and even bolstering war efforts was not lost to the federal government or to ardent individual supporters. American schools represented an as yet untapped machine for pumping out loyal citizens in the long-term and influencing parents by utilizing children as vehicles for propaganda in the short-term.⁹² Federal efforts found allies not only in the National Board for Historical Service (NBHS), to be discussed later, but also in the National Education Association which themed its 1917 convention around “Preparedness, Nationalism, and Patriotism.”⁹³ However, the decentralization of education in the United States severely slowed down the process of distributing necessary materials to teachers in

⁹¹ David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, (Oxford ; Oxford University Press, 1982) ProQuest EBook Central, 55-56. The war studies course was originally created for the university level, but was then adapted to be taught to high school students. The first pamphlet distributed to high school students was *Study of the Great War* by Samuel B. Harding, originally intended for training camps. Todd, “Wartime Relations,” 48-49.

⁹² Todd, “Wartime Relations,” 5-6.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 34.

order to tailor education to the war effort.⁹⁴ Young children were not exempt from doing their bit for the war effort: elementary and primary school children were expected to ration themselves, avoid sickness or injury due to the need for doctors and nurses for soldiers, and “try to be better boys and girls, so that older folks will not be troubled or worried about you and so can work harder.”⁹⁵ Not only were children fed trumped up stories about American and Allied exceptionalism, but pamphlets with expectations such as these were handed out to school teachers to instruct their students on what their role was to be in the war. No age group was exempt from the far-reaching need of the war.

It can safely assumed that amongst the twenty million odd students that were being preached to daily about the necessity to save materials and resources and the necessity of the war to save democracy, that enemy-alien children existed and within them lay an internal dilemma that would come to characterize the larger community they were from. The peer pressure present with the classroom for enemy-alien children to conform and participate, even to the detriment of their home nation, mirrored the social pressures they and their parents faced from the larger community. While the presence of immigrants in education, especially in higher education, varied according to cultural norms (for example, southern Italian’s resisted public education of their children and focused on labor intensive jobs for children and adolescence while German immigrants coming from a strong national academic background would be more likely to value and promote education), the immigrant experience within public education is well documented.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ibid., 36-37. With 20,000,000 students and 650,000 teachers in public schools, the federal government and Creel Committee (a federal effort to distribute propaganda) were hard pressed to create an organized standard of teaching, much less a rapid shift in attitudes and practices.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 60. Children often created presentations or acted as “Junior Four Minute Men.” It was this clever utilization of a demographic that led to widespread support for the war and secured loyal citizens for generations to come, Ibid., 7.

⁹⁶ See, David A. J. Richards *Italian American : The Racializing of an Ethnic Identity*, (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

As discussed in a previous chapter, they faced strong Americanization efforts upon their relocation to the United States. With these forces acting upon children of enemy nations, many children would be expected to hold contrasting opinions and loyalties and present differently depending on company. What was taught, often in secret, at home may not coincide with what teachers told them. This would only intensify in secondary education as many universities struggled to maintain a pretense of neutrality. While efforts were made to indoctrinate children at a young age, it was the students of universities that faced the most concentrated efforts of both private and federal efforts to cultivate war support.

Public and scholastic neutrality was important on university campuses in the period leading up to American entry into the First World War; however, by the time the United States declared war, opinions had already become entrenched.⁹⁷ The University of Michigan offers an enlightening view of what neutrality or lack thereof looked like on university campuses. While Harry Burns Hutchins, the president of the university, attempted to maintain academic freedom and emphasize neutrality, militarism began to encroach upon the academic sphere. Almost one quarter of the student population enrolled at the University of Michigan were registered in German courses. The university itself had largely German-focused faculty and existed within a predominantly German location. With such a large portion of the student body tied to what would come to be seen as “un-American” studies, it was important for the university to maintain neutrality. The university went so far as to ban overly political speech within a new auditorium, even turning down certain lecturers who hailed from belligerent nations on either side or utilizing smaller venues in order to “protect [students] from controversial and potentially divisive

⁹⁷ Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 46

ideas.”⁹⁸ This of course seems contradictory to the purpose of universities: to challenge students and introduce them to new and even unpopular ideas. While nominally the university was against censoring professors, it was difficult and controversial to allow certain professors to continue teaching.

