

THE 1901 FORT WAYNE, INDIANA CITY ELECTION:  
A POLITICAL DIALOGUE OF ETHNIC TENSION

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## INTRODUCTION

On June 15, 1901, the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, prepared for the arrival of over three thousand visitors from across Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Kentucky coming to participate in the biennial District Turnfest or “bezirks.” The decorating committee lined the streets with red, gold and black bunting to represent the Turner colors and merchants attached oak boughs to their doors to symbolize Germany’s emblem. Police Lieutenant Henry Lapp, one of Fort Wayne’s oldest Turners, led the opening parade through the city followed by Shober’s First Regiment Band and the teams of Turners wearing their gray uniforms and bearing torches. The reception after the parade included performances by Shober’s Band and a combined choir of Fort Wayne’s singing societies, Concordia, Gruetli, Eintracht and Vorwaerts. The next day, an estimated 13,000 people, “the local Germans—and many who claim[ed] no kinship to Teuton blood,” gathered at the park to observe the competitions; many stayed to enjoy the *Sommernachtsfest* that followed. The crowds marveled at the athletic displays that included team gymnastics, swimming, relay races, bicycle races, wrestling, fencing, shot put, running broad jumps, rope climbing, weightlifting, pole vaulting and steel wand routines. The final event of the first day featured a performance of all the competitors in platoon formation demonstrating techniques in unison. According to the local press accounts, “The changes were executed so quickly and dexterously, and some difficult movements carried out with such apparent ease, and always with such precision, that the big audience fairly went into raptures and the applause that greeted the spectacle was long, loud, and hearty.” Winners received a diploma and a wreath of oak leaves presented by German maidens. Social activities at the



Turnfest included an evening of music at Centlivre Park, a festival ball at Saengerbund Hall, tours of Berghoff brewery and the new court building, and trolley trips to Robison Park. Fort Wayne welcomed German American festivals and visitors. On the last day of the Turnfest, the papers announced that the 1902 Indiana Saengerfest would be held in the city.<sup>1</sup>

At the turn of the century, Fort Wayne's population of 45,115 included an estimated sixty percent of German descent. German Americans actively participated in the cultural, business, religious and political life of the city. Factories, such as Wayne Knitting Mills, founded by a German American, and Berghoff Brewery, launched by German immigrants, employed a large number of workers. German Americans owned hotels, stores and restaurants including most of the local saloons and retail bakeries. The church directory published in the paper noted nine churches conducting services in German. Catholic Bishop John Henry Luers, a German immigrant, and a group of nuns from Hessen Cassel, Germany, had established one of the two hospitals located in Fort Wayne at that time. Education options in the city included two German public elementary schools, eleven Catholic and Lutheran elementary schools, two Catholic high schools and a Lutheran college. Historian Jim Sack noted, "By now [the 1890s] one was likely to hear German spoken on the streets, in the shops and the factories, not to mention in the home,

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<sup>1</sup> The Turner movement began in Germany during the early 19th century. Turners strengthened their bodies through gymnastic exercises and also embraced democratic principles. Many took part in the 1848 Revolution in Germany and then emigrated to the United States when the Revolution failed. Fort Wayne's Turner group, the Turnverein Vorwärts, organized in 1865. Sack, Jim. "The Germans in Fort Wayne." In *History of Fort Wayne & Allen County, Indiana*, edited by John D. Beatt. Evansville, IN: M.T. Publishing Company, 2006, 1:686. "City Full of Turners," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, June 17, 1901, 1, 2; "The Turnfest Opens," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, June 16, 1901, 1, 6; Decorations also included, "the red, white and blue colors, so dear to the liberty-loving German-Americans." "The Turners Here," *The Fort Wayne News*, June 15, 1901, 1; "The Prize Competition," *The Fort Wayne News*, June 17, 1901, 4; "Turners Have Gone," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, June 19, 1901, 4; "Marched around the Block," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, June 18, 1901, 1.

schools and churches.” The 1901 city elected demonstrated the political involvement of the German American population. In the race for mayor, German immigrant Henry Berghoff prevailed against two other German American candidates. According to Fred Reynolds, “Almost every city official including the twenty members of the City Council had names of Teutonic origin.”<sup>2</sup>

German Americans in Fort Wayne experienced success at many levels; however their English-speaking American neighbors did not fully accept them. Fort Wayne historian Clifford Scott characterized the relationship between German and Anglo Americans as a series of “long-term cultural clashes” over issues of religion, social drinking, language and women’s suffrage. German American Lutherans and Catholics in the Democratic Party struggled with the Anglo Protestant Republicans for political leadership. During the emotionally laden World War I period, German Americans experienced pressure to abandon signs of their German heritage and adopt patriotic American behaviors. Scott noted that in the years leading up to World War I, “cultural conflicts moved from the second to the front page of the local press.” Scott’s research in

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<sup>2</sup> Clifton Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1968), 366; Clifford Scott, "Hoosier Kulturkampf: Anglo-German Cultural Conflicts in Fort Wayne, 1840-1920," *Journal of German-American Studies* 15, no. 1 (1980): 13. Scott used census records to determine the first and second generation population. The article did not mention which countries of origin he included. The third generation size was extrapolated from the second generation size; "The Mayor's Speech," *The Journal-Gazette*, June 16, 1901, 6. In his speech, Berghoff claimed at least two-thirds of Fort Wayne residents were Germans; Bert J. Griswold, "Two Hundred Years of Fort Wayne Advertising," in *Quest Club Papers* (Fort Wayne, IN 1915), 8. In a speech presented to Fort Wayne's Quest Club in 1915, Griswold stated, "that about eighty per cent of its [Fort Wayne] present population is German."; Fred Reynolds, "Fort Wayne in 1900," *Old Fort News* 43, no. 1 (1980): 18, 16, 10, 9; "Church Directory," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 1, 1901, 7; Joseph Michael White, *Worthy of the Gospel of Christ: A History of the Catholic Diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend: Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the Diocese and Catholic Life in Northern Indiana*, 1st ed. (Fort Wayne, IN: Diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend, 2007), 112; Jim Sack, "The Germans in Fort Wayne," in *History of Fort Wayne & Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005*, ed. John D. Beatty (Evansville, IN: M.T. Publishing Company, 2006), 1:690. This thesis applies the term "German American" to those whose ancestors came from German-speaking areas of Europe. German immigrant refers to a person born in a German-speaking country regardless of their citizenship status. When referring to a group, German American may include German immigrants. Contemporary writers also used "Germans" to refer to those of German origin or heritage.

the Allen County Council of Defense records revealed verbal and physical harassment of German Americans and coercive pressure to support the American war effort through the purchase of war bonds. Lutheran Church pastors and members recalled spies, possibly sent by the County Council of Defense, who attended religious services to monitor German language usage. Public and private forces compelled German Americans “to adopt every article, symbol, and slogan of [American] wartime patriotism.” Scott concluded, “The evidence strongly suggests that German cultural traits and activities were driven from the public arena” and “the Anglo-assimilationist *Kulturkampf* was victorious.”<sup>3</sup>

The two contrasting images of German acceptance in Fort Wayne raise questions about the level of ethnic tension in Fort Wayne prior to World War I. Sociologist Milton Gordon described assimilation as a seven stage process ranging from the adoption of cultural markers by the new residents to an acceptance by the host society that reflected an absence of prejudice, discrimination and value struggles. An election period can reveal the issues that divide the political parties and the community. During the 1901 city election, the dialogue between the Fort Wayne Democratic and Republican newspapers offered a glimpse at the publically expressed attitudes about German Americans and indicates the level of open tension between the host community and the new residents. Although the editors’ comments may not reflect the readers’ opinions, the comments demonstrate the limits of socially acceptable discourse. The following analysis of the publically expressed attitudes about Germany and the German American population in Fort Wayne during the 1901 city election evaluates the host community for signs of

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<sup>3</sup> Scott, "Hoosier Kulturkampf," 15, 17. Kulturkampf: The anti-Catholic policies implemented by German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck in the 1870s; "Fort Wayne German-Americans in World War I: A Cultural Flu Epidemic," *Old Fort News* 40, no. 2 (1977): 8.

acceptance or antagonism through a comparison of the Democratic and Republican newspapers' editorial pages and news sections.<sup>4</sup>

The Fort Wayne city election provides a unique opportunity to observe German American integration and anti-German prejudice. The election demonstrates German Americans successfully participating in the public arena. Three candidates of German descent battled for the office of mayor with the victor being a German immigrant. The political dialogue acknowledged the strength of the German voters, yet circled around mention of the candidates' nativity. Although the parties hoped to attract German American voters, the news coverage included negative portrayals of the candidates' homeland. At the time, media in the United States criticized Germany's actions in China and ridiculed Germany's leader, Kaiser Wilhelm. The underlying tension between the Democratic Party, the party traditionally associated with German Americans in Fort Wayne, and the Republican Party revealed itself in the newspaper coverage of Germany. While the Republican *News* mirrored the negative tenor of the national news, the Democratic *Journal-Gazette* tempered the criticism with apologist statements by the German press. Similarly, the Republican paper displayed more animosity towards Kaiser Wilhelm than the Democratic paper.<sup>5</sup>

At the local level, the campaign discourse exposed veiled tension between the German American and Anglo American people. The few direct ethnic slurs appear muted by the presence of three German American candidates. A closer reading of the election dialogue uncovers attitudes indicative of ethnic antagonism. Both parties framed their

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<sup>4</sup> Milton Myron Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

<sup>5</sup> Clara Eve Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment toward Germany, 1870-1914* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1923).

platforms and debates with terms laden with cultural meaning. The Republicans praised the patriotism demonstrated by candidate's service in the military, while the Democrats asserted that being a true American consisted of embracing democratic principles. The Democrats couched their campaign cry for "home rule" with references to the American Revolution and the perils of autocracy. Meanwhile, the Republican complaints about the Democratic "ring" emphasized the foreign nature of immigrant political leaders.

### **Primary Source: Newspapers**

From 1880 to 1890, the number of daily newspapers in the United States increased from 971 papers to 2226 papers (129%). Historian Ted Curtis Smythe's calculation of the 1900 newspaper circulation per urban household found an average of 2.61 daily papers per household, the highest rate reached from 1850 to 2000. He noted that an increase in evening papers raised the circulation per household rates due to duplication of subscribers. After reviewing several studies, Smythe concluded, "In metropolitan areas it was not uncommon for many people to read two or more papers daily. Even in smaller cities and towns duplication could be high." Historian Paul Nord explored newspaper readership by class. His investigation of the Seventh Annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Labor (1891) revealed that approximately seventy-seven percent of the working class families reported spending money on newspapers and books. Fort Wayne readers who were interested in politics likely read more than one account of the election. During the 1901 campaign period in Fort Wayne, the newspaper editors engaged in an active dialogue with each other. Many of the editorial comments referred to statements

made on the competitors' pages. In many cases, to follow the election debate the readers would need to read both sides.<sup>6</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the newspaper business transitioned from a state of dependence on political party support to a reliance on advertising revenue. In the partisan era, community papers often relied on patronage based government printing contracts to supplement meager incomes from subscriptions and advertisers. Majority party editors could hope to be rewarded with the position of postmaster. Media specialist Gerald Baldasty noted the connection went beyond financial control. "Parties were not, in a sense, dictating to newspapers; rather newspapers had been integrated into the party apparatus." Mechanical improvements, technological innovations, stylistic changes and journalist adoptions affected the dynamics of the business. To finance the transformations, papers pursued advertising dollars. Baldasty argued that the profit motive reduced the political advocacy in newspapers. "Rather than wooing voters, many newspapers had come to woo consumers, whose numbers would lure advertisers." In contrast, journalism specialist Hazel Dicken Garcia argued that the shift reflected cultural values brought about by the consumer demand for a separation of news and editorial content originating in the Civil War period. Professional standards of objectivity followed and displaced the one-sided partisan approach. Sociologist Richard Kaplan disputed both models. He claimed that the contentious 1896 election changed the political climate and

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<sup>6</sup> George Everett and Joseph W. Campbell, "The Age of New Journalism," in *The Media in America: A History*, ed. W. David Sloan (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2011), 224; Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Diffusion of the Urban Daily, 1850-1900," *Journalism History* 28, no. 2 (2002): 73, 78; David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 229.

contributed to the decrease in partisan journalism. All three authors considered the turn of the century as a pivotal point in the decline of the partisan press model.<sup>7</sup>

During the 1901 election, Fort Wayne's daily newspapers still represented the partisan press model with three daily Democratic papers and two daily Republican papers. The editorial pages of the Democratic *Journal-Gazette* and the Republican *News* engaged in an active dialogue about the candidates and the election issues. The *Journal-Gazette* published a morning paper with eight pages, Monday through Friday and ten to sixteen pages, Saturday and Sunday; the *News* published an afternoon paper with eight pages, Monday through Saturday. This thesis compares the content of the *Journal-Gazette* and the *News* because of the direct exchange between the editors. On occasion, the Democratic *Sentinel* provides additional supporting evidence. Unfortunately, no extant copies of the two German-language papers, the Democratic *Staats-Zeitung* or the Republican *Freie Presse*, exist; these merged into the Democratic *Freie Presse-Staats-Zeitung* in 1908.<sup>8</sup>

## **Methodology**

The first chapter of this thesis places Fort Wayne in historical context of German immigration and Indiana history. The second and third chapters investigate the editorial pages for evidence of ethnic tension. I also reference a few articles of an editorial nature outside of the editorial pages. The second chapter provides background information about the election and examines indications of the candidates' ethnicity and references to the

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<sup>7</sup> Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 35; Hazel Dicken Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Richard L. Kaplan, *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 190.

<sup>8</sup> Clifford Scott, "Assimilation in a German-American Community: The Impact of World War I," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 52(1980): 166. Scott reports that Editor Herman Mackwitz offered the city library a full run of the German language paper when it went out of business in 1927. When the Anglo-Irish librarian snubbed the offer, Mackwitz burned the copies in his backyard

German language papers. The third chapter considers the editorial comment about Germany, the intertwining of ethnicity and the issues, and ethnic name-calling. In order to identify underlying bias for or against Germany and to better understand the context of the references to German ethnicity, the fourth chapter explores the portrayal of Germany in the Fort Wayne papers. Chapter four considers the largest subcategory—Germany’s role in China—and the subcategory that received the most negative attention—Germany’s leader.

The selected dates for this study, April 1, 1901, through May 15, 1901, include the Democratic nominating convention on April 3, 1901, the Republican nominating convention on April 11, 1901, and the city election on May 7, 1901. Full page copies of the 1901 *Journal-Gazette*, *News* and *Sentinel* are available on microfilm and digitally at a commercial website. In order to identify the page content, I applied keyword tags to the digital images of the *Journal-Gazette* and *News* pages. In the initial pass, I assigned the keywords based on a cursory reading of article titles. I began with a general set of keywords for topics such as the political parties, religion and international news. As I worked through the pages, I added more specific keywords and new topics. For instance, the keyword “religion” expanded into subcategories for each faith. Altogether, I used 160 keywords.<sup>9</sup>

Evaluating the content of the editorial pages posed challenges. Each page received multiple keywords; however, keywords did not capture the nuances of the political dialogue. Additionally, the image quality of the scanned pages did not permit reliable computer aided word searches of the actual pages. I utilized the caption field of the software to add extensive notes to each page, being mindful to include the words

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<sup>9</sup> "Fold3," (Lindon, UT: <http://www.fold3.com/>, 2013).



employed by the editors. I employed computer aided searches of my notes to identify and collate the relevant editorial sections as I wrote.

Both papers included international news on their front page and dispersed throughout the issue. During April and May of 1901, readers in Fort Wayne learned about the Boer conflict in South African between the United Kingdom and the Dutch Afrikaners, weighed the merits of Nicaragua as a site for a canal across Central America and worried about the situation in the Balkans. News about Cuba's rejection of the Platt amendment and the continued fighting in the Philippines received frequent coverage. Germany's role in China and growing presence in South America caught the readers' attention. Anarchist plots to assassinate German Kaiser Wilhelm and the Kaiser's imprudent remarks focused thought on the unstable relationship between the United States and Germany. Overall, the Philippines, China and Germany received the most international news coverage.

After identifying the pages with articles about Germany, I created virtual copies of the pages and cropped the copies to article size. I added notes about the individual articles in the caption field which later allowed me to pinpoint the articles by subcategory. As I studied the articles about Germany, I found topics I had missed when I read the headlines. For instance, in the first pass I had missed articles about Germany in China if the headline only mentioned China. I used the software filters to find the pages with articles about China and read the articles to identify additional content about Germany. After a general reading of the articles about Germany, I researched the issues to gain a better understanding of the attitudes they conveyed. Dr. Clara Schieber's 1923

nationwide analysis of newspapers and magazines also helped determine the 1901 American point of view.

In the final reading of the articles on Germany, I classified each article as positive, neutral, apologist or negative based on the attitude or tone towards Germany's actions. The rating criteria varied by category. In general, positive articles commended actions in Germany; neutral articles related events without direct comment; apologist articles included the German press response to negative American news coverage and negative articles focused on German actions that offended or threatened the United States. Adding the assigned tone rating to the article as a keyword allowed me to quantitatively compare the attitudes about Germany expressed in the *Journal-Gazette* and the *News*.

## CHAPTER ONE

### History of German Americans in Indiana and Fort Wayne



**Figure 1. Map of Indiana.** The star represents Fort Wayne in Allen County.

Historians describe immigration to the United States as a series of waves, beginning with several during the colonial and revolutionary periods. The area that became Indiana had very few European settlers in the early colonial period but several Native American groups, many of whom were migrants themselves. The Miamis and Potawatomis established trade relations with the French during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Around 1700, the Miami people established a village called Kekionga at the strategic confluence of the St. Joseph, St. Marys and Maumee rivers, a

well-situated place that became the settlement, town, and city of Fort Wayne. In 1722, the French built Fort St. Philippe des Miamis near Kekionga to protect their fur trade interest from British encroachment. After the British victory over the French in the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), the British took control of the area and renamed the structure Fort Miami. During the American Revolution, General George Rogers Clark led forces into southern Indiana and took control of Fort Vincennes on the Wabash River. Native Americans continued to fight for their land in the north and Fort Miami remained a British outpost until the conclusion of the Northwest Indian War in 1794. After the Battle of Fallen Timbers, victorious American General Anthony Wayne built a new fort across from Kekionga that was named in his honor.<sup>10</sup>

Immigration temporarily declined after the American Revolutionary War but picked up again after the War of 1812 and continued until the economic panic of the 1870s. Census records reveal almost 7.6 million immigrants arrived in the United States from 1820 to 1880 with German (3.1 million) and Irish (2.8 million) the predominant groups. In some countries, specific events triggered notable group migration. For examples, more than a million Irish departed their homeland during the potato blight of 1845 to 1855 that exacerbated the already poor economic conditions and a few thousand German intellectuals left their homeland after the Revolution of 1848 failed. More generally, people emigrated for varied and complex reasons, including in response to changing economic systems such as industrialization and the commercialization of

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<sup>10</sup> John D. Beatty, "'That Glorious Gate': The Contest for the Three Rivers Region," in *History of Fort Wayne & Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005*, ed. John D. Beatty (Evansville, IN: M. T. Publishing Company, 2006), 1:9-15; Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert Taylor Jr. and Connie A. McBirnet (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 148. Hoyt noted the presence of German names at Fort Vincennes in the early to mid-eighteenth century and among General Clark's troops.

agriculture. Many travelled to the United States in pursuit of affordable land and better economic opportunities.<sup>11</sup>

The majority of the nineteenth-century wave of German immigrants to the United States settled in the so-called German triangle loosely defined by Saint Louis, Milwaukee and Cincinnati. Most lived in rural areas but a sizable portion settled in large cities along the shores of the Great Lakes and the transportation routes of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Like other immigrant groups, Germans often clustered in districts or neighborhoods. Kathleen Neils Conzen noted that, “Germans were more successful in carving out such enclaves than many other 19th-century immigrants.” Germans engaged in agriculture and in skilled trades such as “bakers, butchers, cabinet makers, cigar makers, distillers, machinists and tailors.” Unlike the predominantly Catholic Irish immigrants, Germans belonged to a variety of religions including Protestants, especially Lutherans, Catholics, Anabaptists, Jews and Freethinkers.<sup>12</sup>

Over the years, German Americans developed a reputation for political inaptitude and often failed to capitalize on their numeric strength. Although German Americans preferred the Democratic Party, Conzen argued that their “disunity . . . prevented overwhelming numbers from rallying behind a single party.” Walter Kamphoefner’s comparison of Irish and German mayors from large urban cities (1820-1980) discovered that German immigrants were slightly more successful than Irish Catholics in obtaining office. He argued that German American political strength expressed itself in cultural

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<sup>11</sup> Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Perennial, 2002), 124, 29, 46-47. Daniels noted that the German count did not include German-speakers who emigrated from outside of the post-1871 boundary of Germany.

<sup>12</sup> *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Perennial, 2002), 150-51; Kathleen Neils Conzen, “Germans,” in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1980), 416.

issues such as “education, language and alcohol.” Kamphoefner concluded, “German Americans were able to wield a considerable amount of influence in urban politics, particularly during the era up to World War I.” In general, German Americans opposed Sunday restrictions, women’s suffrage, temperance and American imperialism.<sup>13</sup>

Indiana gained statehood in 1816 concurrent with the start of the nineteenth-century waves of immigration. Three distinct groups of migrants settled the state. The first and largest group came from upland south, which included German Americans from Pennsylvania who had previously migrated to Tennessee and Kentucky. This first group settled in southern Indiana and included the Harmony Society led by German immigrant Georg Rapp (1814). Migrants from the Mid-Atlantic States of New York and Pennsylvania began to fill the central region of Indiana in the 1820s. Native American resistance to forced land treaties limited U.S. migration to the north region. Significant settlement did not develop in northern Indiana until the 1830s and 1840s when many of the migrants came from the New England States. In Fort Wayne, however, more migrants came from Pennsylvania and Ohio than from New England.<sup>14</sup>

After serving as a military outpost and as the site for the Indian Agency, Fort Wayne transitioned to a civilian settlement in 1819 with a population of less than 200 white people. In 1823, the U.S. Land Office opened in the Fort Wayne area and the state legislature formed Allen County. Six years later, the town of Fort Wayne officially incorporated. The construction of the Wabash & Erie Canal from 1832 to 1843 led to a

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<sup>13</sup> "Germans," 421-22; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German and Irish Big City Mayors: Comparative Perspectives on Ethnic Politics," in *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Wolfgang Johannes Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2004), 242.

<sup>14</sup> James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 58-62; Beatty, "A City Takes Root: Fort Wayne's Pioneer Development," 1:32.

boom in economic development and population. German workers helped build the canal and stayed in the city taking advantage of land offers. Bert Griswold noted that although the canal was a financial failure, “the great waterway became the most effective of all mediums in attracting thousands to this most favored spot.” The state legislature approved a city charter for Fort Wayne in 1840. According to historian John Beatty, “By the 1840s, Fort Wayne had come to resemble many other western towns of the period.” The city had planked roads, a fire department, churches, a library, newspapers, and private schools.<sup>15</sup>

Fort Wayne’s German American population began with a few settlers in the 1820s and continued to grow. Henry Rudisill (1801-1858) played an important role in encouraging German settlement in Fort Wayne. Born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, second generation German American Rudisill spoke English and German. He and his family came to Fort Wayne in 1829. First working as a land agent, Rudisill then built a gristmill in 1830, introduced the first machine to card wool, owned a dry goods store, served as postmaster and as Allen County Commissioner, participated in the organization of the first fire department and founded the first Lutheran church. Rudisill actively recruited Germans to Fort Wayne in the 1830s and 1840s by sending letters to immigration officials and authorities in Europe asking for German workers. When immigration slowed in 1850, Rudisill headed a city committee to petition the state legislature to encourage immigration. In 1915, Griswold claimed “To the enterprise and loyalty of one citizen—Henry Rudisill—Fort Wayne may give thanks that about eighty percent of its present population is German.” Fort Wayne religious leader Friedrich K.D. Wynekan, a German

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<sup>15</sup> "A City Takes Root: Fort Wayne's Pioneer Development," 1:26, 1:34; Griswold, "Two Hundred Years of Fort Wayne Adverstising," 9.

immigrant, also encouraged Germans to come to America to help strengthen the Lutheran faith.<sup>16</sup>

Germans in Fort Wayne established cultural institutions and participated in the government. In 1837, a German Lutheran congregation formed and a German immigrant led the Catholic Church. In 1848, twelve German families in Fort Wayne formed the first Jewish congregation in Indiana. By the 1840s, Fort Wayne held Lutheran Concordia College and a German Catholic school. Early on, German Americans engaged in the political sphere. According to nineteenth-century historian Wallace Brice, "He [Rudisill] probably did more than any other man, through his personal influence with the Germans, to make the Democratic party the ruling party in the county." In addition to Rudisill's appointments, Fort Wayne elected German Americans Henry Lotz as its third mayor and Andreas Metzger as city judge (1843). German Americans served as council members and township trustees. Fort Wayne published Indiana's first German language newspaper, *Der Deutsche Beobachter von Indiana* (1843). In 1848, German Americans organized one of the first fire companies in Fort Wayne.<sup>17</sup>

Although Fort Wayne's religious community formed in a spirit of cooperation, early hints of ethnic tension appeared in religious differences over temperance and German language use. The early Presbyterian congregation received financial support from Lutherans and in turn assisted the Lutheran congregation's quest for a pastor. A few

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<sup>16</sup> Sack, "The Germans in Fort Wayne," 1:676; Wallace A. Brice, *History of Fort Wayne: From the Earliest Known Accounts of This Point, to the Present Period* (Fort Wayne, IN: D.W. Jones & Son, 1868), Sketch 16; Bert J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana: A Review of Two Centuries of Occupation of the Region About the Head of the Maumee River* (Chicago: Robert O. Law Company, 1917), 1:297; Lura Case Woodworth, Carolyn Randall Fairbank, and Martha Brandriff Hanna, *Reminiscences of Old Fort Wayne* (Fort Wayne, IN: Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County, 1906), n.p.; Griswold, "Two Hundred Years of Fort Wayne Adverstising," 8.

<sup>17</sup> Sack, "The Germans in Fort Wayne," 1:679. Sack noted that most positions in the 1840s were held by Anglo Americans; Brice, *History of Fort Wayne: From the Earliest Known Accounts of This Point, to the Present Period* Sketch 16; Beatty, "Fort Wayne in the Civil War Era," 1:42, 56.



years later, the two groups no longer held religious fellowship with one another. Presbyterian pastor Charles Furman formed the first temperance club in 1830 with a membership of more than forty. In 1846, Fort Wayne's first Lutheran church, St. Paul, split over its leader Wilhelm Sihler's insistence on the exclusive use of the German language in religious services, literature and school instruction. Germans also established Methodist, Lutheran, Catholic and Jewish congregations in Fort Wayne during the pioneer period.<sup>18</sup>

In the early 1850s, city leaders contracted to build a railroad line. Fort Wayne became an important transportation hub with the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Line and the Toledo & Wabash Line serving the city. During the Civil War period, the city included two banks, the Summit City Woolen Mill, a hoop factory, a foundry, a steel plow factory and other light industry as well as mercantile businesses. Fort Wayne dealt with the challenges of rapid community growth successfully and responded to the needs for better roads, improved fire protection, sanitary sewers, street lighting, crime reduction and public schools. The town was not without social tension which was most evident when it dealt with the issues of prohibition, women's rights, labor organization and the Civil War.<sup>19</sup>

In the 1850s, nativist fears led to the formation of the anti-immigration Know Nothing Party. The party opposed Catholicism, radicalism and drinking, and expected new immigrants to conform to Protestant Anglo norms. For example, traditional American religious groups were offended by the custom of certain German Americans because they held Sunday social events that often included beer drinking. John Dawson,

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<sup>18</sup> George Ross Mather, *Frontier Faith: The Story of the Pioneer Congregations of Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1820-1860* (Fort Wayne, IN: Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society, 1992), 27, 26, 112.

<sup>19</sup> Beatty, "Fort Wayne in the Civil War Era," 1:41-60.

editor of the *Fort Wayne Daily Times*, purportedly took an active role in the party.

Indiana's Know Nothing Party claimed 60,000 members in 1854 with the majority in the southern portion of the state. In 1855, the party controlled the Indiana state legislature and succeeded in passing a prohibition law. In response, Fort Wayne Democrats held a funeral for Captain Alcohol, complete with funeral procession. Most members of the short-lived Know Nothing Party eventually joined the Republican Party.<sup>20</sup>

During the Civil War, Fort Wayne German Americans divided over the issues of slavery and the draft; however, Allen County remained a Democratic stronghold.

Historian G. Stanley Hood concluded, "Much has been written about Allen County's opposition to the Civil War, but in reality . . . Allen County citizens generally supported the war efforts." One count of Fort Wayne soldiers with German surnames in Indiana regiments totaled eight hundred. Several German social clubs formed after the war: the Fort Wayne Turnverein Vorwärts (1865), the Fort Wayne Männerchor and Damenchor (1869) and the Fort Wayne Sängerbund (1869). German language maintenance remained strong. Beatty noted that in the 1870s merchants needed to be conversant in both English and German.<sup>21</sup>

By the 1870s, German Americans had established a strong foundation in Fort Wayne. Fort Wayne's 1870 population had grown to 17,718 residents and Allen County held 43,494 people with 5,347 German-born residents. Allen County had a larger

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<sup>20</sup> Carl Fremont Brand, "History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana: (Continued)," *Indiana Magazine of History* 18, no. 2 (1922): 204; "The History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 18, no. 1 (1922): 61; "The Knownothing Party in Indiana (Continued)," *Indiana Magazine of History* 18, no. 3 (1922): 305; G. Stanley Hood, "Political History of Allen County," in *History of Fort Wayne & Allen County, 1700-2005*, ed. John D. Beatty (Evansville, IN: M.T. Publishing Company, 2006), 1:291.

<sup>21</sup> "Political History of Allen County," 1:293; Sack, "The Germans in Fort Wayne," 1:685. Sack referenced Charles F. Bragg, *Memorial Record of Allen County Soldiers, War of Rebellion 1861-1865* for the soldier count. John D. Beatty, "Fort Wayne in the Civil War Era," *ibid.* (M. T. Publishing Company), 1:56.

percentage of foreign-born residents, of second-generation immigrants and of German-born residents and a larger percentage of the foreign-born were German immigrants than the state-wide averages. County-wide, twenty percent of the population was foreign-born and another twenty-eight percent were second-generation immigrants. People born in Germany counted as 12.3% of the total Allen County population and as 61% of the foreign-born population. In comparison, Indiana's population consisted of 8.4% foreign-born and 11.8% second-generation immigrants. People born in Germany counted as 4.6% of the state population and 55% of the state foreign-born population. The statistics on the number of foreign-born and German-born residents do not take into account the number of second or third generation German Americans in Fort Wayne.<sup>22</sup>

The large urban centers in the Midwest had a higher percentage of foreign-born and German-born populations than Fort Wayne. By 1870, the largest number of German immigrants in the Midwest travelled to Milwaukee. In addition to a higher concentration of German-born, Milwaukee contained immigrants from a wider geographic area. Conzen noted that Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland and Toledo attracted an ethnical diverse group of immigrants. In Fort Wayne, only the Irish and the French population reached more than 400 immigrants in 1870. See table 1 on page 21 for a comparison of the 1870 Allen County; Indiana; Milwaukee County, Wisconsin; and Cook County, Illinois (Chicago) foreign-born and German-born populations.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*, 1:489; "Historical Census Browser," (<http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/>: Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, University of Virginia, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> "Historical Census Browser; Conzen, "Germans," 213.

**Table 1. 1870 Census Population Comparison**

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<b>Location</b>	<b>% Foreign-Born</b>	<b>% Second Generation</b>	<b>% German-Born</b>	<b>German % of Foreign-Born</b>
Allen County, IN	20.14%	28.27%	12.29%	61.04%
Indiana	8.41%	11.87%	4.65%	55.18%
Milwaukee County, WS	46.96%	38.83%	32.26%	68.71%
Cook County, IL	47.65%	32.10%	18.70%	39.24%

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Immigration increased in the 1880s and continued until 1924 when the Johnson-Reed Act limited immigration. Approximately 25.8 million immigrants travelled to the United States during this period. Economic possibilities continued to draw immigrants to the United States and improved transportation allowed for easier passage. Unlike the previous waves that largely consisted of immigrants from northwestern Europe, the new wave included immigrants from southeastern Europe. The affordable land that had drawn earlier immigrants no longer existed. Most of the new immigrants sought factory-employment in the cities of the north and Midwest. Nationwide, German emigration to the United States reached the high mark of 1.45 million in the decade of 1881-1890. From 1891 to 1900 the number of German immigrants fell to 505,152; from 1911 to 1920 only 143,498 German immigrants arrived.<sup>24</sup>

Although the percent of foreign-born as part of the total U.S. population stayed consistent from the 1860s to the 1920s, nativist attitudes grew based on perceptions that the new immigrants threatened American ideals and standard of living, and were unassimilable. The Immigration Restriction League formed in 1894 “to advocate and work for the further judicious restriction or stricter regulation of immigration.”

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<sup>24</sup> Daniels, *Coming to America*, 146.

Settlement houses, factories and religious organizations such as the Y.M.C.A. developed Americanization programs to assist the immigrants' adoption of American cultural norms, civic duties and the English language. War in Europe exacerbated tensions resulting in a backlash against "hyphenated Americans" and demands for "100 per cent Americans". The National Americanization Committee worked with the federal Bureau of Education and the Council of National Defense to organize Americanization programs at the state and county level.<sup>25</sup>

Indiana's population grew forty-eight percent from 1880 to 1920 with the same shift to urban areas typical across the nation; however, Indiana's growth fell below the average of other Midwest states. Internal migration contributed to some of the population increase with most of the migrants arriving from Ohio and Kentucky. European immigrants from the north countries continued to arrive; however, Indiana received fewer from the southeastern European countries than other industrial states. Most of the immigrants arriving to Indiana from southeastern Europe settled in the Calumet region of Indiana. Overall, the percent of foreign-born residents in the state of Indiana remained below the national average and declined in the period from 1880 to 1920.<sup>26</sup>

Fort Wayne's population growth outpaced the state's growth; from 1880 to 1920, the city grew over two hundred percent. Fort Wayne's foreign-born population declined from 1880 to 1920 but remained above the state average. The number of German-born residents in Fort Wayne began to decrease after the decade of 1881-1890; however

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<sup>25</sup> *Coming to America*, 213, 125; "Constitution of the Immigration Restriction League," (Boston: Immigration Restriction League, 1894), 1; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007); Edward George Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); John F. McClymer, "The Federal Government and the Americanization Movement, 1915-1924," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 10(1978).

<sup>26</sup> Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 363-70. The Calumet region of Indiana is in the northwest corner of the state and includes the cities of Gary, East Chicago, Hammond and Valparaiso.

German-born as a percent of the foreign-born increased. By 1900, seventy-three percent of the immigrant population in Fort Wayne originated in Germany. As the national immigrant population diversified, Fort Wayne's immigrant population grew more mono-ethnic. From 1870 to 1900, the number of German-born residents as percent of the total immigrant population remained stable in Indiana and Milwaukee and decreased in Chicago, but Fort Wayne's German-born as a percent of the total immigrants increased from sixty-one to seventy-two percent. Table 2 below displays the 1900 population figures. See table 1 on page 21 for comparison. In 1901, Mayor Henry Berghoff claimed at least two-thirds of Fort Wayne's citizens were Germans which indicates the second and third generations held on to their German heritage.<sup>27</sup>

**Table 2. 1900 Census Population Comparison**

<b>Location</b>	<b>% Foreign-Born</b>	<b>% Second Generation</b>	<b>% German-Born</b>	<b>German % of Foreign-Born</b>
Allen County, IN	11.59%	n.d.	8.41%	72.55%
Indiana	5.19%	n.d.	2.92%	56.23%
Milwaukee County, WS	29.28%	n.d.	19.38%	66.18%
Cook County, IL	34.00%	n.d.	10.31%	30.02%

Writing about the early twentieth century, historian Mark Rogers noted, "It was possible for a German-American in Fort Wayne to grow up into adulthood in an almost pure German culture. "Active business recruitment of workers from Germany contributed to the continued strength of German Americans in Fort Wayne. In 1891, Theodore Thieme traveled to Chemnitz, Germany, to purchased equipment for a new enterprise,

<sup>27</sup> "Historical Census Browser; Daniels, *Coming to America*, 146; Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 366; "The Mayor's Speech," 6.

Wayne Knitting Mills. According to company records, he also brought over “a colony of experienced hosiery makers, both men and women.” In 1896, company representatives returned to Germany to encourage small manufactures to transfer their businesses to Fort Wayne resulting in two additional plants and their workers locating in the city. At its peak, Wayne Knitting Mills employed 2,500 people, the majority of whom were native Germans or second-generation German Americans.<sup>28</sup>

In his article, “Fort Wayne in 1900,” Fred Reynolds described the year as “a period of optimism.” With multiple rail lines coming to the city, Fort Wayne served as an important agricultural distribution center for the region. Successful industries like Wayne Knitting Mills, Berghoff Brewery, Bass Foundry and Machine Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad offered employment. Additionally, numerous shops and small businesses provided Fort Wayne residents with modern conveniences. Three telephone companies and a street railway system facilitated communication and transportation. For recreation, residents could attend the theater, a baseball game at the local field, visit one of the eight city parks or travel by trolley to Robison Park for a picnic. Other forms of social enjoyment caused friction. Reynolds noted that “the saloon was the center of attraction.” In addition to nickel beer, some saloons offered free lunch, a place to gamble and included a small performing stage. Reynolds counted one hundred and seventy-seven saloons, most owned by German Americans.<sup>29</sup>

Although large cities like Milwaukee and Chicago dwarfed Fort Wayne in population, the residents of Fort Wayne faced some of the same social problems. The crime rate troubled many residents. The March 1901 police arrest list included 28 arrests

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<sup>28</sup> "Souvenir of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary: Wayne Knitting Mills, Fort Wayne Indiana, 1891-1916," (Fort Wayne, IN1916), n.p; Sack, "The Germans in Fort Wayne," 1:689.

<sup>29</sup> Reynolds, "Fort Wayne in 1900," 9-18, 9, 14.

for intoxication, 10 each for vagrancy and for association with prostitution, 8 each for prostitution and assault and battery, and 4 for keeping a house of ill fame. Class conflict found expression in labor organization. Thirty-four unions representing the building trades and other groups such as the barbers, brewery workers, cigar makers and letter carriers meet regularly. During the 1901 election period, the local painters threatened to strike.<sup>30</sup>

In Fort Wayne's first sixty years, German Americans had contributed to the city's development. Success and tension characterized their experience. Without the German American religious leaders, business owners and political involvement, Fort Wayne may not have become the "modern city" Reynolds presented. Despite their positive impact, German Americans sometimes found themselves at odds with other members of the community over cultural differences. In addition to the local conflicts, national events affected public perceptions of German Americans.

### **American Perceptions of Germany and German Americans**

Americans developed certain stereotypes of all immigrant groups in the nineteenth century depending in part on how closely American citizens interacted and competed with the newcomers and in part on the mostly socioeconomic characteristics of particular immigrant groups. Images about nineteenth-century German immigrants were no different. Some established Americans perceived German Americans as intellectual, industrious, family focused and disciplined. Others viewed German Americans as simpletons, stingy, exploitive of their women and intemperate. Appreciation for German cultural and engineering achievements strengthened German Americans' status in the United States. German American Dr. Frederick Luebke noted that the upper classes of

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid; "Police Arrests Last Month," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 1, 1901, 5.



Americans who were familiar with German educational and scientific achievements regarded German Americans in higher esteem than did ordinary people who were unaware of German cultural achievements. Similarly, Dr. Norbert Muhlen argued that the presence of German Americans tempered the negative stereotypes. Americans looked to their neighbors first when developing an opinion about German Americans.<sup>31</sup>

An 1874 incident in Fort Wayne exposed some of the local stereotypes of Germans and the German American community response. The Fort Wayne newspapers reported that resident Reverend A. Marine spoke ill of German Americans during a speech for the Temperance Crusade in Defiance, Ohio. Allegedly, Marine said, “German emigrants in addition to being beer-suckers, wife-enslavers and ignoramuses, were likewise arrant unbelievers and no better than atheists.” In response, the Fort Wayne German Americans held a mass meeting and voted to send a committee of eight men “to wait on Mr. Marine at his home and bring him hither.” The meeting continued with speeches lauding German traits from prominent Fort Wayne citizens including Mayor Charles Zollinger and Judge Robert Lowry. When Marine arrived at the meeting, he explained that the quotes were inaccurate and “published to inflame the German mind.” He did admit that he had mentioned, “that in Germany women were used to help draw the plow” but then excused the offensive remark by claiming, “I have never been there, and I have never seen it done here.” The meeting concluded with a few more speeches and a plan to send a committee to the Defiance paper to check the facts. Whether Marine had

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<sup>31</sup> Christine Totten, "Elusive Affinities: Acceptance and Rejection of the German-Americans," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 191; Frederick C. Luebke, "Images of German Immigrants in the United States and Brazil, 1890-1918: Some Comparisons," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 209; Norbert Muhlen, *Germany in American Eyes: A Study of Public Opinion* (Hamburg-Wellingsbüttel: Atlantik-Brücke, 1959), 10, 23.

made prejudiced statements about German Americans or the Defiance paper had misquoted him, the emotional response indicates that German Americans did not tolerate anti-German sentiment in Fort Wayne.<sup>32</sup>

Even before the World War I, events in Germany affected American opinions about the German people. A series of incidents in the second half of the nineteenth century contributed to a growing American wariness towards Germany and the German people. The 1848 attempts to unify the German states and to adopt a democratic form of government generated sympathy for the German cause; however, the Revolutions' failures pointed out German political incompetence. Dr. John Gazley observed, "Gradually the belief became prevalent that the German people were to blame, that they were unfit for liberal institutions." A similar shift occurred as the unification process continued. At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, Americans favored Prussia over France in the conflict. Sympathies transferred to France after the battle of Sedan and the ensuing blockade of Paris. Americans felt "pity for the underdog" of France, admired French perseverance and objected to Germany's perceived cruelty and excessive demand for indemnity. After the war, the newly unified Germany embraced industrialization and the active pursuit of colonial acquisition which placed Germany and the United States in competition in Asia and Oceania. The United States began to feel threatened by Germany's growing strength.<sup>33</sup>

The U.S.-Germany diplomatic conflict over control of the Samoan Islands in the 1880s triggered additional U.S. disapproval of Germany's actions which the press

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<sup>32</sup> "Bro. Marine and the Germans," *Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel*, June 1, 1874, 2; "Indignation!," *Daily News*, June 2, 1874, 2, 3.

<sup>33</sup> John G. Gazley, *American Opinion of German Unification, 1848-1871* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 35.

portrayed as “wanton and unlawful aggression.” Germany’s indemnity demands against the impoverished residents of Samoa generated harsh criticism. A few years later, Germany’s indemnity demands in China also caused disapproval. In 1897, Germany responded to the murder of two German missionaries in China with demands that included the lease of a Chinese naval station. When China refused the lease, Germany forcefully occupied the area. Dr. Clara Schieber’s analysis of the American news media response concluded, “All the United States papers and magazines thought the German demands were unusually severe.” She also noted that the press portrayed Germany’s demand as a pretext for a land grab in China. During 1900, concern about potential German interference with the continued American struggle in the Philippines heightened American sensitivity toward Germany. Editorials in the American press used terms such as “arrogant,” “power-mad,” and “militaristic” to describe the Germans in Europe. The 1901 city election occurred during a time period of growing mistrust and uneasiness between the United States and Germany.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment*, 78, 95; Muhlen, *Germany in American Eyes*, 20; E. J. Feuchtwanger, *Imperial Germany, 1850-1918* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

## CHAPTER TWO

### Election Voices

Fort Wayne's May 7, 1901, municipal election followed a whirlwind month of party organization and campaigning. Led by Democratic City Chairman William Shambaugh, the Democratic Party held its primary on April 2 and the nominating convention on the following day. At the convention, German immigrant Henry Berghoff and August Schmidt received the nominations for mayor and clerk respectively and the Democratic Party agreed upon a platform. The Democratic platform condemned the recently passed amendment to the city charter that gave the governor authority to make city appointments, claiming the amendment "is not only a base prostitution of political power but a wicked and perilous contravention of the rights guaranteed by the constitution, and therefore unconstitutional." The platform continued with praise for the proud record, sound finances and good government of past Democratic leadership and pledged to support the municipal ownership of a lighting plant. The slogan "home rule" filled the Democratic paper's editorial pages.<sup>35</sup>

The Republicans held their ward caucuses on April 8<sup>th</sup> and their convention on April 11<sup>th</sup>. City Chairman W. E. Doud and permanent Chairman of the Convention Charles S. Bash headed the proceedings. German American Charles Reese received the nomination for mayor with Will Urbahns as city clerk. *News* editor William Page sat on the resolution committee that wrote the Republican platform and he read it to the assembly. The platform called for good government and denounced the Democratic administration's poor management of the city sewers and road construction, hazardous

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<sup>35</sup> "The Democratic Platform," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 4, 1901, 6.

use of canal water, corrupt money management and refusal to acknowledge the law. Throughout the election period, the Republican Party decried the leadership of the Democratic “ring.”<sup>36</sup>

On March 2, the Social Democrats nominated German American Martin Wefel as their candidate for mayor. During the sample period, Social Democrats held regular meetings. The Social Democrat platform argued that profits from municipal projects should remain in the public sector. They supported changes in the state laws and city charter that would place the lighting and power plants, the street railroads and public utilities under public ownership. When all the votes had been counted, Democrat Henry Berghoff prevailed with fifty-six percent of the vote.<sup>37</sup>

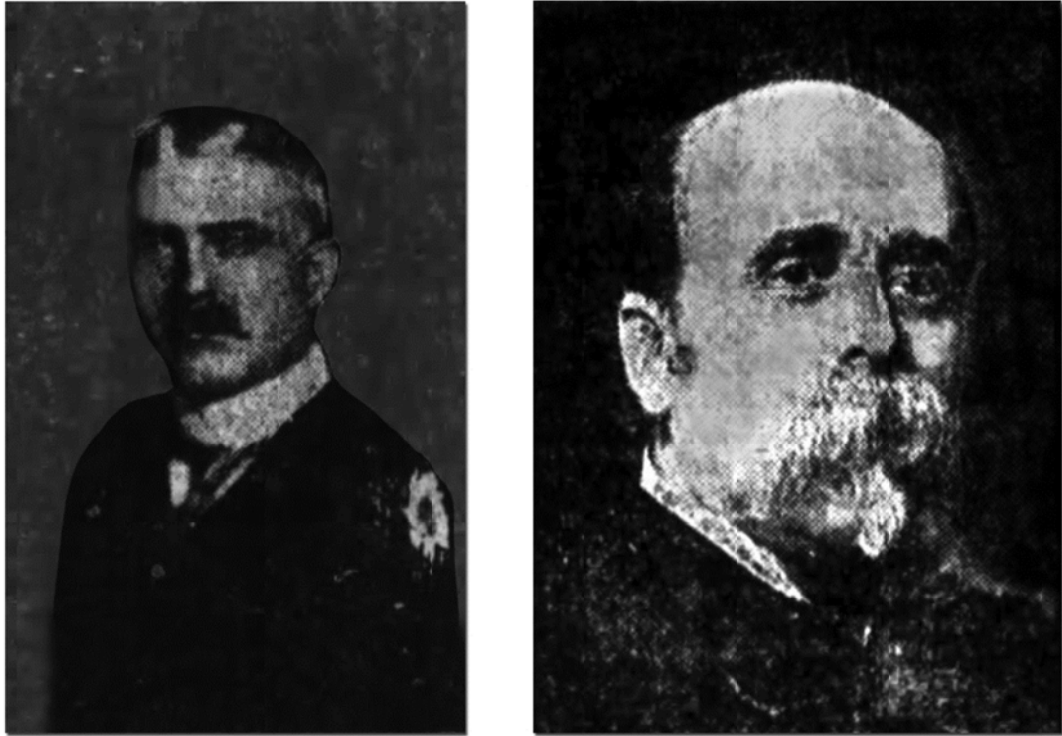
This chapter introduces the election participants. The newspapers provided the voice for the election dialogue. The first section discusses the history of the papers and their identification as representatives of the political parties. The second section presents biographical information about the candidates and the newspapers’ handling of the candidates’ ethnicity, as well as biographical information for Republican Charles Bash who received frequent press attention. The final section of the chapter investigates the manner in which the English-language newspapers exploited the presence of the German-language press.

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<sup>36</sup> "The Platform," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 12, 1901, 4-5.

<sup>37</sup> "Place Ticket in Field: Social Democrats Nominate Candidates for City Offices," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, March 6, 1901, 1, 6; "The Official Count," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 8, 1901, 4. A total of 9,209 votes were cast in the contest for mayor. Berghoff received 5,176 votes, Reese-3317 and Wefel-716. Reese won three precincts and tied in one precinct. Wefel received votes in every precinct.

## The Fort Wayne Newspapers



**Figure 2. The Editors.** On the left, *Journal-Gazette* Editor Andrew Moynihan. On the right, *News* editor William Page.<sup>38</sup>

### *History*

The histories of the English-language papers demonstrate the vagaries of newspaper ownership during the late nineteenth century. The *Gazette* and the *Journal* started as voices for the Republican Party during the 1860s and then merged to form the Democratic *Journal-Gazette*. The *Gazette*, established in 1863 with the encouragement of Republican Governor Oliver Morton, took an unpopular stance in Allen County when it supported Abraham Lincoln's presidency and the Enrollment Act. Despite its controversial opinions, the *Gazette* built a readership with its timely battle reports generated from a special telegraph service while the competitors had to rely on days-old

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<sup>38</sup> "'Thirty' Is Written and Copy to Press for Former Ft. Wayne Newspaper Man," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, July 12, 1917, 1; "And Now Comes the Poultry Show," *The Fort Wayne News and Sentinel*, January 17, 1918, 4.

reports clipped from other newspapers. Five years later in December of 1868, the *Journal* entered the newspaper field with the purpose of “displacing the Gazette.” Both papers experienced a string of owners. The *Gazette* had eight publishers during the thirty-six years before the merger. The last co-owner and managing editor of the *Gazette*, Charles S. Lane, worked at the *Republican News* during the 1901 city election and replaced then-editor William Page—who had earlier worked at the *Gazette*—as editor in 1902.<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile, the *Journal* shifted to a Democratic paper under the ownership of Democratic state senator Thomas Foster in 1880. Early stockholders included German American mayors Charles Zollinger and Charles Muhler. Democrats W. W. Rockhill, Howell Rockhill and Andrew Moynihan purchased the controlling stock of the *Journal* on June 10, 1889, and bought the *Gazette* ten years later on June 14, 1899, to form the *Journal-Gazette*. Irish immigrant Moynihan acted as the secretary-treasurer and editor; stories about his temper, antics and sharp prose fill the histories of Fort Wayne. Journalist Scott Bushnell noted a cultural shift from German to Irish under Moynihan’s leadership but found, “The party politics were the same, if a bit more stridently Anglophobic.”<sup>40</sup>

Moynihan (1856-1917) left Ireland at the age of eight. After living in New York and New Jersey, his family arrived in Fort Wayne sometime after 1866. Moynihan learned the printing trade and also attended Rush Medical College. While preparing to be a physician, he worked as a city editor for the *Fort Wayne Sentinel*. Moynihan chose the newspaper business over medicine and went on to a successful career as owner and editor

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<sup>39</sup> In 1860, voters in Allen County cast 3,224 votes for Stephen Douglas and 2,552 votes for Abraham Lincoln. Hood, “Political History of Allen County,” 1:292; Scott M. Bushnell, *Hard News, Heartfelt Opinions: A History of the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 17, 38; Willodeen Price, *Newspapers of Fort Wayne: Yesterday - Today* (New York: Columbia University School of Library Service, 1938), 27; Robert Adams, “A History of Fort Wayne Newspapers,” *Old Fort News* 23, no. 1 (1960): 42.

<sup>40</sup> Bushnell, *Hard News, Heartfelt Opinions*, 56.

of the *Journal-Gazette*. According to his obituary, at the time of his death, “Mr. Moynihan had accumulated a small fortune.” Those who knew him spoke of his philanthropy and generosity. Moynihan played a prominent role in the Allen County Democratic Party until he moved to California in 1916 to recuperate from an illness.<sup>41</sup>

The Republican *News* launched on June 1, 1874, as *The Daily News*. Co-founders William D. Page and Charles F. Taylor started the evening paper with \$300 of their combined personal funds and a \$1,800 loan from a Chicago firm. Partner Taylor recalled the early lean years. “‘Many a week,’ said Taylor, ‘when we paid our help Saturday night, Mr. Page and myself divided \$4 between us to carry us through the succeeding week.’” According to Taylor, the two “procured” tombstones from an abandoned graveyard to serve as their first imposing stones—the tables used to set type. At the size of a handbill, the *News* hoped to compete with the larger, established papers by covering the local scene, and by the end of the first month, it successfully reached a circulation of 1,600. The inaugural front page included Indiana news, a story about local mail carriers, local happenings and a column of classified ads. In comparison, the competitor’s front page displayed advertisements, classified ads, and national and international news. Originally an independent paper, the *News* turned to Republican politics in 1892 when purchased by Republicans Clarence Bicknell, Ernest Bicknell and Alvin Hert. William Page continued in the role of editor until 1902 when he began his second term as Fort Wayne’s postmaster.<sup>42</sup>

William Page (1844-n.d.) developed an interest in printing at the age of ten when he worked at a Michigan printer’s office. The son of a minister, Page graduated from high

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<sup>41</sup> “‘Thirty’ Is Written and Copy to Press for Former Ft. Wayne Newspaper Man,” 1, 11.