Maintaining impartiality on campuses during the neutrality period was important for universities as the nation around it became more and more divided on the topic.⁹⁹ German and Irish immigrants were the primary social groups that were extremely vocal in favor of the Central powers. In contrast to this, patriotic groups and societies began to pop up to rally around nationalism and anti-immigration sentiment in order to promote the Allied cause.¹⁰⁰ These groups included the Association of University Professors, National Security League, and National Civil Liberties Bureau who were all complicit in the treatment of professors in this period.¹⁰¹ As these gained strength, there was increased pressure, even during neutrality, to censor those who were perceived to promote the Central powers. Soon it would be nearly impossible for universities to remain impartial.

After April 1917, universities were politicized and coopted as part of the war effort. By the time America entered the war the opinions of most, academia notwithstanding, had become entrenched, mainly in favor of the Allied forces.¹⁰² They presented prime breeding ground for propaganda, especially as academic freedom gradually gave way to pugnacious fervor.

⁹⁸ Timothy Reese Cain, “”Silence and Cowardice” at the University of Michigan: World War I and the Pursuit of Un-American Faculty.” *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2011): 296-329. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41303879>, 299-300, 304.

⁹⁹ The struggle for impartiality during the period can be directly linked to the conflict over neutrality within the nation. Impartiality was not present in teaching methods because neutrality was never a reality in the United States despite the legal status of the country.

¹⁰⁰ This mainly was due to creation of a narrative of democratic values, foundational to American identity, aligning with the Allied cause over the Central Powers.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 297.

¹⁰² Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 46.

Professors at the University of Michigan began to be removed for “un-American” behavior, even if this behavior occurred during the neutrality period.¹⁰³ The focus shifted to protecting the reputation of the university: “Perceived patriotism was vital for individuals and institutions...the actual dismissal were about protecting the institution through public displays of patriotism, rather than in response to true concerns.”¹⁰⁴ Because of so many of the dismissals of professors remained controversial despite their potentially pro-German sympathies, the university justified the removals as a result of a decrease in enrollment in German courses.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, this example of compromised academic freedom illustrates that academic freedom was under fire not by outside sources such as the federal government, but from within academia itself.¹⁰⁶

In 1915, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) issued a “General Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure,” which attempted to address academic compromise of working of both holding a university position and a federal job. It placed the utmost value on academic freedom in the classroom and insisted in impartiality; however, by 1918, this resolution would be abandoned in the face of “a mob fanaticism [that] arose [and] put every freedom in jeopardy. The American university...could not escape its coercive spirit.”¹⁰⁷ This coercive spirit was the enlarging nationalist movement, which focused on targeting enemy-aliens, a substitute for real the “Hun” army fighting across the sea.

In an article for *History of Education Quarterly*, Timothy Reese Cain notes, “The war hysteria helped produce and define notions of “un-American” activities and brought them to the

¹⁰³ Cain, “Silence and Cowardice,” 305.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 309, 327.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 306-307.

¹⁰⁶ Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 163.

¹⁰⁷ Walter P. Metzger quoted in Bruce Tap, “Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 85, no. 1 (1992): 2–22, 4.

forefront of campus community.”¹⁰⁸ An obvious method for calculating one’s patriotism was through their curriculum and words. If a professor taught according to the federal standards of the war issues courses and followed the Ally-positive narrative of history, then they were patriotic. Similarly, the sale of Liberty Bonds acted as a litmus test for patriotism.¹⁰⁹ Professors and students were expected to be active participants in the war effort and that meant not only maintaining patriotic rhetoric and buying liberty bonds, but also through supporting the military in direct service or through fundraising campaigns. Patriotism had been broadly a necessity for individuals to be accepted in wartime society, but its infringement upon the academic sphere brought with it new and equally serious implications.

America, as a country, was a capitalist democracy and as such maintained an “independent, anti-establishment, hypercritical, and antagonistic” relationship between the intelligentsia and government. The result of such a relationship would ideally be a government, which was kept in check by an independent party who was able to openly criticize and demand change. However, the National Board for Historical Service (NBHS) began to bridge this gap.¹¹⁰ John Franklin Jameson, the Head of Department of Historical Research at the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the editor and founder of *American Historical Review*, founded the NBHS with the intent, “To serve the nation, in a time when the national problems of war and of ultimate peace cannot receive their best solution without the light of historical knowledge on the one hand, and on the other hand the government and the public who need it; in a word, to

¹⁰⁸ Cain, “Silence and Cowardice,” 329.