<sup>42</sup> “Borrowed Tombstones,” *The Fort Wayne News*, August 20, 1902, 5; “Front Page,” *Daily News*, June 1, 1874; “Front Page,” *Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel*, June 1, 1874; Price, *Newspapers of Fort Wayne*, 21.



school and attended Hamilton College in New York. Although he was too young to serve at front during the Civil War, Page enlisted in the Fifth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry and worked in the quartermaster's department. After the war, Page published a newspaper in Michigan before coming to Fort Wayne in 1871. In addition to publishing the *News*, Page edited and published Fort Wayne's poultry paper, *Poultry and Pets*, in the late 1880s. Historian Robert Robertson noted, "His interest in all that concerns the progress and prosperity of Allen county is unabating." Page belonged to the Presbyterian Church and "served for six years as the president of the board of trustees of the Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane."<sup>43</sup>

Fort Wayne's oldest paper, the *Sentinel*, published its first issue in 1833 when Fort Wayne had a population of about 300 residents. The city founders collected the money to buy a printing press and recruited S. V. B. Noel and Thomas Tigar to start a paper. Originally established as an independent paper, the *Sentinel* changed hands, names and party affiliation several times in the early years. During 1901, Edward A. K. Hackett owned the Democratic *Sentinel*. Hackett actively participated at the First Presbyterian church and carried his faith into his editorial policy. Historian Bert Griswold stated, "He was earnest in the support of all moral agencies, including the cause of temperance"—an unusual position for a Democratic paper in Allen County. Hackett's obituary noted, "In addition to conducting one of the cleanest newspapers in the state, he was noted for his work of philanthropy." Although the *Sentinel* covered the 1901 mayor's race, the more active editorial debate occurred between the *News* and the *Journal-Gazette*, possibly due to Hackett's restraint. The *Sentinel's* evening publication also limited the timely

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<sup>43</sup> Robert S. Robertson, *History of the Maumee River Basin: Allen County Indiana* (Bowen & Slocum, 1905), 3: 26-28; "And Now Comes the Poultry Show," 4.

interaction seen between the morning *Journal-Gazette* and the evening *News*. Upon Hackett's death in 1916, the News Publishing Company purchased the *Sentinel* which then joined the Republican fold as the *News-Sentinel*.<sup>44</sup>

### ***Evidence of Partisanship***

The press accounts of national and local news surrounding an election period highlight the differences between the political parties. After evaluating the content of political editorials in party newspapers during the 1892 election in Ohio, historian Paul Kleppner concluded, "The symbol distribution gives us a good picture of what party leaders believed their supporters wanted to hear." The editorial pages of the *Journal-Gazette* and *News* openly expressed their party affiliation. One can assume that as partisan newspapers, their pages targeted the voters of their respective party. Kleppner further stated, "Anyone who has examined a party newspaper during a campaign, or a party platform, realizes that either contains sufficient grist for any mill." Historian Dr. Clifton Phillips also noted that in Indiana before the turn of the century the competing party newspapers "often carried on colorful and vitriolic debates with each other." An investigation of the Fort Wayne papers' news coverage and editorial content during the 1901 mayoral campaign revealed a lively exchange and exposed the ethnic tension in the community.<sup>45</sup>

Both papers kept their readers apprised of the political activity in the city.

Subscribers read about the conventions and other party happenings, followed the election issues and learned where to vote. Both papers frequently published their respective

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<sup>44</sup> Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*, 1:308-09, 2:253; "E. A. K. Hackett," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, September 1, 1916; Price, *Newspapers of Fort Wayne*, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900* (New York: Free Press, 1970), 150, 52; Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 526.

party's platform. The papers included positive biographies about their own candidates and attacks on the opposing candidates' abilities. The *Journal-Gazette* went so far as to publish a copy of the ballot and official voting instructions with additional advice "To Vote a Straight Democratic Ticket . . . Make a Cross in the Circle Around the Roster." Other signs of partisan involvement included: the Republican Party holding at least one meeting at the office of the Republican paper; the *News* editor Page's involvement in writing the Republican platform and reading it at the convention; and *Journal-Gazette* editor Moynihan's influence in the Democratic Party. Although not directly addressed in the campaign editorials, historians referred to Moynihan as one of "the Democratic kingpins of Allen County" and one of the [Democratic] bosses," and stated, "His commitment to Democratic principles was unimpeachable."<sup>46</sup>

Within the campaign exchange, the newspaper editors called their competitor a mouthpiece or organ of the party. The candidates themselves did not engage in an open debate of the issues. Instead, the papers brought forward the campaign issues and accused each other of misrepresenting the facts. The *News* referred to the *Journal-Gazette* as the "democratic organ," "the party organ," "Berghoff's mouthpiece," "the mouthpiece of the administration" and "the ring mouthpiece." On several occasions, the Republican paper accused the Democratic paper of hiding the truth from the public. The editor proclaimed, "The Journal still is silent under the repeated invitation to print all it knows . . . Why does not the ring's mouth-piece denounce it now?" After the election, the *News* placed partial blame for the Republican loss on the *Journal-Gazette*. "There was not time enough to demonstrate the rightfulness of the charter amendments before the election, and the

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<sup>46</sup> "The Ballot," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 5, 1901, 11; "Republican Convention Called," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 4, 1901, 6; Hood, "Political History of Allen County," 298; Adams, "A History of Fort Wayne Newspapers," 43; Bushnell, *Hard News, Heartfelt Opinions*, 59.

democratic organs did not dare print them in full. Captain Reese and Mr. Urbahns suffered on this account.” Although the *Journal-Gazette* disputed the *News*’ facts, it never protested the labels or declared independence from the party.<sup>47</sup>

Similarly, the *News* accepted the *Journal-Gazette*’s characterization of it as the “Oakley and Bash organ,” “the full fledge organ,” “the post office organ,” “the accredited organ” and “the party organ.” Early in the election period, Indiana’s Senators Charles Fairbanks and Albert Beveridge had recommended *News* editor William Page for re-appointment to the position of Postmaster. The *Journal-Gazette*’s response reflected the shared understanding of the partisan nature of the Fort Wayne papers:

“We believe, that Mr. Page deserves the recognition from his party, as the publisher of their organ . . . Political parties and politicians are not always grateful, and the sacrifices of newspapers are not always remembered as they should be and were in this case, so that it is a pleasure to commend the decision.”

Like the *News*, the *Journal-Gazette* complained that its rival paper ignored important issues. Publishing politically biased news was acceptable; however, going beyond the party channels was not. The Democratic paper reported on an anonymous bulletin published three days before the election and allegedly sponsored by Republican leaders Charles Bash and Charles Lane. The *Journal-Gazette* decried, “No more despicable thing has ever been done in politics in Fort Wayne. Statements that they dare not publish in their newspaper organ, and which their candidates dare not repeat either publicly or

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<sup>47</sup> "Editorial: Democratic Organ," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 4, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Party Organ," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 17, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Berghoff's Mouthpiece," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 25, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Mouthpiece of the Administration," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 27, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Ring Mouthpiece," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 2, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Journal Still Silent," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 9, 1901, 4.

privately, are disseminated through the cowardly medium of anonymous posters.”

Neither paper claimed objectivity as their standard.<sup>48</sup>

### The Candidates: Biography and Ethnicity



**Figure 3. The 1901 Candidates for Mayor.** Democratic candidate Henry C. Berghoff on the left and Republican candidate Captain Charles Reese on the right. No image of Socialist candidate Martin H. Wefel was available.<sup>49</sup>

Born in Dortmund, Westphalia, Germany, Democratic candidate Henry C.

Berghoff (1856-1925) left his German homeland in 1872 at the age of sixteen to join his brother in Philadelphia. In Germany, Berghoff received a high school education and

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<sup>48</sup>Republican Chauncey B. Oakley was Republican mayor of Fort Wayne from 1894 to 1897. Prominent businessman Charles Bash was an influential figure in the Republican party. "Editorial: Oakley and Bash Organ," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 2, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Full-Fledge Organ," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 17, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Post Office Organ," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 19, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Accredited Organ," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 2, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Party Organ," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 3, 1901, 4; "Editorial: We Believe," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 14, 1901, 4; "Editorial: No More Despicable," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 5, 1901, 4.

<sup>49</sup>"They Will Lead to Victory," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 4, 1901, 1; "Our Candidates," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 22, 1901, 4.

worked in a bank. The family story described Berghoff's residence in Fort Wayne as one of happenstance. Traveling to Chicago by train with his brother, Henry got off at the Fort Wayne stop to look for food. When offered a job, he convinced his brother to disembark and stay in Fort Wayne. In the next few years, Berghoff held a variety of jobs as clerk and bookkeeper, and continued his education with some law school. In 1877, he married Theresa Mayer, the daughter of one of the earliest members of St. Mary's German Catholic church. In 1883, Berghoff and his brother Herman purchased a bottling company which gave them the experience necessary to establish the Herman Berghoff Brewing Company in 1887. Through the course of time, Henry Berghoff served as secretary, vice-president and treasurer of the family business. Other business experiences included a partnership in the Artificial Ice Company, the proprietor of Globe Spice Mills, and treasurer of Phoenix Building and Savings Union.<sup>50</sup>

Berghoff's financial abilities and interest led to a career in politics. Before his candidacy for mayor in 1901, he had served as the sheriff; worked for three terms as the city treasurer under Democratic mayor Charles Muhler and Republican mayor Daniel Harding; run as a candidate for state treasurer and held the office of city comptroller for two terms. During the election, he held the office of city clerk. After his term as mayor, Berghoff helped organize the German-American National Bank and then served as the head cashier. Described as "a very robust and energetic man," he also held offices at Wayne Oil Tank and Rub-No-More Soap Company. At the time of his death, Berghoff

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<sup>50</sup> Susan Berghoff Prowant, *Berghoff Brothers: The Story* (Fort Wayne, IN: M.J. Berghoff, 1987), "Henry C. Berghoff" section; *Berghoff Family, 1898-1998* (Fort Wayne, IN: Allen County Public Library, 1998), 47-49; "Henry C. Berghoff: Sketch of the Career of the Democratic Standard Bearer," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 4, 1901, 6; "Henry C. Berghoff," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, April 4, 1901, 2, 5. At the time of Berghoff's birth, Westphalia belonged to Prussia. The *Sentinel* mentioned Berghoff had been a citizen nearly thirty years.

was a member of several Catholic organizations: St. Marys Church, the Holy Name Society, the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Knights of America. Berghoff earned 5,176 of the 9,209 votes cast in the election<sup>51</sup>

Both papers openly recognized Berghoff's German birth early in the campaign. The day following the Democratic convention, the *Journal-Gazette* included a biography of Berghoff that began with the place of his birth. The paper described his early education in Germany and noted that he left Germany for the United States because, "He longed for greater freedom" and a republic where "no man could say he was lord." The Republican paper's response to Berghoff's nomination included a column that repeatedly referred to him as Kaiser Berghoff and a pseudo letter to the editor titled, "From the Czar," from Henry Czar Breakoff. The letter writer claimed, "I have nominated myself for burgomaster." Finding the comments offensive, on the following day the *Journal-Gazette* alerted its readers to the Republican's discrimination and raised fears about the Republican Party's intentions. Editor Moynihan wrote, "The chief count in the Daily News indictment of Mr. Berghoff is the fact that he is of German birth. To meet with Mr. Page's entire approval, the charter tinkers should have gone a step farther and debarred all our German-American citizens from the privilege of holding office." Two days later, the Democratic paper raised the issue again, claiming that Republican convention chair Charles Bash and *News* editor William Page would "lie down to pleasant dreams" if all German Americans were deprived of the right to vote.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Berghoff Brothers: The Story; Berghoff Family, 1898-1998.*

<sup>52</sup> "Henry C. Berghoff: Sketch of the Career of the Democratic Standard Bearer," 6; "The Democratic Convention," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 4, 1901, 4; "From the Czar," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 4, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Chief Count," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 5, 1901, 4; "Editorial: If the Last Legislature," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 7, 1901, 4.

Moynihan's warning may have contained an element of truthfulness. Indiana's laws allowed immigrants to vote after filing a Declaration of Intent, the first step in the naturalization process, and before completing the second step, appearing before a judge a minimum of two years later. Historian Clifford Scott's research found that voting privileges in Fort Wayne were "generally not denied in practice for any alien who had a decent reputation and who was personally known to precinct election officials." An enforcement of voting laws would have deprived some German Americans of the vote. The early confrontation suggests that ethnicity would be a factor in the election discourse; however, after the heated exchange, the papers remained silent about Berghoff's nativity until a few days before the election.<sup>53</sup>

The Republican Party's nomination of a second generation German American appeared to suppress outright expressions of ethnic animosity. Republican candidate Captain Charles Reese (1869-1951) came from a well-respected German American family. Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Reese attended the German Lutheran schools and Lutheran Concordia College. His family belonged to St. Paul's Lutheran church. As a young man, Reese "engaged in the manufacture of pop." Prior to his association with the Republican Party, Reese worked for Henry Berghoff at the brewery, as his deputy in the city clerk's office and as his assistant in the city treasurer's office.<sup>54</sup>

Reese joined Fort Wayne's local military company, the Rifles, in 1888 and was elected its captain in 1893. Responding to the call for volunteers in 1898 during the Spanish American war, Reese received a commission of captain with the 157<sup>th</sup> Regiment Indiana Volunteers. In July of 1899, President McKinley appointed him as an officer in

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<sup>53</sup> Scott, "A Cultural Flu Epidemic," 4.

<sup>54</sup> "Editorial: While Deacon Page," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 26 1901, 4; "When," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 25, 1901, 4; "Let All Remember," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 25, 1901, 4.



the 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment to serve in the Philippines. While stationed in the Philippines, Reese served as a revenue collector, an adjutant and the chief executive officer of a city in the Philippines. After the election, Reese continued his military career training student cadets at Fort Wayne's Concordia College where he displayed "kind ways, yet at the same time iron discipline." His military career took him back to the Philippines and also to Texas, Oklahoma and California. He achieved the rank of Colonel in 1918 while a commander at the Camp Grant Central Infantry Officers' Training School in Rockford, Illinois. Reese received thirty-six percent of the vote winning in three precincts.<sup>55</sup>

Neither paper directly addressed Reese's German heritage early in the election, but apparently, the community was well aware of it. Reese's father emigrated from Westerdoda, Hanover, Germany, to the United States at the age of sixteen. He fought for the Union during the Civil War and earned the rank of Captain for his "valiant service." Senior Captain Reese's obituary noted, "His career as a democrat was conspicuous in the party history of this city." A nomination speech given for Reese by respected Republican Robert Hanna contained an allusion to Reese's ethnicity but only the Democratic paper quoted the remark. The *Journal-Gazette's* front page story on the Republican convention noticed the enthusiastic response to Hanna's nomination which "sent the crowd into rapturous applause." Hanna proclaimed "I have known Captain Reese . . . since the day when he and I were assigned to the same seat in the little German Lutheran school. He was born in Fort Wayne and he loves his home as he loves his country." Of note, Hanna

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<sup>55</sup> "Capt. C. E. Reese to Get a Commission in the Volunteer Army," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, July 10, 1899, 1; "Ordered to His Regiment," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, July 12, 1899, 2; "Concordia Cadets Are Best Example of Military Training," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 21, 1911, 19; "Col. Reese Honored," *The Fort Wayne News and Sentinel*, November 20, 1918, 2; Alan D. Gaff, "Military History of Allen County: A Century of Service," in *History of Fort Wayne & Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005*, ed. John D. Beatty (Evansville, IN: M. T. Publishing Company, 2006), 1:327, 1:32.

was neither German nor Lutheran. In contrast to the seemingly enthusiastic coverage by the Democratic paper, the *News*' page four story of their own convention simply stated "In seconding the nomination Mr. Hanna made one of his characteristic speeches which aroused the delegates to a fever heat of enthusiasm." Hanna's mention of the "little German Lutheran school" was the only reference to Reese's ethnicity in the *News* and the *Journal-Gazette* until two days before the election.<sup>56</sup>

The week prior to the election, German ethnicity reappeared in the election dialogue. The *News* again insulted Berghoff by referring to him as "Kaiser Berghoff from Dortmund." Although the *Journal-Gazette* ignored the insult, a few days later, the Democratic paper addressed the candidates' ethnicity in a lengthy article reprinted from the *Indianapolis Sentinel*. The Indianapolis correspondent noted that Reese belonged to a "prominent German-American family" and that Berghoff "himself is a native of Germany." According to the Indianapolis article, the Republicans "saw a chance to divert a large section of the democratic party into the republican party by nominating a democrat belonging to a prominent German-American family." Continuing, the article concluded that "the German-American vote remains intact for Berghoff." By publishing the Indianapolis article, the *Journal-Gazette* embraced Berghoff's German birth and reminded the German Americans readers where the Reese family allegiance belonged. The *News* maintained their silence about Reese's German heritage throughout the election which suggests that the Republican Party hoped to garner German American

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<sup>56</sup> "Capt. Charles Reese Hears Death's Summons," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, October 18, 1907, 1,2; "The Deaths: Reese," *The Fort Wayne Daily News*, October 18, 1907, 9; "Captain Reese Nominated," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 12, 1901, 6; Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*, 2: 262; "Captain Reese Is Nominated," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 12, 1901, 4.

votes without a direct appeal to their German affiliation. Perhaps, a direct appeal would have alienated the non-German voters in the Republican Party.<sup>57</sup>

The Social Democrats nominated German American Martin H. Wefel (1865-1903); however, neither the *News* nor *Journal-Gazette* paper shared personal information about him during the election period. The son of German immigrants, Fort Wayne-born Wefel attended Lutheran schools. He worked as a clerk and a traveling salesman in the prescription business before establishing his own successful drug store. His obituaries noted, "He was a man of good education, active and personally popular, and had a wide circle of friends." Wefel received votes in every precinct. In the Tenth Ward where he lived, Wefel earned 19.54% of the vote. Before his untimely death in 1903 at the age of thirty-seven, Wefel belonged to the Spiritualistic Society.<sup>58</sup>

Manufacturing cities like Fort Wayne attracted socialist organizations. Between 1900 and 1902, the socialist vote in Allen County rose from 170 votes to 954 votes giving Allen County the second largest socialist vote count behind Vanderburgh County (Evansville). Socialist presidential candidate Eugene Debs visited Fort Wayne in October of 1900. Identified with the socialist movement since its beginning in Fort Wayne, Wefel took leadership roles in Indiana's Socialist Party as the candidate for county, city and

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<sup>57</sup> "A Spoiled Picture," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 30, 1901, 4; "Why a Democrat Was Named," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 4, 1901, 5; "Disappointment at Fort Wayne," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 4, 1901, 4.

<sup>58</sup> "Twelfth Census of the United States: Schedule No.1-Population," (www.archive.com, 2013:1900); "Martin Wefel Dies Suddenly," *The Fort Wayne News*, July 1, 1903, 1, 2; "The Funerals: Martin Wefel," *The Fort Wayne News*, July 2, 1903, 11; "The Complete Vote," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 8, 1901, 4. In an article about an upcoming meeting. Wefel is listed as a member of the English committee. The German delegates had not been selected. "Meeting of Socialists." *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, February 17, 1902.

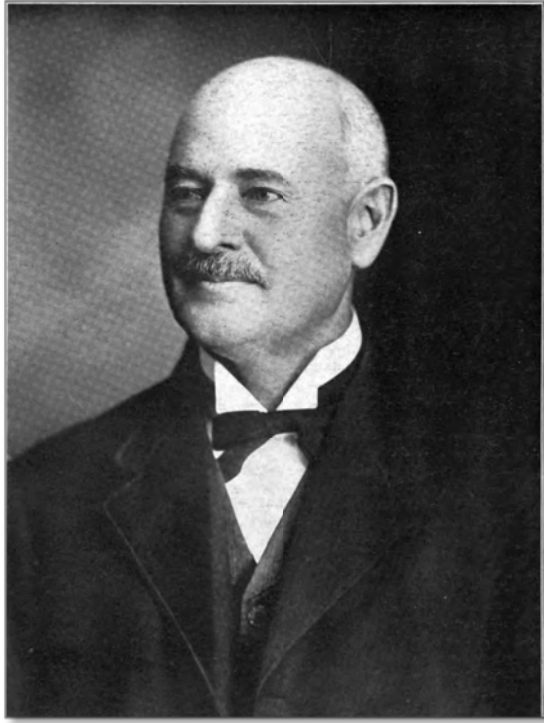
state offices including his candidacy for mayor of Fort Wayne. He also represented Indiana at the national unity conference held in Indianapolis on June 28, 1901.<sup>59</sup>

The *News* and the *Journal-Gazette* gave limited attention to the Social Democrats. On April 9, the Republican paper listed the Social Democrat ticket with Martin H. Wefel for Mayor, Emmet Martin for city clerk and councilmen in nine of the ten wards. On April 17th, the *News* shared the prediction of Wefel's supporters who claimed "the votes of over two thousand young and energetic working democrats" and suggested that the Berghoff ticket could face trouble. On Election Day, the *News* again mentioned speculation about the strength of the Social Democrat vote; however, in summary of the election results, the *News* concluded that the 200 Republicans who had voted for Wefel "seemed to cut no figure in the general election results." In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* found that in one ward the "social democrats had just enough votes to make the race exciting." Overall, the *Journal-Gazette* extended more coverage to the Social Democrats. In addition to posting the Social Democratic ticket, the Democratic paper published notices of Social Democrat meetings and discussed their successful attempt to gain a spot as observer in the vote count. Both papers included a letter to the editor from H. H. Haines who urged the Social Democrats to "Stand up and be counted." Wefel garnered 716 of the 9,208 votes cast for mayor with a respectable 7.76 percent of the total vote.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ora Ellen Cox, "The Socialist Party in Indiana since 1896," *Indiana Magazine of History* 12, no. 2 (1916): 116, 22. Cox listed vote results for the head of the ticket during the state and national election; "Socialists' Faith," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, October 3, 1900, 1, 5; Tim Davenport, editor, "The Socialist Party: Indianapolis Convention Effects Union of All Parties Represented in Response to Call of the Social Democratic Party," *Social Democratic Herald [Milwaukee]*: 4, no. 7 (1901), <http://www.marxisthistory.org>.

<sup>60</sup> "The Social Democrats," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 9, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Social Democrats," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 17, 1901, 4; "The Official Count," 4; "Social Democrats! Stand up and Be Counted," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 3, 1901, 4; "The Social Democrats," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 4, 1901, 5; "Contests in the Wards," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 8, 1901, 1.



**Figure 4. Republican Charles S. Bash.** Image of Republican convention chairman Charles S. Bash.<sup>61</sup>

Although Charles S. Bash did not run for office during the city election, he played a major role in the election discussion. The *Journal-Gazette* claimed that Bash was the progenitor of the charter amendment and that *News* editor Page was the chief sponsor. The Democratic paper titled a letter Bash had written to the Republican state legislators “The Bash-Reese Platform” and frequently printed it on the editorial page with an eye-catching headline. In the letter dated February 16, 1901, Bash predicted a Republican defeat in Fort Wayne if the amendment did not pass and urged the Republican legislators to “save the republicans here the humiliation and demoralization that will follow their defeat.” Bash suggested that the amendments would “put [Fort Wayne] under [the] proper restraint such as she deserves.” Of note, Bash personally benefited from the passage of the amendment when Governor Durbin appointed him to board of public

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<sup>61</sup> Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*, 2: 42.

safety. Bash also had a business association with the *News*. The paper included ads for Bash's Seed Company on the editorial page every day of the election period.<sup>62</sup>

Bash (1853-1916) grew up in Fort Wayne and actively participated in the city's commercial interests as owner, president or investor of several businesses including a family grain and seed business, the Salamonie Mining & Gas Company, Home Telephone & Telegraph and Wayne Knitting Mills. Historian Fred Reynolds noted, "C. S. Bash, John H. Bass and Henry C. Paul each held the presidency of four or five of the incorporated institutions of this period." On Election Day, the *News* listed Bash and Berghoff as incorporators of a new steam railroad line that would circle the city to connect the existing rail lines. During Mayor Chauncey Oakley's term (1884-1897), Bash served as a member of the board of public works and as the president of the police force. He also served on the school board during his political career. During the presidential campaigns of 1896 and 1900, Bash sang with a quartet at Republican meetings "through this section of the country." Bash belonged to the Westminster Presbyterian church and was elected as its treasurer in 1901. His obituary which made the front page of all three newspapers, noted, "Mr. Bash was a man of exceedingly pleasant disposition and made friends everywhere. He possessed a high and lofty character and his many acts of kindness will be long remembered."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> "Editorial: Are the Charter," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 19, 1901, 4.

<sup>63</sup> "Grim Reaper Claims Prominent Citizen," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, September 25, 1916, 1, 2; Reynolds, "Fort Wayne in 1900," 18; "Steam Belt Line: New Company Organized to Build One around the City," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 7, 1901, 4; "Mayor Oakley Makes Known His Entire List of Appointments," *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, May 4, 1894, 1; Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*, 2: 43-45; "Editorial: Policy Gambling Started," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 1, 1901, 4; "Westminster Church: The Annual Congregational Meeting Held Last Evening," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 2, 1901, 4.

After the early repartee between the *News* and the *Journal-Gazette*, mention of the candidates' German heritage vanished until election week. The *Journal-Gazette's* response to the *News's* April insult of Berghoff recalls the 1874 episode when an Ohio paper's quote of a Fort Wayne resident's German American slurs resulted in a mass meeting of German Americans. In 1901, the Democratic paper alerted the German American population to the Republican's anti-German attitude and also alerted the Republican paper of the potential escalation that would follow additional insults. Similar to the 1874 speaker's apology under the duress of an angry crowd, the *News* dropped the insults under pressure. The Republican Party could not afford to antagonize the entire German American population in Fort Wayne and maintain any hope of victory. Instead, the Republicans nominated a former Democrat who was German American in an attempt to sway the German American vote to their side. The general silence about candidates' German heritage during the campaign reflects political exigencies rather than an absence of underlying hostility. The strength of the German American community likely inhibited public expression of local anti-German American opinions that might have existed.

### **German Language Papers**

Fort Wayne's two German language newspapers, the Republican *Freie Presse* and the Democratic *Staats-Zeitung* certainly played a role in the campaign. If extant, one would expect the German language papers to shed additional light on the ethnic tension between the German and Anglo groups in Fort Wayne. Both the *Journal-Gazette* and the *News* mentioned the strength of the German papers. The *Journal-Gazette* also included excerpts from the Democratic German language paper while the *News* used Berghoff's communication with the German language press to accentuate his foreign qualities.