¹⁰⁹ Tap, “Suppression of Dissent,” 6-8.

¹¹⁰ Similar organizations were not established out of the American Economic Association (AEA) or Political Science Association (PSA) despite the founder of the NBHS urging them to do so. The principle leaders of both groups both cited reasons such as inappropriateness of going on record on such controversial and compromising topics. Though of course, the American Historical Association did not take an official side in the war, it was affiliated with the NBHS. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 121.

mobilize the historical forces of the country for all the services to which they can be put.”¹¹¹

Thus, the NBHS functioned as a way for the scholar to “became a diplomat and also a patriot” by acting as a propaganda creator for the federal government.¹¹² Wilson’s actions in combination of the Committee of Public Information of which the NBHS consulted with helped to redefine the American identity.

The NBHS helped to create an emergency course of instruction about the war for children that emphasized heroism, patriotism, and sacrifice while stereotyping German culture as barbaric and violent.¹¹³ Additionally, the NBHS printed pamphlets on ways to teach history in regards to the war and through this implied “the past could have meaning and vitality only in relation to the needs of the present, as well as the view that history could and should be used to stimulate patriotism.”¹¹⁴ Clearly, the 1915 era atmosphere of academic impartiality was utterly destroyed by American entry into the war. Professors were fired for anything that even intimated at resistance to war efforts or encouraging others not to participate in war related activities.¹¹⁵ This would not end with the war, just as nationalism and xenophobia did not include after the war, but instead intensified.¹¹⁶ The continued zeal after the war can be attributed to the enthusiasm expressed during the conflict. University professors in Kentucky themselves became directly involved in the distribution of public information and headed government efforts to spread pro-

¹¹¹Hugo Hogendorf, “At your service! The National Board for Historical Service and its role in society and politics during Wartime America,” Master’s thesis, Leiden University, 2016. <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/38745>, 9.

¹¹² Ibid., 12.

¹¹³ Ibid., 29-30.

¹¹⁴ Gruber, Mars and Minerva, 132.

¹¹⁵ Tap, “Suppression of Dissent,” 4.

¹¹⁶ Cain, “Silence and Cowardice,” 297.

war rhetoric.¹¹⁷ This conflict of interest between heading a skewed governmental committee and running a supposedly unbiased educational institution was rectified by outright support from universities. There was no longer a pretense of neutrality on campuses, but overt suppression of anything contrary to war aims. “Patriotic Week” declared on September 25, 1917 in Kentucky by the Governor Stanley brought the war effort to campuses as active fundraising efforts began to take place at the universities across the state.¹¹⁸ In fact, institutions began to compete over who was more patriotic.¹¹⁹

While the “NBHS played a very important role for war becoming an affair of the mind...because it helped [reshape] the US thinking about war,” and contributed to the politicization of universities, the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) brought militarization to campus.¹²⁰ SATC was established on many campuses across the nation after it was congressionally approved on May 18, 1917. Qualified male students would become Cadets with active duty status and live under military conditions. They were taught War Issue courses which, “must include a course on the underlying issues of the war.”¹²¹ Universities such as the University of Georgia pledged their resources to the war effort as early as April 14th after the declaration of war.¹²² With the introduction of the SATC, all able-bodied men were enlisted and trained. Five hundred and sixteen colleges participated and 140,000 male students “assumed the

¹¹⁷David J. Bettez, "Higher Education." In *Kentucky and the Great War: World War I on the Home Front*, 243-60, (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2016) <http://www.jstor.org/jcu.idm.oclc.org/stable/j.ctt1f5g5vw.15>, 243.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 244.

¹¹⁹ Tap “Suppression of Dissent,” 3.

¹²⁰ Hogendorf, “At your service!” 43.

¹²¹ United State War Dept. Students’ Army Training Corps Regulations, 1918, Washington, Govt. print. Off., 1918. <http://archive.org/details/studentsarmytra00unit>.