The *Journal-Gazette* references to the German-language press demonstrated the influential role the German language press played. The first mention of the German language press occurred before either party's convention. The *Journal-Gazette* speculated that the Republicans would not be able to find a candidate willing to run for mayor. A letter to the editor from 'Pro Bono Publico' reported that the Republicans were considering Democrat Charlie Scheimann. Claiming to have inside knowledge about the Republicans, the letter writer noted, "One of them [the Republicans] said they were afraid of the influence of the united German press for Berghoff and pointed out that since Mr. Scheimann is one of the large stockholders in one of the German papers it could not well refuse to support him." The alleged Republican plan acknowledged the power of the German language press and hoped to capitalize on its influence.<sup>64</sup>

Another statement demonstrated the independence of the German press. The *Journal-Gazette* observed that party ties did not control the Republican German press opinions. Reporting on dissension between the Republican Party and the Republican *Freie Presse*, the *Journal-Gazette* claimed that the *Freie Presse* "is disgusted with the Bash game" and "recent issues contain scathing editorials excoriating the men who are engineering the Reese campaign." Additionally, "The *Freie Presse* declares that not democrats alone, but right thinking republicans are opposed to the methods of the Bash triumvirate." *Journal-Gazette* editor Andrew Moynihan observed, "This is pretty strong language to come from a republican paper." On the same day, the *Journal-Gazette* listed

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<sup>64</sup> Scheimann's party identification was unclear. Price noted that Charles Scheiman was one of the incorporators of the Republican *Freie-Presse* which suggests he was a Republican. Price, *Newspapers of Fort Wayne*, 22. The Republican Party recommended him to the governor as the Democratic member of the police board in March of 1901. The *Journal-Gazette* reported, "Little can be said of Mr. Scheimann . . . it was not known whether he is a democrat or a republican." "In Star Chamber," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, March 14, 1901, 1; "Republican Discusses Local Political Situation," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 1, 1901, 4.



the papers that supported Berghoff and included both German language papers. The independence of the Republican German language paper reveals their power to influence the German American vote outside of the official party channels.<sup>65</sup>

The Democratic *Journal-Gazette* and the Democratic *Staats-Zeitung* displayed a closer relationship than their Republican counterparts. On at least two occasions, the *Journal-Gazette* republished articles from the *Staats-Zeitung* on the editorial pages. Two days after the Republican convention, the *Journal-Gazette* included the *Staats-Zeitung* reaction to Reese's nomination. Translated in English, the article professed, "We are sorry indeed, that Captain Reese, whom we esteemed personally, accepted the nomination. He has always been a democrat." The article continued in a tone of pity, alleging that the Republicans "only want to use him [Reese] for selfish reasons and don't care a snap for him personally." As a victim of the Republicans, the paper implied that Reese's defection engendered sympathy rather than hostility—a tactic that encouraged his potential followers to stay with the Democratic Party.<sup>66</sup>

Two days before the election, *Journal-Gazette* appealed directly to the German American population with a German-language copy of a letter to the editor originally published in the *Staats-Zeitung*. In a separate column and in English, the *Journal-Gazette* briefly mentioned the content of the letter that urged "right-minded men to vote against the clique that engineered the charter amendments." The commentary continued, "It will be of interesting and instructive reading for German voters." The author of the German letter, Professor J.H. Ungemach, was (or had been) a professor of music at the German Lutheran Concordia College and the principal of St. Paul's German Lutheran school.

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<sup>65</sup> "Editorial: The Opposition," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 4, 1901, 4; "Support of Newspapers," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 4, 1901, 5.

<sup>66</sup> "A Victim to Republican Rascaillity," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 13, 1901, 4.

Reese's family attended St. Paul's German Lutheran church. Although the inclusion of a German-language excerpt pointed out the ethnic separatism of the German American population, the *Journal-Gazette* clearly attempted an appeal that would unite the German Catholics and the German Lutherans behind the Democratic Party.<sup>67</sup>

The *News* remarks about the German language press emphasized Berghoff's tie to the German American community in a manner that accentuated his German background. The *News* spent several days alluding to something Berghoff purportedly was overheard saying and then asked the German press not to print. The *Journal-Gazette* rebutted the gossip early in April with the statement, "The *Staats-Zeitung* last evening published a denial by Mr. Berghoff who stated emphatically that he has made no promises to anyone, for any position, and that he had not been spoken to about the comptrollership, either by Mr. Scherer or anyone else. The story was as silly as it was malicious, and had no foundation whatever in fact." Despite the reprimand, the *News* continued to refer to the disputed conversation until the week of the election with emphasis on Berghoff "carding" the *Staats-Zeitung* to print a denial. The *News* even suggested that the denial in the *Staats-Zeitung* constituted an admission of guilt. "Of course, Mr. Berghoff may never have said it. We don't pretend to know. The *News* never heard him say it. But if he didn't say it, why did he feel it necessary to apologize through the columns of the *Staats-Zeitung*." On the same page, the *News* stated, "Whether he said it or not, the fact remains

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<sup>67</sup> "Editorial: Elsewhere We Publish," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 5, 1901, 4; "Geehrter Herr Redacteur!," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 5, 1901, 4; *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1885-86*, (Detroit: R. L. Polk, 1886), 39, 405; "Indiana Church Statistics," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 4 1901, 3; "Lutheran Population," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 28 1901, 2. Statewide, the Lutheran memberships ranked sixth in size. In Fort Wayne, the Lutheran membership was one of the largest groups. Lutheran leaders calculated the 1901 membership was 10,360.

that it's dollars to doughnuts he will say that or something very like it after the votes are counted."<sup>68</sup>

The *News* continued the barrage a few days later by speculating that Berghoff had planted the story. "May we be pardoned for once again asking why, if he didn't say it, Mr. Berghoff should have employed the columns of the *Staats-Zeitung* to accuse himself of saying it, in order that he might have opportunity to deny ever having said it. If he didn't say it, why bother to deny that he did?" Four days before the election, the *News* still asked "why he carded the German paper to say that he never said that which no newspaper ever charged him with saying." Eventually, the *Journal-Gazette* ridiculed the *News* storyline: "The strongest argument that has yet been advanced against Mr. Berghoff is that Mr. Page was informed that a prominent citizen heard that another man was overheard to say that some democrat intended to do some horrible thing, and that another man heard the said democrat was Berghoff." Those who could not read German might view the protracted attention to the mysterious incident as confirmation of the foreign nature of Berghoff since he addressed the German audience to clear up the confusion. The secretive nature of whatever might have been said highlighted the communication difficulties between German and English speakers.<sup>69</sup>

In another reference to the German language papers the day before the election, the *News* noted a possible merge of the two German language papers, predicting that Herr

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<sup>68</sup> A careful reading of the *News*, *Journal-Gazette* and *Sentinel* failed to find a direct quote of what Berghoff allegedly said. From the context, the statement appears to be about promises to make political appointment in exchange for the Democratic nomination. "The Political Gossip," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 14, 1901, 4; "Editorial: We Are Told," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 18, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Of Course, Mr. Berghoff May Never Have Said It," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 23, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Dollars to Doughnuts," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 23, 1901, 4.

<sup>69</sup> "Editorial: May We Be Pardoned," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 26, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Mr. Berghoff Has Time Even Yet," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 3, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Strongest Argument," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 1, 1901, 4.

Stephen Fleming planned to purchase both papers and do the “heavy editorials” himself. Senator Fleming was a member of Berghoff’s campaign team, had a controlling interest in the Berghoff brewery and was chief owner of the abandoned canal. The *News* cautioned that Fleming had made a secret deal for the city to buy the canal when Berghoff was elected. During the current mayor’s tenure, the stagnant canal water had been diverted into the city main, “polluting the water supply of ten thousand homes, and carrying sickness and death to scores of unsuspecting families.” The Republican Party made the canal issue a platform plank and campaign cry. The not so subtle reference to Fleming ethnicity in the remark about the newspapers’ purchase, reminded Republican voters of the block of German American voters that they needed to defeat and warned of the dire consequences of German solidarity.<sup>70</sup>

The *Journal-Gazette* remarks about the German language press give evidence of the strength of the German American community. Although identified as party papers, the *Freie Presse* and the *Staats-Zeitung* could also act independently. The *News*’ extended account of a mysterious statement and dialogue occurring between the *Staats-Zeitung* and Berghoff clearly meant to depict the foreign nature of Berghoff. If the *Journal-Gazette* reports about the *Freie Presse* dissension were accurate, the statement about their potential purchase by Senator Fleming indicated a separation of the German readers from the Republican Party.

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<sup>70</sup> The *Freie Presse* bought the *Staats-Zeitung* in 1908 and became the Democratic *Freie Presse-Staats-Zeitung*. "Editorial: Herr Stephen B. Fleming," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 6, 1901, 4; "Booms Canal Trust," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 29, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Senator Fleming," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 30, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Mr. Berghoff," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 3, 1901, 4; "The Platform," 4. The *Freie Presse* bought the *Staats-Zeitung* in 1908 and became the Democratic *Freie Presse-Staats-Zeitung*.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Campaign Dialogue

The direct and colorful language employed by the Fort Wayne editors during the election provided amusing anecdotes and insults. More importantly, the tenor of the discussion exposed the attitudes underlying the substance of the campaign dialogue. This chapter examines the editorial section of the *Journal-Gazette* and the *News* with respect to the use of language that reveals tension between German American and Anglo American residents of Fort Wayne. The chapter briefly analyzes the references to Germany and Kaiser Wilhelm on the editorial pages. Chapter four discusses the Fort Wayne press portrayal of Germany in more detail. Turning to Fort Wayne, different viewpoints about patriotism and citizenship undergird the debate. Within the campaign discourse, the question of what makes one a loyal American continues. In the *Journal-Gazette*, the cry for “home rule” employs the language of self-rule from the American Revolution while in the *News* condemnation of the Democratic “ring” echoes complaints found in city newspapers across the country that associated the political machine with ethnic politics. The final section of the chapter considers the ethnic implications of the name-calling.

#### **Germany on the Editorial Page**

The editors of the Fort Wayne papers wrote just a few German American slurs during the election. The quantitative evaluation of chapter four reveals that both papers printed negative news about Germany’s actions and leaders, albeit at different levels of intensity during the election. Figure 5 on page 93 provides a summary of the differences.

Chapter four evaluates the articles and remarks found on the editorial page and throughout the paper in regards to Germany's role in China and Germany's leader, Kaiser Wilhelm. This section briefly considers the content about Germany found on the editorial pages in context of the campaign discussion.

The *News* mentioned Germany on the editorial page seven times, with five of the references specifically criticizing Germany's leader. Most of the comments about the Kaiser highlighted his attempts to limit opposition speech. For instance, a comment published the day of the Republican convention taunted: "The Emperor of Germany is likely to find out that prohibiting any public reference to a fool-speech made by him is not the best way to get it forgotten." On the same page, editor William Page poked fun at Germany's plans to import camels for draft purposes. The two most egregious comments occurred a few days before the election. The first mentioned a German discovery that would convert sawdust to glucose and predicted that the new product would be added to candy. The quip began, "We may soon be eating sawdust." A few inches below, the second comment referred to a story about a German millionaire who had been eaten by cannibals in New Britain. Page questioned whether the sailors sent by Emperor William to avenge the death would "eat the cannibals." Both comments portrayed the German as less than civilized—willing to trick Americans into eating nonfood items or to themselves participate in a barbarous act like cannibalism.<sup>71</sup>

The timing of the remarks may be significant. Three of the seven remarks occurred prior to Reese's nomination while the two harshest remarks occurred just before the election. Reese's nomination probably limited anti-German remarks during the heart

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<sup>71</sup> "Editorial: The Emperor of Germany," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 11, 1901, 4; "Editorial: If Germany," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 11, 1901, 4; "Editorial: We May Soon Be Eating Sawdust," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 2, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Cannibals on the Island," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 2, 1901, 4.

of the campaign. The abrasive comments closer to the election might indicate that Republican frustration at the impending loss caused the editor to set aside any fear of German American backlash. Further systematic analysis that compares the frequency and tone of the editorial comments about Germany outside of the election period could help whether the timing of anti-German comments was significant.

The *Journal-Gazette* mentioned Germany on three editorial pages as part of the national and international news coverage distinct from the local editorial section. The day of the April 2 Democratic primary, the editorial page included a full column of “Cable News.” The four items from Berlin included the death notice of a famous German geographer, an update on the German troops in China, praise for the German governor in Samoa and a circular from the Prussian minister of the interior about the enforcement of an 1885 decree for men who had left the country to avoid conscription. The decree stated, “All American citizens of German birth who return to Prussia in the military service age, after having avoided army service here will not be allowed, under any conditions to reside in Prussia permanently.” The Prussian minister’s circular stated that the decree had been “insufficiently observed.” The final item reminded the public of why some of the German Americans in Fort Wayne had left their homeland. It also warned German Americans who had fled conscription that return migration would not be possible.<sup>72</sup>

A couple of weeks later, the *Journal-Gazette* editorial section included a report on trade with Germany from the U.S. Consul. The report discussed increasing corn exports to Germany. Since the Germans regarded corn as animal feed, the Consul suggested building corn kitchens in Germany to serve free corn products in order to encourage German consumption. The final mention of Germany on the *Journal-Gazette* editorial

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<sup>72</sup> "Cable News: Berlin," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 2, 1901, 4.

pages occurred the week of the election. In a news section, an article considered Germany's attempts to receive indemnification from Great Britain due to the expulsion of Germans from the Transvaal in South Africa during the Boer War. The article presented both sides of the dispute. Great Britain denied some of the claims from German citizens who had fought against England. At the same time, the article stated, "The sound claims, however are being vigorously championed. Great Britain has appointed a commission to decide upon the claims, following Germany's suggestion." All of the items would be of interest to those with connections to Germany.<sup>73</sup>

The analysis in chapter four concluded that the *News* consistently portrayed Germany in a more negative manner than the *Journal-Gazette*. The items on the editorial pages manifested the same tendency. The *News*' locally written sarcastic and cutting remarks reminded the reader that Germany was not a democracy and implied that the German people were uncivilized. In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* remarks originated from the news services and appealed to German American as consumers of international news. The statement about Germany's conscription regulations presented a negative view of Germany as a militaristic country without directly condemning conscription or the policy on return migration. Although the dispatch presented the story in an informational tone, the reader would recognize the contrast between Germany's standing army and the United States volunteer force.

### **Patriotism and Citizenship**

Outside of the dialogue on local campaign issues, the papers struggled to control the definition of American citizenship. Reese's military background provided the

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<sup>73</sup> "Editorial: United States Consul," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 14, 1901, 4; "Claims of Germans: Great Britain Asked to Atone for Their Expulsion from South Africa," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 2, 1901, 4.



Republican paper with an opportunity to emphasize his American traits in terms of service, loyalty and bravery. The Democratic paper responded with articles that discussed citizenship as a value system that emphasized democratic beliefs and actions.

As could be expected, the *News* exploited Captain Reese's military experience by including many references to his service and bravery. A few days after Reese's nomination, an old soldier sent a rhyme to the paper that associated support for Reese with past U.S. military success. The verse, "Let Berghoff grunt and Shambaugh sneeze— We'll hoist Old Glory to the b-Reese," alluded to a famous flag hidden away during Tennessee's secession and triumphantly displayed when the Union prevailed. In a sense, the verse predicted Reese's victory and tied his campaign to the struggle for the preservation of the Union. As the election continued, the *News* frequently mentioned Reese's military experience, especially in association with protecting America. The paper proclaimed that Reese fought "the enemies of his country," "the battles of his country in behalf of Old Glory," "against the enemies of the United States," "in defense of his country's honor," and "for the flag." Additionally, the *News* mentioned the dangers that Reese had confronted in battle with "his breast bared to bullets," hearing "the whortle of Mauser bullets" and facing a "firing foe" and an "ambushed foe." As could be expected, the *News* placed a photograph of Reese in military uniform on the front page. By emphasizing Reese's valor against an American enemy, the *News* left the reader— particularly the Anglo reader—with no doubt that Reese was a true American.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> "Editorial: An Old Soldier," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 14, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Journal Attacks," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 20, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Journal Says of Captain Charles E. Reese," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 22, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Journal Wants to Know When Captain Reese Voted the Republican Ticket," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 23, 1901, 4; "Our Ticket," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 12, 1901, 4.

Reese's nomination caused some consternation for the Democrats. The *Journal-Gazette* also recognized Reese's military service by placing the notice of his return on the front page with the headline "Returns With Honors From the Philippine War." Since Reese's father actively participated in the Democratic Party and Reese himself had worked closely with Berghoff in the brewery and in city government, the Democratic Party might have anticipated the return of their 'favorite son.' Instead, they faced a high-profile defector from a prominent German American family who was also a member of the large German Lutheran community. The Democratic paper gingerly responded to Reese's nomination. Even before he returned from the Philippines on April 9th, the *Journal-Gazette* speculated that the Republican Party leaders had pressured Reese to run on the Republican ticket. The day after Reese's nomination, the *Journal-Gazette* claimed that Reese had switched parties in order to fulfill his desire to gain an army commission since he would need the support of the Fort Wayne Republican Party to receive the commission. The paper claimed, "Mr. Bash, Mr. Page and others gave Captain Reese some gentle reminders of these things and Captain Reese recognized the covert threat of opposition to his military aspirations should he reject the republican overtures." Although the *Journal-Gazette* made several references to the pressure exerted on Reese and to his lack of courage in accepting the nomination, it also noted that he was an excellent young man and an amiable young gentleman.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> "Capt. Reese Home. Returns with Honors from the Philippine War," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 10, 1901, 1; "Capt. Reese for Mayor. Mr. Bash Offers Him the Republican Nomination," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 7, 1901, 1; "Why He Accepted. Republicans Threatened to End Capt. Reese's Military Career," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 12, 1901, 5; "The Republican Nominees," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 12, 1901, 4; "A Campaign of Evasion," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 24, 1901, 4.

The Democratic Party reframed Reese's military service during a heated exchange about his youth and inexperience. When the *Journal-Gazette* questioned Reese's ability to lead the people of Fort Wayne, the *News* responded with criticism of the *Journal-Gazette* editor Moynihan who "always loses his head at this stage of every campaign, [and] has turned his home guard batteries upon the returned soldier." Continuing, the *News* mentioned that Reese had fought in ten battles. A few days later, the *News* noted that "Captain Reese served as a military mayor of a city in the Philippines with Uncle Sam as overseer," further establishing the image of Reese as a patriotic American. Perhaps sensing an opportunity to quell the patriotic fervor, the *Journal-Gazette* responded by reminding the readers of the perils of militaristic governments (such as Germany under Bismark). Editor Moynihan asserted, "A great many of the citizens of Fort Wayne came to America to escape just that kind of a bayonet rule government." According to the *Journal-Gazette*, one of the German language papers had contained a similar remark a few days later: "The gun enforcement of the municipal laws in some of the countries across the ocean had much to do in helping Fort Wayne increase in population." The *Journal-Gazette* called attention to those of foreign birth who came to America in pursuit of an ideology and environment that protected them from military excess. An American in this sense could be defined as one who supported governments of freedom and liberty rather than militaristic autocracies. This pointed discussion occurred during the week preceding the election.<sup>76</sup>

The Democrats further affirmed that citizenship was more than a birthright in the coverage of a lecture series. Both papers contained identical notices of the course on

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<sup>76</sup> "Odious Comparisons," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 25, 1901, 4; "Targets for the Journal," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 29, 1901, 4; "Editorial: As a Reason," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 30, 1901, 4; "Support of Newspapers," 5.

“American Citizenship” sponsored by the Church of Christ. The Republican paper devoted approximately a third of a column to a description of the lecture. The *News* respectfully complimented lecturer Catholic Father Cleary as a “polished and most convincing speaker.” The *News* also included an excerpt of Cleary’s closing remarks that cited a speech by Abraham Lincoln which emphasized the rule of law: “There can be no freedom where there is no obedience to the law. . . . This respect for the law, which is another view of liberty, should be extended into an observance of legislative enactments.” The passage complemented the Republican position in the ongoing conflict over Berghoff’s refusal to bond the Governor’s police board appointments as required by law.<sup>77</sup>

In comparison to the *News*’ brief coverage of the event, the *Journal-Gazette* devoted a full-page column to Cleary’s speech, extending an introduction to Cleary that contained several lines praising him as a “splendid figure,” “eloquent” and “the eminent divine.” The paper included the same quote from Lincoln about obedience; however, it also devoted a lengthy section to Cleary’s story about a respected Irish American who preferred his American citizenship to honors from a European sovereign. Cleary contrasted the Irish man to the traitor Benedict Arnold who had been born in America:

“The qualities which tend toward the making of a true, honest and loyal citizen are not the mere accident of birth, but the result of principles of high manhood. It is right to pay deserved tribute to some foreign born citizen and unjust to sneer at those who would come to America and identify themselves with American citizenship and American interests.”

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<sup>77</sup> “American Citizenship,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 8, 1901, 4; “Father Cleary’s Lecture. Famous Catholic Temperance Lecturer under Auspices of Church of Christ,” *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 8, 1901, 8; “Father Cleary’s Lecture. Distinguished Catholic Clergyman Speaks on “American Citizenship,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 10, 1901, 5.

The *Fort Wayne Sentinel* also printed a full column of Cleary's speech and included the story of the Irish American.<sup>78</sup>

The lengthier speech content presented in the two Democratic papers certainly appealed to citizens of foreign birth and validated their claims of citizenship equal to that of native born Americans. The large audience that attended the lecture, the speaker's affiliation with the temperance movement and the topic of citizenship warranted significant coverage from the *Republican News*. It appears that the *News* purposefully avoided mention of Cleary's extension of equal citizenship to all regardless of birthplace for fear of upsetting the Anglo reader. The papers' excerpt selection of the lecture titled "American Citizenship" hints at how the parties differed in their views of citizenship.

A *Journal-Gazette's* article concerning religious freedom further demonstrated the Democrats' view of citizenship. Both papers frequently published religious news such as church directories, notices of special events or meetings, reports on religious conferences in the area, church business, sermon excerpts and parochial schools updates. In addition to academic and religious classes, parochial schools provided language instruction and a venue for ethnic maintenance. Indiana's Catholic leadership required parishes to provide schooling and strongly encouraged parents to send their children, if possible. In 1900, Fort Wayne had eleven Catholic and Lutheran elementary schools and two Catholic high schools. On April 13, the *Journal-Gazette* devoted a column and a half to the Catholic education convention in Chicago. In the meeting, the Catholic Church objected to state control of education programs. Monsignor Conaty from Washington, D.C., addressed the group in defense of the Catholic high school. He urged the attendees

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<sup>78</sup> "American Citizenship. Fine Lecture by Father Cleary of Minneapolis," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 10, 1901, 2; "The Glory of Citizenship Told in Eloquent Words by Father Cleary," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, April 10, 1901, 5.

to defend parochial schools as one of their rights as citizens. “We are citizens as well as christians, and we refuse to bend the knee to the fetich [sic] of state paternalism and claim by virtue of our citizenship the right to educate our people in schools which our conscience approves.” The Catholic Church supported its education system with the language of citizenship arguing that parochial schools and their language and cultural programs fit American principles. The theme of resisting state paternalism echoed the debate about the charter amendments discussed below.<sup>79</sup>

In review, the Republican paper argued that Reese’s military service and experience demonstrated his qualifications for the position of mayor. His willingness to risk his life for his country proved him to be a loyal American. The Democratic paper honored Reese’s service; however, the paper reminded its immigrant readers of the oppression they had experienced under military governments. The timely lecture presented by Father Cleary demonstrated another view of citizenship. The Republican paper emphasized the section on the need for obedience to the law while the Democratic paper’s more complete version of Cleary’s speech argued that citizenship was a matter of principle. Two days later, a story about a parochial education conference in the Democratic paper associated citizenship with freedom of religion and warned against state control. Further research on the discourse on citizenship could yield additional insight on tension between German Americans and Anglo Americans.

### **Local Campaign Issues**

A significant portion of the local campaign discourse referred to the proper organization of city government. The Democrat platform touted “home rule” as the

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<sup>79</sup> White, *Worthy of the Gospel of Christ*, 150; Reynolds, "Fort Wayne in 1900," 10; "A Message from Leo. Pope Sends Congratulations to the Catholic Educators," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 13, 1901, 1.

primary campaign issue in protest of the recent amendment to the city charter that gave the Governor more authority to make municipal appointments. The Republican platform highlighted the failure of the current Democratic administration to provide services and safety and called for “good government.”

### ***Home Rule***

Indiana began the process of municipal reform in 1891 with what would be the first of several city charter laws enacted by the General Assembly. Prior to that time, councils composed of ward representatives functioned as both the legislative and executive branches of city government. The mayor presided over the council and held a city court acting as the justice of the peace or police judge. Reformers argued that the ward system failed to serve cities well because each council member was accountable only to the ward and not the city. The 1891 state legislature divided the city government into three separate branches. Additionally, the mayor received the authority to appoint members to administrative boards and departments without requiring the council’s approval. The 1891 charter law, referred to as the “Indianapolis Charter” because it only applied to cities with populations over 100,000, received bipartisan support. In 1893, the General Assembly passed similar charter legislation for Evansville and Fort Wayne. For several years, a piecemeal approach to city charters followed until the state legislature created a single code for all cities in 1905.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> The Democratic state legislature passed the charter with a vote of 42 to 3. Hon. Timothy E. Howard, "The Indiana Municipal Code," in *History of the Indiana Democracy 1816-1916*, ed. John Stoll (Indianapolis: Indiana Democratic Publishing Company, 1917), 348-53; Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 381-83. Timothy Howard referred to the mayor as a justice of the peace on page 349. Clifton Phillips stated the the mayor acted as police judge on page 381. During April of 1901, both the *News* and the *Journal-Gazette* included examples of the current mayor, Henry Scherer, presiding over the police court.

On March 4, 1901, the Indiana General Assembly amended Fort Wayne's city charter. Under the old charter, the mayor appointed the members of the Board of Public Safety. The new amendment gave the governor the power to appoint the Board of Public Safety. The board oversaw "all matters relating to the fire and police force, fire alarm, telegraph, erection of fire escapes, inspection of buildings and boilers, market places and food sold therein, [and] pounds and prisons." In practice, the state Republican majority had transferred the power to appoint the police and fire departments from the Democratic mayor of Fort Wayne to the governor, then Republican Winfield Durbin. The amendment also eliminated the voter-selected position of police judge on the 1901 Fort Wayne Democratic ticket.<sup>81</sup>

#### *Democratic Position*

The March 4th enactment by the Republican state legislature generated a strong Democratic response. The majority of *Journal-Gazette* editorial pages during the campaign period opposed the new charter amendment. Democrats labeled the new charter unconstitutional and warned that "not to resent or oppose it would be to invite and encourage the repeated encroachments upon, and finally the subversion of the legally established forms of municipal government to make way for the erection of feudal political estates." The reference to feudal estates would have had significant meaning to the many Irish and German voters in the Fort Wayne Democratic Party whose ancestors or who themselves had abandoned their native countries where powerful estates had limited opportunities for the ordinary people. The Fort Wayne Democratic platform

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<sup>81</sup> "The Department of Public Safety," *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 6, 1901, 4. The charter amendment gave the governor the authority to appoint a three person bi-partisan Board of Public Safety in Fort Wayne. The Board of Public Safety would oversee the police force. During the campaign period, the *Journal-Gazette* emphasized that the charter amendments gave the governor the power to appoint a police commission or police board



condemned the new charter, couching the argument in terms of citizen rights and American principles of liberty and self-government. Language about the “liberty loving citizens,” “the rights vouchsafed to every citizen of this republic,” “[the] concordant majority of citizens,” and “[the] sacred domain of popular liberty” set the stage for a battle over the definition of democracy.<sup>82</sup>

The *Journal-Gazette* tied its opposition to the amendments to the loss of the right to self-government. Although the former charter had not allowed Fort Wayne residents to vote directly for the fire or police positions, the *Journal-Gazette* exploited the difference between Fort Wayne’s Democratic majority that elected a Democratic mayor who appointed the local boards and Indiana’s state-wide Republican majority that elected a Republican governor to appoint the boards. The Democratic paper defined the disagreement as a matter of “home rule” and warned of the loss of control to the non-representative Republican rulers. Early in the campaign, the *Journal-Gazette* warned that the amendments “are calculated to rob the people of the sacred right to govern themselves.” Nine days before the election, a letter to the editor asserted that the charter amendments “stab at a principle that is sacred to loyal citizens irrespective of party” and asked “Shall Fort Wayne and American freeman surrender their liberties?” As the election date neared, the *Journal-Gazette* continued to discourage readers from supporting the Republican ticket by employing the rhetoric of liberty: “A vote for the Bash-Page-Reese-Lane ticket is a vote . . . Robbing you of the right of self government—the very thing that makes you free.” “Vote their ticket and be ‘restrained’ from the right

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<sup>82</sup> Twenty-eight of the thirty seven editorial pages in the sample mentioned home rule or the charter amendment. “The Democratic Platform,” 6.

to govern yourself.” Throughout the campaign, the *Journal-Gazette* reminded the readers that their rights as citizens were in jeopardy.<sup>83</sup>

To further support the cause of “home rule,” the *Journal-Gazette* drew on themes from the American Revolution. Two days before the election, the paper included a two page spread devoted to letters of support for the Democratic ticket. The large headline at the top of the first page announced “The Issues of the Great Battle for HOME RULE” with the headline, “Your Neighbors and Friends as Citizens and Tax-Payers,” on the opposite side. A letter from H. I. Smith reviewed the history of democracy beginning with King John of England agreeing to the Magna Carta (1215) with his barons at Runny Mede. Smith proclaimed, “The legislature of 1901 . . . has violated the very principle that the barons wrung from King John more than seven hundred years ago, and the spirit that drove Great Britain from the shores of America—the right to political and civil liberty—the right to govern themselves.” Smith concluded with another appeal to history concerning King George III and taxation without representation: “He who holds self-government as a priceless jewel, and all governments ‘deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed’ will see despotism begin where self-government ends.” The other letters about home rule reiterated the connection of the charter amendment to tyranny and frequently repeated the rights of citizens to govern themselves.<sup>84</sup>

The Democratic paper equated the freedom to take part in local government decisions with the freedom from oppressions by a guardian, dictator, overseer or Czar and used the issue to portray the Republican leadership, especially Charles Bash, as a

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<sup>83</sup> "Editorial: The Amendments," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 10, 1901, 4; S. F. Swayne, "Interference with Home Rule," *ibid.*, April 28; "Editorial: A Vote For," *ibid.*, April 29; "Editorial: If You Want," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 30, 1901, 4.

<sup>84</sup> H. I. Smith, "Mr. H. I. Smith Declares That the Right of the People to Govern Themselves Precipitated the Revolution of the Forefathers and Every Other Revolution," *ibid.*, May 5, 9.

tyrant. The last few days before the election, the Democratic editorial pages overflowed with predictions of Bash's plan to rule the city. The editorial page admonished the voters: "If you want a guardian, vote the Bash ticket;" "If you think Mr. Bash is better able to govern you than you are to govern yourself, vote his ticket next Tuesday;" "He [Bash] wants to be king;" and "They [the people] have the right to indorse [sic] or reject the Bash plan to install himself as municipal dictator, with Governor Durbin as 'overseer' as the Daily News puts it." The barrage continued up to the election day: "The question is—will Czar Bash bow to the 50,000 people of Fort Wayne, or will the 50,000 people of Fort Wayne bow to Czar Bash?;" "You can vote like a freeman next Tuesday, but if Czar Bash is able to install himself as chief dictator it will be the last time;" "No people who deserve to be free ever surrendered their rights without a struggle worthy their manhood." The day before the election, the *Journal-Gazette* employed the language of warfare: "We will take pleasure next Wednesday morning in giving credit to the great army of citizens who are lined up in battle array against the unwarranted, defenseless, friendless and unconstitutional wrong." The slogans addressed themes that would be particularly poignant to German speaking immigrants who came to America to avoid mandatory military service or Chancellor Bismarck's anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf*.<sup>85</sup>

### *Republican Response*

The Republican platform published in the *News* did not mention "charter amendment" or "home rule" by name, but included two platform points alluding to the disagreement. Point five of the Republican platform accused the Democrats of hypocrisy over the 'metropolitan system' which a Democratic legislature had created for other

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<sup>85</sup> "Editorial: If You Want a Guardian," *ibid.*, May 3., 4; "Editorial: The Question Is--Will Czar Bash," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 4, 1901, 4; "Editorial:More Republicans," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 5, 1901, 4; "Editorial: We Will Take," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 6, 1901, 4.

cities. The platform claimed that the Democrats “[raised] false issues to divert the attention of the public from its own shortcomings.” The Republican paper did not engage in the discussion of citizen's rights or self-government. Overall, the *News* editorial pages included fewer days of coverage on the charter with less space allocated on those days.<sup>86</sup>

The *News* rejoinder to the Democrat’s dire predictions focused on three areas: the need for the amendments, the rule of law and the Democrats’ hypocrisy. According to the Republican paper, “All the defense needed for the charter amendments is found in the rotten administration that made their passage necessary.” Among other things, the Republican press protested the administration’s failure to enforce Sunday laws, saloon hours and gambling restrictions. Even the Democratic *Sentinel* had blamed the passage of the amendments on the faults of the current administration. In a column which the *News* reprinted, the *Sentinel* had reminded its readers of the lesson to be learned from the loss of city autonomy. “If the democrats of Fort Wayne could have shown to the legislature the example of a clean, courageous and impartial administration of the laws, the proposals for the charter changes could not have obtained a hearing.” The *News* also exploited complaints about the current administration found in past issues of the *Journal-Gazette*: “The only defense needed for the charter amendments is the language of the Journal itself . . . denouncing the administration it is now seeking to perpetuate in power, for non-enforcement of the laws.” Like the frequently printed “Bash-Reese Platform” in

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<sup>86</sup> "The Platform."

the *Journal-Gazette*, the Republican paper published the “Democratic Denunciation”—a litany of complaints originally found in the Democratic papers—almost every day.<sup>87</sup>

In addition to the complaints about favoritism and lax law enforcement, the *News* tied the need for a new charter to the Democrats’ abuse of the patronage system in the selection of members of the police and fire departments. According to the *News*, former Republican mayor Chauncey Oakley had employed a bi-partisan police force; however, when the current Democratic mayor Henry Scherer took office, he dismissed all but three of the Republicans on the force and ignored the Republican member on the Board of Public Safety. The Republican message concentrated on the Democrats’ inability to safely and fairly administer the city.<sup>88</sup>

Another tactic the Republican Party employed appealed to the rule of law. In the first test of the charter amendments, Berghoff, as the current city clerk, refused to accept the bonds submitted by Governor Durbin’s board appointees, arguing that the charter amendment was unconstitutional and effectively preventing the new board from taking office. In response, the *Sentinel* suggested that the Democrats and Republicans work out an agreement while the courts decided on the constitutionality of the new city rules. The *News* retorted that just because those in the administration had “declared their intention of ignoring the latest law, does not constitute a valid reason why those who have asked for a statute that should make law enforcement possible, should unite in discrediting the constitutionality of the law whose enactment they urged and secured.” The *Indianapolis*

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<sup>87</sup> "Editorial: All the Defense Needed for the Charter Amendments," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 23, 1901, 4; "The Lesson of It," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, March 30, 1901, 4; "The Lesson of It [Sentinel, March 30]," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 1, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Journal Is Vehement," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 29, 1901, 4. The "Bash-Reese" platform consisted of a letter Bash had written to Indianapolis legislators urging them to amend Fort Wayne's charter. See thesis page 46.

<sup>88</sup> "How the Charter Works," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 9, 1901, 4.

*News*, although opposed to the law, expressed a similar sentiment which the *Fort Wayne News* published. “Nevertheless, when a law is passed it ought to be accepted as law . . . for the attitude that refuses recognition to a law is usurpation.” On the surface, the legal dispute over the constitutionality of the charter amendments did not carry an ethnic connotation; however, the underlying theme of law enforcement reminded the readers of the Republicans’ claims about Democratic lawlessness. The Republican platform did not mince words in condemning Berghoff’s actions: “If this gentlemen . . . sets the laws of the state at defiance, while acting in a subordinate and purely clerical capacity, to what length may he not go to if clothed with the extraordinary powers conferred upon him as mayor of the city of Fort Wayne?” The Republicans appeal to the rule of law further emphasized their allegation that continued rule by the Democrats would exacerbate vice and crime in the city.<sup>89</sup>

Finally, the Republican Party exposed the Democrats’ hypocrisy by reviewing the history of the original charter amendments. A Democratic legislature had passed the Indiana’s first charter amendment in 1881. At the time, the Fort Wayne Republican paper supported the charter amendments. The *News* published statements in favor of the amendment from both a noted Republican and Democrat, concluding, “Certainly, when gentlemen so able as Messrs. Taylor and Edgeron, and who are so radically opposed in political faith, can agree in favor of a great public question, it is time that voters should cease to oppose it simply at the command of a few selfish party leaders.” The *News* attempted to counteract the Democrats’ cries for “home rule” with information about the Democrats’ role in earlier charters that had restricted local authority. The *News* published

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<sup>89</sup> "Spare the City," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, April 1, 1901, 4; "No Compromise," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 2, 1901, 4; "Indianapolis News," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 11, 1901, 4; "The Platform," 4.

several columns about the history of Fort Wayne's charters, most of which Democratic legislatures had passed. Berghoff, himself, had not questioned the constitutionality of an earlier charter amendment that abolished the Fort Wayne water works board and replaced it with a state appointed board of public works. A dramatic letter to the *News* editor from pseudonym Fair Play further emphasized the Democrats' hypocrisy. Listing eighteen cities, the author stated, "Democratic legislatures have taken away 'the sacred right of local self-government' from the following cities of Indiana." In comparison, Republican legislatures had only taken the "sacred right" away from one city—Fort Wayne. The letter also compared the Democratic politicians to "great babies" and to a bully who when hit "quits his fighting and goes blubbering out up and down the highways, 'That fellow hit me! That fellow hit me! Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo!'" The Republicans refused to engage in a debate about self-government or citizens' rights, choosing instead to question the Democrats' sincerity and tactics.<sup>90</sup>

The Democrats waged a smoke and mirrors campaign with the charter amendments. Employing emotional themes of democracy and liberty in the "home rule" debate created a 'smoke screen' around other issues. Characterizing Bash as the embodiment of anti-American leadership deflected attention from Reese and avoided a direct conflict between two German American leaders. Placing "home rule" and tyranny on opposite ends of a continuum, the Democrats appealed to ethnic voters who left countries with oppressive governments. In response, the Republicans avoided a direct debate about "home rule." Instead, they argued that the Democrats' abuse of power and

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<sup>90</sup> "Editorial: A Few Days Since," *Fort Wayne Daily News*, March 8, 1881, 4; "Mr. Louttit's Lunacy," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 17, 1901, 4; "Editorial: It Is Interesting," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 10, 1901, 4; "Editorial: If the Charter Amendments Are Unconstitutional," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 22, 1901, 4; Fair Play, "The Record. Politicians Pleading the Baby Act and Playing the Poltroon," *ibid.*, May 2,.

failure to enforce the law warranted restrictions. Berghoff's refusal to accept the bonds of the new police board members further supported the Republicans' point, and past Democratic support for similar charter amendments lessened the Democrats' credibility. At first glance, the Republican response seems ethnically neutral. However, behind the Republican's smokescreen of legitimacy lay a desire to control behaviors associated with the German and Irish population in Fort Wayne. The charter amendment gave control of the police and the police judge to the Republicans. As seen below, the Republicans argued that the Democratic ring failed to enforce gambling and saloon laws.

### **The Ring/Machine**

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the patronage system allowed the victorious political party to appoint their loyal followers to government positions. Proponents of city reform labeled the powerful political organizations that developed "machines" or "rings" and the leaders "boss" or "ring leader." Often, graft and corruption followed the formation of the organizations. Political machines or rings carried ethnic connotations. Many big city political bosses provided assistance to new immigrant in expectation that when the immigrants became citizens they would vote for the party. In 1883, the United States Congress enacted the Pendleton Civil Service Act which required federal employment to be based on merit; however, state and local governments did not fall under the Act's jurisdiction and continued to assign jobs based on party loyalty. In Fort Wayne, jobs within the police and fire departments fell within the city patronage system. Throughout the 1901 Fort Wayne election, the Republican paper applied the terms "ring" and "machine" to the Democratic Party leadership. At least eighteen of the thirty-two pages (56%) in the *News* sample contained the terms. Similar to the *Journal-*



*Gazette's* portrayal of Bash as a dictator controlling the Republican Party, the *News* depicted Berghoff as the ring leader controlling the Democrats.

The Republican platform began with an affirmation for good government that, as could be expected, turned into a condemnation of the Democratic administration after the first paragraph. Within the platform introduction, the Republicans accused the city administration of being a “coterie of selfish politicians and placeseekers.” The platform distinguished the party from the party leadership and claimed that “the machine whose only purpose is their own perpetuation” opposed good government. The platform continued with an enumeration of the present administration’s flaws including: lax law enforcement; waste; dangerous water management; “irregularities” such as rake-offs, specially favored agents and commissions received by salaried officers; high taxes; and the monopoly granted to the interurban railroad in addition to the statements about the charter amendments and the bond refusals previously mentioned. After presenting the current office holders as a “machine,” the platform continued by introducing each point as a charge, arraignment, denouncement or condemnation of the present municipal administration. Although the platform did not stress the terms “machine” or “ring,” throughout the campaign, the Republican paper associated the election issues with the terms “machine” and “ring.”<sup>91</sup>

Early in the campaign, the *News* charged the Democratic Party with rearranging the “Big Four” in power rather than fairly nominating the best candidates. The “Big Four” consisted of Henry Scherer, the current mayor; Henry Berghoff, the current city clerk and Democratic candidate for mayor; August M. Schmidt, the current clerk of the municipal boards and Democratic candidate for city clerk; and William Shambaugh, the current city

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<sup>91</sup> "The Platform."

attorney and Democratic city chairman, and former state legislator. The *News* predicted that the four would all stay in power albeit in different positions. According to the *News*, “He [Berghoff] is the absolute dictator, and has frozen several candidates out of the race by the use of his machine.” Announcing the primary winners, the Republican paper proclaimed, “Ring Dictates the Nominations in Every Instance—Some Tall Kicking.” In the days surrounding the convention, the Republican paper mentioned the brutal conduct of the machine and suggested that “decent democrats . . . help smash the machine that is grinding them into the dust.” While the Democrats championed the right to self-rule, the Republicans emphasized that the machine removed the decision-making power from the people.<sup>92</sup>

In the first days of few days of April, the Republican rancor fell on Berghoff in a manner that clearly entwined his position as the so-called ring leader with ethnicity. The same article mentioned above that referred to Berghoff as an absolute dictator also stated, “No boss has been so imperialistic in Fort Wayne in many years.” Two days later, the *News* discussed Kaiser Berghoff’s role in securing the Democratic ticket which “employ[ed] all the powers of its compact machine” and asked “Do our democratic friends entirely relish the high-handed measures adopted by their big boss in manipulating the majority party in his own personal interests.” These remarks on the same day the *News* published the pseudo-letter “From the Czar.” During continued coverage of the Democratic convention, the Republican paper likewise noted, “the imperialistic policy assumed by Czar Berghoff is distressing to the liberty loving democratic voters” and “the brutal conduct of the city ring and the usurpations of Czar

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<sup>92</sup> “A Democratic Day,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 2, 1901, 4; “Convention to-Night,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 3, 1901, 4; “The Democratic Convention,” 4.

Berghoff.” The same few pages that labeled Berghoff a czar also identified his German ethnicity with slurs of Kaiser or Herr. The *News* implied that Berghoff’s dominating actions represented a style of leadership associated with powerful men from non-democratic nations.<sup>93</sup>

After Reese’s nomination, the tenor of the language around Berghoff’s role as party boss or ring leader shifted away from the direct attacks on his powerful non-American style of leadership to derisive accounts of his ability to lead. On several occasions, the paper dismissed him as the “machine made candidate for mayor” or “ring candidate for mayor.” In comparison to Reese who would “devote his time to the affairs of the city,” the *News* proclaimed that Berghoff would “put in his time playing political boss.” The paper warned that Berghoff would put the needs of the party before the needs of the city, stating, “The ring candidate for mayor can blow hot or cold as political necessity exists. He is at the head of the ring because much practice has made him perfect as a political manipulator—not, as we said before, for his executive capacity.” The comments that Berghoff was not a worthy candidate might be said in any political contest. By associating Berghoff’s alleged lack of ability to his connection with a machine or ring, the republican paper called attention to his ethnicity.<sup>94</sup>

In addition to the characterization of the Democratic candidate as a product of the ring, at times the Republican Party addressed the issues in the platform as manifestations of the ring. The issue of law enforcement had dominated several of Fort Wayne’s past

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<sup>93</sup> "A Democratic Day," 4; "The Democratic Convention," 4; "A Complete Ticket," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 6, 1901; "Gene Smith Active," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 10, 1901, 4. "From the Czar" is discussed on thesis page 40.

<sup>94</sup> "A Bit of Consistency," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 26, 1901, 4; "It Fools Nobody," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 1, 1901, 4; "Let All Remember," 4; "Berghoff out of His Class," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 30, 1901, 4.

elections. The Republicans had successfully elected the last Republican mayor, Chauncey Oakley (1894-1897), with a campaign that promised strict law enforcement. The vice laws in question—gambling, saloon hours, Sunday business hours and inappropriate mixing of the sexes—targeted behaviors that were common and acceptable in other cultures where the pub was a source of community.<sup>95</sup>

The *News* blamed the current perceived state of lawlessness on the patronage system that the ring supported which allowed the mayor to appoint the members of police and fire departments. The paper urged readers to support the Republican ticket in order to “take away from the party in power the strongest and most tyrannical political instrument in the hands of the political machine . . . by making the police force and fire department force of the city bipartisan and therefore non-partisan.” As the election neared, the *News* highlighted the Democrats’ personal connections to the businesses implicated in the vice complaints. The week prior to the election, the Republican paper claimed Berghoff had promised saloon owners he would change the laws so “that saloons may remain open until after midnight every night and on Sunday’s as soon as the morning services are over” and asked its readers, “Do you want to be governed by gamblers and saloon keepers or by bright young business men?” Three days before the election, the *News* published several statements blaming Berghoff for the moral problems in the city and advised voters, “A vote for the Berghoff ticket is a vote to perpetuate the system now in vogue of the debauching of men, women, boys and girls, by mixing the saloon and the

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<sup>95</sup> Scott, "Hoosier Kulturkampf," 11.

social evil under the protection of the city authorities, supported by a selfish brewery interest that seeks to dominate the city.”<sup>96</sup>

On the same day, a letter to the editor titled “The Ring’s Threat Harmless” compared Fort Wayne’s politically appointed police force to “Tammany”—the well-known Irish political organization in New York City. The letter writer specifically condemned the collusion of politicians, police and saloons, stating, “It must be known to every voter that HOME RULE means the freely expressed WILL of the majority—not the self-interested dictation of saloon-keepers and policemen and firemen appointed as favorites of the party boss.” The collocation of ring and machine with saloons and activities that German Americans considered part of their conviviality but Anglo Americans considered vice clearly demonstrated the ethnic connotations associated with of ring and machine.<sup>97</sup>

Similarly, the Republican platform planks on “irregularities” matched common complaints associated with political machines and by extension, ethnic groups. In Fort Wayne, many of the complaints dealt with financial impropriety that wasted or misused taxpayer money such as fees collected by special agents, a contract bid that was returned, secret payments made to the canal owners for polluted water, and poorly constructed sewers and roads. The charges implied that the monies fell into the hands of the machine and its supporters at the expense of the taxpayer. As an example, the *News* pondered, “how much of the increased taxation now collected from the people has gone into the pockets of special agents, and those city officials who collect a percentage from

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<sup>96</sup> "Some Charter Facts," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 8, 1901, 4; "It Fools Nobody," 4; "Editorial: Do You Want to Be Governed by Gamblers and Saloonkeepers?," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 2, 1901, 4; "Editorial: A Vote for the Ring Ticket," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 4, 1901, 4.

<sup>97</sup> Cautions Observer, "The Ring's Threat Harmless," *ibid.*

contractors for using the city's machinery to secure payment of assessments for public improvements." The system, introduced by the "conscienceless machine," required contractors for public works projects to use special agents "having a pull with the authorities." The Republican paper discussed the issues of mismanagement on every editorial page. On many of the pages, the discussion embedded the language of political machinery within the issues; however, the *News* did not use the terms "machine," "ring," or "boss" in every instance.<sup>98</sup>

In response, the Democratic paper presented an alternate set of facts to support the current administration's good and proper city management. The *Journal-Gazette* dealt with the substance of the complaints but did not address the representation of the Democratic Party as a machine. On two occasions, the Democratic paper responded in kind, claiming that the charter amendment was the work of thirty men trying to build a party machine and that Czar Bash would "tear down the fire department, to make it a political machine." The paper also mentioned the Indianapolis Republican machine, the Indianapolis political machine and the Durbin machine, all in reference to the charter amendments. The Democrats' application of ring and machine to the Republican organization suggests that success was a criterion in the definition of "machine" which leaves some doubt as to whether all Republican references to political machines or rings had ethnic connotations.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> "Editorial: It Would Be," *ibid.*, April 14; "Editorial: Mr. Berghoff Cannot Deny," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 1, 1901, 4.

<sup>99</sup> "Editorial: Let Us Remind," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 6, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Czar Bash Has Postponed," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 29, 1901; "Editorial: The Charter Amendments," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 8, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Amendments," 4; "An Outside View," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 11 1901, 4.

By employing the images of a political machine or ring, the Republican campaign brought attention to ethnic division in Fort Wayne. The multi-faceted approach associated Berghoff with un-American leadership traits and questioned his ability to lead; tied the ring to vice complaints commonly associated with immigrant groups and exposed financial improprieties within the patronage system.

### **Name Calling**

Both papers used the epithet “czar” to characterize the opposition’s leaders. The Republican paper referred to the Democratic candidate as “Czar Berghoff” or “Czar Breakoff” while the Democratic paper called the Republican chairman “Czar Bash.” The title “czar” or “tsar” derives from the Latin word, *Caesar*, as does the German title, “Kaiser.” During the latter part of the nineteenth century, “czar” also represented “a person having great authority or absolute power; a tyrant, ‘boss.’” For instance, Thomas Brackett Reed, Republican speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives (1889-1891 and 1895-1899), earned the nickname “Czar Reed” for his authoritative style. In the Fort Wayne city election, the use of “czar” clearly held a derogatory connotation but not necessarily an association with Russian ethnicity. According to the U.S. of 1900 Census, only 40 Allen county residents had been born in Russia so it seems unlikely that Fort Wayne’s residents related the appellation to Russian ethnicity on a personal level. A comparison between the parties’ applications of “czar” reveals the extent of the ethnic component of its use.<sup>100</sup>

During the election, the Fort Wayne papers received the majority of their information about Russia from London sources. The *Sentinel* and the *News* both noted

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<sup>100</sup> "S.V. "Czar"," in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (www.oed.com: Oxford University Press, 2013); "Historical Census Browser." The capitalization of "czar" follows English patterns for titles. In the sample, the newspapers inconsistently applied the rule.

that the cable news sources from St. Petersburg had been censored, and the *Journal-Gazette* mentioned that St. Petersburg information was unreliable. In an editorial about reports from Russia, the *Sentinel* writer concluded, "Some of it may be true, but not all of it can be true, and each reader must select for himself what he would like to believe." The majority of news concerning Russia dealt with China, both the resolution of the Boxer Uprising and the tense negotiations between Japan and Russian over Manchuria. Additional topics included reports of Leo Tolstoi's banishment, student and labor dissent and assassination attempts. The *Journal-Gazette* contained 12 articles about Russia, four on the front page and three on the editorial page. The *News* included 20 articles, fourteen on the front page and three additional mentions on the editorial page.<sup>101</sup>

Both papers printed both positive and negative stories about the Russian czar and government. *News* readers learned about the Russian government's censorship of the press and of Tolstoi's speech, the severe treatment of 'students who refused to obey orders' and dissent within all classes. The Republican paper contained four negative images linked to Russia: a picture of the imperial palace and Czar Nicholas II with a caption about possible overthrow of the czar; a cartoon with Russia depicted as a bear overshadowing a map of Manchuria and a small Japanese man; an image of Tolstoi with a caption about his banishment; and a picture of Russian and Japanese battleships. During the same period, the *News* included a positive report that the czar planned to give Russia a constitution and a positive article on the economic progress the czar had made and on his interest in peace.

The *Journal-Gazette* included coverage of the Manchuria dispute between Japan and Russia, the assassination attempts and Tolstoi's banishment. While critical of

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<sup>101</sup> "Editorial: Either Russian," *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, April 5, 1901.