¹²²Richard S. Faulkner, ““Our Patriotic Duty at Home and Abroad”: The University of Georgia in the First World War,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (1995): 920–39, 921.

novel status of student-soldiers.”¹²³ However, the program was canceled in December 1918, just three months after it was actually implemented, thus not achieving as large of an impact on the campus as its potential suggests due to its short-living nature.¹²⁴ Male students eighteen or older who enrolled in universities and were deemed physically capable were enlisted as privates and were to live under military discipline. This meant that they not only were to wear uniforms, but also were to live in “barracks” and have their schedule completely regulated. Additionally, they were to receive ten hours of military training a week. This separated them from the rest of the university physically and intellectually.¹²⁵

Richard S. Faulkner argues in his article “‘Our Patriotic Duty at Home and Abroad:’ The University of Georgia in the First World War” that the daily lives of those on campus were not largely affected by the war effort. His assessment of the effect of the war differs sharply when compared to the analysis of Bruce Tap in “Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era” which details the dismissals of several prominent professors and the ways in which the campus became both politicized and militarized. Faulkner claims that beyond the brief experience of the SATC, drain of men, and admittance of women as a result, the university was not severely impacted. This description seems to contradict that of the accounts of both Tap and Timothy Reese Cain in “‘Silence and Cowardice’ at the University of Michigan: World War I and the Pursuit of Un-American Faculty.” This could potentially be due to regional difference, but more likely, Faulkner omitted the experience of professors and looked closely at students. The suppression of free speech which marginally affected students in various ways and places, greatly affected professors when it came to

¹²³ Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 213.

¹²⁴ Faulkner, “Our Patriotic Duty,” 925-926. Carol S, Gruber suggests that the significance of this program affected not only the intellectual integrity of the university, but also the functionality as colleges were bound by their promises to fulfill their military obligations.

¹²⁵ Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 217-219.

academic freedom. The University of Michigan, with its scholastic emphasis on Germanic studies, especially underwent strong backlash during the belligerent phase of American participation, but a school like the University of Georgia, with its emphasis on agriculture, most likely did not have near as many students or professors involved in controversial studies.

Nonetheless, the University of Georgia saw a large portion of its students in active duty with the American declaration of war with 913 of its alumni holding commissions including brigadier generals. 8% of the 1917 graduating class died in military service as compared to the United State's Military Academy's 7%.¹²⁶ The war, despite Faulkner's downplay on everyday life at the University of Georgia, deeply impacted not only the psyche of the community, but the individuals, especially students with personal connections. The militarization of college campuses happened rapidly and mirrored the speed at which the United States went from a committed neutral power to belligerent. Equally as quickly was the way the universities were forced to demilitarize after the armistice. This deeply impacted the way universities functioned.

Universities are traditionally viewed as places for scholastic learning and incubators of debate, but even these havens of free speech were not preserved in the face of international crisis. The federal government and nationalist groups coopted universities as means to create justification, often by attacking enemy-aliens and those who had affiliations with the Central powers. While colleges are often arenas in which political demonstration plays out, this period especially strengthened the connection between higher education and politics. Perhaps less obvious is the connection with the military. While the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) had been instituted in 1916 with the National Defense Act, and continues to exist to this day, the SATC represented an extension of the draft in that able-bodied men were able to pursue their

¹²⁶ Faulkner, "Our Patriotic Duty," 922-923.

education while still actively fulfilling their civic duty.¹²⁷ ROTC smoothed the transition of the SATC, but differed in several important ways. For one thing, ROTC was optional and was meant for reserve. Additionally, it provided significantly less incentives for Universities. With an impending financial crisis looming over many universities, the additional funding available from adopting the SATC program proved attractive. Furthermore, the drain on student, faculty, and administrative populations was somewhat stymied when the Student Training Corps was implemented. This was due to the fact that not only were draft aged faculty that were viewed as essential for student raining were except from direct service, but campaigns by the academic institutions were able to equate patriotism with attending college.¹²⁸

The American's Creed

by William Tyler Page

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed, a democracy in a republic, a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

Figure 5.1 *Written 1917, accepted by the United States House of Representatives on April 3, 1918.*

¹²⁷ Ibid., 925.

¹²⁸ Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 223, 225, 228-229.

Academic and civil liberties were limited during the war both on campus and in the classroom. This phenomenon included all grades from kinder garden to university. It was a mass mobilization of resources by both private citizens in national groups and federal efforts to integrate nationalism into education. The American Creed, a staple of classroom schedules during this period, came as a result of a nation wide contest sponsored by the media: the most patriotic was adopted into school rituals.¹²⁹ Similarly, the Pledge of Allegiance was modified during the First World War. The words “my flag” were changed to “the flag of the United States of America” to avoid disloyal immigrants from changing the intention of the pledge. Additionally, students were even arrested for refusing to say the pledge in schools.¹³⁰ Through changes such as these, education became yet another resource to funnel into the war.