Tolstoi's banishment, the Democratic paper also published a story from Washington praising the czar's Manchurian negotiation tactics: "This act of the czar [is] another proof of his sincerity and of his determination to do nothing to impede the speedy and satisfactory conclusion of these negotiations." Neither paper wholly condemned Russia or the czar.<sup>102</sup>

In both papers, the few comments about Russia on the editorial pages contained the harshest criticism. The *Journal-Gazette* editorial pages contained three statements about Russia: a news feed from Washington; a comparison of Russia's and Japan's military strengths and weaknesses should the Manchurian negotiations break down; and most significantly, a letter comparing Tolstoi's plight to the plight of the citizens of Fort Wayne. Two days before the election, the Democratic paper noted that Tolstoi was a "heroic figure" and a "great humanitarian." The paper quoted a letter that Tolstoi had sent to the czar in which Tolstoi urged the czar to "Free the peasant from the brutal tyranny of the officials" and "do away with the present police system which demoralizes society, degrades the empires and breeds spies and informers." The *Journal-Gazette* editorial continued, "This appeal of the Russian novelist and patriot fits the Fort Wayne case exactly. The people are to be deprived of their liberty and the sacred prerogative of 50,000 people is placed in the hands of three or four men, who are answerable [sic] only to Indianapolis politicians." Tolstoi's letter chided the czar and condemned the Russian system. The *Journal-Gazette's* editorial connection of the Russian government to the

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<sup>102</sup> "Pleased at Washington," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 7, 1901, 1, 6.

charter amendment matched their general tactic of linking the charter amendment to a restriction of the American principles of self-rule and freedom.<sup>103</sup>

The *News* delivered their editorial criticism of Russia with sarcasm. A few days after an unsuccessful attempt on the czar's life, editor William Page jested, "The spring styles for Russians of prominence include bullet and dagger proof garments." Eight days later, the sarcasm intensified when the paper reported that Russia planned a severe approach towards China and asked, "Does this mean that Russian soldiers will hereafter burn Chinese children instead of bayoneting them on sight?" The rhetorical nature of the remark resembled a taunt in the *News* about the German sailors sent to avenge the death of a German millionaire: "Will the German sailors eat the cannibals?" Both questions implied that the Russians and Germans were less civilized and perhaps dangerous peoples.<sup>104</sup>

The Republican paper contained a significantly greater number of articles about Russia but fewer "Czar" name-calling incidents. On three of the four occasions the Republican paper called Berghoff a "Czar," it also indicated his German ethnicity elsewhere on the page. Notably, these same pages contained the only mentions of Berghoff's ethnicity. All four applications suggest an un-American leadership style. Early in the campaign, the Republican paper published a pseudo-letter to the editor titled "From the Czar" and signed by Henry Czar Breakoff that claimed the writer had "nominated myself as burgomaster" and threatened "what I says goes or there is trouble." On the same page, the editorial comment on Berghoff's nomination repeatedly referred to him as

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<sup>103</sup> "Washington News," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 11, 1901, 4; "Japan Vs. Russia," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 1, 1901, 4; "Tolstoi's Noble Appeal," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 5, 1901, 4.

<sup>104</sup> "Editorial: The Spring Styles," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 5, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Russia Notifies," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 13, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Cannibals on the Island," 4.

Kaiser. In this instance, the *News* called attention to Berghoff's German ethnicity and appeared to conflate the terms "Kaiser" and "Czar" to highlight Berghoff's control over the Democratic Party.<sup>105</sup>

The *News* referred to Berghoff as Kaiser on only one other occasion in the week before the election. Responding to a Democratic editorial praising Berghoff's qualities, the Republican paper mockingly countered that the writer "attempted a very pretty picture of Kaiser Berghoff . . . the gentleman from Dortmund." The article continued with criticism of the picture painted with kalsomine [whitewash] because the "model, unfortunately, was full of holes." Later on the page, the editorial section continued with the warning, "Czar Berghoff will, if elected, conduct the office with a political snickersnee [a knife], blood-thirsty for every obstacle in the way of his private snap idea of doing things." The *News* again alerted the reader to Berghoff's domineering nature.<sup>106</sup>

On another occasion, the *News* indicated Berghoff's German ethnicity by using the prefix "Herr." Although a polite term similar to "Mister," the *News* did not apply "Herr" as a sign of respect but rather as an indication of Berghoff's foreign characteristics in the one sentence quip: "It might as well be understood, once and for all, that everything is unconstitutional that is not approved by Herr Berghoff." On the same page, the *News* mentioned "the brutal conduct of the city ring and the usurpations of Czar Berghoff." In context, both "Herr" and "czar" signified an autocratic leadership style. The remaining application of "czar" occurred in an editorial about the Democratic ring: "The imperialistic policy assumed by Czar Berghoff is distressing to the liberty-loving democratic voters of Fort Wayne." Again, czar refers to non-democratic leadership style.

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<sup>105</sup> "From the Czar," 4; "The Democratic Convention," 4.

<sup>106</sup> "A Spoiled Picture," 4; "Berghoff out of His Class," 4.

Although few in number each application of “czar” drew attention to Berghoff’s purportedly foreign management style and in the majority of cases, his German ethnicity.<sup>107</sup>

The *Journal-Gazette* attached the label “czar” solely to Republican chairman Bash, frequently in conjunction with the label “dictator.” Only one of the pages with “Czar Bash” also mentioned Russia. The sensationalistic remark compared Bash’s letter to the Indianapolis Republicans to a Russian ukase “where men are taken in charge by the royal guards before they are shot.” A few lines down, the paper resumed the Russian theme with an accusation about Bash’s past service in the police department. “Every gambling house and every Columbia street wine room was wide open when Czar Bash was president of the Oakley police board.” On this page, the Democrats associated “czar” with Russian nationality; however, the connection emphasized Russia’s autocratic government rather than personal characteristics of individual Russians.<sup>108</sup>

On the rest of the *Journal-Gazette*’s editorial pages, the appellation “Czar Bash” expressed some of the same qualities that the *News* associated with a ring leader. Similar to the Republican paper’s complaints that Berghoff controlled the political ring or machine of the Democratic Party, the *Journal-Gazette* employed “czar” to accentuate their claim that Bash dominated the Republican Party and newspaper, and also to forecast his intention to rule the city after the election. The *Journal-Gazette* frequently tied the use of “czar” to Bash’s support of the charter amendment and to his appointment to the police commission (Board of Public Safety). The Democratic paper taunted the Republicans and

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<sup>107</sup> "Editorial: It Might as Well," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 10, 1901, 4; "Gene Smith Active," 4; "A Complete Ticket," 4.

<sup>108</sup> "Editorial" Mr. Bash's "Restraint" Letter," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 1, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Policy Gambling Started," 4.

Bash about their perceived difficulty finding a candidate, but other than the April 1 example in the preceding paragraph, did not add “Czar” to Bash’s name until after the Republicans selected a candidate. After the convention, the *Journal-Gazette* called the ticket “Czar Bash’s nameless political mixture” and “Czar Bash’s demo-republican ticket.” The paper also noted that Dictator Bash ruled the nomination and called the result Dictator Bash’s “mongrel ticket.” The *Journal-Gazette* referred to Bash as Czar, dictator or king on fourteen of the last eighteen days before the election (78%).<sup>109</sup>

The Democratic paper’s insinuations of Bash’s power over the Republican Party became more explicit as the campaign progressed with “Czar” frequently punctuating the editorial commentary. The *Journal-Gazette* claimed that Bash’s control encompassed the Republican paper. According to *Journal-Gazette* editor Andrew Moynihan, “The charter amendments will cut no figure in the campaign, so far as the republicans are concerned. Mr. Page has been muzzled, the muzzle has been doubly padlocked, and Czar Bash carries the key.” The next day, the theme continued with another mention of *News* editor William Page’s obedience to Czar Bash who “muzzled his organ.” The week before the election, the Democratic editor again reminded the reader of Bash’s command over the Republican press with the colorful observation, “Deacon Page is like a hen on a hot griddle in his efforts to obey Czar Bash’s orders to dodge the charter amendments at all hazards.” The depiction of Bash as a Czar restricting the paper’s freedom of speech

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<sup>109</sup> "Editorial: Now That Mr. Skelton Has Decided Not to Be a Candidate," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 20, 1901, 4; "No Shackles for Republicans," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 23, 1901, 4; "The Political Gossip," 4.

complemented the Democratic Party's portrayal of the charter amendments as a battle for freedom.<sup>110</sup>

In addition to declaring that Bash ruled the Republican Party during the convention and directed the *News*, the *Journal-Gazette* alleged that he intended to rule Fort Wayne by using his authority as a future police commissioner and his influence over the Republican candidate Reese. Referring to the legal wrangling over the police commission bonds, the Democratic paper predicted that Czar Bash would wait until after the election "to install himself as dictator" and "to force himself into the city government." The Democratic editor claimed that Governor Winfield Durbin "placed in his [Bash's] hands as police commissioner the whip to lash his fellow citizens into submission, or 'restraint' as he puts it." During the last ten days before the election, the *Journal-Gazette* referred every day to Bash as a Czar, dictator and/or king. The paper connected Reese's experience as a military mayor in the Philippines to Bash's desire to be "chief dictator of the city," noting that Bash wanted "a candidate . . . who had some experience in governing by force, who could teach him how to rule the people." The paragraph also contained the previously mentioned remark about Fort Wayne citizens coming to America to "escape just that kind of bayonet rule government." Perhaps, the most incendiary allegation occurred the day before the election when the *Journal-Gazette* declared that Reese was "in no sense a candidate for mayor" and "Captain Reese would not serve as mayor if he was elected, and has said so." The allegation concluded, "Mr. Bash would be king." The usage of the three terms—czar, dictator and king—to describe Bash's leadership style falls in line with the Democratic themes of self-rule and

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<sup>110</sup> "Editorial: The Charter Amendments," 4; "Stealing the Honors," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 20, 1901, 4; "The Canal Canard," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 2, 1901, 4.

patriotism embodied within a belief system rather than within nativity. Bash was not Russian; however, his alleged qualities put in question his representation of American values. Additionally, directing the vitriol at Bash, the perceived instigator of the charter amendments, allowed the Democratic Party to minimize the criticism of Reese, a war hero and member of a prominent German American family.<sup>111</sup>

In summary, the Republican paper used ethnic slurs to refer to the Democratic candidate for mayor, German immigrant Henry Berghoff. On the days that the *News* referred to Berghoff as Kaiser, it also called him a czar. Chapter four demonstrates that the *News* portrayed Kaiser Wilhelm as an unstable military leader who attempted to silence his opponents. Calling Berghoff a Kaiser, did more than just identify his German ethnicity, it implied that he shared some of Kaiser Wilhelm's unattractive traits. The term "czar" held similar connotations. The *Journal-Gazette* addressed the republican leader Bash as czar throughout the campaign. The label did not identify Bash's ethnicity but rather emphasized his leadership style.

### **Summary**

Within the 1901 campaign discourse intertwined themes emerge that exposed the tension between the Anglo Americans and German Americans in Fort Wayne, Indiana. The Republican *News* began and ended the election period with ethnic slurs directed at Henry Berghoff, a German immigrant. The Democrats' swift response left no doubt that they found the remarks offensive. The *Journal-Gazette* accused the Republican leaders of wishing to bar German American participation in the election. The Republican's selection of a former Democrat from a prominent German American family also dampened

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<sup>111</sup> "Editorial: Czar Bash," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 19, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Czar Bash Has Postponed," 4; "No Shackles for Republicans," 4; "Editorial: As a Reason," 4; "Editorial: Possibly It Is Not Fair to Say," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 6, 1901, 4.

outright expressions of ethnic friction. The Republican Party appeared to have selected Reese to appeal to disgruntled German Americans in the Democratic Party, but the Republican paper kept quiet about Reese's German American heritage. The negative remarks about Germany found on the editorial pages left no doubt that the *News* editor Page held a poor opinion of Reese's homeland.

The Republican complaints about the Democratic ring or machine associated the Democratic Party with ethnic politics. The *News* described ring boss Berghoff as a ruthless political leader incapable of managing a city who would take advantage of the patronage system to appoint saloon supporters to the fire and police departments. The Republicans' protest of lax law enforcement, wasted public money and irregularities in the contract bidding process matched similar accusations against other political machines, such as Tammany Hall, and associated the Democratic party with ethnic politics.

The Democrats identified their campaign with themes resonant in American history. They turned the political debate about who should appoint the Fort Wayne Board of Public Safety or police commission into a battle for liberty and self-government under the banner of home rule. When the Republicans praised their candidate Reese's military accomplishments, the Democrats reminded their readers of the "bayonet rule" and "gun enforcement" they had come to America to escape. The Democrats associated Republican leader Bash with a Russian czar to further emphasize the autocratic tendencies of the Republican Party. Moreover, as one of the governor's appointments to the police board, "Czar" Bash would have the power to disrupt German American social traditions by



strictly enforcing saloon regulations and Sunday laws. In a sense, “Czar Bash” symbolized anti-ethnic sentiments.<sup>112</sup>

On the surface, the Fort Wayne election seemed to demonstrate a city without ethnic tension between Anglo and German Americans. All three parties nominated German Americans to head their tickets and only a few public expressions of anti-German American sentiment occurred as referrals to the Democratic candidate as “Kaiser” or “Herr.” The Democratic press expressed acceptance of German Americans with its open acknowledgement of the candidate’s ethnicity and inclusion of articles that supported citizenship as a manifestation of beliefs regardless of nativity. The Republican Party selected a German American as their candidate for mayor; however, beneath the surface, the Republican press demonstrated little support for German Americans. They did not claim their candidate as a German American although the opposition speculated that the Republicans had nominated Reese to garner the German American vote. The hostility expressed towards Germany and the outrage over lax law enforcement, particularly the saloon situation, demonstrated the underlying discord. Republicans accepted German Americans when they turned away from ethnic politics and German American social traits.

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<sup>112</sup> "Editorial: As a Reason," 4; "Support of Newspapers," 4.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Germany in the Fort Wayne Newspapers

In 1901, the Fort Wayne papers received information about Germany from several sources. At the time, the foreign correspondents in Germany remained primarily in Berlin. Dispatches from German correspondents covered a wider area. According to historian Robert Desmond, “Unlike the British and French press where the major dailies appeared in the capitals, the German press included important dailies in cities other than Berlin.” Articles in the Fort Wayne papers referenced the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Colgne Volks Zeitung*, the *Koelnische Zeitung*, the *Kreuz Zeitung*, the *Kleines Journal*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *National Zeitung* and the *Berlin Neuste Nachrichten*. The majority of news in the *Journal-Gazette* and the *News* came from Berlin or London dispatches. In some cases, the Fort Wayne papers printed stories based on identical text. The *Journal-Gazette* also contained material from the Associated Press. This chapter analyzes the content of the articles about Germany, as well as the attitude towards Germany the article conveyed.<sup>113</sup>

After identifying ninety articles regarding Germany, I organized the articles by content. I divided some of the longer articles into sections based on topic. I assigned each

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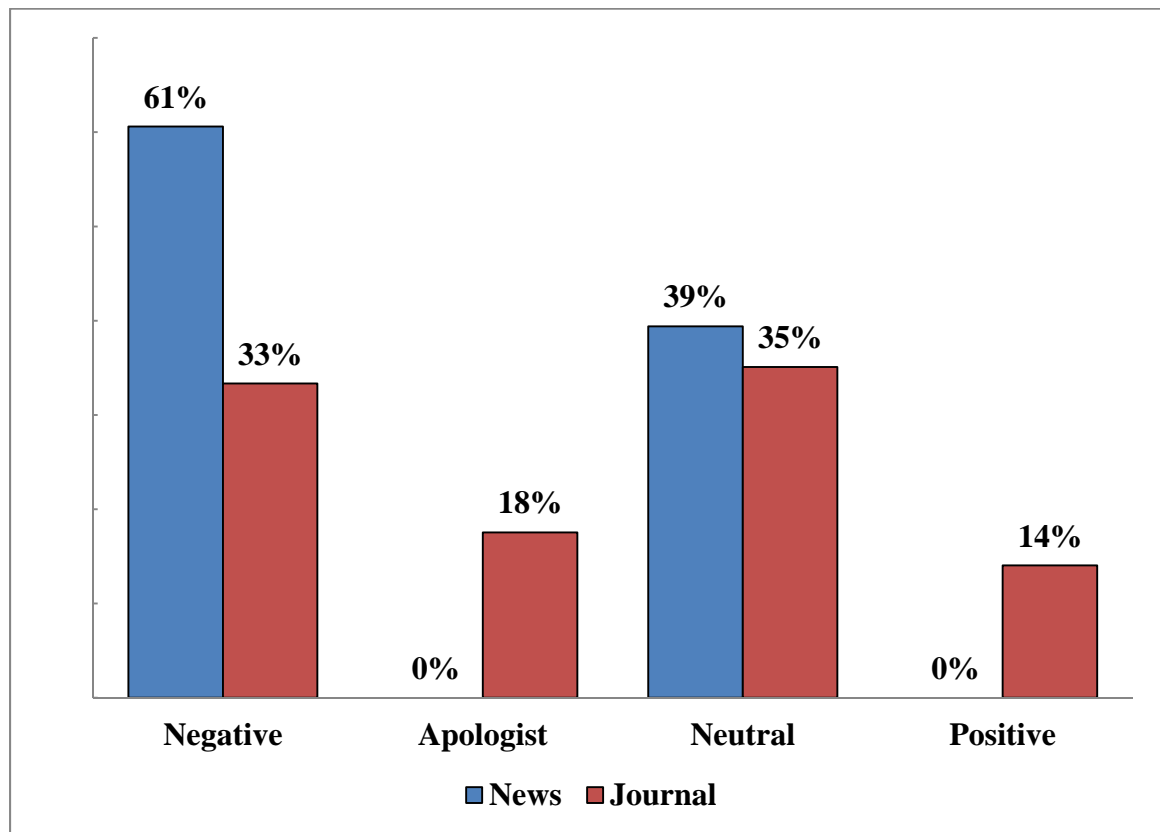
<sup>113</sup> Robert William Desmond, *Windows on the World: The Information Process in a Changing Society, 1900-1920* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980), 190; "The Kaiser's Scare and His Wild Utterances Agitating Germany," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 7, 1901, 1; "Cable News: Berlin-According to a Dispatch from Pekin," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 13, 1901, 2; "German Crown Prince," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 14, 1901, 2; "Night Cable News: Berlin--It Was Asserted," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 20, 1901, 7; "German Politicians," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 21, 1901, 1; "Night Cable News: Berlin--April 23. The War Office," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 24, 1901, 2; "The Berlin Letter: Germany Resents the Imputation That She Is Wrong in China," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 28, 1901, 15; "The Berlin Letter: Anti-Germanism of American Press Arouses Wonder," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 13, 1901, 1.

article a tone rating in order to quantify the nuanced differences between the *News* and *Journal-Gazette* coverage. Articles that complimented people or events in Germany or that portrayed German people or events with traits that Americans could view as positive received a positive tone rating. I assigned a neutral tone rating to articles that reported on happenings in Germany without additional commentary. Many of the neutral articles were short dispatches. I favored the neutral ratings when I felt the material was ambiguous. The apologist tone rating identified articles that included the German press or German government response to anti-German statements. I classified articles that directly criticized Germany, the German people or Germany's leader as negative. Articles that portrayed Germany in conflict with the United States or depicted Germany acting in a militaristic, oppressive or undemocratic manner also received a negative tone rating. The *Journal-Gazette* published every day of the week versus the *News* six day a week schedule, and the *Journal-Gazette* included more pages per day on the weekends. I compared the results of the tone categorization as a percentage of each paper's total article count. Table 3 on page 93 displays the article count totals and figure 5 on page 93 represents the results as percentages. Of the ninety articles, fifty-seven were from the *Journal-Gazette* and thirty-three were from the *News*. All of the articles in the *Republican News* depicted Germany in either a negative or a neutral light. The negative-rated articles predominated with sixty-one percent. In contrast, the *Democratic Journal-Gazette* contained a similar percentage of negative and neutral articles with thirty-three and thirty-five percent respectively and also included positive and apologist articles with fourteen and eighteen percent respectively. Germany's presence in China received the most news coverage in both papers. Articles about Germany's leader, Kaiser Wilhelm, warranted the

highest percent of negative ratings. Dividing the Germany articles into subtopics further demonstrated the dissimilar coverage given to Germany by the two papers.

**Table 3. Germany: Tone Rating Count by Newspaper**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Apologist</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>News</i>	20	0	13	0	33
<i>Journal-Gazette</i>	19	10	20	8	57
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>90</b>



**Figure 5. Germany: Tone Rating Percentages.**<sup>114</sup>

<sup>114</sup> The tone rating percentages are calculated by dividing each paper's tone count by the paper's total article count.

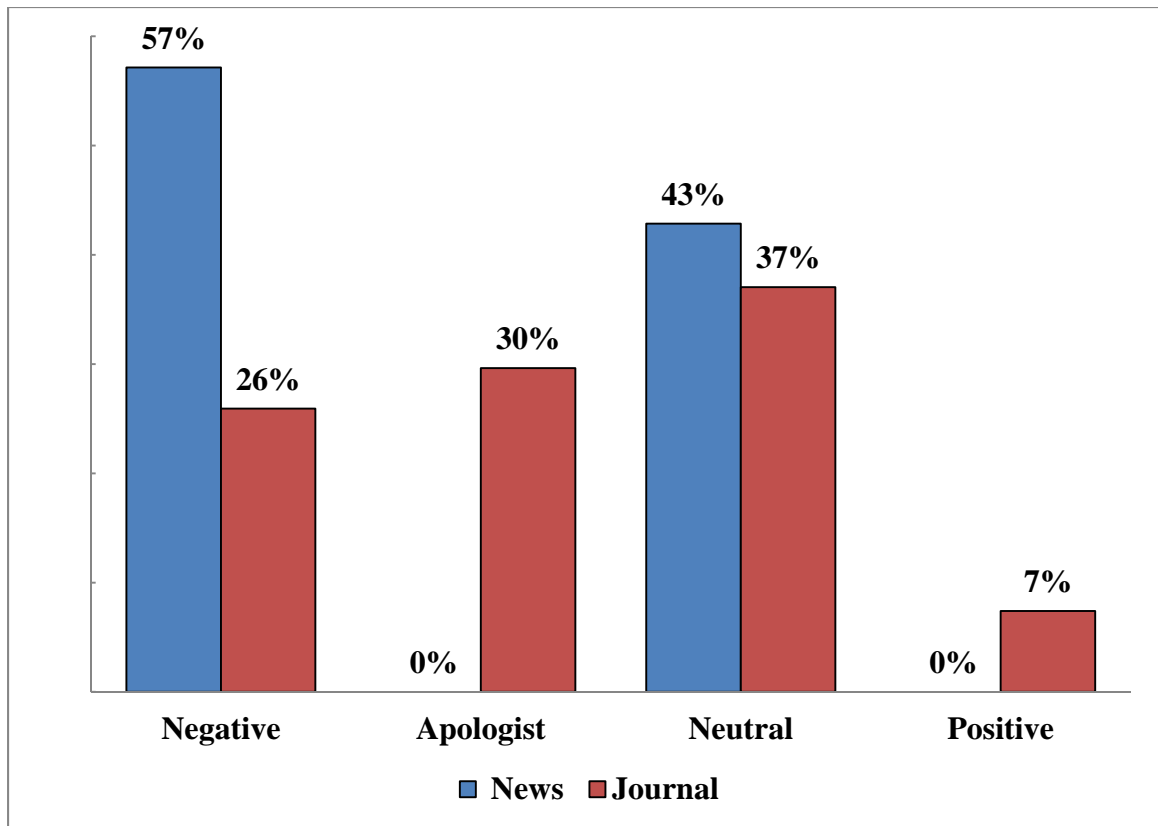
## Germany in China

News from China left the cities of Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing over the Great Northern Telegraph in Siberia before reaching Berlin, London and New York and subsequently Fort Wayne. The prohibitive cost kept the direct reports of events in China brief. In many cases, the *Republican News* and the *Democratic Journal Gazette* based their accounts of Germany's involvement in China on the same international cable news feeds; however, their presentation of the news differed. Table 4 below displays the article counts. Figure 6 on page 95 represents the results as percentages. The *News* tone distribution pattern remained about the same in the subcategory of articles about Germany in China as in the full sample of all the articles about Germany. The *Journal-Gazette* results yielded a different pattern of tone distribution with a higher percentage of apologist articles and a lower percentage of positive articles in the Germany in China subcategory than in the full German sample.<sup>115</sup>

**Table 4. Germany in China: Tone Rating Count by Newspaper**

Newspaper	Negative	Apologist	Neutral	Positive	Total
<i>News</i>	8	0	6	0	14
<i>Journal-Gazette</i>	7	8	10	2	27
Total	15	8	16	2	41

<sup>115</sup> Robert William Desmond, *The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978), 417. The rate from China to New York was \$1.72 per word. Modern spellings are used for city names except in quotations. The Fort Wayne newspapers used Peking for Beijing.



**Figure 6. Germany in China: Tone Rating Percentages.<sup>116</sup>**

In June of 1900, a Chinese group known as the “Boxers” attacked foreigners in Beijing. Foreign civilians, diplomats and soldiers as well as Chinese Christians sought shelter in the Legation Quarters. The refuge group built barricades of “furniture, sandbags, timber and mattresses” around the compound. Figure 7 on page 96 shows the lines of Chinese encirclement and the Legation Quarter boundaries during the conflict. An alliance of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, Great Britain and the United States troops recued the besieged group on August 14, 1900, and then remained to quell the Boxer Uprising. An international force led by German Field

<sup>116</sup> The tone rating percentages are calculated by dividing each paper's tone count by the paper's total article count.



Fort Wayne newspaper sample, forty-one of the ninety articles about Germany dealt with the Chinese situation (46%).<sup>118</sup>

During the Fort Wayne city election period, the nations involved in suppressing the Boxer Uprising in China debated the reasonable amount of indemnification to demand from China while the Chinese resistance groups continued to engage international troops in skirmishes. Germany's demands for restitution generated a skeptical response from many in the United States who questioned Germany's motives and suspected that the acquisition of colonial lands drove Germany's demands. Clara Schieber's survey of magazines and newspapers from across the country found that "All the papers united in creating public sentiment in this country [U.S.] against the exorbitant demands of Germany." In Fort Wayne, the papers did not unite. A comparison of the *Journal-Gazette* and the *News* based on tone rating distribution and content revealed two distinct points of view.<sup>119</sup>

### ***Germany in China: Negative Articles***

The negative tone category consisted of articles that criticized Germany's indemnification demands, emphasized Germany's aggression or expansionist goals, or exposed harsh treatment of the Chinese civilians by the German troops. As exhibited in figure 6, the *News* contained a higher percentage of articles that earned a negative tone

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<sup>118</sup> The Legation Quarter was the area in Beijing where the diplomatic headquarters were located. German diplomat Baron Klemens von Ketteler died early in the conflict. Ketteler's earlier execution of a boy identified as a Boxer is often mentioned as the trigger to the Boxer's invasion of Beijing. Germany used Ketteler's death as a reason to demand higher indemnification. "The Berlin Letter: Germany Resents the Imputation That She Is Wrong in China." *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 28, 1901, 1. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1990), 234; James L. Hevia, "Looting and Its Discontents: Moral Discourse and the Plunder of Beijing, 1900-1901," in *The Boxers, China, and the World*, ed. Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 102; Robert A. Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann, *The Boxers, China, and the World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Diana Preston, *The Boxer Rebellion: The Dramatic Story of China's War on Foreigners That Shook the World in the Summer of 1900* (New York: Walker, 2000).

<sup>119</sup> Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment*, xiv, 105.



rating than the *Journal-Gazette*. The negatively rated articles in the *News* exhibited a strong intensity and used direct language to express disapproval. In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* contained a smaller proportion of negatively rated articles and expressed disapproval in an equivocal manner.

A *News* article entitled “Germany in Control” illustrates the paper’s focus on Germany as a potential threat. The dispatch from Washington cautioned that Germany dominated the actions of the *Dreibund* (Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary) as well as the nations of Spain, Holland and Belgium concerning the indemnity demands. The article noted that the alliance demands were “radical” and “exceedingly unreasonable” and warned that “Thus a triple alliance of European countries that are not among the great powers of the world may be enabled to defeat the United States, England, Japan, Russian and France.” More than just a threat, the dispatch portrayed Germany as an adversary.<sup>120</sup>

Germany’s conduct toward the Chinese civilians received the harshest condemnation from the *News*. As a result of Germany’s severe treatment, the paper reported that “there is intense feeling throughout the province against the foreigners” and “perfectly quiet communities have lost their all, to join roving bands or robbers.” The *News* also reported that German troops commandeered supplies and forced Chinese citizens to work without compensation. The day before the Fort Wayne election, the *News* told of “One Mandarin, who, fearing that compliance with the demands made upon him was impossible, committed suicide.” Coverage of Germany’s inhumane treatment of

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<sup>120</sup> “Germany in Control,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 17, 1901, 1.

Chinese civilians highlighted negative German traits. The negative depiction of Germany in China in the *News* seemed to be an attempt to provoke readers against Germany.<sup>121</sup>

In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* articles that earned negative tone ratings contained ambivalent statements. For instance, the paper printed a report from a correspondent in Shanghai who stated, "I cannot vouch for the truth of the rumor, that German Field Marshall Von Waldersee has telegraphed to Berlin suggesting the possibility of needing further reinforcements from Germany." The statement could imply that Germany had expansionist goals or could simply mean that German troops needed reinforcement. The rumor received a negative rating due to the statement's placement in a longer article that suggested the expedition might benefit from the disorder. In another ambiguous negative article, the *Journal-Gazette* reported that the German Socialist organ, the *Vorwaerts*, had condemned unjust wars in South Africa and China. The six-line statement received a negative rating because it highlighted discord in Germany and insinuated agreement that Germany's role was unjust. Another interpretation might view the statement as a report on the Socialists in Germany that would appeal to members of Fort Wayne's Social Democratic party.

The most serious accusation against Germany's action in China occurred the week before the election. The *Journal-Gazette* revealed Germany's abrogation of an agreement to abstain from private land arrangements. The news report from Washington stated, "Officials here are surprised to learn that the Germans have taken steps to acquire a concession at Canton." The article continued with the reminder, "it was without a doubt the insistence by the United States upon the force of this agreement [to abstain from

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<sup>121</sup> "Li Hung Chang Is Censured," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 23, 1901, 1; "Fifty Robbers Killed," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 25, 1901, 1; "Cavalry Leaves Peking," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 6, 1901, 1.

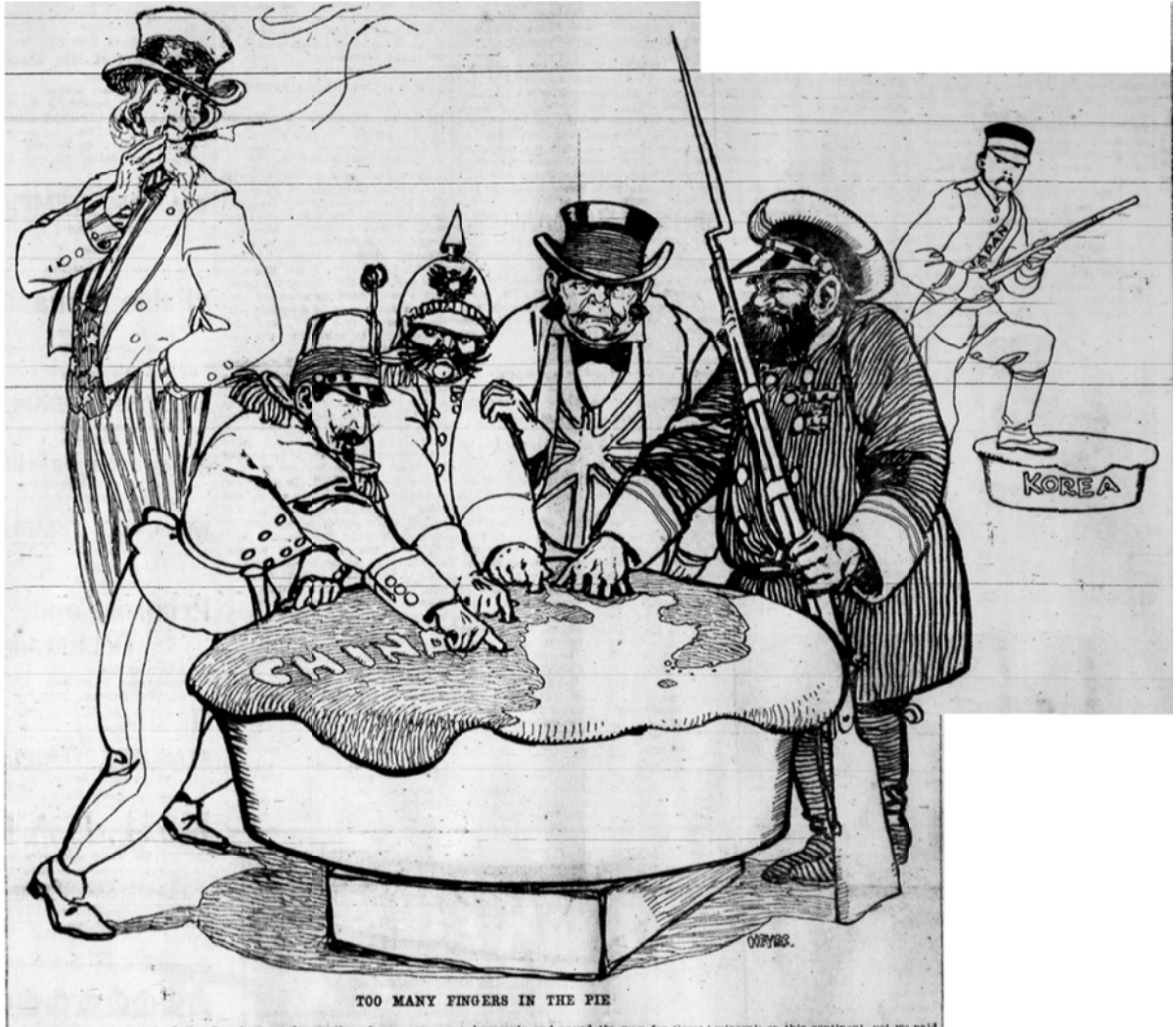
private land arrangements] that checkmated Russia's designs on Manchuria for the time being." The statement followed a paragraph that asserted American troops would not be subject to international generals. Although clearly meant as a negative statement about Germany, the article demonstrated restraint. German Field Marshall von Waldersee was the likely foreign general alluded to. The mention of Russian appeared to be a veiled reminder of the United States power. A more critical remark would have used sterner language than the "surprised" response attributed to the officials. None of the negatively rated statements in the *Journal-Gazette* sharply condemned Germany.<sup>122</sup>

In addition to the short negative statements mentioned, the *Journal-Gazette* printed two cartoons that pictured a German character in competition for land or money with characters from Great Britain, France and Russia. In the first cartoon, Uncle Sam stands aloof from the rest of the characters who are surrounding a map and divvying up China. See figure 8 on page 101. The map displays the Yellow Sea with the Korean peninsula on the right. A French leader on the far left points to Nanjing or Shanghai. Second from the left, a German character representing Kaiser Wilhelm wears a spiked helmet and points at Qingdao or Tianjin. The British character, John Bull, elbows the German character back and plants his finger on Beijing. Two characters bear arms. A Russian character on the far right holds a long gun with a bayonet that is taller than he is, and in the background, the diminutive Japanese figure holds a smaller gun. The medals on the Russian man's uniform suggest he is the Czar Nicholas II. He has his entire hand on the map claiming Manchuria. The rest of the characters hold just one finger on the

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<sup>122</sup> "Uprising in China," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 26, 1901, 5; "Cable News: Berlin-the Vorwaerts," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 26, 1901, 2; "May Quit China: --Germany Accused of Violating Agreement at Canton," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 2, 1901, 1.

map. The Japanese character stands in a protective pose on a platform representing Korea.<sup>123</sup>



**Figure 8. "Too Many Fingers in the Pie."**

<sup>123</sup> "Too Many Fingers in the Pie," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 21, 1901, 9; "The Collectors," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 12, 1901, 20. Originally published in *St. Louis Republic*.

In the second cartoon, the characters wave monetary claims at a Chinese man crouched on the Great Wall in a submissive or frightened pose. See figure 9 on page 103. The second cartoon contains the same cast of characters as the first minus the Japanese character; however, the order of dominance differs. Rather than looking on with a bemused expression from the side, Uncle Sam stands barely visible and last in line. John Bull whose scowling face and extending elbow leaves an impression of strength in figure 8 runs to catch up with the rest of the group in figure 9. His foot in the air in the right corner suggests motion. The claim he holds demands \$22.5 million from the Chinese. The French man blocks the view of John Bull. He holds his claim for \$65 million at the same level as the Czar and Kaiser but is a step behind. The Russian Czar waves the largest claim at \$90 million. The two boot prints visible on the ground in front of Czar Nicholas suggest that Kaiser Wilhelm stepped in front of the line. The German demand for \$60 million reaches closest to the Chinese man on the wall. Although first in line, the German character demands less than the Russian and the French characters. In both cartoons, the dominate theme condemns the greed rather than a specific country. Germany is one of several grasping for land and money.



Figure 9. "The Collectors."

*Germany in China: Apologist Articles*

The apologist tone rating identified articles that contained the German press response to negative coverage by the American press. On one hand, the articles revealed

the damaging testimony against Germany and called attention to tension between the United States and Germany. On the other hand, the apologist accounts explained the German side and cast doubt on the veracity of the American complaints. The German point of view offered the reader a more balanced interpretation of Germany's role in China. Thirty percent of the *Journal-Gazette* articles about Germany's actions in China received an apologist tone rating, whereas none of the articles in the *News* received an apologist tone rating.

The apologist pieces pointed out the inaccuracy and unfairness of the criticism directed at Germany's indemnification requests. The German press reported that the American press accounts about Washington's opposition to Germany's claims were erroneous and "energetically denied in official circles." An April 28 account noted, "The view prevails here that the American reproaches and intimations against Germany are unjust. Official circles say they are unable to account for 'the systematic ill will in the matter shown by the United States press.'" The German press "wonders why there is this universal hatred against Germany . . . as evinced commercially and by the frequently hostile attitude of the United States toward Germany in China." The German press also complained about "one unfounded story after another intended to ascribe rapacious schemes to Germany;" the "sensational news from America;" and dispatches that "imputed to Germany shylock-like tendencies." One statement claimed, "The anti-Germanism on the part of the American press is keenly felt here [Germany], all the more

because nobody knows the reason for them.” The apologist-rated articles frequently portrayed Germany as a victim.<sup>124</sup>

The *Journal-Gazette* also included a lengthy apologist editorial written by American Roger P. Barnum in support of the indemnification agreement negotiations. Barnum responded to “an almost universal protest . . . against the enforcement of a penalty, especially of the magnitude mentioned, as wrong in principle and excessive in amount” with a review of the historical examples of indemnification paid to and by other countries, including Prussia. In the process of supporting the United States’ demands, Barnum justified a previous German indemnification demand that other countries had protested as too high. Using the example of Prussia’s demands to France after the Franco-Prussian war (1871), Barnum noted that “the world was aghast at the enormous proportions of the indemnity then demanded . . . but the French peasants dipped into their savings and through their aid the debt was wiped out in less than half that time.” By including apologist statements, the Democratic *Journal-Gazette* appealed to readers interested in Germany’s standpoint.<sup>125</sup>

### ***Germany in China: Neutral Articles***

The neutral tone rating applied to articles that contained descriptions of German troop activities in China without comment, reports about indemnification amounts without comment and a few brief general statements. Both papers included a similar proportion of neutral articles. Forty-three percent of the *News* articles and thirty-seven

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<sup>124</sup> "Cable News: Berlin-According to a Dispatch from Peking," 2; "German Crown Prince," 2; "The Berlin Letter: Germany Resents the Imputation That She Is Wrong in China," 15; "German Politicians," 1; "The Berlin Letter: Anti-Germanism of American Press Arouses Wonder," 1; "The Berlin Letter: Germany Resents the Imputation That She Is Wrong in China," 15; "The Berlin Letter: Anti-Germanism of American Press Arouses Wonder," 1.

<sup>125</sup> Roger P. Barnum, "The Question of Indemnity in China," *ibid.*, April 21., 9. Barnum's article framed figure 10.



percent of the *Journal-Gazette* articles secured a neutral rating. As with the negative articles, the neutral articles demonstrated a noticeable difference in intensity by paper. A few of the neutrally rated *Journal-Gazette* articles subtly favored Germany while a few of the neutrally rated *News* articles included criticism that appeared to be directed at Germany even though Germany was not mentioned by name. In addition, the *Journal-Gazette* contained more neutral dispatches from German Field Marshall von Waldersee about troop movements than the *News*.

A short dispatch from Berlin exemplified the dual connotation in some of the Democratic paper's articles. The dispatch stated that "a detachment of infantry at the request of the Chinese local authorities has been sent . . . to protect the inhabitants from robbers" and received a neutral rating as a description of troop movement. Considering the movement was due to a request from the Chinese, one might infer a positive undertone by concluding that the article refuted Germany's expansionist motives and supported the need for Germany's presence in China. A few days later, the *Journal-Gazette* included a similar statement. A Chinese prince visiting the German minister in Berlin admitted "that if the allied troops are now withdrawn the boxers would immediately appear in strong force." The Prince's statement could imply that German troops were appreciated and needed in China. The article received a neutral rating because the overall content of the conversation referred to Chinese politics and mentioned allied troops rather than German troops. The neutral articles in the Democratic paper leaned towards the positive.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> "Night Cable News: Berlin--the War Office," *ibid.*, April 4,, 5; "The Kaiser's Scare (Continued from Page One.)," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 7, 1901, 6.

In contrast, several of the neutral reports in the Republican paper leaned towards the negative due to article placement. For instance, a brief dispatch from Beijing in the *News* that received a neutral rating for its six-line summary of a German-Chinese encounter acted as an introduction to the negative articles immediately following. The two additional articles with the subheadings of “Disorders Increasing” and “Boxers Raid Town” called attention to the chaos in China. One of the articles reported, “No doubt the state of affairs is much worse than it was three months ago, and it must continue to grow worse so long as the allies fail to form an efficient government or to allow the Chinese to deal with the situation in their own way,” suggesting that the foreign troop activity, which obviously included Germany, aggravated the conditions in China. Neither of the articles mentioned Germany by name so they were not included in the evaluation of Germany-China news; however, a reader familiar with the situation would assume that the remarks referred to Germany.<sup>127</sup>

Placement also influenced a neutral article about troop movement that affirmed that the United States troops had “exacuated [sic] the districts under their control” including the areas assigned to Germany. The article mentioned that U.S. troops would not be leaving the Forbidden City “which they [U.S. troops] continue to occupy in spite of foreign objection.” Although Germany was not mentioned by name as the objector, articles on previous days clearly indicated that Germany was one of the foreign objectors, highlighting Germany-U.S. disagreement. In both neutral examples, the *News* placed information about Germany in context of U.S. disapproval of the situation in China.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> “A Sharp Fight,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 27, 1901, 1; “Disorders Increasing,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 27, 1901, 1; “Boxers Raid Town,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 27, 1901, 1.

<sup>128</sup> “General Chaffee Is Firm,” *The Fort Wayne News*, May 11, 1901, 1.

### *Germany in China: Positive Articles*

The positive category only contained two marginally favorable articles: an April 18 article that noted the “likely good effect” of German troops discussed in the following section and an April 27 speech by Indiana’s U.S. Senator Albert Beveridge that recognized Germany’s commercial skills. Republican Senator Beveridge spoke in Des Moines, Iowa, on the occasion of Ulysses S. Grant’s birthday memorial. The majority of his speech discussed the situation in the Philippines, asserting that “Their [the Philippines’] retention thus becomes not only a duty which we owe to humanity but a commercial necessity created by the relative situations of the commercial nations of the world.” In order to maintain U.S. supremacy in the Philippines, Senator Beveridge conceded as fact that other countries had a right to commercial interests in China. As fact, he mentioned Germany’s Teutonic commercial instinct and Germany’s increasing trade in the Canton district. In a statement intended to point out Great Britain’s decline, Senator Beveridge stated “The polytechnic schools of Germany, the industry, system, commercial aggressiveness of Germany, and the skill of inventiveness, organization, wealth of America . . . are taking away from England her commercial supremacy.” This duplicitous compliment earned the article a positive rating due to its linkage of Germany and the United States and to the recognition of Germany’s ability, even with the implication of aggressiveness. Neither positive article strongly endorsed Germany’s actions in China.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> "Suspicious Movement of China," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 18, 1901; "Senator Beveridge," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 28, 1901, 5. The language in Beveridge's speech reflected the Republican platforms. The News printed the speech of Indiana's other Republican U.S. Senator Charles Fairbanks who spoke in Pittsburgh in celebration of Grant's birthday. Fairbanks speech also mirrored the Republican platform but focused more on the Republican success. Neither Germany or China were mentioned by name.

### *Germany in China: Different Views*

Examining the coverage of the same event in both papers further demonstrates the nuanced differences between the *News* and the *Journal-Gazette* coverage in both article placement and tone. On April 18, a report from Beijing speculated on the possible massing of Chinese troops in Shansi. The front page of the *News* included an article titled “Chinese Show Fight” that declared that a clash between the Chinese troops and a Franco-German expedition was imminent. The *Journal-Gazette* article on page six entitled “Suspicious Movement of China” contained some of the same text but left out the statement about an imminent clash. Both papers reported that “Well informed natives prophesy further trouble” and that the Chinese troops had “entered into the sphere of the allies.” Each paper stated, “If these offenders are thoroughly punished it is likely to produce good effect.” As an example of possible good resulting from the German troops’ actions, both articles could have received a positive rating. The *Journal-Gazette* concluded the discussion about the expedition with the “good effect” statement and received a positive rating. The *News* article continued with speculation that the fleeing Chinese troops would kill native Christians and “that such actions will be used as an excuse by the military for further aggression” resulting in the Franco-German expedition taking the capital of the province. The *News* article received a negative rating because of the mention of Germany’s past aggression and the implication that land acquisition motivated Germany’s actions.<sup>130</sup>

Two days later, the *Journal-Gazette* continued the coverage on the potential engagement between the expedition and Chinese troops. A quote from a “high” German official asserted that the expedition was not expected to engage the Chinese forces; a

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<sup>130</sup> “Chinese Show Fight,” *The Fort Wayne News*, April 18, 1901, 1; “Suspicious Movement of China,” 6.

quote from a Berlin newspaper complained that the premature British and American press coverage “has done immense damage to the cause of the allies in China.” The *Journal-Gazette* article received an apologist rating. On the same day, the *News* account mentioned that the German and French troops had resolved to drive the Chinese troops into Shansi which resulted in the Chinese emperor ordering his troops to withdraw over the border. The *News* account continued with the speculation that “Nevertheless it is believed that the Germans and perhaps the French will occupy Taiyuen Fu, the capital of Shansi.” Since the article implied that the Germans would still use the occasion as an excuse to occupy Taiyuen Fu, it earned a negative rating. The incident warranted two days of front page coverage in the *News* alerting the reader to Germany’s expansionist nature. In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* placed the incident on the sixth and seventh pages where readers first learned of a possible confrontation and then heard that the situation had been inaccurately reported.<sup>131</sup>

In another example, article placement could have affected the readers’ perceptions. The *News* and the *Journal-Gazette* relied on identical text from a Beijing cable news source to describe a tense situation between the American General and the German Field Marshal but positioned the paragraphs in different orders. German Field Marshal Von Waldersee made an application to guard the gate of the Forbidden City upon the forthcoming withdrawal of American troops. American General Chaffee replied that the Americans would continue to guard the gate which offended the Germans and “impugn[ed] their honesty.” The Germans threatened further “diplomatic representations.” The article also mentioned Chinese fears that an American military

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<sup>131</sup> "Night Cable News: Berlin--It Was Asserted," 7; "China Checks Fight," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 20, 1901, 1.

withdraw would result in a lengthier presence of troops from other countries. The *News* placed the article on the front page with the headline “Clash with America: Waldersee and Chaffee at Odds in Pekin.” The *Journal-Gazette* version of the article was on the second page under the “Night Cable News” section. The shared story received a negative rating in each paper due to Germany’s doubt about America’s ability to guard the gate, offense over America’s response and the implication that the Chinese did not want the Americans to leave because they feared the Germans would stay longer.<sup>132</sup>

The *News* followed the Beijing dispatch with a dispatch from Hamburg that claimed Von Waldersee “has taken to his bed, suffering with nervous break-down as a result of anxiety over the situation.” In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* followed with a longer Berlin dispatch that mentioned a German Captain who had been murdered; Von Waldersee’s reports that no gathering of Chinese troops had been found and a quote from the *National Zeitung*. The quotation refuted a statement from the United States about Germany’s uncompromising attitude: “It should be borne in mind that Germany’s whole bearing hitherto shows how much she desires to reestablish order in China as soon as possible.” The second *Journal-Gazette* dispatch received an apologist rating because it pointed out Germany’s sacrifices, mentioned that Germany stopped at the boundary when looking for troops and refuted U.S. press statements. The *News* juxtaposition highlighted Von Waldersee’s temperamental character. Readers might question whether Germany’s offense to the gate issue was also overly dramatic. In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* balanced the negative mention of tension between the U.S. and German leaders with

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<sup>132</sup> "Night Cable News: Pekin--Many Applications," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 24, 1901, 2; "Clash with America: Waldersee and Chaffee at Odds in Pekin--Chinese Want Americans to Remain," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 24, 1901, 1. Chaffee: General Adna R. Chaffee, Commander of the U.S. China Relief Expedition

additional information about German sacrifices and the German point of view. Readers could sympathize with Germany's position.<sup>133</sup>

### ***Germany in China: Summary***

The newspaper coverage of Germany's involvement in China revealed two points of view. The Republican *News* contained a significantly higher percent of negatively rated articles than the Democratic *Journal-Gazette* (57% v. 26%). In addition, the *News* focused on Germany as a rival to the United States and condemned Germany for uncivilized and barbaric actions. In contrast, the Democratic *Journal-Gazette* alluded to Germany's expansionist goals and the tension between the United States and Germany without mentioning direct competition. Additionally, the *Journal-Gazette* did not mention German mistreatment of the Chinese people. Comparing the depiction of the same story and the same dispatch demonstrated a stronger bias against Germany in the Republican paper. The neutral coverage also demonstrated the different emphasis of the two papers although both contained a similar percent of neutral articles (43% in the *News* v. 37% in the *Journal-Gazette*). In a few cases, the *News* articles placed the neutral statements about Germany alongside negative statements about the state of affairs in China. The *Journal-Gazette*, on the other hand, subtly supported Germany's presence in China in a few of the neutral statements. The *Journal-Gazette* also contained more neutral dispatches from Beijing or Berlin about the activity in China. The apologist rating revealed the most significant difference between the *News* and *Journal-Gazette*; the *News* did not include any apologist statements. Although the articles rated as apologist exposed the negative views about Germany in the U.S. press, they also countered the media

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<sup>133</sup> "Von Waldersee Ill," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 24, 1901, 1. The *News* report was counted as one negative article due to the short length of the second article and the continuity relating the nervous breakdown to the troops massing; "Night Cable News: Berlin--the War Office," 2.

accusations with the German viewpoint. The *Journal-Gazette* included two weak examples of positive news.

In Fort Wayne papers during April and May of 1901, the largest group of articles about Germany discussed the situation in China. In the *News*, the articles in the subcategory of Germany in China received a similar percentage of negative and neutral tone ratings as the articles in the full sample. See figures 5 and 6 on pages 93 and 95 for comparison. In the *Journal-Gazette*, the apologist distribution in the Germany in China subcategory differed significantly from the full sample results. The articles about Germany in China received a higher percentage of apologist ratings than the full sample. In addition, eight of the ten apologist-rated articles in the full sample came from the Germany in China subcategory. A possible explanation for the higher percentage of apologist articles in the China section could be an attempt by the *Journal-Gazette* to reduce the impact of the national anti-German stance. The coverage suggests that the *Journal-Gazette* targeted German American readers who would appreciate the neutral accounts of Germany's movements in China and the inclusion of the German point of view in the apologist accounts. In contrast, the German Americans reading the *Republican News* found their homeland depicted in opposition to their country of residence and possibly their citizenship. To conform to the Republican view of Germany, German Americans in Fort Wayne might feel pressure to disavow their homeland. Even though the papers displayed different attitudes about Germany, neither paper shielded the German American readers from unpleasant news about their homeland.