The use of its education system to further American ambitions in the war is by far not unique, amongst both its allies and the Central Powers. As a late entry in the war, and facing serious opposition in the form of a substantial number of enemy-alien residents, both the federal government and autonomous nationalist organizations endeavored to leave no resource untapped. In primary school this meant taking advantage of impressionable minds as propaganda mouthpieces. In university, academic freedom was suspended in favor of national security. Immigrants faced pressure in all aspects of society, and education was no exception. The coopting of education, especially at the higher level, was a battle of ethics as professors and

¹²⁹ John Higham, *Strangers In The Land: Patterns Of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, (New Brunswick, NJ : Rutgers University Press, [2002],) <http://hdl.handle.net/jcu.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.00398.0001.001>, 205.

¹³⁰ Proving whether any immigrants actually changed the intention of the Pledge of Allegiance from swearing loyalty to the United States to their own country remains difficult to prove. However, perhaps more importantly, this illustrates the paranoia surrounding immigrants during this period that even silent dissent as not tolerated by the larger community. Cecilia O’Leary, and Tony Platt. "Pledging Allegiance: The Revival of Prescriptive Patriotism." In *Beyond September 11: An Anthology of Dissent*, edited by Scraton Phil, 173-76. London; Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 2002. doi:10.2307/j.ctt18fs9k4.31, 175.

administrators struggled to justify their lack of impartiality and academic objectivity that had just recently been hailed as the foundation of intellectualism. While many found it easy to rationalize the overlap of professional duty with civic response to a national crisis, those that objected were often silenced and labeled as traitors. Educational support and justification for the war cannot be overstated in its importance. This period showed a severe lack in academic integrity as facts were often substituted for convenience. Nationalism entered the schoolroom not gradually, but all at once after the entry of America into the conflict. This indicates a preexisting propensity and willingness for the cooptation of academics for national aims, thus raising the question, how far does the influence of nationalism extend and is academic integrity possible to maintain in wartime.

6. Conclusion

An increase in nationalism and suspicion of immigrants combined in this period to redefine what it meant to be American. As America became further entrenched in global affairs, it began to attempt to present a united front at home. In doing so, the United States opened the door for nationalist groups, sponsored by the government and privately run, to form and rapidly grow their membership and public support. Communities that had previously coexisted with immigrants peacefully if not happily suddenly created a sharp divide between “them” and “us.”

American nationalism increasingly became value-based rather than reliant ethnic similarities. This is not to say that racism or prejudice disappeared, but that loyalty was prioritized over historic ties. Thus, immigrants from allied nations were able to retain strong ties to homelands, as this did not contradict American interests. However, for enemy-alien residents within the United States political or even emotional ties to their home country were viewed as intrinsically disloyal and dangerous. Additionally, while some immigrants were able to assimilate through this value-based system, acceptance by American society was still closed to African Americans and Native Americans based on racial prejudice.

American identity in this can be framed with not only relying on ideas about liberty, democracy, and individualism, but also on a martial identity. The American military experience in World War One trickled into the home front to alter the make-up of society. The United States’ government utilized the economy to maximize wartime production and made a concerted effort to coopt societal attitudes to further the war effort. Framing the First World War as a crusade for democracy situated the United States a righteous global protector of freedom. An increasingly interventionist period, the United States began to adopt their future role as the world

police. Despite this important development in American mindset, World War One is often not much more than a footnote within American history. The reason for this may lie in the limited military involvement of America, as they entered the war shortly before the conclusion of hostilities, which was somehow construed as limited societal impact. While it is true that the United States saw a limited amount of combat, especially in comparison to its allies, American society had been grappling with the ripple effects of the First World War long before American official entry. Furthermore, this represents a dark period for American civil liberties and is filled with contradictions about American values. Thus, it might be convenient to omit the influence of this period on the United States.

However, this began the Red Scare, which would police how Americans were expected to act and what they were expected to believe. Anything that deviated from the mainstream belief was labeled dangerous as America struggled to shake off the wartime mentality of domestic threats from foreigners. World War One marked the turning point in American identity as its martial identity was expanded to include completely external conflicts within its realm of responsibilities. Attitudes towards immigrants and shifting immigrant identities played a key role within this change as the more the United States became involved in world affairs, the less tolerant it became to foreignness within its own borders.

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