## Kaiser Wilhelm

During 1901, Kaiser Wilhelm II, King of Prussia, led the German empire. Proportionally, articles about Kaiser Wilhelm received the most negative tone ratings. See table 5 below and figure 10 on page 115. Eighty-three percent of the articles in the *News* and forty-seven percent of the articles in the *Journal-Gazette* about the Kaiser earned negative ratings. According to Schieber, the American press paid close attention to what Kaiser Wilhelm said and did. “For the most part the comment was such to provoke laughter, arouse suspicion or record opposition.” She also commented on the indiscreet nature of the Kaiser’s speeches “keeping the American public on the alert, ready to seize upon every statement which seemed to be aimed at this nation.” Similar to the coverage of the Germany in China subcategory, the *Journal-Gazette* included positive and apologist statements about the Kaiser while the *News* did not.<sup>134</sup>

**Table 5. Kaiser: Tone Rating Count by Newspaper**

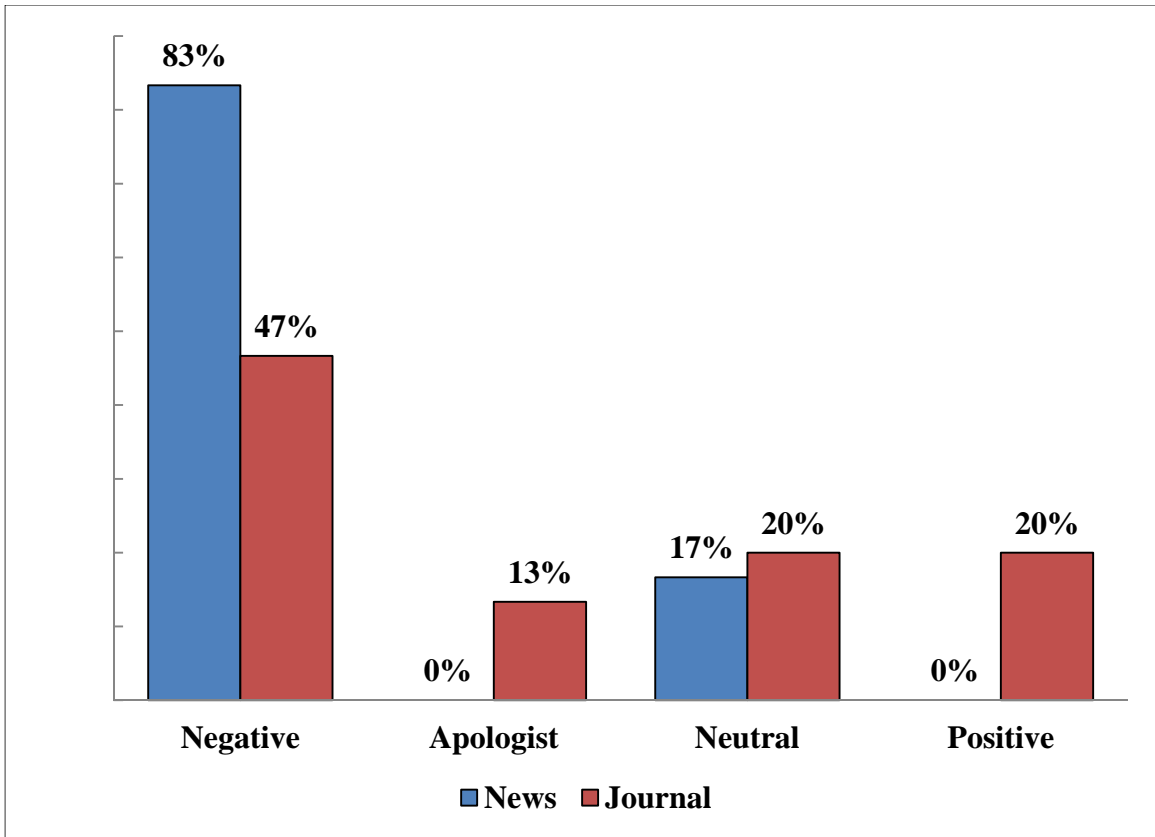
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<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Apologist</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>News</i>	10	0	2	0	12
<i>Journal-Gazette</i>	7	2	3	3	15
Total	17	2	5	3	27

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<sup>134</sup> The subtopic includes articles that identified Willhelm as either Emperor or Kaiser. The tally did not include the papers' preference for the term Kaiser versus Empreror. Both papers referred to Germany's leader as William rather than Wilhelm. Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment*, 186.



**Figure 10. Kaiser: Tone Rating Percentages<sup>135</sup>**

<sup>135</sup> The tone rating percentages are calculated by dividing each paper's tone count by the paper's total article count.

### ***Kaiser: Negative Articles***

The Republican *News* and the Democratic *Journal-Gazette* criticized the Kaiser's character in the negative comments; however, the *News* accounts emphasized his mental instability while the *Journal-Gazette* simply mentioned actions that might be viewed as personality weaknesses. For instance, the *News* publicized the Kaiser's nervous condition "due to constitutional causes;" "fears that his mind has become unhinged;" his personality that had a "strain of superstition;" his zig-zag course and his violent gestures. The incidents led to speculation that a regency would be established to replace Emperor William; that the United States was in danger of his "thirst for martial glory;" and that his need to regain popularity would "possibly [lead to] an attack on the Monroe doctrine." The inclusion of a picture of the Emperor in an ornate military uniform further identified him as an unstable character. See figure 11 on page 117. Schieber commented that a few newspapers viewed his "gaudy new uniforms" as a joke.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> "Is Worn Out: Talk of a Regency in Germany Owing to Kaiser Williams Nervous Condition," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 6, 1901, 1; "Talk of German Regency," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 23, 1901, 8; "The Kaiser's Talisman," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 8, 1901, 6; "Bismarck Scores the Kaiser," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 19, 1901, 8; Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment*, 197.



**Figure 11. Talk of German Regency.** Text: The late acts of Kaiser William, of Germany, have been so erratic that Europe fears his mind has become unhinged. Talks of a regency are already in the air, and there is little doubt that public confidence in him is greatly shaken. It is feared that the Kaiser may attempt some big feat in order to re-establish himself in popular favor. Such a coup would probably be of a warlike order, as the Kaiser thirsts for martial glory.

In three short editorial comments, the *News* remarked on the Kaiser's attempts to limit the publication of a speech he had given to the German troops. The *News* editor advised Kaiser William to read history for wisdom on "his reported intention to defy the world;" to stop prohibiting reference to "a fool-speech by him;" and to remember that he "does not have to speak if he prefers to keep silent." An odd editorial comment referred to the report of a German millionaire who had been murdered and then eaten by residents

of the island New Britain. Both papers included a brief mention about the murder and the Germans ships sent to avenge the murder. The *News* editorial page added “Emperor William has sent a German cruiser to avenge the murder. Will the German sailors eat the cannibals?” It’s not clear if the editor intended to suggest that the Emperor was unstable enough to order the sailors to eat the cannibals or that the German sailors were barbarians. Either way, the statement portrayed Germans as uncivilized.<sup>137</sup>

The *Journal-Gazette* also discussed the Kaiser’s attempts to prohibit the publication of his remarks but without the personal insults. An excerpt from the controversial speech in question referred to the recent attempt on the Kaiser’s life and the Kaiser’s request for the army’s personal allegiance. The article claimed that the “orders seem to have been given by the Prussian ministry of the interior to suppress all public mention or quotation from the emperor’s speeches.” Although the article did not include derogatory statements about the Kaiser and blamed the Prussian ministry for the restriction of the press, it still received a negative rating due to its inclusion of the inflammatory remarks spoken by the Kaiser.<sup>138</sup>

In contrast to the *News* conjecture about the Kaiser’s military ambition, the one negative remark about the Kaiser’s military goals in the *Journal-Gazette* framed his military objectives as part of a larger concern that focused on Germany’s growing strength. The article cautioned about the “certain infraction of the Monroe doctrine, which Emperor William has on his program.” The full title of the article proclaimed,

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<sup>137</sup> "Editorial: If the Emperor," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 5, 1901, 4; "Editorial: The Emperor of Germany," 4; "Editorial: The Reichstag Committee," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 13, 1901, 4; "Editorial: Cannibals on the Island," 4.

<sup>138</sup> "The Kaiser's Words: Full Text of the Address He Delivered to the Potsdam Garrison," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 8, 1901, 2. I concluded that the remarks were inflammatory due to the attempts to suppress publication and other statements about the German public response to his speech.

“War For Germany: This Government is Believed to be Making Active Preparations: Monroe Doctrine is to be Finally Maintained—Kaiser Gaining Too Strong a Foothold in Central and South America—Warning Issued by Root.” The full article alerted the reader about Germany’s increased involvement in South America and generally referred to German interests, German industries and German colonies rather than the Kaiser’s personal mission for glory.<sup>139</sup>

Other articles about the Kaiser that received a negative-tone rating in the *Journal-Gazette* included short statements about behavior that could be viewed negatively in the United States. On April 15, Berlin reported that the Kaiser had removed a picture of himself as the husband of a saint from a hall in Wusterhausen due to the protests by religious councils. The fact that the portrait existed and that the Kaiser did not remove it until the protests merited the negative rating. On April 16, the *Journal-Gazette* noted that “Emperor William has forbidden a performance in Berlin because the play shows one of his ancestors to a disadvantage” in reference to a play that had been well-received in Weimar. The article received a negative rating due to the restriction on free speech. On May 5, the Emperor left a different performance in displeasure of “the Viennese present [who] had organized a clique” which could be viewed as indicating he had a temperamental nature. All three remarks pale in comparison to the *News* accusations of mental instability.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid; "War for Germany: The Government Is Believed to Be Making Active Preparation," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, May 6, 1901, 6. Elihu Root: Secretary of War in 1901.

<sup>140</sup> "Cable News: Berlin-Influenced," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 15, 1901, 5; "Cable News: Berlin-Herr Von Wildenbruch," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 16, 1901, 2; "Kaiser's Favorites," *The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*, May 5, 1901, 1.

### ***Kaiser: Different Negative Views***

As in the discussion of the Germany in China subtopic, the *Journal-Gazette* and *News*' treatment of a similar article about Kaiser Wilhelm demonstrated the difference in negative intensity between the papers. Both papers examined the Reichstag members' proposal for reimbursement of their time and travel expenses. At the time, the Reichstag members did not receive compensation. The *News* article, titled "Reichstag Members Ask for Pay: Motion is Adopted after Severe Criticism of the Emperor," stated that one of the Reichstag members "outspokenly criticized the emperor" and urged his peers not to be intimidated. In comparison, the *Journal-Gazette* article on the Reichstag vote noted that the body had to adjourn due to the absence of members "doubtless owing particularly to the fact that the members of the reichstag do not yet receive any remuneration for their services" and that "it is known that Emperor William and the bundesrath still oppose any remuneration and will not confirm the reichstag resolution." The section in the *Journal-Gazette* belonged to a multi-topic article that included "Members of Reichstag Want Salary for Their Services" in the title. Both articles gained a negative rating due to the Emperor's refusal to provide what in the United States could be viewed as reasonable and expected compensation. The *News* article implied that the Emperor used intimidation against the Reichstag and that the Reichstag openly criticized him; the *Journal-Gazette* article related the effect of the lack of compensation and the Emperor's expected response in a factual tone.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> The Reichstag acted as a legislative body with members elected through universal suffrage of men over the age of 25. The Bundesrath acted as an executive body. Each federal state appointed a member who was bound to follow the federal states' instructions. Feuchtwanger, *Imperial Germany, 1850-1918*, 60-61; "Reichstag Members Ask Pay: Motion Is Adopted after Severe Criticism of the Emperor," *The Fort Wayne News*, May 9, 1901, 8; "The Berlin Letter: Anti-Germanism of American Press Arouses Wonder," 1.

### ***Kaiser: Neutral Articles***

The *News* and the *Journal-Gazette* contained a similar percent of neutral articles with some shared characteristics. On April 23, both papers carried a dispatch on the arrest of Rodolfo Romagnoli, the anarchist chosen to assassinate the Kaiser “by the alleged nest of conspirators in Patterson, N.J. [sic]” The *News* report contained six lines simply stating that the arrest had occurred. The lengthier fifty-six line *Journal-Gazette* account detailed the search for Romagnoli including a list of his aliases, the ship he crossed the Atlantic on, a mention of the other European leaders targeted by the anarchists as well as the Kaiser’s reasonable reaction. According to the *Journal-Gazette* account, Romagnoli was still at large and the Emperor had “issued strict orders . . . to keep him informed as to all similar news, but that under no conditions is the matter to be brought to the attention of the empress.” While both articles obtained a neutral rating, the longer *Journal-Gazette* article would appeal more to an audience with interest in and connection to Germany. A few days earlier, another neutral article in the *Journal-Gazette* had reported that the Kaiser did not want ostentatious displays used to protect his safety.<sup>142</sup>

### ***Kaiser: Different Views and Positive Articles***

In another instance, a brief news item received neutral coverage from the *News* and positive coverage from the *Journal-Gazette*. The Emperor’s third son had entered the navy. The *News* briefly described the ceremony and mentioned that the family had visited the battleship *Kaiser Friedrich III* afterwards. The *Journal-Gazette* article further noted that the Emperor would “greet the returned sick and wounded German soldiers from China” prior to the ceremony. Since the *Journal-Gazette* section portrayed the

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<sup>142</sup> "Emperor William," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 23, 1901, 1; "Can't Kill Kaiser," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 23, 1901, 1; "German Politicians," 1.



humanitarian attributes of the Emperor, the article received a positive rating. Two additional short statements in the *Journal-Gazette* mentioned the Kaiser's positive personal characteristics. In one, the Kaiser "conversed pleasantly" and "distributed many trifling gifts and mementoes," and in the other, he sent a telegram with a prayer to the sultan in Constantinople after an earthquake. None of the positive remarks seemed to be an attempt to sway the readership in support of the Kaiser; however, Schieber's research found, "Of all the references to the Kaiser in the American press only two were found that even in a degree were complimentary to him." What appear to be simple human interest comments may have more significance than is apparent at this time.<sup>143</sup>

### ***Kaiser: Apologist Articles***

As in the section about Germany in China, only the *Journal-Gazette* contained apologist reports. Two weak statements disputed previous press accounts. The first statement on April 7 referred to "the Kaiser's scare and his wild utterances agitating Germany" previously discussed in the analysis of negative news. A section that analyzed the press accounts in Germany that week concluded, "The fact of the matter is that the emperor's utterances have been interpreted in all ways to suit everybody's taste and patriotism." The second article on April 13 reported on an argument between the German "inspired" press and the "official Messenger of St. Petersburg" over whether Emperor Nicholas or Emperor Wilhelm had suggested the appointment of German General Von

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<sup>143</sup> "Prince Enters the Navy," *The Fort Wayne News*, April 19, 1901, 5; "German Crown Prince," 2; "The Berlin Letter: Germany Resents the Imputation That She Is Wrong in China," 15; "Cable News Feed: Constantinople," *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, April 5, 1901, 1; Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment*, 212.

Waldersee as chief commander in China. If Emperor Nicholas suggested the appointment, it would support Germany's legitimacy as the leader of expedition forces.<sup>144</sup>

***Kaiser: Summary***

Newspaper readers in Fort Wayne read largely negative opinions about the Kaiser. The *News* alerted its audience to Kaiser Wilhelm's unbalanced temperament while the *Journal-Gazette* moderately mentioned the Kaiser's undesirable personality traits. The *News* left no doubt that the Kaiser was an unappealing figure. In contrast, the *Journal-Gazette* depiction ambiguously remarked on unattractive features. Each paper noted the Kaiser's restrictions on free speech and his refusal to compensate the Reichstag; both were actions that Fort Wayne readers would view as un-American. The few neutral articles shared information about the Kaiser's safety. The *Journal-Gazette* included weak positive and apologist articles. At this point, the significance of the positive and apologist articles is not clear. It did not seem that the *Journal-Gazette* purposefully tried to dispel the Kaiser's poor image; however, since the national press condemned the Kaiser, the articles may hold more significance.

Historian Norbert Muhlen argued that Americans associated the negative traits of the Kaiser with the German people. He noted, "The Kaiser came to personify his people" and listed derogatory terms such as 'arrogant,' 'power-mad,' and 'militaristic and imperialistic,' that were applied to Germans in Europe. Although it is not clear if Fort Wayne residents imputed the Kaiser's flaws to German Americans in Fort Wayne, the negative press attention the Kaiser received was likely an embarrassment to German Americans in Fort Wayne. Regardless of the public opinion on Kaiser Wilhelm, the

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<sup>144</sup> "The Kaiser's Scare and His Wild Utterances Agitating Germany," 1; "Cable News: Berlin-According to a Dispatch from Peking," 2.

office of “Kaiser” held a negative connotation when evaluated from a democratic point of view. Like the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser was an absolute ruler. Many immigrants came to the United States with hopes of economic opportunity and freedom from oppression. The Democratic candidate Henry Berghoff left Germany at the age of seventeen reportedly chafing under the labor restrictions in Germany and longing for freedom. Publicity about Kaiser Wilhelm might have reminded German Americans why they came to the United States and encouraged them to embrace American political values. At a minimum, one can conclude that the epithet “Kaiser” was meant as an insult.<sup>145</sup>

### **Summary**

The large number of German American votes commanded the attention of both political parties in 1901 as demonstrated by the candidate selection; however, the variance between the news reported in the Republican and Democratic papers suggests chauvinistic attitudes existed among some members of the community. Fear of a possible German American backlash did not dissuade the Republican paper from including criticism of Germany in the coverage of international news. The Republican Party pushed German Americans to publicly embrace American values by emphasizing the state of conflict between the United States and Germany and the autocratic and capricious behaviors of Kaiser Wilhelm. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party appealed to voters who had stronger bonds to Germany with news that informed the reader about the happenings in Germany and that assuaged hostile reports.

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<sup>145</sup> Muhlen, *Germany in American Eyes*, 20; "Henry C. Berghoff: Sketch of the Career of the Democratic Standard Bearer," 6.

This analysis of the reporting on Germany's actions in China and on Germany's leader yields conflicting impressions of the level ethnic acceptance and tension during the 1901 city election in Fort Wayne. On one hand, the Fort Wayne election demonstrates the integration of an ethnic group into the political structure of the city. The dominant Democratic press described the tension between the United States and Germany in China with reports that balanced the two positions. Similarly, the articles about the Kaiser, though predominately negative, included a few normalizing glimpses of the German leader. This demonstrates a community that accepts members of an ethnic group without demanding they abandon their group identity. One could be an American and still respect Germany's actions in China and hold some sympathy for the Kaiser. On the other hand, the Republican Party's cavalier news coverage exposed the discord between Germany and the United States. The one-sided presentation of Germany's actions in China pressured the reader to adopt a singularly American view. The portrayal of Germany's leader as a dangerous buffoon reinforced a stereotype of German people as militaristic but incapable. The Republican press view of Germany suggests an intolerance of ethnic attributes associated with Germany. In the midst of German American political success and signs of ethnic acceptance, undercurrents of nativism existed.

## CONCLUSION

A month after the May 7, 1901, city election, over three thousand visitors from Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Kentucky came to Fort Wayne for the District meeting of the North American Turners. Mayor Henry Berghoff welcomed them with a rousing speech about German contributions to America: "The Germans have done more toward the progress and up-building of this country in every avenue of commerce, of art, and of learning, than any or all other peoples on earth, and every intelligent American will admit it." Berghoff expressed pride in "being a German" and encouraged the audience to remember their "mother tongue" and maintain "the customs of their fathers." He referred to the audience as "we Germans in America" and criticized those who avoided displays of their German heritage: "Such do not deserve the name of Germans." The well-attended event drew large crowds of German and Anglo spectators. At the conclusion of the Turnfest, the *Journal-Gazette* claimed, "It will go down in history as the most successful ever held in the Indiana district." Berghoff's self-identification as a German, rather than a German American, reinforces the image of Fort Wayne as an example of ethnic acceptance. Berghoff achieved success without giving up the cultural aspects of his heritage or his ethnic identity.<sup>146</sup>

Immigrants maintained ties to their homeland through correspondence, return visits and sometimes return migration. Even those who left Germany due to the push of political oppression would likely maintain ties with family and friends still in Germany and cherish at least some memories of their homeland. An analysis of the news items in the Democratic *Journal-Gazette* further supports the impression that Fort Wayne

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<sup>146</sup> "The Mayor's Speech; "Turners Have Gone." The *Journal-Gazette* used the term German-American citizens on April 4 and April 7.

accepted residents of German descent as members of the community without first requiring them to abandon their German culture or connections. During 1901, events in China strained the relationship between Germany and the United States. The *Journal-Gazette* included articles that criticized Germany's actions but also provided alternate views with coverage of the German press response and positive statements about Germany's actions. Similarly, the *Journal-Gazette* exposed Kaiser Wilhelm's flaws without extreme characterization of his temperament. The paper's balanced news approach towards Germany recognized that German Americans in Fort Wayne maintained interest in their homeland.<sup>147</sup>

The campaign discourse also helped sustain German dignity. The Democratic paper proudly revealed Berghoff's German birth. Editorial remarks and shared articles demonstrated the bond between the *Journal-Gazette* and the Democratic German-language paper. Outside of the campaign discourse, the *Journal-Gazette* published articles about citizenship that advocated the equal worth of native-born and foreign-born Americans. Within the election dialogue, the Democratic paper decried the dictatorial control of the Republican Party and framed the political debate as a matter of democratic values. When the *News* praised Reese's military background, the *Journal-Gazette* reminded readers of the military oppression many had experienced before coming to Fort Wayne. The paper compared the Republican leader Bash to a czar to emphasize the danger that Bash's impending appointment to the police commission (Board of Public Safety) posed to German American cultural outlets. Many German immigrants, Berghoff included, had felt the pull of America's political freedoms when they left their homeland.

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<sup>147</sup> David A. Gerber and Alan M. Kraut, *American Immigration and Ethnicity: A Reader* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 59; Daniels, *Coming to America*, 146. Daniels listed the German return migration rate at 13.7 percent during the nineteenth century.

In a sense, the American principles of liberty trumpeted in the home rule debate were also German principles. Germans “imbued with the love of physical culture and human liberty” who had been forced to flee after the failed revolution in 1848 founded the Turner groups in the United States.<sup>148</sup>

Sixteen years after the successful Turnfest in Fort Wayne and well into the first World War, the group lost its prominence in the city. A computer aided search of Griswold’s 1917 “Biographical Sketches” only identified two members of the Turners; Griswold did not include any of the 1901 Turnfest organizational committee members. After the 1901 election, German American standing in the political leadership of Fort Wayne declined. In 1905, Democrat William J. Hosey, a second-generation Irish American, replaced Berghoff as mayor. In the 1909 city election, Republican Jesse Grice beat German American August Schmidt for mayor.<sup>149</sup>

The Republican *News* version of the Fort Wayne election hints at a possible reason for the shift. The *News* presented a community more hostile to Germany and less accepting of the German American culture. Articles about Germany in the *News* received a higher percentage of negative ratings than the articles in the *Journal-Gazette*. Moreover, the *News* presented Germany in opposition to American goals. In addition, cutting and sarcastic statements about Kaiser Wilhelm depicted him as a dangerous buffoon. The sample *News* articles did not include any apologist or positive examples.

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<sup>148</sup> "History of the "Bund", " *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, June 15, 1901, 12.

<sup>149</sup> Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*, 49, 429; Arthur Liley, "William J. Hosey," in *The Quest for Fort Wayne: An Anthology of Papers About Fort Wayne, Indiana* (Fort Wayne, IN: The Allen County Public Library, 1994), 181; *Jesse A. Grice: Sheriff and Mayor, 1852-1915*, (Fort Wayne, IN: The Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County, 1957). The two men associated with the Turners in Griswold's "Biographical Sketches" were Conrad Bayer and Emil Nietzsche. It is possible that Conrad Bayer was the Conrad Bauss listed as the Turnfest chair of the Hotels. Others have noted that Griswold's spelling were sometimes inaccurate. Grice's biography states, "According to family tradition Grice's ancestors settled in Homeworth, Columbiana County, Ohio" (p. 1). Jesse Grice and his father were born in Ohio.

One suspects it would be difficult to participate in the Republican Party as a “German in America.”

Although the Republican Party selected German American Reese to head their ticket, it never publically identified him as a German American. Prior to Reese’s selection, the *News* employed ethnic slurs to describe Democratic candidate Berghoff but retreated when the *Journal-Gazette* claimed that the Republican Party wished to restrict German American voters. Throughout the campaign, the *News* drew attention to Berghoff’s foreign attributes with references to statements he had made in the German language paper and to his position as ring leader and machine boss. The Republican platform demanded good government and accused the Democrats of bowing to the demands of saloon and gambling den owners. The complaints about lax law enforcement targeted behaviors associated with German *Gemütlichkeit*. While the Republican Party selected Reese in hopes of winning German American voters, only voters who conformed to the Anglo cultural standards would feel welcome.

The attitudes exposed in the election debate exemplified aspects of both an acceptance of German customs and pressure to conform to Anglo culture. As the majority of the population, German Americans in Fort Wayne might have prevailed as the dominant culture; however, the decades surrounding the election coincided with a period of nativism kindled by a wave of immigration and increased urbanization. National reform campaigns such as the Prohibition Movement and the Americanization Movement targeted the saloon culture associated with many immigrant groups; attacked the breweries, a strongly German based industry; and demanded English language use. The international tension exposed in the resolution of the Boxer Uprising continued to build



in Europe and led to an increasingly strained relationship between the United States and Germany. These external factors obscure a conclusion on the level of acceptance experienced by German Americans in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

I selected an election period specifically searching for a time of public debate that might expose tension. The sample analyzed April, the month prior to the election and May, the month of the election. The presence of three German American candidates undoubtedly constrained dialogue that German Americans would find offensive.

Extending the study into the months preceding and following the election could develop a fuller picture of the interactions between German American and Anglo groups and reveal if the election period dampened rather than intensified ethnic tension. A comparison of the 1901 city election to the 1905 victory of an Irish American Democrat and the 1909 victory of an Anglo Republican over a German American Democrat could provide insight on how the newspapers exploited German ethnicity during other political contests. A longitudinal approach could also reveal changing dynamics of ethnic tension as World War I approached.

Sources that allow a glimpse beyond the public views expressed in the newspapers would add breadth to the results of the election debate. A socio-economic evaluation based on information from tax records, business records and club records could discover signs of discrimination absent from the newspapers. Historian Bert Griswold's 1917 volume of Fort Wayne biographies provided information about the subjects' places of birth, parents' nativity, occupations, political affiliations, fraternal association and club memberships, and religious identifications. A preliminary investigation of the first 500 entries identified 157 people who had been born in Germany

or whose parents had been born in Germany (31%). Griswold did not discuss his selection criteria. Based on his own estimate of an eighty percent German American population in Fort Wayne during the 1910s, one would expect a higher percentage of German American entries. Griswold found German Americans engaging in a variety of occupations including law, medicine, business ownership, banking and agricultural endeavors. Further research could compare the employment distribution patterns to those of other groups to identify any discrepancies that suggest discrimination. Preliminary research also discovered that over half of the biography subjects participated in clubs and fraternal organizations. Additional research could compare the membership lists to those of other groups to determine if any clubs excluded German Americans.<sup>150</sup>

The newspaper dialog during the 1901 city election in Fort Wayne, Indiana, provides a brief glimpse at the state of ethnic tension between German Americans and Anglo Americans. The city election also exhibits the complex perception and layering of German ethnicity. Clearly, the strength of German Americans' bond to their homeland varied since among the third and fourth generations ties to Germany would be locally defined and mostly of a social and cultural nature. Additionally, the number of religious organizations and presence of German clubs suggests that Fort Wayne's German Americans represented a diverse group of interests. An analysis of the political dialogue demonstrates that signs of an immigrant groups' structural integration such as political success does not guarantee full acceptance by a host community. In Fort Wayne, a simple

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<sup>150</sup> Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana*; "Two Hundred Years of Fort Wayne Advertising," 8. I used a computer aided search of "German" to identify people with a connection to Germany. At the time of publication, the sample lists all the names from "A" to "R." I created a spreadsheets of the German names with the date of birth, country of birth, country of parents' birth, area of German origin, occupation, religion, political affiliation and club membership. Griswold included a biography of Bash but not of Berghoff, Moynihan, Page, Reese or Wefel.

count of German Americans slurs did not represent the state of tension between ethnic groups. The differences exhibited in the partisan press coverage of Germany reveals two attitudes, one balanced and one predominantly negative. The major campaign issues also exposed ethnic division. The Democrat's addressed their support for home rule with appeals to freedoms that reminded immigrants of the democratic opportunities drawn many to the United States. Locally, freedom meant the ability to participate in cultural and recreational activities without police interference. The Republicans directed their attention to the Democratic ring and the excesses of patronage. They justified state control of the Board of Public Safety on lax enforcement of morality laws that targeted behaviors associated with some German Americans. The German American dominance in the 1901 city election demonstrates that the cultural differences did not explicitly restrict success. At the same time, an analysis of the election dialogue reveals that the success did not signify the absence of tension.

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